EUROPE 1450 to 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Jonathan Dewald
University at Buffalo, The State University of New York

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

George C. Bauer Linda F. Bauer University of California, Irvine

James J. Bono University at Buffalo, The State University of New York

Paul F. Grendler
University of Toronto, Emeritus

Paul D. Griffiths
Iowa State University

Donald R. Kelley
Rutgers University

Nancy Shields Kollmann Stanford University

H. C. Erik Midelfort University of Virginia

Carla Rahn Phillips
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

William Weber
California State University, Long Beach

Madeline C. Zilfi
University of Maryland, College Park



EUROPE 1450 to 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

Volume 2Cologne to Fur Trade

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief







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

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief

© 2004 by Charles Scribner's Sons Charles Scribner's Sons is an imprint of The Gale Group, Inc., a division of Thomson Learning, Inc.

Charles Scribner's Sons® and Thomson Learning $^{\text{TM}}$ are trademarks used herein under license.

For more information, contact Charles Scribner's Sons An imprint of The Gale Group 300 Park Avenue South New York, NY 10010

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

No part of this work covered by the copyright hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means—graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, Web distribution, or information storage retrieval systems—without the written permission of the publisher.

For permission to use material from this product, submit your request via Web at http://www.galeedit.com/permissions, or you may download our Permissions Request form and submit your request by fax or mail to:

Permissions Department The Gale Group, Inc. 27500 Drake Rd. Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535

Permissions Hotline:

248-699-8006 or 800-877-4253, ext. 8006 Fax: 248-699-8074 or 800-762-4058

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Europe 1450 to 1789: encyclopedia of the early modern world / Jonathan Dewald, editor in chief.

p. cm.

p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-684-31200-X (set: hardcover) — ISBN 0-684-31201-8 (v. 1) —
ISBN 0-684-31202-6 (v. 2) — ISBN 0-684-31203-4 (v. 3) — ISBN 0-684-31204-2 (v. 4) —
ISBN 0-684-31205-0 (v. 5) — ISBN 0-684-31206-9 (v. 6)

1. Europe—History—15th century—Encyclopedias. 2. Europe—History—1492-1648—
Encyclopedias. 3. Europe—History—1648-1789—Encyclopedias. 4. Europe—Intellectual life—Encyclopedias. 5. Europe—Civilization—Encyclopedias. I. Title: Encyclopedia of the early modern world. II. Devald, Jonathan.
D209 F97 2004

D209.E97 2004 940.2—dc22

2003015680



CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME

VOLUME 2

Using the Encyclopedia . . . xxi

Maps of Europe, 1453 to 1795 . . . xxiii

List of Abbreviations . . . xxxi

C (CONTINUED)

Cologne

Colonialism

Columbus, Christopher

Comenius, Jan Amos

Commedia dell'Arte

Commerce and Markets

Communication, Scientific

Communication and Transportation

Comuneros Revolt (1520–1521)

Concubinage

Condé Family

Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de

Confraternities

Constantinople

Constitutionalism

Consumption

Conversos

Copernicus, Nicolaus

Cornaro Piscopia, Elena Lucrezia

Corneille, Pierre

Correggio

Corsica

Cortés, Hernán

Cosmology

Cossacks

Coulomb, Charles-Augustin de

Court and Courtiers

Cracow

Cranach Family

Crime and Punishment

Crisis of the Seventeenth Century

Cromwell, Oliver

Cromwell, Thomas

Cullen, William

Czech Literature and Language

\mathbf{D}

Daily Life

Dance

Dashkova, Princess Catherine

David, Jacques-Louis

Death and Dying

Decorative Arts

D I 1

Dee, John

Defoe, Daniel

Deism

Democracy

Denmark

Descartes, René

Design

Determinism

Devolution, War of (1667–1668)

Diamond Necklace, Affair of the

Diaries	England
Dictionaries and Encyclopedias	English Civil War and Interregnum
Diderot, Denis	English Civil War Radicalism
Dientzenhofer Family	English Literature and Language
Diplomacy	Enlightened Despotism
Dissemination of Knowledge	Enlightenment
Dissenters, English	Ensenada, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la
Divine Right Kingship	Enthusiasm
Divorce	Environment
Donne, John	Epistemology
Dort, Synod of	Equality and Inequality
Drama	Erasmus, Desiderius
English	,
German	Espionage
Italian	Estates and Country Houses
Spanish and Portuguese	Estates-General, French
Dresden	Estates-General, 1614
Dryden, John	Estates-General, 1789
Dublin	Ethnography
Duel	Euler, Leonhard
Duma	Europe and the World
Dürer, Albrecht	Exclusion Crisis
Dutch Colonies	Exploration
The Americas	
The East Indies	
Dutch Literature and Language	
Dutch Republic	F
Dutch Revolt (1568–1648)	False Dmitrii, First
Dutch War (1672–1678)	Family
Editi (vai (10/2 10/0)	Farnese, Isabel (Spain)
	Febronianism
	— Feminism
 E	Fénelon, François
	Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire)
Early Modern Period: Art Historical	Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire)
Interpretations	` ' '
Earth, Theories of the	Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire)
Éboli, Ruy Gómez de Silva, prince of	Ferdinand VI (Spain)
Economic Crises	Ferdinand of Aragón
Edinburgh	Festivals
Education	Feudalism
Edward VI (England)	Fielding, Henry
El Greco	Firearms
Elizabeth I (England)	Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernhard
Elizabeth (Russia)	Florence
Empiricism	Florence, Art in
Enclosure	Floridablanca, José Moñino, count of
Encyclopédie	
	Folk Tales and Fairy Tales
Engineering	Folk Tales and Fairy Tales Fontainebleau, School of
Engineering Civil	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

Forests and Woodlands Forgeries, Copies, and Casts Fragonard, Jean-Honoré

France

France, Architecture in

France, Art in Francis I (France)

Francis II (Holy Roman Empire)

Franck, Sebastian François de Sales Frankfurt am Main

Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire)

Frederick I (Prussia) Frederick II (Prussia)

Frederick William (Brandenburg)

Frederick William I (Prussia) Frederick William II (Prussia) Free and Imperial Cities

Free Will Freemasonry French Colonies The Caribbean

India

North America

French Literature and Language

Fronde

Fugger Family Fur Trade

North America

Russia



VOLUME 1

Using the Encyclopedia . . . xxiii

Preface . . . xxv

Introduction . . . xxix

Maps of Europe, 1453 to 1795 . . . xxxix

List of Maps . . . xlvii

List of Abbreviations . . . xlix

Chronology . . . li

A

Absolutism Academies, Learned Academies of Art Accounting and Bookkeeping Acoustics Addison, Joseph Advice and Etiquette Books Africa North Sub-Saharan Agriculture Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alchemy Aldrovandi, Ulisse Alembert, Jean Le Rond d' Alexis I (Russia) American Independence, War of (1775–1783)

Amsterdam Anabaptism Anatomy and Physiology Ancien Régime Ancient World Ancients and Moderns Andrusovo, Truce of (1667) Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars Anguissola, Sofonisba Anna (Russia) Anne (England) Anne of Austria Anne of Brittany Anticlericalism Antwerp Apocalypticism Apothecaries Archaeology Architecture Arctic and Antarctic Aristocracy and Gentry Aristotelianism Armada, Spanish Arnauld Family Art Art Exhibitions The Art Market and Collecting Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography Artistic Patronage The Conception and Status of the Artist Artisans Asam Family Asia Assassination

Astrology Astronomy Atheism Atlantic Ocean Augsburg Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555) Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland) Austria Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748) Austro-Ottoman Wars Authority, Concept of Autocracy	Biology Black Sea Steppe Bodin, Jean Boehme, Jacob Boerhaave, Herman Bohemia Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas Bordeaux Boris Godunov (Russia) Borromeo, Carlo Borromini, Francesco Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne
Avvakum Petrovich	Boston Boswell, James Botany Boucher, François Bourbon Dynasty (France)
В	Bourbon Dynasty (France) Bourbon Dynasty (Spain)
Bach Family	Bourgeoisie
Bacon, Francis	Boyle, Robert
Balkans	Brahe, Tycho
Balloons	Brandenburg
Baltic and North Seas	Brant, Sebastian
Baltic Nations	Britain, Architecture in
Banditry	Britain, Art in
Banking and Credit	British Colonies
Bankruptcy	The Caribbean
Barcelona	India North America
Barometer	
Baroque	Brittany Province Thomas
Basque Country	Browne, Thomas
Bassi, Laura	Bruegel Family Bruno, Giordano
Bavaria	Budapest
Baxter, Richard	Budé, Guillaume
Bayle, Pierre	Buenos Aires
Beaumont and Fletcher	Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc
Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana, marquis of	Bullinger, Heinrich
Behn, Aphra Belarus	Bunyan, John
Bellarmine, Robert	Burgundy
Benedict XIV (pope)	Burke, Edmund
Berkeley, George	Burney, Frances
Berlin	Buxtehude, Dieterich
Bernini, Gian Lorenzo	,
Bérulle, Pierre de	
Bèze, Théodore de	
Bible	
Interpretation	\mathbf{C}
Translations and Editions	Cabala

Cádiz

Biography and Autobiography

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro

Calendar Callot, Jacques Calvin, John

Calvinism

Cambrai, League of (1508)

Cambridge Platonists Camera Obscura Camisard Revolt

Camões, Luís Vaz de Canova, Antonio

Capitalism

Caravaggio and Caravaggism Caricature and Cartoon

Carnival

Carracci Family Carriera, Rosalba

Cartesianism

Cartography and Geography Casanova, Giacomo Girolamo

Castiglione, Baldassare

Catalonia

Catalonia, Revolt of (1640-1652)

Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) Catherine II (Russia) Catherine de Médicis Catholic League (France)

Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism

Catholicism

Cavendish, Margaret Caxton, William Cecil Family

Cellini, Benvenuto

Censorship Census

Central Europe, Art in

Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain

Cervantes, Miguel de

Chardin, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon

Charity and Poor Relief Charles I (England) Charles II (England) Charles VIII (France)

Charles V (Holy Roman Empire) Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire)

Charles II (Spain) Charles III (Spain)

Charles X Gustav (Sweden) Charles XII (Sweden)

Charles the Bold (Burgundy)

Charleston

Charleton, Walter

Chemistry

Childhood and Childrearing

Christina (Sweden)

Chronometer

Church and State Relations

Church of England

Churchill, John, duke of Marlborough Cisneros, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de

Cities and Urban Life

Citizenship City Planning City-State

Class, Status, and Order

Classicism

Claude Lorrain (Gellée)

Clergy

Protestant Clergy Roman Catholic Clergy Russian Orthodox Clergy

Clocks and Watches

Clothing

Clouet, François

Cobos, Francisco de los

Coins and Medals

Colbert, Jean-Baptiste

Coligny Family

VOLUME 3

G

Gabrieli, Andrea and Giovanni

Gainsborough, Thomas

Galileo Galilei

Galleys

Gallicanism

Gama, Vasco da

Gambling

Games and Play

Gardens and Parks

Gassendi, Pierre

Gattinara, Mercurino

Gdańsk

Gender

Gende

Geneva

Genoa

Gentileschi, Artemisia Hamburg Gentleman Handel, George Frideric Geoffrin, Marie-Thérèse Hanover Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain) Geology George I (Great Britain) Hansa Harem George II (Great Britain) George III (Great Britain) Harley, Robert German Literature and Language Harrington, James Germany, Idea of Hartlib, Samuel Gessner, Conrad Harvey, William Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) Ghetto Giambologna (Giovanni da Bologna) Hastings, Warren Haydn, Franz Joseph Gianonne, Pietro Gibbon, Edward Helmont, Jean Baptiste van Gilbert, William Helvétius, Claude-Adrien Henry VII (England) Giorgione Glisson, Francis Henry VIII (England) Glorious Revolution (Britain) Henry II (France) Gluck, Christoph Willibald von Henry III (France) Henry IV (France) Heraldry Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von Herder, Johann Gottfried von Goldoni, Carlo Góngora y Argote, Luis de Hermeticism Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de Hesse, Landgraviate of Granada Hetmanate (Ukraine) Grand Tour Historiography Graunt, John Hobbes, Thomas Hogarth, William Greece Greuze, Jean-Baptiste Hohenzollern Dynasty Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d' Grimm, Friedrich Melchior von Grimmelshausen, H. J. C. von Holbein, Hans, the Younger Grotius, Hugo Holy Leagues Guicciardini, Francesco Holy Roman Empire Holy Roman Empire Institutions Guilds Guise Family Homosexuality Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden) Honor Gutenberg, Johannes Hooke, Robert Hooker, Richard Hospitals Housing Huguenots H Humanists and Humanism Habsburg Dynasty Hume, David Austria Humor Hungarian Literature and Language Spain Habsburg Territories Hungary Habsburg-Valois Wars Hunting Hagiography Hussites Haller, Albrecht von Huygens Family Hals, Frans Hymns

Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire) I **Josephinism** Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets Idealism Journals, Literary Ignatius of Loyola Juan de Austria, Don Imperial Expansion, Russia Index of Prohibited Books Jülich-Cleves-Berg Julius II (pope) Industrial Revolution Industry Inflation Inheritance and Wills Inquisition K Inquisition, Roman Kalmar, Union of Inquisition, Spanish Kant, Immanuel Insurance Kauffmann, Angelica Intendants Kepler, Johannes Interest Khmelnytsky, Bohdan Ireland Khmelnytsky Uprising Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg Kiev Isabella of Castile Kircher, Athanasius Islam in the Ottoman Empire Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb Islands Knox, John Italian Literature and Language Kochanowski, Jan Italian Wars (1494–1559) Kołłątaj, Hugo Italy Ivan III (Muscovy) Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia) \mathbf{L} La Bruyère, Jean de La Fayette, Marie-Madeleine de J La Fontaine, Jean de Jacobitism La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de Jadwiga (Poland) La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania) La Rochelle James I and VI (England and Scotland) Laborers James II (England) Laclos, Pierre Ambroise Choderlos de Janissary Lagrange, Joseph-Louis Jansenism Landholding Jenkins' Ear, War of (1739–1748) Las Casas, Bartolomé de **Jesuits** Lasso, Orlando di Jewelry Late Middle Ages Jews, Attitudes toward Latin Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal) Laud, William Jews and Judaism Lavoisier, Antoine Joanna I, "the Mad" (Spain) Law Johnson, Samuel Canon Law

Common Law

International Law

Courts

Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire)

Jones, Inigo

Jonson, Ben

Lawyers Roman Law Russian Law

Law's System Le Brun, Charles

League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697)

Ledoux, Claude-Nicolas Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm

Leipzig Leo X (pope) Leonardo da Vinci

Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire)

Lepanto, Battle of

Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas,

1st duke of

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim

Lettre de Cachet

Levant

Leyden, Jan van L'Hôpital, Michel de Liberalism, Economic

Liberty Libraries Lima

Linnaeus, Carl Lipsius, Justus

Lisbon

Literacy and Reading

Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569 Lithuanian Literature and Language

Entitualitati Enterature and Language

Livonian War (1558–1583)

Locke, John Logic London

Lorraine, Duchy of

Lottery

Louis XII (France) Louis XIII (France) Louis XIV (France) Louis XV (France) Louis XVI (France)

Louvois, François Le Tellier, marquis de

Lübeck

Lublin, Union of (1569) Lully, Jean-Baptiste Luther, Martin Lutheranism

Lviv Lvon **VOLUME 4**

M

Macau

Machiavelli, Niccolò Madness and Melancholy

Madrid

Magellan, Ferdinand

Magic

Malpighi, Marcello Mandeville, Bernard

Manila Mannerism

Mansart, François

Mantua

Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631)

Marburg, Colloquy of Marguerite de Navarre

Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire)

Mariana, Juan de Marie Antoinette Marie de l'Incarnation Marie de Médicis Marillac, Michel de Marlowe, Christopher

Marriage Marseille

Martyrs and Martyrology Marvels and Wonders Mary I (England) Mathematics Matter, Theories of

Matthias (Holy Roman Empire) Maulbertsch, Franz Anton

Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire) Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire)

Mazarin, Jules Mazepa, Ivan Mechanism Medici Family Medicine

Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán,

7th duke of Mediterranean Basin

Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire)

Melanchthon, Philipp Mendelssohn, Moses Mengs, Anton Raphael Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban Mercantilism Museums Mercenaries Music Music Criticism Merian, Maria Sibylla Mersenne, Marin Mesmer, Franz Anton Messianism, Jewish Methodism N Mexico City Nantes, Edict of Michael Romanov (Russia) Naples, Art in Michelangelo Buonarroti Naples, Kingdom of Midwives Naples, Revolt of (1647) Milan Nasi Family Military National Identity Armies: Recruitment, Organization, Natural History and Social Composition Natural Law Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy Nature Early Modern Military Theory Navigation Acts Historiography Navy Milton, John Neoclassicism Miracles Neoplatonism Missions, Parish Nepotism Missions and Missionaries Netherlands, Art in the Art in the Netherlands, 1500–1585 Asia Spanish America Art in Flanders, 1585–1700 Art in the Northern Netherlands, 1585–1700 Mobility, Geographic Mobility, Social Netherlands, Southern Neumann, Balthasar Mohyla, Peter New York Molière Newton, Isaac Monarchy Nikon, patriarch Money and Coinage Noble Savage Central and Eastern Europe Northern Wars Western Europe **Novalis** Monopoly Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich Montaigne, Michel de Nuremberg Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de Monteverdi, Claudio Moral Philosophy and Ethics Moravian Brethren O More, Henry More, Thomas Obstetrics and Gynecology Moriscos Occult Philosophy Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain) Odalisque Morozova, Boiarynia Officeholding Old Age Moscow Motherhood and Childbearing Old Believers Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van Munich Oldenburg, Henry Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, count of Münster Muratori, Ludovico Antonio Opera

Oprichnina	Philosophes
Optics	Philosophy
Orphans and Foundlings	Physics
Orthodoxy, Greek	Physiocrats and Physiocracy
Orthodoxy, Russian	Picturesque
Ottoman Dynasty	Pietism
Ottoman Empire	Pilon, Germain
Oxenstierna, Axel	Piracy
O Kensterna, 12ker	Piranesi, Giovanni Battista
	Pitt, William the Elder and William the Younger
	Pius IV (pope)
D	\= = /
P	Pius V (pope)
Pacific Ocean	Pizarro Brothers
Pacifism	Plague
Painting	Poisons, Affair of the
Palatinate	Poissy, Colloquy of
Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da	Poland, Partitions of
Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism	Poland to 1569
Papacy and Papal States	Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795
Paracelsus	Police
Paris	Polish Literature and Language
Parlements	Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738)
Parliament	Political Parties in England
Parma	Political Philosophy
Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of	Political Secularization
Pascal, Blaise	Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson
Passarowitz, Peace of (1718)	Pompeii and Herculaneum
Passions	Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus
	Pope, Alexander
Pastel	1 /
Patiño y Morales, José	
Patriarchy and Paternalism	
Patriot Revolution	VOLUME 5
Patronage	D
Paul I (Russia)	P (CONTINUED)
Paul III (pope)	Popular Culture
Paul V (pope)	Popular Protest and Rebellions
Pawning	Pornography
Peasantry	Porte
Peasants' War, German	Portrait Miniatures
Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de	Portugal
Pepys, Samuel	Portuguese Colonies
Perrault, Charles	Africa
Persecution	Brazil
Peter I (Russia)	The Indian Ocean and Asia
Petty, William	Madeira and the Azores
Philadelphia	Portuguese Literature and Language
Philip II (Spain)	Postal Systems
Philip III (Spain)	Potosí
Philip IV (Spain)	Poussin, Nicolas
Philip V (Spain)	Poverty
Timp v (Spani)	Toverty

Prague Refugees, Exiles, and Émigrés Prague, Defenestration of Regency Preaching and Sermons Religious Orders Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine-François Religious Piety Priestley, Joseph Rembrandt van Rijn Printing and Publishing Renaissance Prints and Popular Imagery Rentiers Early Popular Imagery Representative Institutions Later Prints and Printmaking Republic of Letters **Progress** Republicanism Prokopovich, Feofan Resistance, Theory of **Property** Restoration, Portuguese War of (1640–1668) Prophecy Revolutions, Age of Prostitution Reynolds, Joshua Proto-Industry Rhetoric Providence Richardson, Samuel Provincial Government Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal Prussia Rights, Natural Psychology Ritual, Civic and Royal Public Health Ritual, Religious Public Opinion Robertson, William Pugachev Revolt (1773–1775) Rococo Purcell, Henry Roma (Gypsies) Puritanism Romania Pyrenees, Peace of the (1659) Romanov Dynasty (Russia) Romanticism Rome Rome, Architecture in Q Rome, Art in Rome, Sack of **Ouakers** Rosicrucianism Queens and Empresses Rousseau, Jean-Jacques Quietism Rubens, Peter Paul Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire) Russia Russia, Architecture in R Russia, Art in Rabelais, François Russian Literature and Language Race, Theories of Russo-Ottoman Wars Racine, Jean Russo-Polish Wars Rákóczi Revolt Ruysch, Rachel Rameau, Jean-Philippe Ramus, Petrus Raphael Ray, John S Razin, Stepan Sade, Donatien-Alphonse-François de Reason St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre Reformation, Catholic St. Petersburg Reformation, Protestant Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy Catholic, and Orthodox Salamanca, School of

Salons Smith, Adam Smollett, Tobias Salzburg Expulsion Sanitation Smotrytskyi, Meletii Santa Cruz, Álvaro de Bazán, first marquis of Smyrna (İzmir) Sofiia Alekseevna Sarmatism Sarpi, Paolo (Pietro) Songs, Popular Savoy, duchy of Sovereignty, Theory of Saxony Spain Scarlatti, Domenico and Alessandro Spain, Art in Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von Spanish Colonies Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) Africa and the Canary Islands Scholasticism The Caribbean Schütz, Heinrich Mexico Scientific Illustration Other American Colonies Scientific Instruments Scientific Method The Philippines Scientific Revolution Spanish Literature and Language Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714) Scotland Scudéry, Madeleine de Spas and Resorts Sculpture Spenser, Edmund Sea Beggars Spinoza, Baruch Secrets, Books of **Sports** Seminary Sprat, Thomas Sensibility Star Chamber Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de State and Bureaucracy Serbia **Statistics** Serfdom Steele, Richard Serfdom in East Central Europe Steno, Nicolaus Serfdom in Russia Stephen Báthory Servants Sterne, Laurence Seven Years' War (1756–1763) Stock Exchanges Sévigné, Marie de Stockholm Seville Stoicism Sexual Difference, Theories of Strasbourg Sexuality and Sexual Behavior Strikes Shabbetai Tzevi Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland) Shakespeare, William Sublime, Idea of the Sheridan, Richard Brinsley Sugar Shipbuilding and Navigation Suicide Shipping Suleiman I Shops and Shopkeeping Sultan Sidney, Philip Sumptuary Laws Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania) Surgeons Silesia Surveying Sinan Sweden Sixtus V (pope) Swedenborgianism Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian Swedish Literature and Language Slavery and the Slave Trade Swift, Jonathan

Switzerland

Sleidanus, Johannes

VOLUME 6

\mathbf{T}

Tasso, Torquato

Taxation

Technology

Teresa of Ávila

Teutonic Knights

Textile Industry

Theology

Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)

Thomasius, Christian

3 May Constitution

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista

Tilly, Johann Tserclaes of

Time, Measurement of

Time of Troubles (Russia)

Tintoretto

Titian

Tobacco

Toledo

Toleration

Topkapi Palace

Torture

Tournament

Trading Companies

Travel and Travel Literature

Trent, Council of

Triangular Trade Pattern

Tudor Dynasty (England)

Tulip Era (Ottoman Empire)

Tulips

Turkish Literature and Language

Tyranny, Theory of

IJ

Ukraine

Ukrainian Literature and Language

Uniates

Union of Brest (1596)

Universities

Urban VIII (pope)

Utopia

Utrecht, Peace of (1713)

\mathbf{V}

Vagrants and Beggars

Valois Dynasty (France)

Van Dyck, Anthony

Vasa Dynasty (Sweden)

Vasari, Giorgio

Vasilii III (Muscovy)

Vaughan, Thomas

Veduta (View Painting)

Vega, Lope de

Velázquez, Diego

Venice

Venice, Architecture in

Venice, Art in

Vermeer, Jan

Veronese (Paolo Caliari)

Versailles

Vesalius, Andreas

Vico, Giovanni Battista

Victoria, Tomás Luis de

Vienna

Vienna, Sieges of

Viète, François

Vigée-Lebrun, Elisabeth

Villages

Vilnius

Vincent de Paul

Violence

Virtue

Vivaldi, Antonio

Vives, Juan Luis

Vizier

Voltaire

Vouet, Simon

\mathbf{W}

Wages

Wallenstein, A. W. E. von

Walpole, Horace

Wars of Religion, French

Warsaw

Watteau, Antoine

Weather and Climate

Weights and Measures

Wesley Family

Westphalia, Peace of (1648)

Widows and Widowhood
Wieland, Christoph Martin
Wilkins, John
William and Mary
William of Orange
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim
Witchcraft
Witt, Johan and Cornelis de
Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria)
Władysław II Jagiełło (Poland)
Wolff, Christian
Women
Women and Art
Wren, Christopher
Württemberg, duchy of

XYZ

Youth
Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von
Zoology
Zurbarán, Francisco de
Zurich
Zwingli, Huldrych

Systematic Outline of Contents . . . 267 Directory of Contributors . . . 281 Index . . . 303



USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

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

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

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

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

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

1 foot = 30 centimeters 1 mile = 1.6 kilometers

1 acre = 0.4 hectares

1 square mile = 2.6 square kilometers

1 pound = 0.45 kilograms

1 gallon = 3.8 liters

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

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

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

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

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

xxii



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

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



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



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



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



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



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



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



COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

- A.D. Anno Domini, in the year of the Lord
- A.H. *Anno Hegirae*, in the year of the Hegira
 - b. born
- B.C. before Christ
- B.C.E. before the common era (= B.C.)
 - c. circa, about, approximately
 - C.E. common era (= A.D.)
 - ch. chapter
 - d. died
 - ed. editor (pl., eds.), edition
 - e.g. exempli gratia, for example
- et al. et alii, and others
 - etc. et cetera, and so forth
- exh. cat. exhibition catalogue
 - fl. *floruit*, flourished
 - i.e. id est, that is

- MS. manuscript (pl. MSS.)
- n.d. no date
- no. number (pl., nos.)
- n.s. new series
- N.S. new style, according to the Gregorian calendar
- O.S. old style, according to the Julian calendar
 - p. page (pl., pp.)
- rev. revised
- S. san, sanctus, santo, male saint
- SS. saints
- Sta. sancta, santa, female saint
- supp. supplement
 - vol. volume
 - ? uncertain, possibly, perhaps

EUROPE 1450 to 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



(CONTINUED)

COLOGNE. The city of Cologne (German Köln), recognized by Emperor Frederick III as an imperial free city in 1475, was an important center of trade, manufacturing, intellectual life, and religious life. Cologne, the largest of the imperial cities in early modern Germany, probably had a population between 35,000 and 40,000 people in the sixteenth century. The population declined in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and recovered at the end of the eighteenth century.

The city's location on the left bank of the Rhine made it a center of trade, and it benefited by requiring Rhine shippers to offer goods for sale before they could pass through the city. Taxes on trade goods were a major source of income. Textile manufacturing was Cologne's most important industry, and the city was home to three women's textile guilds (yarn makers, silk makers, and gold spinners) as well as the more common men's craft organizations. Cologne also became an important printing center in the sixteenth century.

Cologne's political structure was established in 1396, when twenty-two political corporations (Gaffeln) agreed on a new constitution (Verbundbrief). The corporations elected representatives to the council, and two mayors were elected for staggered terms. This constitutional system, as formally amended in 1513, remained in effect until the French occupation of Cologne in 1794.

The relationship between the civic government and the power of the archbishop of Cologne was strained. The archbishop's residence was outside the city, but archbishops always sought to assert authority over the city. While the city council maintained political authority, some elements of legal jurisdiction were shared between civic courts and archiepiscopal courts.

There were uprisings in Cologne in 1513 and 1525. The city adopted reforms, and reaffirmed its governmental structure. In 1513, dissatisfaction with the government's attempt to control the Gaffeln erupted into rebellion when city officials tried to arrest a member of the stonemasons' Gaffel, who had taken refuge in the convent church of St. Maria im Kapitol. Representatives of the Gaffeln united to reaffirm their rights. They elected a new city council, condemned corrupt city councillors, and arrested and executed the two mayors. The new council reaffirmed the constitution of 1396 (Verbundbrief) by attaching a new sworn document (the Transfixbrief), which reaffirmed the principles of the 1396 constitution. The new council of 1513 also reaffirmed the importance of the Gaffeln and condemned civic corruption.

While scholars disagree about whether the uprising of 1525 was influenced by the teachings of Luther, city officials in 1525 believed that the uprising that broke out in Cologne was directly related to the unrest in southern Germany. The uprising had a distinctly local cast, as rebels claimed their rights under the 1396 constitution and the 1513 *Transfixbrief*. The articles of the Cologne rebels included demands for both economic and religious reforms. The city government defused the uprising by agreeing in principle with almost everything the

rebels demanded, and by referring some of the religious demands to the archbishop. The city's 1525 decision to extend protection to the clergy in return for payment of taxes perhaps prevented anticlerical unrest during the sixteenth century.

During the Reformation, Cologne remained steadfastly Catholic, in spite of the efforts of two archbishops who had become Lutherans, Hermann von Wied (deposed 1546) and Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg (deposed 1583), to impose Protestantism on the city. The city's nineteen parish churches, along with other churches, chapels. and religious foundations provided a wealth of religious resources. The cathedral housed the relics of the three Magi, and there were many confraternities and voluntary religious associations. The University of Cologne had a relatively conservative faculty, which publicly burned Luther's works in 1520. Recent scholarship suggests that there was also a significant humanist presence at the University of Cologne. The influence of the university extended to the city's parishes because university positions often carried associated prebends in parish churches.

Cologne was a stronghold of the Catholic reform movement. The Jesuits, under Peter Canisius, established a house in Cologne in 1543, and the Carthusian cloister also served as a center of Catholic reform.

In spite of the government's efforts to maintain religious purity, refugees from the Netherlands moved to Cologne, and the late sixteenth century saw the establishment of an illegal but permanent Protestant community. Protestants did not gain full civil rights until 1797. In 1632, Swedish troops occupied the city of Deutz, across the Rhine, but aside from bombarding Deutz, Cologne did not participate actively in the Thirty Years' War or suffer significant damage. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it suffered more seriously from repeated outbreaks of plague and a general decline in economic condition. The city was occupied by French Revolutionary armies in 1794.

See also Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire); Free and Imperial Cities; Peasants' War, German.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ennen, Leonard. Geschichte der Stadt Köln, meist aus den Quellen des Kölner Stadt-Archivs. 5 vols. Cologne, 1863–1879. Although it is old, this is still the most comprehensive history of Cologne.

Fuchs, Peter, ed. *Chronik zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln.*Band 2, *Von 1400 bis zur Gegenwart.* Cologne, 1991.
This volume contains a detailed chronology of Cologne's history, as well as valuable essays by many of the best German historians working on Cologne.

Scribner, Robert W. "Why Was There No Reformation in Cologne?" *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976): 217–241.

JANIS M. GIBBS

COLONIAL MISSIONS. See Missions and Missionaries.

COLONIALISM. European powers and persons representing them undertook a vast program of overseas colonization extending throughout the early modern period, which had the effects of energizing a world economy by encompassing the New World within it and of stimulating a massive emigration of Europeans.

THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS

In the course of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered, conquered, colonized, and administered a series of island possessions that became early experiments in imperialism. In the 1480s and 1490s, the Spanish crown conquered Gran Canaria, Tenerife, and La Palma, the richest of the seven Canary Islands. The administrative apparatus set up to govern the colony anticipated aspects of the administration of the future empire. First there was a survey and apportionment of land in a repartimiento; there was no dividing up of natives—the form that repartimiento later took in the New World. Each island was considered a municipality, administered by a cabildo, or 'city council'. The islands were settled by soldiers and by immigrants from Castile and Andalusia, many of them single men who married indigenous women. The economy of the Canaries in the sixteenth century was based on sugar, a monoculture.

The Portuguese had a papal grant to settle Madeira, an uninhabited island, in 1425. Its prosperity after the middle years of the fifteenth century

was based on the production of sugar, wheat, and wine good enough to be exported. Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) was authorized to settle the Azores in 1439, by which time the Portuguese had already placed sheep on several islands to provide food for passing ships. By the end of the 1440s, the island of Santa Maria was already exporting wheat to Portugal. The colonization of the central and western isles took longer. Foreigners, particularly Flemings, were recruited to settle there in the 1460s and 1470s. Pico, one of the westernmost islands, became a leading wine producer and was important in the three-cornered trade with North America and the West Indies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the key products of which were New England barrel staves, Caribbean molasses, and Atlantic Island wine.

Italians in the service of the Portuguese crown sailing off West Africa discovered the arid Cape Verde islands. The Portuguese established a plantation and pastoral economy run by slaves from Africa and a small group of white colonists as landlords, merchants, and civil and church officials. After the discovery of the New World, the Portuguese islands served as nodal points in the great web of interoceanic shipping routes that soon developed.

SPANISH COLONIZATION

The Spaniards' strategy of colonization in the New World was to found cities: They founded 190 towns and cities by 1620. These were built uniformly on a Roman grid plan. They were self-governing entities governed by cabildos, had scant commercial functions, were populated by plantation owners and an Indian underclass, and had no industry to speak of. The most important cities were viceregal capitals such as Mexico and Lima. In 1630, 58 percent of the Spanish population of the Audiencia of New Spain lived in Mexico City, and 55 percent of the population of the Audiencia of Lima lived in Lima City. Exploration and settlement of the interior regions were organized from viceregal capitals such as Mexico, Lima, and Bogotá. The Spanish New World colonies were hypercentralized because the crown ruled the territories directly and created appropriate institutions of control, issuing some 400,000 decrees pertaining to American colonial affairs between 1492 and 1635, or around 2,500 annually. In an administrative sense, they were not

colonies but kingdoms; hence they were governed by vicerovs.

This urban colonial network required large numbers of settlers. A total of at least 150,000 persons moved from Spain to America before 1550. Throughout the sixteenth century, between 250,000 and 300,000 Spaniards emigrated. The Amerindians were forced, through the *repartimiento* system, to work in enterprises (either farming or mining) called *encomiendas*, feudal estates that were inheritable. Africans came as slaves, first from Europe, then, by the mid-1550s, imported directly from Africa for service on sugar plantations or in the mines.

Spanish colonization efforts in Asia centered upon Manila, the center both of trade with China and Japan and of the effort to Christianize the Filipinos. Evangelization was made easier by the political decentralization of Philippine society, which made armed resistance to Spain all but impossible. The Spanish colonists, a few thousand people in the seventeenth century, lived off the Manila galleon trade and left the direction of the country mainly to missionaries and a few bureaucrats.

PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION

The most striking aspect of the Portuguese seaborne empire was its extreme dispersion in chains of forts along various continental coastlines and islands. By the time of Prince Henry's death in 1460, the Portuguese had reached Sierra Leone, which was 1,500 miles down the west African coast. There they established fortified trading posts, *feitorias*, close to the sea, guarded by caravels bearing canons. This style of settlement, which the Portuguese later introduced into Asia, required few settlers and was designed to facilitate trade.

Brazil was settled in the sixteenth century (after 1530) by a mixed feudal-commercial system wherein coastal lands were placed under the control of hereditary proprietors. Settlers were taken there and introduced cattle raising and sugar cultivation. Sugar was the ideal crop for coastal Brazil, which had quick access to Europe and the capacity to outprice the Atlantic islands. Thousands of Portuguese arrived as settlers, attracted by quick money in the sugar industry. When the Amerindians of the coast, who had been conscripted to work on sugar plantations, perished, they were replaced by African

slaves who were already resistant to most Old World diseases.

The Portuguese crown began to take back governance of Brazil from the hereditary landholders as early as 1549, when it reacquired the Bahia captaincy and named a governor general. Settlements were widely dispersed, with a Portuguese population of only 30,000 in 1600, scattered among fourteen captaincies along 4,000 miles of coastline.

The Portuguese empire in Asia was established between 1509 and 1515 by capturing the sea passages leading to and from the Indian Ocean. Goa, on the Malabar coast of India, was the main naval base, followed in importance by Macão, off the Chinese mainland near Canton. The Portuguese empire in Asia was tiny in extent, consisting of only a few strategic islands and coastal trading posts that controlled most Asian trade routes. The territory of a trading post was negotiated with local authorities to achieve a form of colonization, but one of a purely commercial nature. The Portuguese settled near the centers of production and markets and at the intersection of trade routes, taking advantage of trading networks already established before their arrival. This system could run efficiently with few settlers, who did not require an infrastructure of public services, and it left local trade in the hands of the indigenous communities. The majority of Portuguese settlers in Asia were soldiers, while the Spanish empire, after the conquests of Mexico and Peru, was by and large a civilian empire.

COLONIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

Europeans of different origins established colonies of different styles. Spanish settlements in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo were based on ranching, mining, and, in the seventeenth century, sugar. The English and French established plantations on their islands to produce labor-intensive crops like sugarcane, worked by indentured servants and, later, African slaves. The Dutch established trading posts, such as Curação. In 1600, all New World settlements were still Spanish. The English and French begin to colonize in the first quarter of the seventeenth century in part because the Dutch Navy in the Caribbean protected them from the Spanish. At the same time, the British began to colonize the outer islands, starting with St. Kitts and Barbados, which served as bases for further expansion. The French then established a Compagnie des Isles d'Amérique and settled Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1635. It was easy (both for French and English settlers) to obtain grants because the islands were thought fairly worthless before sugar was introduced. In the first phase of settlement, tobacco and cotton were the main crops.

BRITISH COLONIZATION

British colonial development in the New World was focused both on the Caribbean and the North American mainland. The disinterest of the English government in direct management of the colonies was matched by the penchant of settlers in the thirteen colonies for self-government, inasmuch as distaste for central authority had played an important role in their decision to emigrate. The economic life of the colonies was differentiated early on, with plantations in the south, which grew cereals, cotton, and, later, tobacco, and a more varied economy in the north, characterized in New England by commercial shipping, fishing, and timber. In the eighteenth century, large numbers of immigrants, first from Germany and later from Ireland, were attracted by the prosperity of the British colonies, only to submit to the lure of the frontier once they had arrived.

The British had a colonial stake in Asia since the formation in 1600 of the East India Company, a trading organization whose business grew steadily at the expense of the Portuguese. In the eighteenth century the company had its own army; its rapacious rule in Bengal stimulated Parliament to appoint a governor general in 1773. Over the next half century the British steadily occupied the whole of India, but the company continued in an administrative capacity until it was finally dissolved in 1858.

FRENCH COLONIZATON

In 1534, Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) established a fort on the site of what is now Quebec City. The French settled Acadia in 1604 and Quebec in 1608. The entire early French enterprise in Canada was based on a single product: fur. Beaver pelts, the best material for hat felt, could not be found in France, were light in weight, had a high value relative to bulk, and were easily transported. Quebec was organized along feudal lines, divided into huge rural estates, or *seigneuries*, many of which persisted after the British absorbed the colony in 1763. Further

south the French established plantations along the Mississippi River in Louisiana, a colony that prospered from the late seventeenth century (with an interval of Spanish rule) until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. A number of French efforts to establish trading colonies in Brazil (Fort Coligny/Rio de Janeiro in 1555–1560, Ibiapaba in 1590–1604, and São Luis do Maranão in 1612–1615) were all squelched by Portugal.

DUTCH COLONIZATION

Dutch expansion was slow, steady, and on the whole peaceful. The Dutch East India Company, chartered in 1602, acted like a state within a state and imposed sole control over Holland's Asian interests. The first solid Dutch base was obtained in 1605 with the capture of the Portuguese fortress at Amboyna in the Moluccas. In 1619, the Dutch founded the city of Batavia (now Jakarta, on Java), which became the center of Dutch power in Asia. The Dutch also acquired a series of factories on the Indian coast and in 1638 a foothold in Ceylon, which they called the "Cinnamon Isle." By 1661 the Dutch were effectively in control of the entire island. The Dutch empire, like the Portuguese one it largely replaced, was protected by its very size and the way it was scattered all over the map.

Between 1624 and 1664 the Dutch established a colony in the Hudson Valley, called Nieuw Netherlands, with its capital at Nieuw Amsterdam, on Manhattan island; it was a shipping and farming colony whose total population reached 10,000 persons. In 1657, the Dutch established Cape Colony at the southern tip of Africa, to protect its seas lanes to Asia. It was a tiny colony, reaching a population of 15,000 only in the eighteenth century. Less successful was the colony of New Sweden along the South River in Delaware, which had been established by a joint stock company in 1632 and was overrun by the Dutch in the early 1650s. In 1624, the Dutch Company temporarily acquired a huge empire in the Brazilian "bulge" when they captured Bahia, which they held for thirty years.

A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW

In comparative perspective, British and Dutch empires were decentralized and heavily privatized. Companies were the preferred form of colonization. The Spanish empire, whose colonial administration was highly centralized, was just the opposite. The

Portuguese liked the centralization model but lacked the administrative infrastructure to overcome the problems created by distance (Asia) and scale (Brazil). The French were unsuccessful for political reasons and because of the weakness of their navy compared to those of the English and Dutch. Where possible, they established plantations (Louisiana, the Caribbean) or feudal-like domains (the Quebec seigneuries). They were out-maneuvered in North America and lost the richest of their Caribbean islands, Saint Domingue (now Haiti), to a revolution. In economic terms the Spanish colonies constituted a kind of experiment in mercantilism whereby colonies were to become productive entities that trade with the motherland. The Portuguese and Dutch colonies were purely economic outposts, with only a few exceptions like Brazil or the Cape Colony. The southern colonies of the future United States were, in their inception, plantation economies organized by companies; the northern colonies were increasingly drawn into commercial shipping networks of the New World economy.

See also British Colonies; Columbus, Christopher; Dutch Colonies; Europe and the World; French Colonies; Magellan, Ferdinand; Missions and Missionaries; Portuguese Colonies; Spanish Colonies; Sugar; Tobacco; Trading Companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boxer, C. R. The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800. London, 1990.

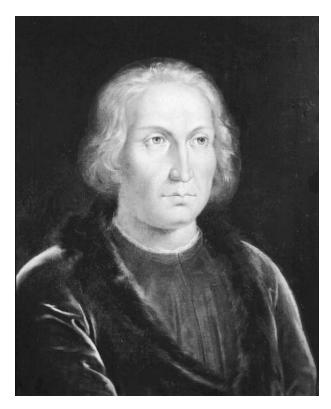
——. The Portuguese Seaborne Empire. New York, 1969. Gibson, Charles. Spain in America. New York, 1966.

Parry, J. H. The Spanish Seaborne Empire. London, 1966. Véliz, Claudio. The Centralist Tradition of Latin America. Princeton, 1980.

THOMAS F. GLICK

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER

(Cristofor Colombo, 1451–1506), explorer. Born in the Italian republic of Genoa, Columbus acted as a mariner in the Mediterranean and joined the Italian merchant colony in Lisbon in the 1470s. From Portugal, he sailed north to England, Ireland, and possibly Iceland. He also visited Madeira and the Canary Islands and sailed down the African coast to São Jorge da Mina. By his marriage to Felipa



Christopher Columbus. Portrait by an unknown artist. THE ART ARCHIVE/NAVAL MUSEUM MADRID/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Perestrello e Moniz, member of an Italian-Portuguese noble family, he gained access to the Portuguese and Castilian royal courts.

Columbus became convinced that Asia could be reached by sailing west from Europe, based on rumors of undiscovered islands in the Atlantic, unusual objects found on Atlantic shores, and a wide reading of geography and other sources. He believed that the Earth's circumference was smaller than it is and that Asia would not be too far west from Europe.

After failing to interest the Portuguese king John II in his scheme for a westward passage to Asia, Columbus went to Spain. The Spanish monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, assigned experts to investigate the feasibility of a westward voyage. They disputed Columbus's flawed geography, but the spherical shape of the world was never in question. In early 1492, the monarchs, disregarding the skepticism of their experts, agreed to help support Columbus's first voyage at a modest financial risk. They promised to grant him noble status and the titles of

admiral, viceroy, and governor-general for any lands he might discover.

With the support of the prominent mariner Martín Alonso Pinzón, Columbus outfitted three vessels for the voyage: the *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Mariagalante* (*Santa María*). Leaving in early August of 1492, the fleet sailed first to the Canary Islands and then headed westward with following winds. Columbus and the other pilots in the fleet navigated by dead reckoning, estimating direction by compass, time by sand clock, and speed by eye and feel to plot their course and position.

Early on 12 October the fleet dropped anchor at an island that Columbus renamed San Salvador. Believing they were in Asia, the crew called the natives "Indians." Shortly thereafter, Martín Alonso Pinzón took the *Pinta* and sailed off to explore and trade on his own. Columbus visited Cuba, vainly seeking the vast commerce and rich ports of Asia, and then sailed to the island he named Hispaniola and explored its northern coast. After the *Mariagalante* ran aground and wrecked, Columbus founded a settlement for the thirty-nine men he left behind. After Pinzón returned, the *Niña* and *Pinta* set sail for Spain, with seven captured Indians aboard.

Columbus made three other voyages to the Caribbean islands and the mainland of Central and South America. During the second and third he was required to act as a colonial administrator as well as an explorer; his limited administrative skills contributed to growing chaos. A royal investigator arrested Columbus and sent him back to Spain, thus ending his third voyage. The Spanish monarchs allowed him to keep his property, but his titles were thereafter devoid of authority, as the monarchs established a new colonial administration.

On his fourth and final voyage, Columbus mainly explored the coast of Central America, where he encountered fierce local resistance. Turning back, he grounded his two remaining worn-out vessels on the Jamaican coast and spent a miserable year before being rescued. Broken in health, he arrived in Spain on 7 November 1504.

Columbus made every effort to have all his grants and titles restored. Even without them, he was a wealthy man, but he felt betrayed and slighted by his royal patrons. For their part, the Spanish

sovereigns justified their withdrawal of support by citing Columbus's mismanagement. Surrounded by family and friends, Columbus died in 1506, rich but dissatisfied. As a man of his time, Columbus was strongly influenced by contemporary norms and beliefs about commerce, religion, and science. Deeply religious, he hoped to supply funds to recapture Jerusalem from the Muslims, in fulfillment of Christian crusading ideas and millenarian prophecies. At the same time, he was a shrewd businessman and used geographical and scientific works in newly available printed editions, making scientific observations of sea and wind and flora and fauna. He attempted to calculate longitude, noted the difference between true and magnetic north, and accurately predicted a lunar eclipse. Instead of finding a new route to Asia, Columbus made the lands and peoples of the Western Hemisphere known to Europeans and set in motion a chain of events that engendered today's close connections among all the world's societies.

See also Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Europe and the World; Exploration; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Spanish Colonies: The Caribbean.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Columbus, Christopher. Textos y documentos completos, nuevas cartas. Edited by Consuelo Varela and Juan Gil. Madrid, 1992.

Secondary Sources

Henige, David. In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage. Tucson, Ariz., 1991.

Phillips, William D., Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips. *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1992.

WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR.

COMENIUS, JAN AMOS (Jan Ámos Komenský; 1592–1670), Czech theologian, educator, and encyclopedic philosopher. Comenius's influence on later centuries is even greater than it was during his lifetime. He was born in Moravia, and would later describe himself as "from Nivnice" as well as "from Uherský Brod." He was taught by the Community of Brethren, acquiring both an excellent knowledge of Latin and powerful protectors. Destined to serve in the clergy of the Brethren, he

was sent to complete his education at Herborn and Heidelberg. He returned to Moravia in 1614, was ordained a pastor in 1616, and promoted to head teacher of the school at Fulnek in 1618. In the Bohemian crisis of that year, Comenius sided with the confederate estates and, with the disastrous defeat of their forces two years later, was forced to take shelter while his wife and two sons died of plague and his books were publicly burned in the town square of Fulnek in May 1623. Comenius's early works from this period have only partially survived. Among them is *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart (Labyrint světa a ráj srdce)*, a masterpiece of Czech literature that centered on the gulf between human folly and capacity for good.

In the late 1620s and 1630s, now based at Leszno in Poland and a Senior of the Brethren, Comenius completed the Czech version of the *Di*dactics, his first important vision of a universal educational system, one that drew on the innate interest of the learner through innovative textbooks, games, and interactive learning. His textbooks turned out to be his greatest success. That on the teaching of Latin (the Janua linguarum reserata [Gateway of languages opened]) abandoned memorization of texts in favor of a direct explanation of vocabulary drawing on daily life. This was followed by an even more elementary textbook for the beginner, first published in 1633, the Vestibulum linguarum (Antechamber of languages). These regularly reprinted works earned Comenius his wider reputation. Behind these publications lay a bigger project for a Janua rerum (Gateway of things), an encyclopedia of the physical world intended to unite our understanding of the physical world with that of God. Comenius termed this project pansophia ('pansophy'), and a sketch of his ideas that he sent to a correspondent in England, Samuel Hartlib, was published there in 1637.

This publication resulted in an eight-month visit to London in 1641–1642. There, he outlined the reform of society through a process of learning that he described by means of the metaphor of light in *Via lucis* (The way of light). But, unable to pursue his studies in the midst of the Civil War, he left for the Netherlands and eventually settled in Elblag, then part of the newly acquired Swedish empire, and refined his method of language instruction. It was during this period that he began to write

his most ambitious work, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (General discourse on the emendation of human affairs, or *Consultatio*).

The decade from 1648 to 1658 was a sequence of personal defeats and catastrophes for Comenius that he interpreted in an increasingly millennial light. It was accompanied by a stream of writings. The pictorial version of his language-teaching method, the *Orbis sensualium pictus* (The world in pictures)—written in Sárospatak but only finally published in Nuremberg in 1658—was one of his most enduring and successful legacies.

Comenius eventually retired to Amsterdam and spent the last fourteen years of his life under the protection of the de Geer family. His productivity in these last years was remarkable. He published a compendium of his educational writings and set about rewriting the Consultatio, the first two volumes of which were printed in his lifetime. In the preface, Comenius addressed himself to the Republic of Letters of his day, seeking a profound reform of the organization of human affairs through a right philosophy, religion, and method that would produce harmony and enlightenment rather than division and chaos. The remainder of the work remained in manuscript and was only rediscovered in 1935, a remarkable testimony to the complex, universalist tendencies of Renaissance thought that had survived the Reformation.

See also Czech Literature and Language; Education; Hartlib, Samuel; Moravian Brethren; Renaissance; Republic of Letters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

The volume of work on Comenius is huge and *comeniology* is now an accepted term of art. What follows is a very arbitrary selection of his non-Czech language works. The standard critical edition is *Johannis Amos Comenii opera omnia* published by the Czechoslovak [now Czech] Academy of Sciences, Prague, 1969–. English editions of Comenius's main works are of varying quality; those that follow are listed by year of publication.

Comenius, Jan Amos. *The Analytic Didactic of Comenius*. Edited by Vladimír Jelinek. Chicago, 1953.

. Comenius's Pampaedia or Universal Education. Edited by A. M. O. Dobbie. Dover, U.K., 1986. See also his translations of Panaugia (Part II) (1987), Panglottia (Part V) (1989), Panegersia (Part I) (1990), and

- Pannuthesia (Part VII) (1991) (all published in Warwickshire, U.K.) and Panorthosia (Part VI) (published in Sheffield, U.K., 1993).
- . The Great Didactic. Edited by M.W. Keatinge. London, 1896.
- ——. *Orbis Pictus*. London, 1968. (A facsimile of the first English edition of 1659.)
- . A Reformation of Schooles, Designed in Two Excellent Treatises [. . .]. Menston, U.K., 1969.
- ——. *The Way of Light*. Edited by E. T. Compagnac. Liverpool and London, 1938.

Secondary Sources

- Blekastad, Milada. Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk, und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský. Oslo and Prague, 1969.
- Kyralová, M., and J. Přívratská, eds. Symposium Comenianum 1986: J. A. Comenius's Contribution to World Science and Culture. Prague, 1989.
- Murphy, Daniel. Comenius: A Critical Reassessment of His Life and Work. Dublin, 1995.
- Peskova, J., J. Cach, and M. Svatos, eds. *Homage to J. A. Comenius*. Prague, 1991.
- Sadler, J. E. J. A. Comenius and the Concept of Universal Education. London, 1996.
- The academic journals *Acta Comeniana* (Prague) and *Studia Comeniana* (Uherský Brod) are devoted to research on Comenius and provide summaries of Czech research in German and English.

Mark Greengrass

COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE. Commedia dell'arte is a term applied to both the early Italian commercial theater in general and to a format institutionalized by sixteenth-century professional actors' improvisations on a three-act scenario. The scenarios were constructed from a repertoire of plot types and movable parts (theatergrams) drawn primarily from novellas and scripted "erudite" comedies, set in contemporary city squares and representing love stories complicated by mistakes, deceits, parental opposition, and family separations.

In addition to singing and dancing, the players could counterfeit regional dialects and double in several roles while specializing in one of them. A standard troupe would include two pairs of lovers speaking Tuscan; several masked characters, including the old Venetian merchant Pantalone, the Bolognese Doctor Gratiano, at least two zanies, such as



Commedia dell'Arte. An eighteenth-century engraving of commedia dell'arte actors on stage. The central pair are the Lovers, flanked by comic characters, or zanni. ©Bettmann/Corbis

Bergamask Arlecchino, Fritellino, or later Neapolitan Pulcinella, Scaramuccia, and their like; boastful captains with bellicose names, such as Rodomonte, Spavento, or Matamoros; and a couple of maidservants. Innkeepers, Germans, gypsies, Turks, magicians, peddlers, and other occasional roles were added according to plot.

The first documented actors' troupe-for-hire was formed in Padua in 1545; by 1560 companies included women, and in the early 1570s several were touring abroad. Among the constantly merging prominent troupes were the Gelosi, the Desiosi, the Fedeli, the Confidenti, and the Uniti, at different times featuring leading performers of the day, the Andreini and Martinelli families, Diana Ponti, Vittoria Piissimi, and Flaminio Scala.

The professional troupes and their improvising style influenced the development of Italian drama and established a symbiosis with literary drama: the actors also memorized and performed five-act erudite comedies, tragedies, and pastoral plays, from which they borrowed for scenarios on which to improvise. Sometimes they even wrote in this format, while many literary dramatists enlivened their own works by drawing upon the commedia dell'arte's stock types, theatricality, movement, stage business, and gags, both verbal and visual.

The most successful players gained high patronage in Italian and related European academic and court circles, often traveling to France, Spain, and England in the late sixteenth century. For nearly two hundred years thereafter the commedia dell'arte in various permutations was a vital theatrical force throughout Europe. Its presence in France from the 1570s on constituted a significant chapter in French theater history. Visits to the royal court in Paris were followed by the establishment of the Comédie-Italienne and, after its suppression in 1697, by a revival in 1716 by Luigi Riccoboni. The Italian companies influenced Molière (1622–1673) and eventually Marivaux (1688–1763), nurtured

9

French versions of stock roles like Mezzetin, Scaramouche, or Scapin and Gallic additions, from Turlupin and Captain Fracasse to Pierrot and Pierrette, as well as leaving a memory in Watteau's painting.

Long sojourns in Madrid not only influenced Lope de Vega (1562–1635), but also made the commedia dell'arte a primary transmitter of Spanish drama to Italy through adaptations and translations of Calderón and other Golden Age dramatists. The connection with England has been harder to document, but scrutiny of Shakespeare's theatrical practice and associations reveals his savvy awareness of Italian theater technology in general and of the professional players in particular.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the first two creative generations of the commedia dell'arte—represented by Francesco, Isabella, and G. B. Andreini, P. M. Cecchini, and Niccolo Barbieri—were replaced by a less versatile, bureaucratized profession. The troupes, which employed an increasingly fixed repertoire of masks and farcical plots, became dependent on the market economy of theater-owners and impresarios. The popularity of the commedia dell'arte continued to grow, however, and its characters and style prospered everywhere, with especial brilliance in Naples and Venice, and were imitated by cultivated amateurs in private theatricals.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the commedia dell'arte was widely perceived to have hardened into cliches and, despite the imaginative continuation of Carlo Gozzi, it declined as Carlo Goldoni's reforms moved the Italian theater toward realism.

By the nineteenth century the commedia dell'arte had become a vestigial element in opera and a subject for romanticizing scholarship.

See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro; Drama: Italian; Goldini, Carlo; Humor; Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin); Opera; Popular Culture; Shakespeare, William; Vega, Lope de.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clubb, Louise George. Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time. New Haven, 1989.

Heck, Thomas F. Commedia dell'Arte: A Guide to the Primary and Secondary Literature. New York, 1988.

Henke, Robert. Performance and Literature in the Commedia dell'Arte. Cambridge, U.K., 2002.

Lea, Kathleen M. Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560–1620, with Special Reference to the English Stage. Oxford, 1934.

Molinari, Cesare, ed. La commedia dell'arte. Rome, 1999.

Louise George Clubb

COMMERCE AND MARKETS.

"Commerce" refers primarily to the exchange of the products of nature or art, that is, of merchandise, through buying and selling. This activity of exchange takes place in "markets"—"not any particular market place in which things are bought and sold, but the whole of any region in which buyers and sellers are in such free intercourse with one another that the prices of the same goods tend to equality easily and quickly" (Marshall). If the defining characteristic of these more abstract markets—as opposed to marketplaces—is a tendency for the same price to be paid for the same good at the same time in all parts of the market, then some scholars would argue that markets have existed in Europe since at least the twelfth century C.E. Early modern Europe witnessed an extension and intensification of commerce and markets to the point that a worldwide system emerged from which fewer and fewer people were excluded.

The "exchange of the products of nature or art" is probably as old as human civilization, dating at least from the time of the first settled communities, when it became necessary somehow to link the production and consumption of a wide variety of goods. The ancient Greeks made use of an exchange of gifts between households or communities with dissimilar resources to expand consumption and promote specialization. Yet, gift-giving relied on a sense of reciprocity in which social honor resided in giving and a social burden attached to receiving. Herodotus (c. 484-between 430 and 420 B.C.E.) observed that the Persians had no marketplaces but rather a vast system of tribute payments, which imperial authorities collected and redistributed. The same may have applied to wide regions of early medieval Europe, where dues paid in kind to feudal or manorial lords fueled production and consumption. What separates commerce and markets from

these other systems of exchange is that goods and services are traded not out of a sense of social prestige or political duty but rather in pursuit of economic profit.

The origins of markets are usually located in trade fairs. These temporary markets, held at regular intervals and fixed locations, brought buyers and sellers together to exchange goods, demonstrate crafts, and trade ideas. Fixtures of the Roman Empire, they survived its collapse to gain new prominence under the Carolingians (seventh to tenth centuries), and grew where trade routes crossed or people congregated, providing a crucible for the refinement of business practice and law. The fair at Saint-Denis, near Paris, had achieved international importance by the seventh century C.E., but it was joined and eventually surpassed over time by others: the Easter fairs at Cologne in the eleventh century, the great fairs of Champagne in the twelfth century, the fall fairs at Frankfurt am Main in the fifteenth century, and the fairs at Leipzig in the seventeenth century. In addition to these great international fairs, where products from all over Europe as well as Asia, Africa, and, eventually, America might be inspected and traded, there were regional markets of great importance, such as those of Lyon in France, Geneva in Switzerland, and Stourbridge in England. Every town and city in Europe held weekly or yearly fairs, where local producers brought surplus or cash crops to sell or barter for the needs they could not satisfy at home. As towns and cities grew to the point that the demands of their populations required daily markets, as transportation was organized and improved to the point that supplies became more regular and varied, and as commerce itself evolved toward increased standardization of goods, quality, and prices, fairs became less important. Ironically, specialty fairs, known as trade or industrial fairs, breasted this tide to become more important over time as a means of stimulating demand and consumption for new products and technologies.

TRADE CIRCUITS AND POLES

Fairs and markets tended to grow where goods flowed and people gathered—at the junctions of established trade routes or near the walls of great cities. When goods traveled, they increased in price the farther they went; the obstacles presented by the transportation system were always expensive and in-

flexible. Thus, all commodities moved the least distance possible between one point of sale and the next, and all commodities, but especially those of greater weight and less value, such as grain or lumber, traveled most expeditiously by water. It is not surprising that routes tended to be dictated by geography, given the relatively primitive means of transportation. Only luxury goods assured profits that could bear the relatively high cost of longdistance overland transport. Coasts and rivers were favored, therefore, and valleys, plains, and passes served as needed. In the Carolingian Empire, the most heavily used routes ran along the coasts of the Mediterranean, North, and Baltic Seas as well as the Atlantic Ocean and along the courses of the Rhone and Marne, Rhine and Danube, and Dnieper and Volga Rivers. Such overland routes as existed—the road from Pavia north over the Alps to the Rhine or the one from Mainz east through the central forests to Prague-were less heavily traveled. All this changed with the slow growth of cities and the intensification of commerce. By the sixteenth century a relatively dense network of interlocking local, regional, and international routes had arisen to supplement those in use for centuries.

Augsburg, for example, was certainly one of the premier industrial, commercial, and financial centers of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Like the other great market centers of Europe, it stood at a confluence of ways. Its advantage resided partially in the essential role its magistrates and merchants could play in the expedition of goods along north-south and east-west axes. Bulk commodities reached it via the Lech River—a relatively modest waterway but still sufficient to transport a great city's grain and lumber—which flowed north from the city until it joined the Danube. Past the city's walls and gates ran several important routes linking Prague and Vienna with Lyon, Paris, and Seville and, even more important, linking Venice with Antwerp. The ancient salt highway ran from Salzburg via Munich. Augsburg's merchants regularly traveled the roads south, to Innsbruck via the Brenner Pass to the mining fields around Merano, Bolzano, and Trent, to Verona, and finally east to the great entrepôt of Venice. Another route followed the Roman Via Claudia through Upper Swabia and its imperial cities of Memmingen, Kempten, and Lindau on Lake Constance, thence to St. Gall and



Commerce and Markets. Sixteenth-century painting of a town market by Hendrik van Steenwyk. The Art Archive/Musée Granet Aix-en-Provence/Dagli Orti

Chur in the Swiss Confederation, and via the St. Bernhard Pass to Lugano and the great manufacturing metropolis of Milan. Trade with France and Spain took a western road via Ulm, Constance, Zurich, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva to arrive at the great fairs of Lyon, a center for German merchants trading with colleagues in France. From Lausanne, a route ran north to Dijon and Troyes in Burgundy and onward to Paris. From Lyon, the Rhone River Valley provided a convenient highway south to Marseilles, the Mediterranean, and Spain.

To reach the other great entrepôt of the sixteenth century, Antwerp, merchants and merchandise started north or west from Augsburg, traveling to Donauwörth or Ulm and thence to Nuremberg and Würzburg or to the Rhenish cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz respectively. Both routes then headed to Frankfurt with its important fall fairs and onward via Cologne to Maastricht and Antwerp. From Nuremberg, via the northward route, two branches increased in importance over the course of the early modern period. A route from Prague across the Bohemian Plain to Nuremberg and south provided cattle for the butchers and tanners of

Augsburg, and a route from Leipzig in Saxony, through the metallurgical centers of Freiberg, Schneeberg, and Zwickau, and south via Nuremberg kept the merchant financiers of Augsburg in close touch with their mining interests. This bewildering complex of highways and stopovers was typical of any major market, whether Augsburg, Lyon, or Milan. Yet, it was far from stable. As the economy evolved between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, the relative importance of these routes and the markets they served, measured in terms of the volume and value of commerce that flowed along and among them, shifted.

The relative weight of commerce and markets shifted away from those routes that had served the principal Mediterranean ports—Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa and, above all, Venice—since the Middle Ages and toward those connected to the Atlantic Ocean and the growing volume of global trade—Seville, Amsterdam and, ultimately, London. Initially, overland routes from Venice across the Alps to Antwerp and to the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck connected the main commercial poles of Europe. Along these cir-

cuits, goods from Italy and the east flowed north: luxuries, such as silks, spices, and gems; essentials, such as cotton, alum, and dyestuffs; and manufactured goods, such as cotton cloth, glass wares, and metal goods. Merchants in Venice gathered these commodities from Italian markets but also from an overseas circuit that extended east into the Mediterranean, connecting the Levantine ports of Tripoli, Acre, and Jaffa with Famagusta in Cyprus, Candia on Crete, Istanbul and Caffa on the Black Sea, Bari and Ragusa on the Adriatic Coast, and, finally, Venice at its head. Against the northward stream bulk items flowed south from Scandinavia, Poland, and Russia—grain, timber, iron, and furs—carried by Hanseatic merchants from a connecting circuit that extended from the North Sea through the Jutland Straits to the Baltic ports of Copenhagen, Gdańsk (Danzig), and Riga. From Antwerp came textiles: the "new draperies," brought from England and the Low Countries. This admittedly over-simplified summation—it ignores, for example, the circuit that connected that commercial colossus Genoa to the North African ports of Tunis and Ceuta, across the Gulf of Lion to Marseilles and Barcelona or along the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian Coasts of Italy to Pisa, Naples, and Messina-must, finally, include the annual arrival in Antwerp of the Portuguese spice ships from South and Southeast Asia via Lisbon. From the late fifteenth until the late sixteenth century, the disembarkation of pepper in Lisbon and Antwerp marked the economic calendar for all of Europe. It stimulated the flow of capital and set the pace for the commodity exchange throughout the continent. It allowed debts to be paid and enterprises to be undertaken; in short, it set the financial, industrial, and commercial wheels of Europe in motion.

THE EMERGENCE AND EFFECTS OF OVERSEAS COMMERCE

The spice ships mark a development that altered the commercial activities of Europe. One must be careful not to overstate the rise of the Atlantic economies; Mediterranean commerce did not suddenly lose all value and significance. Yet, between the late fifteenth and the late eighteenth centuries, the balance of economic and political power moved west to those countries with immediate access to global commerce.

What drove Europeans to push beyond the boundaries of their known world? Historians traditionally emphasize three factors, to all of which the explorers and conquerors themselves attested: gold, glory, and the Gospel. All played a role, but one was paramount. The voyages were driven by the desire for profit, and "discoveries" were seen through the lens of commodities and exchange. They captured the European imagination, spreading an awareness of a wider world and a conviction in the possibility of limitless profit. They expressed as well the European circumstance, drawing on the resources of a burgeoning economy and utilizing the advantages of new transportation technology.

Seagoing merchant-explorers relied on a series of innovations in shipbuilding, without which the growth of worldwide commercial networks would probably have taken a much different course. The fifteenth century witnessed extraordinary developments in the hulls and rigging of ships. Throughout the Middle Ages, ocean-going trade had been dominated by two types of ships: the Mediterranean galley, powered by oars and triangular "lateen" sails, and the northern round ship or "cog," powered by a single square sail. Though swift and maneuverable, the galley was not seaworthy except in calm weather; the cog could carry large cargoes, though its single sail made it neither handy nor maneuverable. These two types began to merge in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, yielding a revolutionary moment in early modern shipbuilding. By 1450, three-masted ships, known as "carracks," were beginning to dominate the sea lanes of the world. These full-rigged ships had a number of advantages: their larger hulls could hold larger crews and cargoes for longer voyages; their higher sides made them more easily defensible; and their multiple masts and triangular sails made possible better, safer handling.

Seaworthy ships alone did not suffice; navigation was improved as well. Traditional methods, devised for the relatively sheltered waters of the Mediterranean Sea or the continental shelf, required the proximity of a coast and were, therefore, inappropriate for the blue-water sailing required for trade with markets on the far side of the world. The Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), patronized master cartographers, astronomers, and mathematicians in order to extend his



Commerce and Markets. A market in Germany, eighteenth-century engraving. The ART ARCHIVE/Musée DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

state's shipping to the Azores and down the western coast of Africa. Master James of Majorca (probably the Jewish scholar, Jefuda Cresques), helped develop a new method of navigation, called "running down the latitude." With knowledge of the destination's latitude, a navigator merely had to find it by sailing north or south through the open sea and then to set course east or west until land was sighted. This required that early modern voyagers accurately determine latitudes, which they accomplished by determining the height of a celestial body, initially the pole star, from the horizon. During the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the quadrant was used for this purpose, followed and surpassed by the sea-astrolabe and the cross-staff. In addition to latitude, navigators had to measure the distance sailed. Early charts showed the north-south lines, today called longitudes, as parallel, thus misrepresenting east-west distance, as sailors learned from hard experience. A ship's easting or westing remained an insoluble problem until the second half of the eighteenth century, when John Harrison (1693–1776) invented a reliable navigational clock.

By the fifteenth century these developments in shipbuilding and navigation combined to encourage European merchants to seek direct trading connections with the Far East. Until the fifteenth century, the Mediterranean had served as Europe's primary commercial circuit to a wider world. Seeking greater profits, the Europeans wished to circumvent the Mediterranean middlemen. Moreover, the rise of the Ottoman Empire, sealed by its conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and its invasion of the Balkans shortly thereafter, made the established routes less secure and the search for direct routes to

the East imperative. Such was the cost and risk, however, that only the largest merchant-bankers of the day, located in Italy and Germany, could afford to underwrite the efforts of those states that formally sponsored exploration. Two maritime routes suggested themselves. The more conservative involved coasting south along the continent of Africa, turning east around its tip, and sailing on to China. Portugal took up this challenge. It outfitted fleets of ships to explore the coast of Africa and establish points of supply. By 1498 the investment paid dividends. Vasco da Gama (c. 1460-1524) sailed around the southern tip of Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, and followed the coast north again via Sofala and Kenya before striking across the Indian Ocean to a landfall near Calicut in India. The Portuguese came neither to conquer nor to colonize but only to secure trading rights, especially for pepper. The profits were extraordinary. Yet, however great the profits, the costs for Portugal were too much over time. Lacking human and material resources, it could not maintain a far-flung trading empire and so was forced in the course of the seventeenth century to yield its foothold in Asia to more aggressive competitors, first the Dutch, then the English.

The other, far bolder route to the Indies involved sailing west. The Genoese merchant and sailor Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) offered this route to Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile. Spanish advisors argued against the risk of a voyage into uncharted seas, the distance across which was totally unknown. Yet the potential profits were staggering, and the costs were minimal. Rather than a painstakingly gradual process of exploration and experimentation, in the Portuguese manner, Columbus projected a single voyage with three ships. In return, he asked only 10 percent of the profits and the governorship of any conquered territories. In 1492, he and his tiny fleet landed in the Bahamas.

That the Spanish crown was minimally involved in the early stages of exploration and conquest had to do with the risks inherent in the western route. It also had to do with the nature of the discoveries. Initially, they were less profitable. The Americas did not initially offer the Oriental luxuries that Europeans demanded: no pepper or silk. Great wealth came not through trade but rather through conquest, colonization, and development, winning for

Spain a more durable empire, if not a more lasting fortune. Genoese bankers would see to it that the wealth of the Indies, as it became known, would flow through Spain into a quickening European economy, and Dutch and English merchants would eventually draw a great deal of the trade in commodities into their hands. In place of Antwerp and Seville, Amsterdam and London eventually arose as the great poles of world commerce.

Well into the seventeenth century, however, the landing of the American treasure fleet—galleons bearing cargoes of precious metals and exotic goods—made Seville the beating economic heart of Europe that Antwerp had been less than a century earlier. Pierre Chaunu attributes great importance to the so-called carrera de India, the circuit of commerce that ran from Seville out via the Canary Islands to the Americas and back again via the Azores to Seville. As he puts it, "Waiting for the European products bound for the Indies was one of the principal preoccupations of the merchants of Seville when the ships were due to sail" (p. 260, n. 2; p. 293, n. 1.). Trade with the world, in a sense, mobilized an ever greater proportion of the financial and industrial resources of Europe from the sixteenth century onward, the existence of political empires notwithstanding. To that exact proportion, it makes less and less sense to speak of a European economy.

The discoveries of overseas routes to a wider world had staggering consequences affecting both economic and cultural life. Contact, conquest, and colonization filled the markets of Europe with a vast array of precious metals and exotic goods. The influx of gold and silver swept away old economic relations and created new social tensions. Most of the silver was minted into coin, the increased circulation of which allowed commerce to function at a higher rate and volume—throughout the sixteenth century chronic inflation resulted. The expansion of commerce created opportunities that encouraged investment and indebtedness, favoring those with disposable incomes and oppressing those on fixed incomes.

A stunning array of hitherto unknown commodities likewise transformed patterns of production and consumption. Tastes changed under the influence of new consumer goods. Coffee and sugar are two striking examples. Industries evolved to ab-

sorb new materials and supply new markets. Particularly worthy of mention is industrial slave labor. The slave trade was not unknown in medieval Europe, with well-established markets in North Africa and the Levant. Apart from occasional appearances in European courts and households, however, African slaves had played a limited role in the European economy until the development of sugar plantations in the Canary Islands. The importance of slaves—and therewith the commerce in them—increased greatly with the discovery of the Americas and the growth there of industrial farming in sugar, coffee, cotton, and tobacco.

New sources of wealth altered as well the old balance of power. From the sixteenth century onward, political power was increasingly measured in terms of colonies and commerce. Portugal and Spain were but the first of a series of empires that drew their financial and therefore political power from the control of the new worlds.

THE GLOBAL COMMERCIAL NETWORK

The development of overseas trade encouraged further expansion and intensification in European commerce. As the traffic grew between markets in the Old World and the New, exotic goods eventually penetrated to even the most remote areas of the Continent, and the commercial circuits in Europe gradually merged into a single network. Cities and their economic catchment areas—those surrounding areas from which they acquired material, human, and financial resources and to which they sold their goods and commodities—formed the nodal points of this vast global network. Smaller and larger catchment areas, local and regional circuits, were linked together and connected to that emergent network of international commerce. These linkages extended well beyond the economic ties of purchase and sale that could exist between neighboring markets. Urban merchants established regular ties with rural producers and suppliers, ties that were often strengthened and made permanent through the purchase of landed estates and noble titles. Local governments competed and cooperated in matters of commercial and industrial regulation. Commercial enterprises developed networks of representatives or factors, connections often made more intimate and reliable through ties of blood or marriage.

Business practices and organizations. Unlike trade routes, which have an independent existence of their own, trade circuits and the larger commercial networks of which they are part express the activities of commercial agents. Without merchants at various points who exchange goods, communicate information, and compete or cooperate as circumstances dictate, they cease to exist. Early modern merchants moved daily, either in person or via correspondence, along these circuits and networks, buying and selling myriad goods. An ideal typical exchange might involve as many as four individual transactions: buying domestic goods for resale abroad; exchanging these goods for cash or other commodities; buying foreign goods for resale at home; exchanging them for cash. Profits could only be calculated at the close of the entire series. Obviously, such complex trading required a number of arrangements, which might be summarized as compensation, cooperation, and communication.

Merchants had to have secure means of moving specie or its equivalent value across large, often dangerous geographic spaces. They needed associates who would enter into transactions with them or facilitate their trading far from home. They also had to have a clear sense of prevailing market conditions at home as well as abroad; they needed to know what would sell and for how much. In an age that lacked the legal and political institutions to enforce business conduct efficiently, early modern merchants resorted to a number of different types of business practices and organizations to promote reliable, successful exchange.

Though merchants continued to move silver and occasionally gold coin from market to market indeed, the commerce in precious metals has received less attention than other commodities, such as textiles—the favored mechanism for transferring money and paying debts was the bill of exchange. In its simplest form, the bill involved the payment of money in one market and an agreement to repay that money, often in different coinage and at a prearranged exchange rate, in another. Thus, a traveling merchant with business to transact in a distant market might turn to another merchant who had factors or associates in that distant market for a bill of exchange. The first merchant would pay a given amount to the second for which he would receive a document, the bill itself, redeemable by the second

merchant's representative for the amount specified. Having to carry only the bill, the traveler was spared the inconvenience, expense, and risk of transporting coin. By the early modern period, the resort to bills of exchange had become commonplace. They often functioned not only as means of compensation but also as instruments of credit. The church forbade Christian merchants to charge interest on loans, except under restricted circumstances, but bills of exchange allowed the interest to be disguised as part of the exchange rate. They also became a commodity in themselves, a fungible instrument that could be discounted, bought, and sold. Although payment in coin constituted the initial act in the creation of any bill of exchange, their increasing tendency to circulate independently constituted a small step toward a fiduciary system of paper money.

The presence of representatives in distant markets—whether employees, partners, or colleagues was a response to the necessity of cooperation in a commercial network that was characterized by slow transportation and imperfect information. Without the state, or some other uninvolved party, to enforce contracts, guarantee transactions, and provide information, merchants needed reliable associates to serve as go-betweens, mediators, facilitators, and informants. Only thus could bills of exchange be redeemed, market conditions assessed, or goods exchanged over greater and greater distances. The challenge, of course, was to assure reliability. The family firm, in which partners and associates at home and abroad were related by ties of blood and marriage, sought to reinforce economic interests through social connections. Common as it was in early modern Europe, the family firm was not the only possibility. Many firms resorted to a more authoritarian model that made use of factors who were simple employees, hired and fired as suited the principals. The Fugger family of Augsburg (midfifteenth to mid-sixteenth century) is thought to have been the pioneer in this business model, but other prominent companies made use of it as well. Lucas Rem, whose diary from the period 1494-1541 survives as one of the most important egodocuments of the age, served for nearly two decades (1499-1518) as the employed factor of the Welser Company, another enterprise with commercial and financial connections that spanned Europe and extended to the New World, before leaving it to begin a highly successful trading company of his own. In the fifteenth century the Medici developed a unique system in which their factors in foreign markets were organized as quasi-independent branches or subsidiaries that could be separated from the parent firm in case of emergency, an ingenious method of protecting assets in one place from debt or bankruptcy in another.

By the sixteenth century, other more flexible and less costly forms of business organization were becoming commonplace. Most merchants came to rely on commission agents rather than employed factors; these agents, themselves merchants, would take a small percentage of deals they negotiated or transacted on behalf of other parties. There was an element of reciprocity in all this, each side acting on commission for the other as circumstances dictated. Matheus Miller, one of the wealthiest merchants of Augsburg in the second half of the seventeenth century, relied almost entirely on commission agents in Venice, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Amsterdam and thus spared himself the expense of maintaining a widespread network of employees and the inconvenience of traveling to distant markets. Another short-term, practical business arrangement that became more common was "participation," a partnership limited to a single enterprise, for example, a single overseas voyage. Once the enterprise was complete, accounts would be settled and the partnership dissolved.

What is remarkable about the use of representatives, whatever form that representation happened to take, is the ethos it required. Reciprocity was expected. Solidarity was essential. One had to be able to rely without question on one's agents abroad to provide accurate information and to act in good faith. Indeed, foreigners in any market were completely dependent on the good faith of their native agents and associates. Well-known examples are the Spanish metedores and cargadores, who ran or accompanied Dutch cargoes on board the Spanish fleets that traded between Cadiz and the New World at the height of the Dutch Revolt (1570s and 1580s) against the Spanish Empire. Merchants had to rely on agents; agents had to be reliable. This did not prevent cutthroat competition, even among merchants who occasionally cooperated, but it limited the practice of open duplicity or dishonesty. Reputation was, to a very large extent, fortune in

17

commerce. A reputation for hard but honest dealing assured a merchant access to financial resources, essential in an age of money scarcity. A reputation for reliability assured the cooperation of others, encouraging them to act on commission or enter into partnership. A reputation for probity assured access to news of current events and market conditions that might affect business fortunes.

Communication. Like compensation and cooperation, communication was an essential component of early modern commerce and markets. News and ideas—the invisible but invaluable cargo of merchants, teamsters, and peddlers alike-always flowed along trade routes. For merchants, factors or agents were consistent and reliable sources of information, given their intimate familiarity with the markets in which they worked. They could provide up-to-date news about which goods were plentiful or rare, indicating which goods were to be bought, being in good supply and therefore cheap, and which goods were to be sold, being in short supply and therefore dear. Yet, the intensification and extension of commerce spurred developments in commercial communication as well. It seems probable, though finally indeterminable, that business correspondence intensified and expanded with the system in which it functioned. Businesses, especially those engaged in international or overseas commerce, likely invested more human and financial resources on correspondence with contacts and employees in distant markets. Likewise, the need for general information about distant places and peoples would have grown with the emergence of a global commercial network. The quickening literary interest in travel accounts of new worlds may have derived in part from a more than casual interest in their commercial potential.

Commerce might have had a hand in new forms of communication as well. The so-called *Fuggerzeit-ung* may be one of the first, if not the first, periodical news publications. It contained information—regarding politics, weather, transportation, and prices, among other things—gathered out of nearly forty thousand reports sent to Philipp Eduard and Octavian Fugger by their factors during the period 1568–1605 and disseminated to all their agents and associates with information of events or developments that could affect markets where they did business. Commerce demanded daily reading and writ-

ing. Accounts had to be kept; contracts had to be negotiated; correspondence had to be read. The increase in autobiographical writing, which seems to have begun in the fifteenth century, has been attributed to European merchants, both as readers and as writers. Thus, just as commerce helped to promote an increase in communication through an insatiable appetite for information, so it helped to spread literacy through the propagation and valuation of reading and writing.

The emergence of global commerce, a network of traffic and transactions that bound the world together with greater and greater immediacy, gradually changed the organization and practice of commerce itself. Nor were these refinements limited to commerce. The global network introduced new commodities, and the taste for material goods changed. It brought Europeans into contact with strange and unexpected peoples and places, and the sense of Europe's place in the world began to shift. Finally, commerce with a wider world fostered new skills and values, of which literacy was but one, that extended far beyond the business world.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Behind all of these developments operated the ubiquitous forces of supply and demand. Markets exist and commerce occurs to supply the goods and services that people demand. As abstractions, supply and demand are readily defined as the relationship between the quantity of any good or service that producers wish to sell at a certain price and the quantity that consumers wish to buy. The market functions to equate the two through the price mechanism: if buyers wish to purchase more of a given good than is available at a certain price, their demand will bid that price up; if buyers wish to purchase less, suppliers will bid the price down. As historical realities, however, these things are more difficult to isolate and examine. It has been noted by more than one economist or historian that there is no supply without demand and no demand without supply. Together, they produce exchange and are produced by it, simultaneously cause and effect. Nor do they exist in economic isolation. Supply and demand are subject to extramarket forces. Climate, politics, and culture can all work to alter the value attached to goods and services by affecting their supply or the demand for them.

The vagaries of supply and demand stand at the center of efforts to understand the early modern economy as a whole. What caused it to grow and to change? For centuries, economists and historians insisted that supply was, until the eighteenth century, an insignificant factor, marked by inelasticity, unresponsive to demand. Still, historians believed until recently that changes in supply led the economy of Europe into its modern phase, beginning in the eighteenth century in Britain, for example. Traditional explanations of early industrialization concentrate on changes in organization or technology that resulted in massive increases of supply and decreases of price. In the last decade, however, attention has shifted to demand. Jan de Vries has argued for an "industrious revolution" rather than an industrial revolution, whereby European consumers came to desire a better, more comfortable standard of living and were willing to work longer and harder to achieve it. The demand for more consumer goods prompted an increase in supply that, finally, could only be sustained by the development of new production technologies.

Whatever the outcome of this debate, it recalls a simple truth. Commerce and markets are products of the societies that create them. Supply and demand are, indeed, connected, and arise out of the perception of need. Changes in patterns of consumption are complex events that involve relationships to material goods, patterns of values as well as patterns of behavior. These reflections recall the truth of Fernand Braudel's observation that "the economy is only a 'sub-division' of social life" (p. 226).

See also Banking and Credit; Capitalism; Colonialism; Fugger Family; Hansa; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Liberalism, Economic; Mercantilism; Money and Coinage; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Smith, Adam; Trading Companies; Triangular Trade Pattern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aubin, Hermann, and Wolfgang Zorn. Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1971.
- Barbour, Violet. Capitalism in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963.

- Bauer, Clemens. Unternehmung und Unternehmungsformen im Spätmittelalter und in der beginnende Neuzeit. Jena, 1936.
- Braudel, Fernand. Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century. Translated by Siân Reynolds. 3 vols. New York, 1982.
- Chaunu, Pierre. Séville et l'Amérique aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Paris, 1977.
- Cipolla, Carlo M., ed. Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700. 2nd ed. New York, 1980.
- Dahlgren, Erick Wilhelm. Relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'océan Pacifique (commencement du XVIIIe siècle). Paris, 1909.
- Davis, Ralph. The Rise of the Atlantic Economies. Ithaca, N.Y., 1973.
- De Roover, Raymond. The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494. Cambridge, U.K., 1963.
- De Vries, Jan. *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, 1600–1750. Cambridge, U.K., 1976.
- ——. "The Industrious Revolution and the Industrial Revolution." *Journal of Economic History* 54 (1994): 249–270.
- De Vries, Jan, and Ad van der Woude. The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815. Cambridge, U.K., 1997.
- Ehrenberg, Richard. Das Zeitalter der Fugger: Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert. Jena, 1912.
- Finley, M. I. The Ancient Economy. Berkeley, 1973.
- Herodotus: The Histories: New Translation, Selections, Background, Commentaries. Translated by Walter Blanco. Edited by Walter Blanco and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts. New York, 1992.
- Kiessling, Rolf. Die Stadt und ihr Land: Umlandpolitik, Bürgerbesitz und Wirtschaftsgefüge in Ostschwaben vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert. Cologne, 1989.
- Marshall, Alfred. Principles of Economics. London, 1890.
- Perrot, Jean-Claude. Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle. Paris, 1975.
- Safley, Thomas Max. Matheus Miller's Memoir: A Merchant's Life in the Seventeenth Century. London, 2000.
- Smith, Adam. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Edited by Edwin Cannan. New York, 1994 (1776).
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The Modern World-System.* 3 vols. New York, 1980.

THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

COMMONPLACE BOOKS. See Diaries.

COMMUNICATION, SCIENTIFIC.

The traditional arena for communicating natural philosophical knowledge was the university. Within a system called Scholasticism, professors lectured on authoritative texts whose study was stipulated by the regulations. All texts were written in Latin and all communication by professors and students was carried out in Latin. The disputation was a formal way of arguing an issue—a question was posed, and the pros and cons were debated by citing authorities. Many of the texts used were Latin translations of Arabic versions of ancient writings.

By the end of the fifteenth century, humanism had begun to influence the university curriculum. Humanists aimed to rediscover ancient Greek and Latin texts and to edit and translate them, removing what they considered the barbarisms of medieval Latin. Humanists often worked outside the universities in the employ of princes and oligarchs in the courts and cities of Europe. They influenced the development of natural philosophy and other topics that today fall under the rubric of "science" by rediscovering key ancient texts, editing or translating them, and debating their contents. The rediscovery of On the Nature of Things by Lucretius influenced the early modern development of atomism. The study and editing of Pliny the Elder's Natural History resulted in a debate about the accuracy of Pliny's conclusions in topics such as botany. The study and editing of texts by Ptolemy influenced thought about cosmology and geography. Marsilio Ficino's translation of the writings of Plato and Neoplatonist authors, along with his other writings, greatly influenced European thought, including ideas about the cosmos and the natural world.

The printing press, invented about 1450, exerted a great influence on communication within the natural and experimental sciences because with it numerous copies of the same work could be produced and distributed at relatively low cost. Although all historians admit the fundamental importance of printing, they debate its precise influence. Elizabeth Eisenstein argued that printing was fundamental to the development of scientific and technical literature because it allowed the wide distribution of a "fixed" text that remained the same from one copy to the next, and of fixed images, for example, of plants and animals. Critics of this view have

suggested that scribal culture used specific techniques to produce accurate texts and that the "fixity" of early modern printed works left much to be desired. The nature of the influence of printing on the development of early modern sciences continues to be debated.

New forms of organization developed in the seventeenth century and were accompanied by new ways of communicating. The establishment of natural history collections and museums led to much correspondence among collectors pertaining to specimens. Such collections became sites for learned discussion on numerous topics related to natural history and other sciences. Similarly, the new scientific societies of the seventeenth century functioned as centers for both experimentation and communication. Scientific societies proliferated throughout Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meetings entailed intense discussions, all manner of reports, and experiments. The new societies also discussed their conclusions with the wider public. Some academies consisted of formal entities with charters and bylaws, while others were informal associations. All were instrumental in encouraging experiment and other forms of investigation and in communicating results and ideas to like-minded members and visitors.

In the seventeenth century, letter writing became a crucially important form of communication among individuals interested in the sciences. Some historians suggest that the first half of the century can be characterized by private societies and correspondence networks, while the second half is marked by the emergence of formal academies and printed journals. If this characterization is accurate, its details need far more investigation. Throughout the century great networks of letter writing crossed political and religious boundaries. Letters could be delivered relatively quickly and were relatively free from censorship and other forms of interference. Some individuals, or "intelligencers" as they called themselves, played key roles as unofficial correspondents in the Republic of Letters. For example, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), an experimenter, dissector, and investigator of astronomy and optics, corresponded with people of similar interests who lived all over Europe. At his death in 1637, he left behind between 10,000 and 14,000 letters. Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), a friar and mathematician, met with an informal group to discuss natural philosophy and mathematics and corresponded with hundreds of individuals, dominating epistolary communication in the second half of the seventeenth century. Other great correspondents included Samuel Hartlib, Ismaël Boulliau, and Henry Oldenburg, first secretary of the Royal Society of London.

The 1660s marked the appearance of two important scientific journals, the *Philosophical Transactions*, sponsored by the Royal Society, and the *Journal des sçavans*, the official organ of the Parisian Academy of Sciences. Both journals played central roles in communicating results of experiments, reviewing new relevant literature, reporting on instruments, and publishing reports of new findings from investigations throughout Europe. They became models for (and rivals of) numerous other journals that appeared in the eighteenth century.

The encyclopedia entailed a very different form of communication that included the natural sciences. Compendia that communicated a wide range of learning, including natural knowledge, originated in antiquity. The genre became highly significant in the early modern era. Compendia of knowledge bore a variety of names, such as "theatrum," "systema," and "thesaurus," and, after 1500, "encyclopedia." While it had many precedents, the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot (1713–1748) and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (c. 1750) is justly famous for its treatment of mathematics, the natural sciences, medicine, and the trades.

See also Academies, Learned; Ancient World; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Diderot, Denis; Dissemination of Knowledge; Encyclopédie; Hartlib, Samuel; Mersenne, Marin; Natural History; Oldenburg, Henry; Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de; Printing and Publishing; Republic of Letters; Scholasticism; Universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Oldenburg, Henry. *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*. 13 vols. Edited and translated by A. R. Hall and M. B. Hall. Madison, Wis., 1965–1983.

Secondary Sources

Blair, Ann. "Encyclopedias." In *Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution from Copernicus to Newton*. Edited by Wilbur Applebaum, pp. 209–210. New York, 2000.

- Dear, Peter R. Mersenne and the Learning of the Schools. Ithaca, N.Y., 1988.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe. 2 vols. Cambridge, U.K., 1979.
- Febvre, Lucien, and Henri-Jean Martin. *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800.* Translated by David Gerard. Edited by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton. London, 1990.
- Findlen, Paula. Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy. Berkeley, 1994.
- Grendler, Paul F. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore, 2002.
- Hatch, Robert A. "Correspondence Networks." In *Encyclopedia of the Scientific Revolution from Copernicus to Newton*. Edited by Wilbur Applebaum, pp. 168–170. New York, 2000.
- Johns, Adrian. The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making. Chicago, 1998.
- Kronick, David A. A History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals: The Origins and Development of the Scientific and Technological Press, 1665–1790. 2nd ed. Metuchen, N.J., 1976.
- Miller, Peter N. Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century. New Haven, 2000.

PAMELA O. LONG

COMMUNICATION AND TRANS-**PORTATION.** Transportation and communication are central to the development of any society and its economy, and early modern Europe was no exception. Despite some significant advances in the engineering and construction of roads and canals between 1450 and 1750, as well as the construction of ships and, to a much lesser extent, of carriages and wagons, for the most part European travel and, therefore communication, remained as it had been in the Middle Ages, tied to the speeds of man and horse on land, and of wind and current on water. Oceanic transport made the greatest leaps forward during this period. Europeans constructed ships capable of sailing the open seas, and navigational devices and techniques capable of guiding them on these long-distance voyages. As a result, they succeeded in circumnavigating Africa to reach Asia, and in crossing the Atlantic to reach the New World.

These voyages of "discovery" opened up vast new

markets and sources of labor and products that greatly boosted Europe's wealth and power. Inland commerce during this period, however, always commanded a much greater share in the European economy than long-distance trade, and thus inland transportation, by land or water routes, remained far more important in the lives of most people than oceanic navigation.

It is ironic, therefore, in light of the revolutionary changes in oceanic travel and trade, that for most of the early modern period prior to the eighteenth century, rulers lacked either the will or the funds to revolutionize inland transportation, and the high price tag of the changes that were made is an indication of the enormous mobilization of resources that would have been required to do the job well. The significance of inland transportation is evident in the growing gap by the end of the eighteenth century between nations and regions that devoted resources to upgrading their roads and inland waterways and those that did not. It is not by accident that Europe's most advanced economies at the end of the early modern period, England, France, and the Netherlands, also possessed the best transportation infrastructures, and those less advanced, Poland, Spain, and Germany, for example, lagged far behind.

Communication was tied closely to transportation as, in the absence of electronic communications, it depended on the speed and efficiency of transportation. Messages had to be carried, orally or in writing, from one place to another, and most traveled in the same vehicles as passengers and merchandise. Communications, therefore, were also tied to the speed of horse, oxen, barge, or a man on foot. People, information, ideas, and products did travel extensively in early modern Europe, probably much more than people imagine today. But they traveled much more slowly and laboriously, and at a higher cost, which makes the volume of movement against so many obstacles that much more impressive.

COMMUNICATION

Early modern communication took place in three main modes: spoken words, manuscript writing—especially letters—and print. Oral communication was the oldest of these three, and in many ways early modern society was still primarily an oral society.

Although literacy increased enormously during this period, most people, especially among the lower classes, possessed limited reading and writing skills and relied heavily on memory and speech for preserving and transmitting information. Poets and writers in other genres still composed their works with the assumption that they would be read or sung to their audiences. The most popular form of cheap print for the masses produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was ballads, many of them updated editions of songs that had been around for centuries. Another common print purchase among the lower classes was woodcut pictures with, at the most, only a few sentences included to explain the image.

Yet the early modern era was a society in transition, and as literacy spread, so did the importance of writing in people's lives. In this the Reformation played an important role because the ability to read the Bible and the Psalms was essential to a Protestant education, so much so that Martin Luther and John Calvin alike, and most Protestant rulers, made a great although not wholly successful effort to expand educational opportunities for the masses to ensure that the population possessed at least minimal reading skills and a basic knowledge of the Bible. Literacy also increased in Catholic countries, however, indicating that factors other than religion encouraged its spread. Among the most important of these no doubt was the growing use of written contracts in commerce. Merchants needed to be able to write, read, and digest voluminous commercial correspondence. Business letters were the means whereby merchants exchanged vital information such as exchange rates, the availability of products, the level of demand in various markets, and threats to shipping. In fact, early modern postal services, while created to serve the needs of governments, mostly drew their clientele from the business community. Commercial centers like Amsterdam became nexuses of information, much of it in the form of letters. It is thus also no accident that the most literate populations tended to be found in cities and regions with a high concentration of commerce or industry that brought much of the population into regular contact with the market.

Beginning in the Renaissance, writing developed as an important form of personal expression, especially among the erudite and the upper classes.

The letter was central to the development of humanism, and most were written with the expectation that they would be read and discussed by a much wider audience than the intended recipient. Moreover, in the style of the ancient ars dictaminis or art of letter writing, in which Renaissance humanists consciously emulated great classical letter writers such as Cicero, scholars discussed philosophy while practicing rhetoric in lengthy, highly stylized letters. Rhetoric formed an intrinsic part of these letters because they were meant to be quasipublic documents, to be read aloud as well as silently. The spread of humanism north of the Alps in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its inclusion in the education of the upper classes, meant that effective letter-writing skills became a necessity for well-bred ladies and gentlemen. Yet writing also brought unforeseen and unsettling consequences to the lives of European elites, because they increasingly used letters not only to express ideas and information suitable for public consumption, but also to explore and articulate private musings and passions. Nobles wrote for pleasure, as a way of developing richer inner lives, nurturing intimacy with close friends and family, and distinguishing themselves from the classes below them, who might be literate but rarely had the time or inclination to write for anything other than utilitarian purposes. Merchants did also write personal as well as business letters. The correspondence between Magdalena and Balthasar Paumgartner, a merchant couple living in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, discusses both business and personal concerns such as their own and their son's illnesses and family gossip. Their letters evince the Paumgartners' tender regard for each other, although they are written in the formal style common to the early modern period. But their letters were rarely as lengthy or reflective as those of eighteenth-century nobles. Finally, it should be noted that letters played a significant role in disseminating information during the scientific revolution, particularly before the various scientific academies began the practice of printing and distributing their members' papers and treatises.

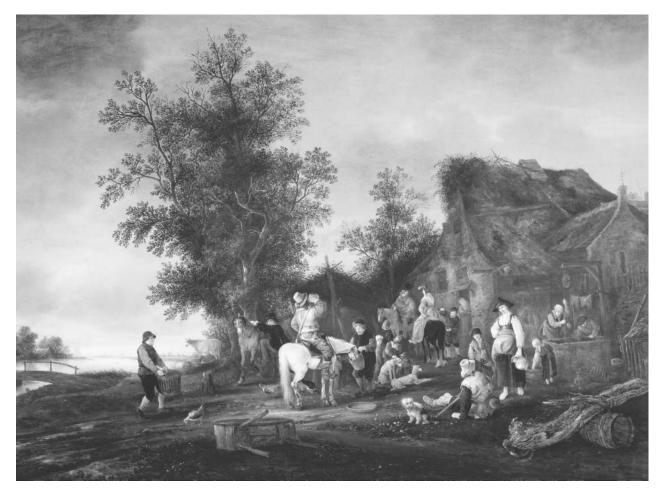
Print was the newest medium of the three, and brought revolutionary change to early modern society. The volume of printed works available for purchase expanded considerably between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, although most lower-class Europeans were lucky if they could afford cheap woodcuts, pamphlets, or broadsides, let alone a book. If they did own a book, it was most likely to be religious, a Bible in Protestant countries, a prayer book or hagiography in Catholic ones. Reprints of classical works also were popular. Increasingly the printing press became a means to communicate information, less in the form of newspapers, which did not become common until the eighteenth century, than in the form of almanacs and gazettes filled with practical knowledge. Enterprising publishers began printing handbooks for merchants containing explanations of specialized techniques and business practices, such as double-entry bookkeeping, maritime insurance, and bills of exchange.

TRAVEL

News, whether spoken, handwritten, or printed, traveled from place to place within Europe via roads or waterways, the two forms of inland travel. Travel by water was always cheaper than land routes, simply because more weight could be carried on water than on land. Water transport circulated more slowly than land travel, however, which meant that it was suitable for hauling large, bulky freight, but much less so for moving smaller, more expensive items or any cargo or passengers needing to reach a destination quickly. Sizable companies specializing in water transport began to appear in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although most merchants relied on individual haulers or ship captains or, in the case of coastal or transoceanic shipping, purchased their own ship or a share in a jointly owned vessel.

Inland water traffic had another drawback; it was restricted to navigable waterways, and although they increased in number during the early modern period, they remained far scarcer than roads. Moreover, waterways were not always reliable, since they were often non-navigable due to low water levels in summer, flooding or freezing in winter, and silting or obstructions in the waterway, such as sunken ships, watermills, fish weirs, and sandbars year round. They frequently were encumbered with tolls as well. On heavily traveled routes, barges could easily get backed up for days or more at locks while waiting for obstructions to be cleared.

Land routes had their own hazards, including the poor state of most roads, especially prior to the



Communication and Transportation. Travelers Refreshing Themselves at a Riverside Tavern, painting by Isack van Ostade, 1644. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

eighteenth century. Roads tended to follow waterways, and thus to meander. Wagons got stuck up to their axles in mud since very few roads were paved or engineered with the latest techniques to keep water from seeping in and undermining the roadbed. On the other hand, the very fact that most roads, and especially smaller ones, were really little more than paths meant that vehicles could simply drive around obstructions that would have halted water traffic. Land transport was costly primarily because even the hardiest teams of oxen or horses could move far less than a barge. Thus inland transportation depended on both land and water travel, and the two were closely intertwined in early modern European transport networks. By the same token, inland transport intersected with saltwater navigation, as many of the same small vessels that plied the coasts and carried coastal exports around Europe also sailed inland waterways. And products imported from abroad had to be transshipped onto these smaller vessels or onto wagons for transport to their final destinations.

CANALS AND INLAND WATERWAYS

The early modern period saw a significant expansion of navigable waterways. Much of the traffic on these waterways moved via towpaths, in which horses walking on a footpath that followed the waterway dragged barges from place to place. Towpaths were especially vital for canals or rivers in flat areas that lacked a strong current to carry the vessels. Needless to say, low-lying regions blessed with abundant rivers and streams, such as the Low Countries, had an advantage on this score, whereas mountainous regions remained dependent on mules or human carriers until the advent of the railroad and automo-

bile. Still, the needs of commerce and government administration, and the will and ability of the state or private entrepreneurs to spend the capital required to build or improve waterways, determined which countries and regions saw the greatest expansion in inland waterways, and which lagged behind. The Spanish crown, for example, squandered the opportunity to invest the bonanza of wealth it drew from New World silver mines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in building badly needed infrastructure to stimulate its economy at home. In general, nations with either a powerful, centralizing royal government, or a burgeoning mercantile class, or both, were most likely to build roads and waterways. Regions with weak centralized governments, such as Germany, or a small pool of merchants and few cities, such as Poland, ended the early modern period with poor transportation infrastructures. The result was often a vicious circle, because bad transportation impeded the development of places such as grain-rich Sicily and Poland, which possessed resources but no way to get them to market efficiently. Regions lacking in transport tended also to have underdeveloped economies and to be weaker politically and militarily than their neighbors.

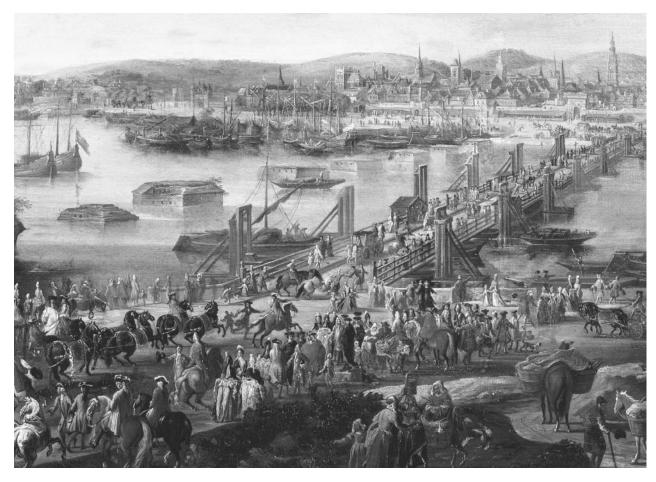
Building waterways was an expensive undertaking, particularly in hilly regions where numerous locks were required. Ideally a natural waterway would already be present, which might be canalized (widened, deepened, or straightened in its route with locks added where needed). In the absence of a preexisting river or stream, however, early modern governments, in what would be called today a "public-private partnership" with entrepreneurs, financed impressive canal-building projects. The most famous of these was the Canal du Midi in France, linking the Mediterranean and the Atlantic via Toulouse and the Garonne River. It was opened for navigation 15 May 1681. Louis XIV's great minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert was the moving spirit behind the project, and in 1664 he joined with the energetic financier Pierre-Paul Riquet, baron of Bonrepos, who worked tirelessly to engineer and secure financing for the project. The undertaking was enormous, requiring 119 locks, numerous artificial basins, and dams, and even a tunnel under a mountain, not to mentions the construction of a new port, called Sète. The canal is uniformly sixand-a-half feet deep despite the fact that it rises to

620 feet above sea level. The total cost of the 150-mile (240 kilometer) canal was 17,179,330 livres, over four million of which Riquet contributed himself, with the rest borne equally by the crown and the Estates of Languedoc. It was an impressive engineering achievement when it was completed in 1691. Although it is still in use today, the canal never lived up to expectations. Maintenance costs were rarely built into the money allocated for early modern road and canal building, and silting and wear and tear on the locks soon made many stretches of the Canal du Midi unserviceable.

France built other canals in the early modern period, the most successful of which were those that, like the Canal de Briare, begun by Henry IV's minister the duc de Sully in 1605 and completed in 1640, were designed to link Paris with the everexpanding hinterland the great city required to feed its population. The Canal de Briare was typical in another way, in that it too was financed and completed not by the crown, but by a private company that planned to recoup its investment by charging tolls for its use. By the end of the Old Regime, France had about 625 miles (1,000 kilometers) of canals, far fewer than England, but at least 5,000 miles (8,000 kilometers) of navigable rivers, streams, or canals.

Germany was blessed with good rivers, the foremost of which, the Rhine, acted as a veritable pipeline connecting the North Sea and the Baltic with Switzerland. The Danube provided an equally important route to the grain-producing regions of Central and Eastern Europe and, eventually, the Black Sea. The Elbe, the Oder, the Weser, and the Vistula were also vital to Germany's transportation network. Not surprisingly, German urban networks were tied closely to rivers. On the other hand, Germany possessed by the end of the early modern period only three hundred miles of canals or canalized rivers, compared to the seven hundred miles constructed in England between 1600 and 1760 alone. Some canals were built in Germany, however, including the canal linking the commercial cities of Lübeck and Hamburg, which could get so backed up that barges often took three weeks to make the relatively short trip. The Frederick William Canal was opened in Prussia in 1669. The lack of centralized government made water travel in Germany expensive, however, because without state interven-

25

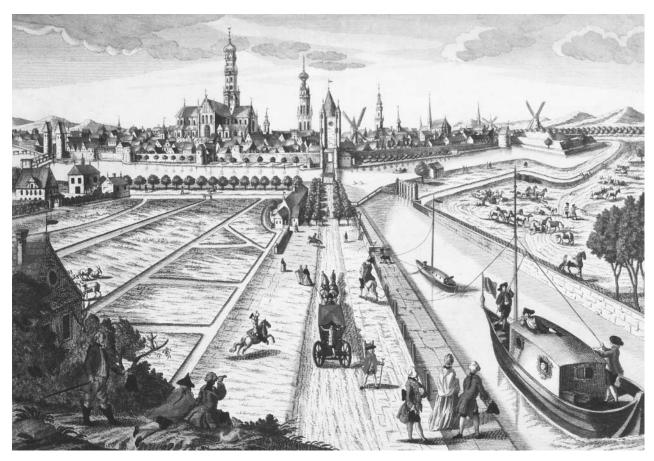


Communication and Transportation. Rouen, France, Seen from Saint-Sever, detail of a painting by Martin des Batailles (1659-1735). THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS ROUEN/DAGLI ORTI

tion there was no power able to prune the many tolls and duties cities along waterways had levied since the Middle Ages.

England and Holland were the most aggressive canal builders of Europe, most likely because their economies, and especially that of the Dutch, were heavily dependent on commerce and industry. The Dutch began first, and pioneered engineering techniques others later adopted. The growth of Dutch commercial centers, and especially of the predominant city of Amsterdam, required the reduction of transportation costs and a predictable, dependable supply of goods. The expansion of peat-digging (peat was used for fuel) was another impetus to the growth of Dutch canals, because the bulky commodity could best be brought from the inland areas where it was found to the cities where it was needed via water. The Dutch began using locks on canals in the fifteenth century. In 1529 the first beurtveer

(regulated transportation service) was established between the cities of Amsterdam and Hoorn. Boats and their skippers were licensed to carry passengers and required to keep regular departure schedules regardless of whether they were fully loaded. The schedules were published and enforced. This afforded passengers and those freighting cargoes on these boats and barges an assurance that they and their goods would arrive in a dependable and timely fashion. This service spread throughout the Netherlands in the sixteenth century and became linked to wagon routes, thus bringing towns not reachable by water into the network. The barges traveled slowly, on average only at about seven kilometers (about 4.5 miles) per hour. But their dependability was such that cities throughout Holland built canals with towpaths to ensure that they were linked with Amsterdam and from there to the wider world. Soon "night barges" were added, allowing passen-



Communication and Transportation. View of the canal in Haarlem, Netherlands, eighteenth-century engraving. The ART ARCHIVE/HANDEL MUSEUM HALLE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

gers to save even more time by sleeping for part of the journey. These towpath canals carried literally hundreds of thousands of passengers annually between Holland's major cities in the seventeenth century.

The English too were aggressive canal builders, and also went about draining swamps and fens such as those of East Anglia by making cuts that were then used for canals. By the end of the Old Regime, England was second only to Holland in the number of canals built, despite the fact that England was much smaller than France, Spain, or Germany.

LAND TRANSPORT

Although it is true that many more roads were built between the end of the fifteenth century and 1789, probably the major change in land transport in the early modern period was state intervention to construct postal routes and stations, and to ensure some

regularity of transport service, especially for passengers and mail via stagecoaches. Here the English made the most progress with their famous turnpikes, surpassing even the Dutch, although the French under Colbert and his successors also advanced. The French and English approaches to the problem of funding well-engineered roads were quite different, however, with the French favoring much greater state control, in part because the primary motivation of French road building was to enhance the ability of the central government to communicate with, and control, the provinces, whereas the English left road building mostly in the hands of private entrepreneurs who received government concessions to build and maintain toll roads. One result of this divergence was that whereas, then as now, the French transportation network converged often inconveniently on Paris, the English network served first and foremost the

EUROPE 1450 TO 1789

needs of commerce and was thus much more evenly distributed geographically.

At the beginning of the early modern period, almost all transportation was in private hands. Merchants contracted on an individual basis with haulers, the majority of whom were peasants working part-time as carriers. Their labor was seasonal, an inconvenience to be sure, but the plentiful supply of labor meant that competition kept rates fairly low. Similarly, most barge traffic was also in the hands of self-employed individuals who owned their own vessels and contracted on a job-by-job basis. Private messengers carried all but the most important government mail. Letters frequently reached their recipients through informal carriers. Balthasar Paumgartner often sent his letters to his wife Magdalena via a friend or fellow German merchant who happened to be traveling to Nuremberg, in return, no doubt, for performing the same service himself at other times.

By the seventeenth century the needs of government and business began to outstrip this informal system, however. Private mail and carriage by no means disappeared, but governments, especially in the most "absolutist" states, began to build and maintain roads, set up post offices and state coach services, and eventually to open those services, at first reserved for government business, to private citizens. These postal services began as relay stations or "rest stops" where messengers could exchange tired horses for fresh ones, refresh themselves, and continue their journey. Because carriers did not have to stop frequently to rest their horses, mail could travel much more quickly. Such services were similar to the American Pony Express system, and since they were also often located in inns, with the innkeeper contracted with the government to provide the horses, they doubled as stagecoach stops as well. By the eighteenth century regularly scheduled stage services were available, permitting travelers to begin or end a journey at almost any stage along the route.

In France, Colbert was again the moving force behind the expansion of France's road system. He desired a truly national and integrated transportation network linking the provinces of France to Paris. Before the roads could be built, however, the state had to create a system to finance and administrate them. This Colbert and his successors found difficult to do and even more difficult to sustain. In the mid-seventeenth century, the budget of the bureau of Ponts et Chaussées (bridges and roads), the branch of the French government responsible for building and maintaining roads, bridges, and canals, represented less than one percent of the state budget. Only in the eighteenth century did it rise significantly, mostly to fund the postal routes that became the heart of French overland transportation. Moreover, in the 1740s the crown authorized the creation of a school, L'École des Ingénieurs (School of engineers), capable of training the engineers needed to build the transportation routes the government intended to commission. The results were striking. By the dawn of the French Revolution in 1789, at least 25,000 miles (40,000 kilometers) of new roads had been constructed.

Transportation remained slow throughout the early modern period, although the improvements of the eighteenth century did speed things up. The trip up the Seine from Rouen to Paris, which today takes one to two hours by train, could take anywhere from ten days to a month (going downstream from Paris to Rouen was usually faster, about three or four days). The voyage by coach and canal from Paris to Lyon fell from ten to eleven days in 1664 to about six days in 1760. Thus the speed of travel nearly doubled, from about twenty-five or thirty miles a day to over fifty. It took fifteen days to get to Paris from Bordeaux in 1660, and only five or six days to make the same trip in 1789. Away from main thoroughfares, however, travel speeds fell precipitously. Merchandise circulated especially slowly, and even under the best conditions rarely moved more than twenty-five miles (forty kilometers) per day. In adverse conditions it moved much slower. Thus for most travelers and their cargoes, unless they were traveling on the best-maintained roads linking France's regional capitals to Paris, there was very little improvement in transport speeds during the Old Regime. Moreover, because most cities had no post offices, French provincial mail usually had to go to Paris before it reached its recipient, even though this entailed a significant delay.

England developed a similar postal service that was opened to the public in 1635. England's greatest innovation was the development of the turnpike system, wherein private investors received royal li-

censes to build and maintain roads. They recouped their investment by charging tolls. The important innovation was the provision this system made for maintaining roads, in contrast to the French system, in which beautifully engineered roads were built, but then only sporadically maintained despite the use of the *corvée* (forced labor) drawn from local peasant populations. And England, like France, saw a similar rise in the speed of overland transport, so that a trip from London to Exeter that required eight to twelve days in the mid-seventeenth century took half that time in 1760. The rest of Europe, including even the Dutch, lagged far behind the French and English in the quantity and quality of their roads.

Although there were some innovations in carriages in the early modern period, travel for the most part remained decidedly uncomfortable for passengers. Most of the improvements in the design of carriages and wagons were less for the sake of comfort than to make them faster and more maneuverable, although glass windows and suspension systems, first in the form of leather straps, and then springs, were introduced into public and private coaches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Iron tires affixed to carriage wheels improved durability but accelerated the deterioration of roads, which in turn helped to spur improvements such as cobblestone, graded crushed stone sealed with sand, and eventually paving. "Fifth wheel" or turning front carriages, which improved steering and stability, were developed in Germany. Even so, stagecoaches especially, which traveled very fast, remained dangerous on the narrow dirt roads over which they usually moved.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that significant improvement to Europe's transportation and communication networks was achieved in the early modern era. Still, the magnitude of that progress in the lives of ordinary people was not that great. To be sure, travel speeds increased, but only for those who could afford the cost. Most people and most information moved at the end of the Old Regime at a rate very similar to that of the Renaissance. A letter took about the same amount of time—six or seven weeks—to reach Venice in 1765 as it had in 1500, although it is true that more efficient transport net-

works meant that it cost less for it to reach its destination. Transportation and communication thus acted as a brake on the growth of the European economy until the advent of steam-powered locomotives and ships in the nineteenth century.

See also Communication, Scientific; Literacy and Reading; Shipping; Travel and Travel Literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- There are very few works of early modern history devoted entirely to communication and transportation. The works listed below contain sections discussing various facets of these topics.
- Beale, Philip. A History of the Post in England from the Romans to the Stuarts. Aldershot, U.K., 1998. Although very general, this is the only complete overview of the development of the British postal system.
- Bordes, Maurice. "Les routes des intendants." In his L'homme et la route en Europe occidentale au moyen âge et aux temps modernes, pp. 151–179. Auch, France, 1982. Examines the construction of the famous administrative roads the French government built in the eighteenth century, called the "Intendants' Roads" because they were under the purview of the intendants and designed to aid them in governing.
- Braudel, Fernand. Civilization & Capitalism, 15th–18th Century. Vol. 1, The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible, and Vol. 2, The Wheels of Commerce. Translated by Siân Reynolds. New York, 1981, 1982. Translation of Les structures du quotidian: Le possible et l'impossible and Les jeux de l'échange. These two entertaining and instructive volumes contain excellent discussions of early modern communication and transport in terms both of economics and of everyday life.
- Braudel, Fernand, and Ernest Labrousse, eds. Histoire économique et sociale de la France. Vol. 2, Des derniers temps de l'âge seigneurial aux preludes de l'âge industriel (1660–1789). Paris, 1970. Still the best overview of French transport in relation to the economy during the Old Regime.
- Charbon, Paul. Au temps des malles-postes et des diligences. Histoire des transports publics et de poste du XVIIe au XIXe siècle. Paris, 1979. Contains a brief history of the French postal service and numerous illustrations of postal carriages.
- Chartier, Roger, Alain Boureau, and Cécile Dauphin, eds. Correspondence: Models of Letter-Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century. Translated by Christopher Woodall. Princeton, 1997. Translation of La correspondance: Les usages de la letters au XIXe siècle.
- Cohen, Elizabeth S. "Between Oral and Written Culture: The Social Meaning of an Illustrated Love Letter." In Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–

29

- 1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis, edited by Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, pp. 181–201. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993. An example of the way in which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European culture was still very much in transition from an oral to a written culture.
- Cressy, David. Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1980. The best study of literacy and its spread in early modern England.
- Darnton, Robert. "An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris." *American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (February 2000): 1–35. Discusses the circulation of information via a wide variety of media, from spoken gossip to newspaper, poems, and books.
- De Vries, Jan. *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age*, 1500–1700. New Haven, 1974. Especially important for communication and transportation history in this work is de Vries's discussion of the role of the peat industry in the development of the Dutch canal system in the early modern period.
- . Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600–1750. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1976. Excellent comparative history of early modern European economies, in which de Vries points out the role of transportation, or the lack therein, in the relative development or retardation of European countries.
- De Vries, Jan, and Ad van der Woude. The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1997. A comprehensive survey of the early modern Dutch economy, including its transportation system
- Dewald, Jonathan. *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France*, 1570–1715. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993. A thoughtful discussion of aristocratic culture and education, including the importance of letter writing.
- Furet, François, and Jacques Ozouf, eds. Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1982. Translation of Lire et écrire: L'alphabétisation des français de Calvin à Jules Ferry. The best overview of French literacy and its spread during the early modern and modern eras.
- Guillerme, André E. The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300–1800. College Station, Tex., 1988. Translation of Les temps de l'eau: La cité, l'eau et les techniques. An unusual overview of urban hydrographic systems, including canals. A pioneering work in urban environmental history.
- Jeannin, Pierre. "Guides de voyage et manuels pour marchands." In Voyager à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque de Tours 30 juin-13 juillet 1983, edited by Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin, pp. 159-171. Paris, 1987. Among the many fascinating topics covered in this book

- is Jeannin's discussion of handbooks and travel guides published for early modern merchants.
- ——. Marchands du Nord: Espaces et traffics à l'époque moderne. Paris, 1996. This book contains a wealth of information about trade and travel in the North and Baltic Sea regions.
- Maistre, André. *Le canal des Deux-Mers: Canal royal du Languedoc*, 1666–1810. Toulouse, 1968. The most complete and authoritative study of the building of the Canal du Midi.
- Nordman, Daniel. "Sauf-conduits et passeports en France à la renaissance." In *Voyager à la Renaissance. Actes du colloque de Tours 30 juin–13 juillet 1983*. edited by Jean Céard et Jean-Claude Margolin, pp. 145–159. Paris, 1987. Examines another important facet of early modern travel, the necessity of obtaining passports and safe-conducts when crossing frontiers, and frequently in crossing internal boundaries as well.
- Nussdorfer, Laurie. "Writing and the Power of Speech:
 Notaries and Artisans in Baroque Rome." In *Culture*and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis, edited by Barbara
 B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, pp. 103–118. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993. Analyzes the ways in which illiterate
 Romans interacted with the world of writing, and the
 comparative powers of spoken and written words.
- Ozment, Steven. Magdalena and Balthasar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in 16th-Century Europe Revealed in the Letters of a Nuremberg Husband and Wife. New York, 1986. This gem of a book is replete with examples of letters sent between a sixteenth-century merchant and his wife.
- Poston, M. M., and H. J. Habakkuk, eds. The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Vol. 4, The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and Vol. 5, The Economic Organization of Early Modern Europe, edited by E. E. Rich and Charles H. Wilson. 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K., 1966—. Although slightly dated, both volumes contain excellent discussions of the role of transport in Europe's economic development.
- Smith, Woodruff D. "The Function of Commercial Centers in the Modernization of European Capitalism: Amsterdam as an Information Exchange in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of Economic History* 44, no. 4 (December 1984): 985–1005. Discusses the role of Amsterdam as a communications center disseminating business information.
- Szostak, Rick. The Role of Transportation in the Industrial Revolution: A Comparison of England and France. Montreal and Buffalo, 1991. Szostak argues, not entirely convincingly, that England's primacy in the industrial revolution compared to France was largely the result of England's far superior transportation infrastructure.

30

Watt, Tessa. Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550–1640. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1991. Discusses the access of ordinary people to print communication in the early modern period, and its effects on popular piety.

Witt, Ronald G. "Medieval 'Ars Dictaminis' and the Beginnings of Humanism: A New Construction of the Problem." *Renaissance Quarterly* 35 (1982): 16–35. Witt analyzes the role of the letter in the early development of humanist thought.

GAYLE K. BRUNELLE

COMUNEROS REVOLT (1520-**1521).** The *Comuneros* Revolt was originally fomented by some of the eighteen cities in the crown of Castile represented in the Castilian Cortes. The immediate cause of discontent was the new heir to the throne, the Habsburg Charles of Ghent. When the young Charles I made his first visit to Spain in 1517, he spoke little Spanish and was dominated by the Flemish courtiers of his native country, many of whom obtained lucrative Castilian appointments. Then, in 1519, Charles was elected to succeed his paternal grandfather Maximilian as Holy Roman emperor, an honor that alarmed many Castilians, who foresaw an absentee ruler and a greater involvement in European affairs that would drain money, resources, and manpower from Castile. Charles, anxious to secure his new title and in need of cash to do so, convened two meetings of the Castilian Cortes in April and May of 1520. His heavy-handed efforts to force the deputies to vote him a large subsidy, and his impending absence from Castile, many of whose cities he had never visited, caused still more resentments. When Charles departed Spain in May of 1520, leaving a foreigner, Adrian of Utrecht (later Pope Adrian VI), as regent, the rebellion had already begun in several cities.

When a city declared for the *comunero* cause, a commune was established, the crown-appointed *corregidor* was exiled, and the taxes usually remitted to the crown were kept by the rebels. Many *comunero* leaders formed part of the minor nobility. In the active *comunero* city of Toledo, for example, the leaders included Pedro Laso de la Vega and Juan de Padilla, both *regidores* ('town councillors') and members of notable families; many clerics of the cathedral chapter and of the regular religious orders also favored the rebellion. Not all the city's leaders

supported the *comunero* cause, but those who actively represented the Royalist party were exiled.

Adrian tried to put down the rebellion by calling out an army, but as the Royalists attempted to take ordnance at Medina del Campo, the city was burned, inspiring still more adherents to the comunero cause. The comuneros formed a national council, the Santa Junta, which took charge of organizing events and fielding an army. They also sought to legitimize their actions by gaining the support of Charles's mother, the mentally unstable Queen Joanna, confined in the town of Tordesillas. The comuneros gained control of the town and the queen, but she refused to sign any documents for them. With this threat to his authority, and with the comunero forces increasing and winning battles, Charles wisely appointed two Castilian grandees, the constable and the admiral of Castile, to govern with Adrian. Eventually the Royalist party assembled an army of experienced veterans.

Meanwhile, schisms regarding leadership and goals occurred in the *comunero* ranks. The moderates, such as Pedro Laso de la Vega, lost to the extremists, who favored attacks against the aristocracy. With this threat to the established social order, the *comunero* revolt lost whatever support it might have had among the titled aristocracy. The issue was ultimately resolved on the battlefield where the *comuneros* were no match for the royalist forces led by the constable. On 23 April 1521, the *comuneros* were defeated at Villalar; captains Juan de Padilla and Juan Bravo, from Segovia, were executed the following day.

After the defeat at Villalar, many cities and towns were eager to return to the royal fold. Toledo, however, held out, thanks to two resolute leaders. One was the warrior bishop of Zamora, Antonio de Acuña, who led his own army of two thousand men in defense of the *comunero* cause. With the death of the young Fleming Charles had appointed as archbishop of Toledo, Acuña determined that he would occupy the see and marched his army south. After a few skirmishes in the region, Acuña had himself installed as archbishop, but when news of the defeat at Villalar reached Toledo, the prelate again took to the road and was captured by Royalist forces. Still Toledo still did not surrender, thanks to the formidable María Pacheco, widow of

the recently executed Juan de Padilla. While a truce was implemented in October 1521, it was not until February 1522, when María Pacheco sought refuge in Portugal, that the *comunero* revolt ended in Toledo.

Whether the *comunero* movement was a true revolution or a mere revolt, as well as the causes and long-term effects of the uprising, are much-debated questions. But it was the last uprising against the Habsburgs in the crown of Castile.

See also Charles I (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Haliczer, Stephen. The Comuneros of Castile: The Forging of a Revolution, 1475–1521. Madison, Wis., 1981.

Maravall, José Antonio. Las comunidades de Castilla. Una primera revolución moderna. 2nd ed. Madrid, 1970.

Pérez, Joseph. La revolución de las comunidades de Castilla (1520–1521). Translated from the French by Juan José Faci Lacasta. Madrid, 1977.

Seaver, Henry Latimer. The Great Revolt in Castile. A Study of the Comunero Movement of 1520–1521 (1928). Reprint, New York, 1966.

LINDA MARTZ

CONCORDAT. See Church and State Relations.

CONCUBINAGE. While most early modern people married, a small number established semipermanent, nonmarital unions. Called concubinage in religious and legal terminology, these alliances were usually identified in everyday speech by the term for the woman, for example, "mistress" in England, and "femina" in northern Italy. Although not married to each other, the participants might be married to others. Long-established legal acceptance was on the wane by the late fifteenth century as church and state invested legitimate marriage with increased responsibilities for social and moral order. Concubinage nonetheless persisted for it met many needs, offering participants flexibility in their family lives and opportunities for social improvement, although it could also disrupt legitimate marriages. Some priests also kept concubines in defiance of the laws of celibacy, a practice known as clerical concubinage, which lies outside the scope of this entry.

LEGAL ASPECTS

In the Middle Ages concubinage between two unmarried lay people enjoyed legal tolerance, in part based on traditions of second-class marriage, such as morganatic marriage, in which children were unable to inherit from their father, and ancient Roman and Germanic concubinage. A concubine differed from a prostitute in the exclusivity and long duration of her relationship with one man. In theory alliances involving a married person were considered not concubinage but adultery and were punishable as such. In practice, however, these relationships sometimes met tolerance almost equal to a relationship between two unmarried people.

The church had always favored marriage over concubinage and urged couples to marry, but the conviction that marriage was based on the consent of the parties had helped give concubinage between unmarried people legitimacy. Following impulses for moral reform, however, the Fifth Lateran Council in 1514 and the Council of Trent in 1563 declared all concubinage illegal, the latter singling out married men who kept concubines. Protestant territories similarly pursued and prosecuted unmarried couples.

Secular law took into account concubinage of both married and unmarried men, for example, listing concubines among the people—including their wives—whom men could punish physically and detailing what kinds of gifts concubines could receive. In fourteenth-century Italy some patrons and concubines spelled out their obligations in written contracts. In the late fourteenth century, however, a few cities, including Cremona and Würzburg, made concubinage a crime. In the fifteenth century many more, such as Avignon, Basel, and Bergamo, followed, with adulterous relationships receiving harsher punishments. At the same time there was a substantial increase in the legal disabilities of concubines and their children, who were considered illegitimate and had limited inheritance and other rights, especially in France.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

Although it became less common, people from all social classes continued to practice concubinage throughout the period because it met many needs. In a common pattern an elite man kept a low-status woman—often a servant or tenant—as his concubine, although a few higher-status women became the concubines of dukes, princes, or kings. Concubinage enabled male aristocrats in arranged marriages to find emotionally satisfying relationships outside of them. For aristocratic men who were not yet married, who were widowed, or whose families decided they should not marry, concubinage offered a semblance of family life without the threats to family alliance and inheritance strategies that legitimate children would have posed.

People also used concubinage in strategies of social advancement. Elite men demonstrated their wealth and power by dressing their concubines well, keeping them in separate households, and openly defying conventional morality. Lower-status women (and their families) were attracted by alliances with wealthy and powerful men-who, tradition dictated, would raise any children—and to the frequent final benefit of a dowry and a marriage to a man of her social class. Arranging marriages of former concubines and illegitimate children was a way to maintain clientage networks and to demonstrate control over society. Increasingly, however, people found aristocratic men's open flouting of convention troubling, particularly when the men kept married women as their concubines, shaming their husbands, or when the men's relationships took resources from their legitimate families.

Low-status people might also live together in concubinage, although often for different reasons and in a manner that more closely resembled legitimate marriage. Some men sought to avoid producing legitimate children; others lived with one woman until they could find a better one to marry. Usually, however, commoner couples lived in nonmarital unions because they could not legally marry each other. One or both might already be married, or they might be too closely related to marry. Others, lacking the financial resources necessary to marriage, lived together unmarried until they could accumulate them.

See also Family; Marriage; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brucker, Gene. Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986.

Brundage, James A. Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe. Chicago, 1987.

Eisenach, Emlyn. Husbands, Wives, and Concubines: Marriage, Family, and Social Order in Sixteenth-Century Verona. Kirksville, Mo., forthcoming. Especially chapter 4.

Hufton, Olwen. The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe. Vol. 1: 1500–1800. New York, 1996. Especially chapter 8.

EMLYN EISENACH

CONDÉ FAMILY. The leading aristocratic house of *ancien régime* France, the Condé were a cadet branch of the Bourbon dynasty that ruled France from 1589 to the Revolution. The title derived from the principality of Condé-sur-l'Escaut in Flanders which, with the seigneurie of Enghien in the Île-de-France, was the dowry that François de Bourbon, count of Vendôme received from his wife, Marie de Luxembourg, in 1487. Then, as later, the Condé family depended on wealthy marriages for its survival. François de Bourbon was the founder of the Condé dynasty, whose fortunes came to mirror those of the French monarchy itself.

In the sixteenth century, the Condé family was the epitome of the "duty" among aristocratic princes to lead opposition to the French crown. Louis I de Bourbon, first prince of Condé (1530-1569), the youngest male heir of Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme (d. 1538) and Françoise d'Alençon, grew up under the shadow of the revolt of his uncle, the Constable de Bourbon. A fortunate marriage to Eleonore de Roye, niece of the Constable Anne de Montmorency, in 1551 brought him lands in Picardy and Brie and prominent positions in the royal armies. Her conversion to Protestantism, and the influence of her uncle, Gaspard de Coligny, led to his emergence as a political leader of French Protestantism. At the same time, the death of the French king Henry II (ruled 1547-1559) began a decade of royal minority rule in which Condé championed the rights of the princes of the blood against the rival aristocratic house of Guise. In 1560, Condé's hand was evident in an organized plot for a



Condé Family. Bronze bust of the Grand Condé (Louis II de Bourbon) by Antoine Coysevox, 1688. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

group of discontented noblemen to wrest control of the young king, Francis II (ruled 1559–1560), known as the Conspiracy of Amboise. Condé feigned indignation but was tried and convicted of treason, making his first public declaration of Protestantism while in prison. The death of the king, five days before his execution, saved his life and he went on to deploy his extraordinary energies and boldness to mobilize an army, partially around his aristocratic affinity, proclaiming the duty of a prince to liberate a young king in chains and protect the liberty to practice the true faith in the first civil wars (1562-1563; 1567-1568; 1568-1570). The thinking heads of the Protestant movement privately distrusted his adventurism and deplored his marital infidelities, but publicly mourned his death in battle at Jarnac, near Angoulême, in 1569. His son, Henry I de Bourbon, second prince of Condé (1552-1588) followed in his father's footsteps, devouring the considerable wealth of his spouse, Charlotte-Catherine de La Trémoille, to fund his

checkered career as "governor and protector" of the French Protestant churches in the 1570s before being overshadowed by the formidable political and military talents of his cousin, Henry of Navarre (later Henry IV of France [ruled 1589–1610]).

The accession of Henry IV to the French throne in 1589 changed the dynamics of the Condé family's relationships with the crown, but not immediately. Henry II de Bourbon, third prince of Condé (1588–1646) only enjoyed the preeminence of being heir to the throne during his childhood. Relegated to a subordinate position by the birth of the future Louis XIII (reigned 1610-1643) in 1601 and that of the first prince of the blood Gaston d'Orléans in 1608, he returned to the family traditions of revolt (albeit shorn of Protestant affiliations—he ended his life as opposed to Huguenots as to Jansenists) in 1615 before being arrested and imprisoned for three years. It was only after 1626 that the fruits of close cooperation with a strengthened royal authority became clear. His marriage to Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency in 1609 led eventually to his being rewarded by Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu for his loyalty with most of Montmorency's vast wealth, following the revolt and execution of her brother, Henry II de Montmorency in 1632. As Katia Béguin has recently demonstrated, the essential elements of the Condé landed fortune, clientèle, and authority were consolidated at this juncture.

Louis II de Bourbon, fourth prince of Condé (1621-1686) earned his reputation as "le Grand Condé" or "le Héros" on the battlefield, although his Jesuit tutors had already discovered the keen intellect of a student who could write and speak elegant Latin as well as show more mastery of history, mathematics, and law than was expected of an aristocratic prince. His precocious military career was immortalized early on in the victory over the Spanish forces at Rocroi in 1643, and he went on to demonstrate his considerable strategic ability and stubborn determination in grueling campaigns in the Rhineland and Flanders, his success in the latter being crucial to securing Spanish compliance with the peace terms at Westphalia in 1648. His loyalty in the early years of the Fronde (1648–1649) proved critical. His later, resourceful resistance to Cardinal Mazarin, which led to imprisonment, revolt, and exile (1650-1659), proved to be an object lesson for the young Louis XIV in how to handle, but also restrain, the pretensions of a prince of the blood. After Mazarin's death, Condé became the perfect courtier, an enthusiastic patron of letters and a loyal general.

The extensive clientèle patterns of the Condé house enjoyed a remarkable stability and continuity during the remainder of the *ancien régime*, especially under Henri-Jules de Bourbon, fifth prince of Condé (1643–1709). The last of the house of Condé was Louis-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon (1756–1830), who died in mysterious circumstances, hanging from his château window at St-Leu. The château at Chantilly, north of Paris, rebuilt in the later nineteenth century, contains many of the family's monuments and its archives.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (France); France; Fronde; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mazarin, Jules; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Wars of Religion (France).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aumale, M. le Duc d'. Histoire des princes de Condé, pendant les XVIe et XVIIe siècles. 8 vols. Paris, 1885–1896.

Béguin, Katia. Les princes de Condé. Rebelles, courtisans et mécènes dans la France du grand siècle. Paris, 1999.

Blancpain, Marc. Monsieur le Prince. La vie illustre de Louis de Condé, héros et cousin du Grand Roi. Paris, 1986.

Blanquie, C. "Entre courtoisie et révolte. La correspondance de Condé, 1648–1659," *Histoire, Economie et Société* 3 (1995): 427–443.

Cabanès, Augustin. Les Condé. Grandeur et dégénérescence d'une famille princière. 2 vols. Paris, 1932.

de Boislile, Michel. Trois princes de Condé à Chantilly. Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1904. Abstracted from the article originally published in the Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France, 1902 and 1903.

Neuschel, Kristin B. Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France. Ithaca, N.Y., 1989.

MARK GREENGRASS

CONDORCET, MARIE-JEAN CARITAT, MARQUIS DE (full name Marie Jean-Antoine Nicolas de Caritat; 1743–1794), French Enlightenment philosopher and mathematician, and radical politician during the French Revolution. Scion of a provincial noble fam-

ily (he was raised by his pious widowed mother in the Picardy region of northern France), Condorcet was arguably the most important member of the last generation of Enlightenment philosophers.

First educated by the Reims Jesuits, whose physical and psychological cruelty he detested, he nevertheless was a brilliant student. In 1758 he entered the College of Navarre of the University of Paris, celebrated for mathematics and experimental physics. Condorcet was mentored by Girault de Kéroudon, a gifted teacher of natural philosophy who encouraged his talent for abstract mathematics. Condorcet defended his thesis in 1759 before the great mathematician d'Alembert (1717–1783), who became his second mentor. His first major mathematical paper was accepted in 1764 by the Academy of Sciences (which accepted him in 1769) and brought him quick recognition from the scientific community.

Condorcet's life, however, was not limited to pure mathematics. From 1770 on, he was one of the philosophers trying to reshape the French state. With Julie de l'Espinasse, the celebrated salon hostess, d'Alembert introduced him to the community of the encyclopedists. Condorcet was elected to the Académie Française in 1782 and in 1786 married his beloved Sophie de Grouchy. Convention attributes his ferocious sense of injustice and his dedication to secular public schooling to the intolerance of his noble relatives and the cruelty of the Jesuits, but they also came from his pitiless logical analysis of the events around him. A protegé of Turgot, finance minister of Louis XVI, Condorcet worked tirelessly to reform the financial system of France according to the principles of free trade; following Voltaire, he argued against the injustice of the French legal system and for the abolition of slavery and capital punishment. In the 1780s the violent struggles between the parlements and the monarch led him to develop a "Political Arithmetic": mathematically argued papers on topics of public import. The last gasp of the Enlightenment, rationalizing the interactions between political agents, it was an antithesis to Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws or Rousseau's Social Contract. "Concerning Elections" argues, for example, that elections should create statistical consensus concerning the logic of judicial propositions, this democracy depending on a public education grounded in a perfected language forcing people to react according to logic and not personal interest.

During the French Revolution, Condorcet was an active public figure. In the final years of the ancien régime, his refusal to compromise philosophical principles for political expediency had made him many enemies. His international reputation nevertheless enabled him to serve various finance ministers and to be a member of the Committee on Public Instruction, which produced the first systematic proposal for the secular public schooling he considered the bedrock of a functioning republic. He supported the abolition of titles and of the monarchy and the creation of a French Republic. Elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1791 and the Constitutional Convention in 1792, he wrote a daring constitution that was never adopted, as the Jacobins feared its consequences for their own election prospects.

Detested by the Right as a traitor and by the Left as a threat, Condorcet was finally proscribed by the Committee on Public Safety in July 1793. Hidden by an elderly widow in Paris, ill, and in a state of moral dejection, he wrote, at Sophie's request, his most famous work, the *Sketch of a Historical Table of the Progress of the Human Spirit*, a brilliant history of intellectual development in the great Enlightenment tradition of Buffon, and a vision of unlimited human social progress. In March of 1794, fearing the house was to be searched, he fled to the country-side. He was captured and found dead two days later in his cell. Some believe he was murdered; still others believe he committed suicide or that, suffering from exposure, he died of a stroke.

A martyr to the Terror, Condorcet was none-theless a founding father of republican France. Many of his political principles made their way into later constitutions. The French civil service, as heart of the state, owes its soul to his idea that civil servants function correctly when their education induces them to perceive the logical procedures shared by all human beings and to put them into the service of that same totality, the public. The balance between individual liberty and the particularly French notion of "solidarity" here finds its source in Condorcet's mathematization of social and political concepts.

See also Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Enlightenment; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Voltaire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Condorcet, Jean Antoine-Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de. Arithmétique politique: textes rares ou inédits (1767– 1789). Edited by Bernard Bru and Pierre Crépel. Paris, 1994.

——. The Political Theory of Condorcet. Translated by Fiona Sommerlad and Iain McLean. Oxford, 1989–1991

— Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind. Translated by June Barraclough; with an introduction by Stuart Hampshire. London, 1955. Translation of Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain.

——. Sur les élections et autres texts. Paris, 1986.

Secondary Sources

Badinter, Elisabeth, and Robert Badinter. *Condorcet. Un intellectuel en politique.* Paris, 1988. This is the classic modern biography of Condorcet in French.

Baker, Keith Michael. Condorcet, From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics. Chicago, 1975. The standard work in English on Condorcet.

WILDA CHRISTINE ANDERSON

CONFRATERNITIES. Literally "brotherhoods," these were corporate groups found in various religious traditions that organized the devotional and charitable life of lay believers around the model of ritual kinship. They ranged in size from a few dozen to a few hundred members and were active in practically every urban center and in many rural districts. Venice had 120 confraternities in c. 1500 and 387 by c. 1700; almost 20 percent of the population of mid-seventeenth century Antwerp belonged to a brotherhood, a proportion found in most European cities. By the late eighteenth century 70 percent of rural parishes in Trier had a confraternity, as did almost all rural villages in Spain, where a 1771 government census reported 25,038 brotherhoods. Membership conferred spiritual, social, and charitable benefits, and individuals might belong to one or more groups according to need or preference. In the Catholic world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they became critical agents of a process of "christianization" that

involved catechetical education, moral discipline, intense devotional exercises, and dramatic public processions. By the eighteenth century, a new generation of Catholic reformers criticized their wealth, materialist piety, and often self-serving charity, and successfully advocated reforms by which state governments across Europe suppressed confraternities and directed their resources to charitable purposes.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE FORMS

Voluntary kin groups were active in the early church and in the Carolingian period, but confraternities first expanded rapidly with the mendicant urban missions of the thirteenth century, when they emphasized peacemaking, mutual support, and egalitarian brotherhood. Into the early modern period, their individual and collective religious exercises adapted mendicant models to lay life, and included praise singing, penitential flagellation, processions, funerary and requiem services, and charity exercised to members and the urban poor. Their administration followed guild models, and most guarded their autonomy from the clergy. In larger cities, confraternities organized members according to devotional preference, trade, nationality, neighborhood, or charitable activity, and took on extensive social responsibilities as a result. Theirs was a distinctly local piety, and confraternities were often the custodians of local shrines, the organizers of civic religious rituals, and the administrators of local hospitals, orphanages, and hostels. They were the lay face of the church, and most of what passed for social welfare was organized and run by the brotherhoods.

CONFRATERNITIES AND CATHOLIC REFORM

From the late fifteenth century, lay and clerical Catholic reformers advocated renewal of the church based on the works of physical and spiritual charity and on expanded devotional exercises centered on prayer and the sacraments. They saw the confraternities as vehicles for organizing and spreading this activity among the laity and built many aspects of their reform programs around the brotherhoods: confraternity members worked in prisons, established hospitals, offered dowries and loans to the poor, and opened shelters for orphans, prostitutes, and widows. At the same time, some clerical reformers believed that confraternities' traditional emphasis on lay autonomy left them vulnerable to

heresies and undermined the authority of priests and bishops. They advocated closer clerical supervision of the groups. There had been no canon law governing confraternities in the middle ages, but in Session XXII (1562), the Council of Trent empowered bishops to review statutes, supervise worship, and audit accounts in regular visitations (canons VIII and IX). Many confraternities resisted, but in 1604 Clement VIII issued the bull *Quaecumque*, which required episcopal approval for all new foundations.

The regulatory process ordered by Trent and Quaecumque took hold slowly, particularly in rural areas, but the potential of confraternities to realize Catholic reform objectives led secular and regular clergy to establish brotherhoods that had a standard form, specific function, and uniform statutes. At the parish and diocesan level, two early-sixteenthcentury innovations that multiplied after Trent were the Holy Sacrament confraternities dedicated to eucharistic devotion and the Christian Doctrine confraternities dedicated to catechetical instruction. Reforming bishops such as Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) of Milan and Gabrielle Paleotti (1528–1597) of Bologna believed eucharistic devotion to be the touchstone of the Catholic faith and aimed to have a Holy Sacrament confraternity in every parish. Both wrote standard statutes that confirmed their status as parish auxiliaries under the priest's authority. Members brought the Eucharist to sick parishioners in their homes, held Corpus Domini processions that took the Host around the city, and organized the Forty Hour devotions, which drew believers into chapels to pray before it for that period of time. Members of Christian Doctrine confraternities taught reading, writing, and religion to boys and girls in Sunday afternoon sessions, working with specially adapted textbooks. Another innovation, which promoted standardized rules and clerical control and directed lay attention to Rome, was the emergence of archconfraternities from the 1530s. Based initially in Rome, these received extraordinary papal privileges and indulgences that they shared with brotherhoods in other localities. Confraternities aggregating to the archconfraternity pledged to adopt its statutes and practices and sent members on pilgrimages to Rome, where the archconfraternity hosted them.

CONFRATERNAL NETWORKS

New and existing religious orders made confraternities a central element in their mission outreach. Many of the new orders began as confraternities, chiefly the Jesuits, Theatines, Ursulines, Visitandines, Barnabites, Piarists, and Oratorians, and all employed confraternities to gather and socialize their recruits and to underwrite their charitable and mission outreach. Organization as a confraternity allowed the French Daughters of Charity to live communally but avoid enclosure, and so continue working openly in schools and hospitals. The Dominican James Sprenger founded a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in Cologne in 1475; Dominicans subsequently established branches across Europe to promote the new devotion, particularly among the illiterate, and claimed a million members by the eve of the Reformation. The Theatines and Oratory of Divine Love established brotherhoods of nobles to work with the sick and the poor in hospitals.

Of all religious orders, the Jesuits relied most heavily on confraternities, called Marian sodalities, to promote and underwrite their missions and charitable institutions. These first emerged in the Roman College in 1563, and as Jesuit colleges multiplied, they moved out beyond students and alumni to enroll elites across Catholic Europe. Their devotions were conventional, but by establishing separate groups for professionals and nobles, students, and artisans, the Jesuits ensured that they would foster more intense socialization and greater cohesion than traditional confraternities. They grew rapidly in numbers, activity, and influence through the seventeenth century, sometimes as public and sometimes as secret bodies. Among the latter was the French Company of the Holy Sacrament, established in 1629. It grew to sixty-two provincial congregations before suppression in 1667 and enrolled royal courtiers, judges, bishops, bureaucrats, and merchants who were dedicated to the promotion of the monarchy, Catholic missions, personal devotions, and charity. Much of the administrative elite of expanding states had been trained in Jesuit colleges, and lifelong membership in the Marian sodalities preserved and extended their personal networks and created a governing class committed to this work of "christianization."

This merging of church and state in the form of networked elite confraternities that served political and religious purposes was an early modern characteristic that extended beyond the Jesuits. During the French Wars of Religion, Catholic royalists promoted confraternities of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Name of Jesus to challenge both Protestantism and those who advocated religious toleration on political grounds.

Portugal's dowager Queen Leonor founded the Lisbon Misericórdia as a charitable agency in 1498, and under royal patronage Misericórdia confraternities soon spread across the nation and to the Azores and the Madeiras before tracking Portugal's expansion to Macau, Brazil, and North Africa. The Lisbon Misericórdia statutes, first printed in 1516, were usually adopted by these local groups, whose upperclass members exercised the works of corporal and spiritual mercy toward the poor. A succession of royal privileges through the sixteenth century set the Misericórdia confraternities ahead of all local counterparts in charitable activity and beyond the control of episcopal authorities in all but cultic worship. A virtual monopoly on alms gathering gradually brought most charitable hospitals under their control and, combined with tax concessions, generated a patrimony, which patrician administrators employed in lavish public devotions or lent on generous terms to their peers. The Portuguese Misericórdias enjoyed local autonomy and exercised considerable political, social, and even judicial authority until the later eighteenth century, when political opposition to their privileges, combined with the rise of devotional alternatives (particularly the Third Orders), undercut their powers, resources, and influence.

CONFRATERNITIES IN ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

The Misericórdia confraternities helped administer Portugal's empire, and much of Catholic expansion overseas employed confraternities as agents of missions, charity, and political and social control. The Jesuits founded indigenous confraternities in Japan, and in the space of three decades, the brotherhoods had won 215,000 converts. In an area with few missionaries, they provided the main contact with Christianity and were the key to its rapid spread. Japanese confraternities organized festivals, charity, and mutual assistance, and became the core of an underground church once persecution began in 1587. A parallel situation developed some decades

later in China. The Jesuit mission there had initially concentrated on court and intellectual circles, but when persecution in 1616–1620 led these members to drop away, the Jesuits concentrated on planting confraternities among merchants and peasants. Numbers rose from 60,000 in the 1640s to 300,000 by 1700.

Confraternities were even more important to Catholic colonizers in the Americas, where the Spanish and Portuguese used them to build the fabric of the Catholic Church and also to control indigenous groups and slaves. Groups like the Portuguese Misericórdias took the lead in building the bulwark of churches and hospitals, processions and rituals that sheltered European cultural identity for colonial settlers. They were also the main means of spreading Catholic doctrine and ritual among indigenous groups in the Americas from the time that the first one was established in Mexico City in 1526 or 1527, and they multiplied rapidly. Mexico City had possibly three hundred indigenous confraternities by 1585, and the most dramatic expansion across Central and South America occurred in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Most Latin American confraternities grew out of the missions of the religious orders. The Jesuits in Brazil initially aimed to gather believers of diverse racial backgrounds into single local confraternities in order to demonstrate the unity of Church universal against Dutch and French Protestants who were trying to establish settlements in Brazil. Yet the logic of the Jesuits' own hierarchical model, the racism of colonial society, and the possibilities of resistance soon altered the situation, so that in Brazil and across Latin America there were distinct groups for aboriginals, for African slaves, for Spanish or Portuguese settlers, and for the expanding mestizo population. Dominicans joined the Jesuits in actively promoting racially distinct groups, and black confraternities in particular.

The parallel brotherhoods for different racial groups became vehicles for maintaining, albeit in syncretized form, West African and pre-Columbian religious and political practices. While intended to promote christianization, in some cases these groups became protected shelters of indigenous cultural identity in a context that suppressed all other non-Catholic or non-Hispanic cultural institutions.

African and mestizo fraternities in Brazil exercised limited legal powers within their communities and sometimes countered Portuguese overlords by challenging cruel slave owners in court and by lending members money to buy their freedom. Aztec, Mayan, and Incan confraternities drew members through charity and sociability and frequently preserved indigenous forms of kin-based social organization. Beyond this, Catholic devotions often appealed because they resonated well with pre-Columbian religious practices, particularly the rituals of respect and care for the dead, and the practice of penitential flagellation.

CONFRATERNITIES OUTSIDE CATHOLICISM

Examples of confraternities crossing confessional boundaries occur in Europe as well, where most combined political, charitable, and cultic functions, and developed into semiautonomous governing structures for expatriate, subordinate, or marginalized communities. In Venice, the San Niccolò confraternity gathered the Greek Orthodox community from 1498. It taxed Greek merchants to underwrite burials, dowries, and poor relief for members; it constructed the Church of San Giorgio dei Greci (1539-1573); and it sent aid to Orthodox hospitals, convents, and monasteries throughout the Venetian empire. Orthodox believers in the Ukraine used confraternities (called bratstva) to preserve Slavic cultural, religious, and political identity against the Polish state and, from 1596, against the Eastern Rite Catholic Church. The brotherhoods initially organized charity, worship, and discipline, but soon extended their reach to political protest, education, and judicial discipline of members. They remained active into the twentieth century. Jewish confraternities began emerging in Italy as racial tensions increased in the early sixteenth century, and then expanded more rapidly with the establishment of ghettos in Venice (1516) and Rome (1555). Jewish fraternalism was shaped in part through a dynamic with Catholic forms and initially focused on helping the old, sick, and needy, and on burying the dead. Fraternities of teachers and students prefigured the yeshiva, and in cities where declining populations forced the closing of synagogues, the confraternities multiplied in number, members, and cultic activities. Moving into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Iewish confraternities demonstrated some of the

same social patterns observed in contemporary Catholic confraternities, particularly an increasing pietism, more gender distinctions, and the development of mutual aid from charity towards insurance.

CHALLENGES AND SUPPRESSIONS

The later seventeenth century was the high point of confraternal activity and influence, and by the mideighteenth century these organizations were being challenged by reform movements rooted in Jansenism and Enlightenment values. Their organization mirrored the stratified social hierarchy of the ancien régime, ranging from a small number of exclusive groups that enjoyed significant wealth and special privileges to a broader range of occupational, parochial, and charitable groups that aimed to adapt popular piety to the rhythm of Catholic orthodoxy. Both sides expressed their faith in dramatic rituals such as public flagellation, in lavish processions, and in periodic feasts. Tintoretto, Rubens, and El Greco were among the famous artists commissioned to adorn the quarters of elite confraternities, while a host of minor talents designed ornate chapels and oratories or painted the elaborate banners, altarpieces, and images that brought the "devotional consumption" of baroque piety to local streets and village chapels.

By the 1750s, a growing chorus of critics within and outside the Catholic church found confraternal piety to be wasteful, corrupt, tasteless, and superstitious, and called for worship characterized by moderation, simplicity, inner devotion, and charity. Political authorities resented the confraternities' autonomies and untaxed patrimonies. New ritual kin groups such as the Masons offered fraternity without flagellation and grew at confraternities' expense, particularly in France. The political elites who once had favored and patronized the confraternities now deliberately dismantled them. In Austria, Joseph II suppressed the confraternities in 1782. In Grand Ducal Tuscany, a 1783 census paved the way for suppression of all but a handful of charitable groups in 1785. In both instances, expropriated properties and possessions were to be redistributed to the poor. In Spain, mounting criticism from the 1750s led to a royal census of confraternal wealth in 1768-1771, followed by suppression of all but charitable and religious groups in 1784, the disentailment of confraternal property in 1798, and

a final expropriation of remaining resources in 1841. Though confraternities eventually revived as devotional groups in the nineteenth century, they never regained the social and political influence that they had enjoyed in the *ancien régime*.

See also Catholicism; Jesuits; Missions and Missionaries; Reformation, Catholic; Religious Orders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnes, Andrew. The Social Dimension of Piety: Associative Life and Devotional Change in the Penitential Confraternities of Marseilles (1499–1792). New York, 1994.

Black, Christopher. *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge, U.K., 1989.

Chatellier, Louis. The Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society. Cambridge, U.K., 1989.

Confraternitas vol. 1 (1990–). Journal of the Society for Confraternity Studies (Toronto).

Donnelly, John Patrick, and Michael W. Maher, eds. Confraternities and Catholic Reform in Italy, France, & Spain. Kirksville, Mo., 1999.

Eisenbichler, Konrad. The Boys of the Archangel Raphael: A Youth Confraternity in Florence, 1411–1785. Toronto, 1998.

Flynn, Maureen. Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain 1400–1700. Ithaca, N.Y., 1989.

Horowitz, Elliot. "Jewish Confraternal Piety in the Veneto in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Gli Ebrei e Venezia*, edited by G. Cozzi. Milan, 1987.

Terpstra, Nicholas, ed. *The Politics of Ritual Kinship: Con*fraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy. Cambridge, U.K., 2000.

Webster, Susan Verdi. Art and Ritual in Golden Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week. Princeton, 1998.

NICHOLAS TERPSTRA

CONSCRIPTION. See Military: Armies: Recruitment, Organization, and Social Composition

CONSTANTINOPLE. The city of Constantinople, called Kostantaniyye in Arabic and in formal Ottoman usage and Istanbul in the vernacular, was the most cosmopolitan city in the Mediterra-

nean world and the Middle East during the early modern period. Its geographic location—it connected Asia and Europe as well as the Black Sea and the Mediterranean—enhanced its importance during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. In addition, its natural beauty, monumental architecture (Byzantine and Ottoman), size, and commercial importance surpassed former Ottoman and Islamic capitals like Bursa, Cairo, and Isfahan in the early modern period. European visitors to the Ottoman capital have left numerous accounts and hundreds of sketches of its beautiful panorama, its magnificent Byzantine and Ottoman monuments, and the colorful daily life of its residents, including women, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Lady Mary Montagu, the wife of the English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in 1717-1718, Istanbul surpassed European cities like London and Paris in size in the eighteenth century. It was the most exotic and yet familiar city for visiting Europeans who lived among local Greeks, Armenians, and Jews in the European neighborhood of Pera in the eighteenth century.

THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE MAKING OF ISTANBUL

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II (ruled 1444-1446, 1451-1481) on 29 May 1453 led initially to its physical devastation as a result of a two-month siege and violent takeover by the Ottoman troops, who pounded the walls with heavy cannon fire. A good number of its residents fled the city during the siege, reducing the defending force to only seven thousand men, which included Venetian and Genoese volunteers. Lack of unity among its Greek residents, who defied Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI's (ruled 1449–1453) call for union with Rome, combined with the superior force of the Ottoman army, which numbered eighty thousand men, made possible the conquest of the city. The sultan assumed the title of Conqueror (Fatih) after this victory, which marked the end of Byzantium and the beginning of an imperial age for the Ottomans.

After witnessing the looting and pillaging of the city by his soldiers, Mehmed II immediately set out to rebuild Constantinople and convert it to an Ottoman-Islamic capital. He first granted amnesty to former residents who had fled and pressed Greeks and Turks from all over the empire to settle in the

city in return for tax relief. In the process of occupation and resettlement, many former residents who had survived lost their property to the new settlers. The sultan entered the great Cathedral of Haghia Sophia (Turkish, aya sofya) mounted on his horse and ordered the erection of a minaret and the construction of a pulpit (mimber) and an ornamental niche (mihrab) indicating the direction of Mecca. The magnificent mosaics were obscured by plaster in accordance with the orthodox Islamic ban on human imagery. Many Greek and Armenian churches fell into ruin or were converted into mosques, symbolizing the new status of Islam under the Ottomans. Mehmed II ordered the construction of a new palace, the Topkapi Sarayi, next to the Aya Sofya mosque on the first Hill, which replaced the old palace on the third Hill and became the residence of the dynasty and the center of government until the late eighteenth century. The imperial harem, the residence of the Ottoman household, and its dependents became part of the Topkapi Palace. Mehmed II also ordered the construction of a royal mosque (Fatih Camii) complex with a commercial district that became known as the covered bazaar (Kapali Çarşi) at the heart of the city on the third Hill to revive the economy and promote trade. He commanded the members of the ruling class to set up similar religious and charitable foundations in the vicinity of his mosque.

The city was divided into four districts: Eyüp, which contained the tomb of Abu Ayyub (Eyüp) al-Ansari, one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammed who had taken part in the first Muslim siege in the seventh century; Galata, the Genoese town; Istanbul, the walled royal district; and Usküdar, on the Asiatic shore. Galata and Istanbul were the most populated towns. The city expanded beyond the walls and on both shores of the Bosphorus in the eighteenth century. In the absence of detailed and regular surveys, it is impossible to reach any firm conclusions about demographic trends in the city before the nineteenth century. The earliest Ottoman census for the two districts of Galata and intra muros Istanbul in 1477 records a civilian population of 16,324 tax-paying households, 9,486 of them Muslim, 3,743 Greek Orthodox, 1,647 Jewish, 434 Armenian, 332 European, 31 Gypsy (Roma), and various others (İnalcik, 1973, p. 141). According to some estimates, the



Constantinople. Seventeenth-century engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/MARINE MUSEUM LISBON/DAGLI ORTI

population of the city, including its immediate suburbs, rose from 80,000 or so in the late fifteenth century to 500,000 in the sixteenth century. Foreign travelers estimated the population of the city to have been anywhere from 300,000 to 700,000 in the mid-eighteenth century, with Muslims making up 58 percent of the population. Orthodox Greeks continued to be the most dominant non-Muslim element in the capital as in the empire as a whole. Jews made up about 10 percent of the population of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. The Latin Catholic population of Galata is said to have numbered around 3,000 in 1714. Several hundred French households resided in the neighborhood of Bereket-zade in Pera, the neighborhood above Galata, in the eighteenth century.

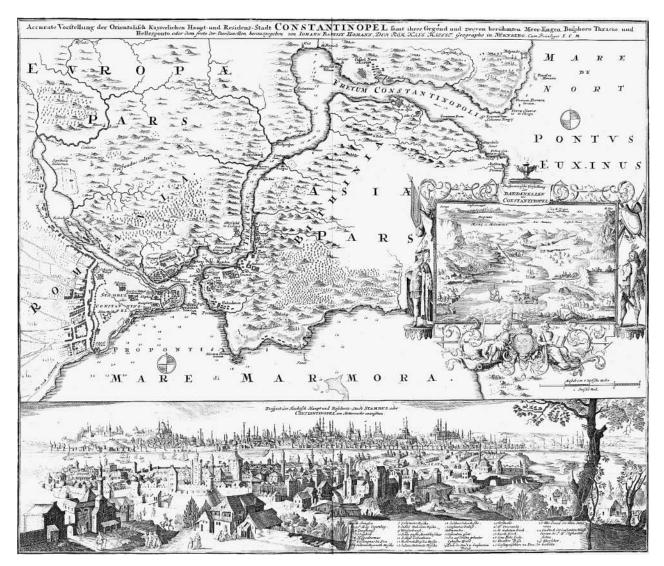
The fires, plague, and earthquakes so often recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries periodically reduced the population and destroyed whole neighborhoods. Rural migration, however, more than restored demographic balance. The state had to impose limits on rural migration to the city

and deported unemployed single men regularly in the eighteenth century. The first formal census survey estimated the population of greater Istanbul to be around 359,000 people in the early decades of the nineteenth century. It rose to 1,077,000 in 1897. The population of greater Galata alone reached 291,406 persons (49.8 percent Muslim) in 1927.

CONSTRUCTING AN ISLAMIC CAPITAL

The Ottoman dynasty played an important role in the physical and economic development of the city. The sultan ordered the members of his household and his grandees to endow pious foundations (vakf) all over the city and particularly in the district of Istanbul, which became the residence of the dynasty. The female members of the Ottoman dynasty, like valide-sultans ('queen mothers') and princesses of the blood, also played an important role in founding the new complexes. These vakf complexes provided religious services, education, health care, shelter, and food for the population. The income to support the

42



Constantinople. This dramatic map of the Ottoman capital is from an early-nineteenth-century German atlas. The main part of the map, with its small-scale plan of the city, illustrates its strategic position on the Bosphorus. Below the map is a view of the city from the north, with a key to numbered buildings, including the Seraglio, Hagia Sophia, and other mosques. Many of these impressive buildings were erected in the sixteenth century. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

foundations came largely from commercial properties attached to these complexes. Philanthropy through *vakf* also enhanced the legitimacy of the dynasty and integrated the city physically, socially, and economically. The Süleymaniye mosque in the district of Istanbul on the seventh Hill and the Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558) mosque in Usküdar, built by Sultan Süleiman (1520–1566) and Hürrem, his beloved wife, are two outstanding examples of such *vakf* complexes.

The city was divided into thirteen districts (nahiye), each subdivided further into neighbor-

hoods (mahalle). Every district, with the exception of one, was named after a mosque complex established by sultans and viziers, for example, Süleymaniye, Mahmud Pasha, Fatih, Beyazit, Aya Sofya, and so on. The districts were mixed in their ethnic and religious makeup while individual mahalles developed around mosques, churches, and synagogues.

The non-Muslim community was generally forbidden from building new churches and synagogues but received permission from the state to repair religious buildings, particularly after major fires.

Sometimes the state urged communities to move and settle in new neighborhoods after major fires. In the late sventeenth century, the Jewish community of Bahçe Kapi was forced to move after a major fire to clear the way for the construction of a new imperial mosque, Yeni Cami. The displaced Jews were resettled in Hasköy, on the Golden Horn (an estuary that divides European Istanbul). The district of Galata housed Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and European communities. The Muslims settled in increasing numbers in the neighborhoods of Kasim Pasha and Tophane in the same district. Rural migrants and other single men settled in the bachelor lodges (bekar odalari) in these two neighborhoods, where jobs were available in the arsenal and the cannon foundry. The villages along the Bosphorus, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Arnavütköy, Bebek, Kuskunçuk, and so on also remained mixed in their ethnic composition. The neighborhoods enjoyed great autonomy and were usually divided along religious lines. Religious strife and tension, however, rarely undermined the harmony of intercommunal life. The city had become more cosmopolitan with the settlement of a growing number of western European merchants and visitors in Pera.

COMMERCIAL LIFE AND URBAN GROWTH

Istanbul had become an important center of commerce between the Middle East, western Europe, and Russia in early modern Europe. Its commerce with western Europe, particularly with France, expanded greatly in the eighteenth century. The European merchants exchanged bullion, woolen textiles, sugar, coffee from the colonies, and other luxurious goods for Russian furs, Iranian silks, carpets, hides, and cotton textiles. The Greek, Jewish, and Armenian merchants played an important intermediary role in trade with western Europe and Russia. The neighborhood of Pera, on the northern hills of Galata, the former Genoese colony, became the residence of western European diplomats and merchants. Galata and Pera also emerged as the center of banking and international commerce in the eighteenth century, overshadowing the traditional commercial center, the bazaar in the old district of Istanbul. This shift also symbolized the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world economy and the dominance of Western trade in the economic life of the city. The new urban bourgeoisie composed of Greeks, Armenians, and, to a lesser extent,

Jews and members of the Muslim elite, who enjoyed strong ties to European houses of commerce and credit networks, set up business in fashionable shops in Pera, later known as Beyoğlu.

The royal household also moved out of the old district and settled in newly built palaces like the Dolmabahçe and the Yildiz Palace on the European shores of the Bosphorus. These palaces displayed European artistic and architectural influences like the baroque and rococo of the eighteenth century. In addition, the members of the dynasty, particularly the Ottoman princesses like Fatma Sultan, the daughter of Ahmed III (ruled 1703-1730) and wife of the Tulip era grand vizier Nevşehirli Ibrahim, built public parks and gardens and erected public fountains to supply water for the new neighborhoods. An air of leisure and festivity dominated the private and public lives of the Ottoman ruling class and, to some extent, that of the masses during the Tulip period (1718-1730). The royal household took every occasion to celebrate publicly new victories in the Morea (1715) and Tabriz (1725), the birth and circumcision of Ottoman princes, and the weddings of Ottoman princesses. This period came to an end with the Patrona Halil rebellion in September 1730 that led to the overthrow of Ahmed III and his grand vizier Ibrahim. The rebels, led by disgruntled janissaries and guildsmen, also destroyed the Sa'dabâd palace in Kağithane and numerous others to express their resentment of rulingclass frivolities and perceived decadence.

Despite frequent outbreaks of popular discontent, the city continued to grow and attract rural migrants and Western visitors. Because inflation and food shortages caused numerous riots in the city (1687, 1703, 1730, and 1740), the provisioning of the Ottoman capital assumed a central importance in the urban administration. The courts sentenced bakers to the galleys for short-weighting and violating official prices of bread in the eighteenth century. The police department, which primarily consisted of the janissary corps, expanded its authority to reach into hitherto autonomous quarters of the city. Community policing under the control of the local Muslim, Christian, and Jewish religious authorities and notables also assumed greater importance in keeping the criminal elements, the unemployed, and single rural migrants out of residential neighborhoods. The ruralization of Istanbul, however, continued at a regular pace during the nineteenth century. The Tanzimat reforms of 1839– 1868 led to the physical and administrative reorganization and centralization of the city along European lines such as the widening of streets, construction of pavements, street gas-lighting, the establishment of municipal councils, and a mayorship to enforce new municipal regulations.

See also Architecture; Commerce and Markets; Harem; Holy Roman Empire; Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Janissary; Jews and Judaism; Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire); Mercantilism; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I; Sultan; Topkapi Palace; Tulip Era (Ottoman Empire); Turkish Literature and Language; Vizier; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Çelik, Zeynep. The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century. Seattle, 1986.
- Eldem, E. French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century. Leiden, 1999.
- Eldem, E., B. Goffman, and B. Masters. *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul.* Cambridge, U.K., 1999.
- Freely, John. Istanbul: The Imperial City. London, 1996.
- İnalcik, Halil. "Istanbul." *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Volume 4. 2nd ed. Leiden, 1978.
- ——. The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300–1600. London, 1973.
- ——. "Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553." In *Essays in Ottoman History*, edited by Halil Inalcik, pp. 275–376. Istanbul, 1998.
- Mantran, Robert. Histoire d'Istanbul. Paris, 1996.
- Montagu, Mary Wortley, Lady. *Turkish Embassy Letters*. Edited by Malcolm Jack. Athens, Ga., 1993.
- Tekeli, Ilhan. "Nineteenth Century Transformation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area." In *Villes Ottomans à la fin de l'empire*, edited by P. Dumont and F. Georgeon. Paris, 1990.
- Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba. "Gendering Urban Space: Women's Smaller Vakfs in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul." In *The Turks*, edited by H. C. Güzel, C. Oğuz, and O. Karatay, vol. 4, pp. 554–563. Ankara, 2002.
- . "The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of Istanbul: 1700–1850." *International Labor and Working Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 141–152.
- -----. "The Wealth of Ottoman Princesses during the Tulip Period." In *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civiliza*tion, edited by Güler Eren, pp. 696–701. Ankara, 2000.

FARIBA ZARINEBAF

CONSTITUTIONALISM. The modern concept of constitutionalism involves a political system of checks and balances, regulated by law and designed to protect the liberty of individuals and enable their participation in politics. A constitution may take written form, as in the American constitution of 1787, or it may consist of an assemblage of legal statutes and precedents collected over time, as in the United Kingdom. The word "constitutionalism" did not exist in early modern Europe, but most of the ideas behind it were frequently expressed. A constitution generally meant the creation of a law or statute. However, political institutions and individual liberty were long seen as the products of custom rather than deliberate lawmaking. Checks and balances were thought to be embodied in a limited monarchy or mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The idea of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers did not become clear until the eighteenth century.

FRANCE

Claude de Seyssel's La grant monarchie de France (1519; The great monarchy of France) was representative of early French constitutional thought. Seyssel (c. 1450-1520) was a bishop and a jurist high in the counsels of Louis XII (ruled 1498-1515), and his book was intended as a guide for the next king, Francis I (ruled 1515–1547). He insisted that the king must observe what he called *la police*, meaning the institutional structure of the realm, which included such fundamental laws as the rules of royal succession and the inalienability of the royal domain. The king was restricted by two other "bridles" (freins), religion and justice. The clergy and the high court of the parlement were supposed to advise the king accordingly. In practice the regime of Francis I became increasingly authoritarian, and constitutional ideas were seldom voiced until the monarchy proved unable to cope with the civil and religious conflicts of the second half of the sixteenth century.

An important jurist who did not align himself with those who extolled the rights of the king was Charles Du Moulin (1500–1566). He agreed with Seyssel about the fundamental laws and demanded that the royal administration serve the cause of justice. Looking to remote Carolingian precedents, Du Moulin found supreme authority in early Frankish

assemblies of the realm, and while he respected the royal authority, he saw the king's function as primarily administrative. His main interest lay in customary law, which he regarded as the result of consensual and contractual agreements. Property and private laws were distinct from public or enacted law. Du Moulin was at the center of a movement to record and standardize the multiple bodies of private customary law.

Another jurist of great distinction who stressed the importance of ancient custom was the Calvinist François Hotman (1524-1590), but, unlike Du Moulin, he placed it in the realm of public law. The radical message of his constitutional history of France, Francogallia (1573), was that French political institutions were derived from the customs of the Franks who had liberated Gaul from the Romans in the fifth century. Frankish assemblies had been the custodians of the fundamental laws and had had supreme authority over kings. The perfect and mixed constitution had long endured, but it had gradually been corrupted and ought, according to Hotman, to be restored. This message was adopted by Huguenot pamphleteers during the Wars of Religion, and it belonged more to polemical resistance theory than to objective constitutionalism.

In the late sixteenth century, concepts of the absolute sovereignty of the king were developed in opposition to doctrines of resistance. Constitutional ideas did not entirely disappear, however. They were expressed by the jurist Étienne Pasquier (1529-1615), who defended the authority of the crown while claiming the right of the so-called sovereign courts to review royal legislation. His Recherches de la France (Researches on France, published serially from 1560; first complete edition, 1621) held the parlement to be the true descendant of the Frankish assemblies and denied the role of the representative Estates-General, thought by Hotman to have inherited supreme power in the state from the Franks. Another jurist, Guy Coquille (1523-1603), presented a particularist kind of constitutionalism. Solicitor general in the duchy of Nevers, he defended and compared local rights and privileges enshrined in provincial codes of customary law. His Coutumes du pays et duché de Nivernais (1605; Customs of the region and duchy of Nivernais) and Questions et réponses sur les articles des coutumes de France (1611; Questions and answers on the articles of the customs of France) were widely respected.

SPAIN

The existence of representative assemblies (Cortes) and specified liberties (fueros) in the Iberian peninsula suggested a measure of constitutional balance, but an increasingly centralized royal bureaucracy tended to negate these institutions. For the most part constitutional thought in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was general and speculative. Among such theorists were the Dominican Domingo de Soto (1495–1560) and the Jesuits Luis de Molina (1535-1600), Juan de Mariana (1536–1624), and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). They all followed Scholastic tradition and held chairs of theology at Spanish or Portuguese universities. They were agreed that monarchical authority had originally been created by some kind of irrevocable communal contract, but only Mariana believed that this made the king the delegate of the people. While supporting royal authority, they thought that consent was needed for taxation. However, in his work De Legibus (1612; Concerning the laws) Suárez stated that the king could break the fueros in the interest of the common good. He admitted that in some states the community could reserve certain powers under the original contract and thereby create a mixed monarchy, but this was not the case with the Spanish crown. In contrast, Mariana placed greater restrictions on the king and even endorsed tyrannicide in his De Rege et Regis Institutione (1599; On the king and his education). He illustrated these limitations in his Historiae de Rebus Hispaniae (1592; Histories of the affairs of Spain).

GERMANY

Complex as were the institutions of Castile and the more contractual arrangements in Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia, they were simplicity itself when compared with the tortuous organization of the German empire. Tensions between the emperor and the seven electoral princes, together with disputes between the non-electoral princes and the free cities, who formed the other two houses of the representative diet, were complicated by local leagues, administrative circles, and a double system of justice. During the conflicts of the Reformation

some arguments were made in terms of constitutional law, but no theorist was able to rationalize the constitution of the empire as a coherent whole. In the seventeenth century various jurists tried to adapt the definition of sovereignty offered by Jean Bodin (1530-1596) to Germany, but this produced more heat than light. The only persuasive solution was advanced by Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694), who was a professor of law at Heidelberg and later at Lund before becoming court historiographer at Stockholm and then at Berlin. Law and history complemented each other in a mind that adjusted political taxonomy to change over time. His De Jure Naturae et Gentium (1672; Law of nature and of nations) was comparable to the celebrated work of an earlier Dutch jurist and historian, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), De Jure Belli ac Pacis (1625; On the law of war and peace). Law and history were combined in Pufendorf's De Statu Imperii Germanici (1667; On the constitution of the German empire). There he combined the concept of a federal state, similar to the constitution of the Netherlands, with a distinction between regular and irregular forms of government. The empire "constituted itself from a regular form of monarchy and an irregular form of state, which is no longer a limited monarchy, whatever appearance of such it may have, but nor is it a federation of several states, since it represents something between the two." Pufendorf preferred monarchy and abhorred radical resistance theory, but he approved of the English Revolution of 1688.

ENGLAND

The settlement after the Revolution of 1688 was the culmination of political conflict and constitutional speculation. The main issues had been the relationship between the monarch and the other two components of Parliament, the Lords and the Commons, together with a peculiarly English concept of the common law as the controlling element in the constitution. England was usually seen as a mixed or tempered monarchy that allowed the ruler a special prerogative but gave supreme authority to the king in Parliament. On the one hand Parliament's function was regarded as the making of positive law; on the other it was viewed as a high court that found and declared ancient customary law.

In the fifteenth century Sir John Fortescue (c. 1394–c. 1476), chief justice of the common law

court, the King's Bench, declared in his De Laudibus Legum Angliae (first printed 1537; Praises of the laws of England) that statutes were made by the will of the king with the assent of the realm represented in Parliament, and that England was governed by a participatory and regal system (dominium politicum et regale), in contrast with the pure monarchy (politicum regale) in France. With the assumption of royal power over the church by the Tudors during the Reformation the idea of legislative sovereignty in a nation-state came near to realization. Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577), a jurist, diplomat, and secretary of state, declared in De Republica Anglorum (1583; On the commonwealth of the English) that Parliament was "the most high and absolute power in the realm." At the same time Smith was a vigorous defender of the royal extra-parliamentary prerogative.

With the advent of the first two Stuart kings (James I, ruled 1603-1625; Charles I, ruled 1625-1649) the crown adopted the theory of the divine right of kings and asserted royal authority over Parliament. At the same time the common lawyers claimed the supremacy of immemorial customary law. Their leader was Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634), who, after his dismissal as chief justice of the King's Bench in 1616, became a member of the Commons and a defender of parliamentary privilege. As a judge he was even prepared to disallow a statute if, in his view, it contravened common law. After governing without Parliament for eleven years, Charles I gradually yielded ground and agreed to such measures as the attainder and execution of his first minister and the abolition of the conciliar courts established under the Tudors as rivals of the common law courts.

Just before the outbreak of civil war in 1642, Parliament presented the king with nineteen propositions further restricting his rule. In reply moderate advisers of the king made the tactical error of admitting that the constitution was indeed a mixed one, and that the Lords and Commons held coordinate, instead of subordinate, power with the crown. For its part Parliament did not try to depose the king at this point but tried to attract moderate opinion by asserting a difference between the office and person of the king and its right to exercise the former while he remained under the influence of so-called "malignants." After the civil wars Charles I

was tried and executed. England became a republic while a series of constitutional experiments were attempted under the aegis of the parliamentary general, Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). There were even some radical proposals, never implemented, to create manhood suffrage and annual parliaments.

The civil wars were accompanied by a vast polemical literature supporting the royal and parliamentary causes. A more detached commentary on the constitution was written by an obscure Wiltshire clergyman, Philip Hunton (c. 1604-1682). His Treatise of Monarchy (1643) favored Parliament while treating the crown with respect. Established by a fundamental contract, the constitution of England was a mixed monarchy wherein the king controlled the executive while king, Lords, and Commons shared legislative power. In a mixed monarchy the ruler was limited by definition, but a limited monarchy need not be mixed if the contract gave authority to the crown alone but limited it by fundamental laws. Since Charles I had invaded the rights of the two houses, Parliament was acting in defense of the constitution, but there could be no superior tribunal to judge the king, else England would not be a monarchy at all. Despite its moderate tone, A Treatise of Monarchy provoked much royalist criticism and was republished during the political troubles of Charles II (ruled 1660-1685).

Under the Restoration the constitution resumed the forms it had taken before the civil wars, including some of the concessions made by Charles I. The struggle to exclude from the succession the king's Roman Catholic brother, the future James II (ruled 1685–1688), stimulated the composition of two works that were later assumed to justify the socalled Glorious Revolution of 1688: Discourses concerning Government (first published 1698) by the republican statesman Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) and Two Treatises of Government (1690) by the physician and philosopher John Locke (1632– 1704). Sidney, who was well-read in the resistance literature of the French Wars of Religion, popularized the so-called "Gothic" theory of ancient European institutions, based on Hotman's idea in Francogallia that the Germanic tribes invading the Roman empire had brought with them admirable constitutions. Locke based his political theory on the protection of indefeasible individual rights of life, liberty, and property enjoyed in a sociable but inconvenient state of nature. By an original contract individuals had set up a community in which the majority were empowered to set up a form of government. The outcome was rather similar to Hunton's constitutionalism, since power was divided between an executive and a shared legislature. Locke added a third element, the "federative," by which he meant power to protect the state against external enemies. The community had no right to resist the established powers, but if the government collapsed through its own divisions, society had a constituent right to set up a new regime.

The final element in early modern constitutionalism was the separation of powers doctrine, hinted at but not developed by Hunton, Locke, and others. It was defined by Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) in the eleventh book of his De l'esprit des lois (1748; Spirit of the laws). To complete the system of checks and balances Montesquieu added the judicial element to the legislative and executive, thus incorporating the shade of the English common law myth. He also repeated the legend of the Gothic constitution, declaring that the origin of the most satisfactory kind of government was to be found in the forests of Germany. Although seen by some as conservative and aristocratic, Montesquieu's theory was to influence the written constitutions of the American and French Revolutions.

See also Absolutism; Authority, Concept of; Bodin, Jean; Democracy; Divine Right Kingship; English Civil War and Interregnum; Grotius, Hugo; Law; Liberty; Locke, John; Mariana, Juan de; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Natural Law; Political Philosophy; Republicanism; Sovereignty, Theory of; Tyranny, Theory of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Elton, G. R., ed. The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary. 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K., 1982.

Hotman, François. *Francogallia*. Edited by Ralph E. Giesey. Translated by J. H. M. Salmon. Cambridge, U.K., 1972. With commentary by the editors.

Kenyon, J. P., ed. *The Stuart Constitution: Documents and Commentary.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1986.

Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government*. Edited by Peter Laslett. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1988. With commentary by the editor.

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de. *The Spirit of the Laws.* Translated by Thomas Nugent. New York, 1949.

Seyssel, Claude de. The Monarchy of France. Translated by J. H. Hexter. Edited by Donald R. Kelley. New Haven, 1981.

Secondary Sources

Church, William Farr. Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France: A Study in the Evolution of Ideas. New York, 1941.

Dufour, Alfred. "Pufendorf." In *The Cambridge History of Political Thought*, 1450–1700. Edited by J. H. Burns. Cambridge, U.K., 1991.

Friedrich, Carl J. Constitutional Government and Democracy: Theory and Practice in Europe and America. Boston, 1941.

Lloyd, Howell A. "Constitutionalism." In *The Cambridge History of Political Thought*, 1450–1700. Edited by J. H. Burns. Cambridge, U.K., 1991.

McIlwain, Charles Howard. Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern. Rev. ed. Ithaca, N.Y., 1958.

Pocock, J. G. A. The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century. 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1987.

Scott, Jonathan. England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000.

Shklar, Judith N. Montesquieu. Oxford, 1987.

J. H. M. SALMON

CONSUMPTION. It is not coincidental that the Latin word consumere, 'to use up', referring chiefly to food, has come to stand for the act of purchasing and using all variety of goods. This meaning developed at the same time that merchants succeeded in changing the nature of consumption in the course of the early modern period. In the early sixteenth century, consumption for the vast majority of people meant almost exclusively eating food, on which the bulk of most people's household income was spent. By the end of the eighteenth century a much greater proportion of people had become consumers in the modern sense of the word: 'those who use their income to purchase products for the satisfaction of desires beyond immediate needs'.

The most significant variables in this general pattern, the growth of consumerism, were class and geography. Those in the uppermost social strata had always been, to some extent, consumers. Even through the Middle Ages they purchased luxury items such as rare and exotic spices, silks and jewels, aromatic perfumes, and wine, but the range of goods available was fairly limited and they were always prohibitively expensive. City dwellers, despite expendable income, did not have many opportunities to indulge themselves. There simply was not that much to buy, and most Europeans did not have access to these goods due to the limitations of geography, poor roads, and scant international trade.

How and why early modern Europeans made the transition from a relatively meager material culture to one in which a significant number of people enjoyed true opulence depended on a number of factors. The growth of world trade, market-oriented agriculture, demographic growth and inflation, and urbanization were all key factors. So, too, was social mobility. Put simply, more people with lucrative professions had money to spend, and goods arrived more frequently and in greater volume. Competition among the ascendant classes and emulation of courtiers forced the elite to refashion themselves constantly and to invent new tastes in food, clothing, and luxury items. These extravagances kept both them and their tastes distinct from their social inferiors. Thus, fashions changed ever more quickly and high culture was definitively separated from popular culture.

A perfect example of this process was the popularity of spices such as cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and sugar. Originating in what is now Indonesia and India, and passing through the hands of many middlemen, such spices were extremely expensive, making them a perfect symbol of wealth to be consumed, literally. After direct trade routes to Asia were established by the Portuguese, spices were imported in much greater volume. The price did not come down as much as one might expect, however, because such things were rigidly controlled by the state, and the Venetian and Genoese merchants trading in the Mediterranean were not put out of business as quickly as is generally supposed. In any case, more people had access to spices and this significantly diminished their efficacy as markers of social status. The use of cinnamon and sugar, especially after the latter was grown commercially in the New World, was no longer the exclusive domain of the most wealthy and powerful. By the mid-seventeenth century, spices began to go out of fashion in elite cookbooks, and by the eighteenth they were increasingly banished to sweet desserts. Only pepper retained its status as a universal seasoning, but, like the other spices and sugar, it, too, eventually came down in price.

The growth of cities also had a major impact on patterns of consumption. The rural peasant dependent on subsistence agriculture was increasingly replaced by the entrepreneurial farmer who used capital-intensive methods to grow food for the market. The small holder was either converted into a wage laborer, in which case he became a consumer rather than a direct producer, or, in another context, he joined the teeming ranks of people who fled the countryside to seek work in cities. Cities are, by their very nature, consumer-oriented. In areas of urban concentration such as the Low Countries and Northern Italy, and around major cities such as London and Paris, the trade in foodstuffs was brisk due to the great demand. Just supplying cities with bread was a major industry and shortages could lead to riots. To prevent this, the state routinely fixed the prices of bread, passed laws to discourage grain speculation, and did everything it could to ensure a regular supply. In years of crop failure or famine, which struck nearly every decade, their efforts often proved futile.

These conditions were only exacerbated by demographic pressure. With the exception of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most of Europe experienced a steady rise in population throughout the early modern period. This in turn put pressure on resources, driving prices higher and giving further incentives to food producers to expand their operations by moving onto marginal land and hillsides, draining marshes, applying fertilizers, and using crop-rotation systems. All these factors helped to make agriculture more commercial in nature, and, of course, fed the growing cities. Inflation also forced average consumers to spend a growing proportion of their household income on basic staples such as grains, making the average diet relatively poor in protein.

Cities were regularly supplied with meat and vegetables from the surrounding countryside, however. Imperishable items such as stockfish, cheeses, cured hams and sausages, dried pulses, and wine could all be imported from farther afield. In Northern Europe beer was increasingly brewed commercially and on a large scale rather than in the home, and was consumed in public houses or taverns. For poorer city dwellers, the bulk of the diet consisted of bread and starches, dairy products, and relatively durable vegetables such as cabbages and onions. Fresh meat, fruits, and vegetables were comparatively expensive and continued to be so throughout the period despite the growth of intensive cattle rearing and market gardening. Vegetables such as artichokes and asparagus, melons, and all manner of fresh fish retained their association as foods fit for nobles, and in Catholic countries, where Lenten restrictions were still in force, these could be extremely costly. Fresh game was also a valuable commodity, and small birds, rabbits, and the occasional boar or deer were highly esteemed foods served only on the best of tables.

What constituted good taste in refined circles also shifted dramatically in the course of the early modern period. In the beginning, a profusion of spices and a preference for sweet-and-sour dishes inherited from the Middle Ages still held sway. Variety and a great abundance of food served in multiple courses was the accepted way to impress guests. These features gradually gave way to smaller dishes, elegantly garnished and accompanied by sauces intended to accent rather than contrast with the main ingredient. The invention of a flour and fat-based roux lies at the core of what would eventually evolve into classic French haute cuisine in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Naturally, maintaining a kitchen staff with the requisite expertise and equipment also became necessary for anyone with a pretense to dining savoir faire.

The discovery of the Americas and linking markets around the globe also had a great impact on patterns of consumption. We tend to think first of American foods, such as potatoes, tomatoes, and peppers (capsicums), which would eventually transform European diet and food culture, but their use was limited until the late eighteenth century. Corn (maize) is the only possible exception to this rule as it caught on fairly quickly and was grown extensively

in Southern Europe. More important were the luxuries introduced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: chocolate, tobacco, and, from Asia, coffee and tea. All these, along with the requisite utensils, became standard consumables in fashionable society. It has been suggested that hot caffeine-laden drinks were ideally suited to Protestant Northern Europe, where sobriety and working long hours were culturally embedded ideals. Whether this is the case or not, coffee and tea did eventually replace alcoholic beverages as the typical morning and midday drinks of choice, first among the wealthy and then, increasingly, among the working classes.

Colonial possessions of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas and Asia, and, in the seventeenth century, those of the Dutch, French, and English, provided markets for manufactured goods and also supplied raw materials to the mother country. Whether it was sugar grown on an enormous scale in the Caribbean or Brazil with slave labor, or cotton and rice in the English colonies, these products now entered the European markets. American drugs like cinchona bark and sassafras and dyes like cochineal also became valuable commodities. From Africa came gold, ivory, and slaves and, from Asia, along with spices, rare porcelain, which became the rage until Europeans discovered how to make it themselves in the eighteenth century.

Even the advent of table manners influenced patterns of consumption. Although adopted slowly and sporadically, the fork was eventually considered indispensable. Matching sets of silverware soon replaced the mismatched spoons and knives that diners often carried with them. Along with these developments, individual place settings replaced the more common platters from which medieval diners had plucked food with their fingers. Rather than a slice of bread or wooden trencher, plates of pewter, earthenware, porcelain, or, later, silver became significant investments for the average household. Wealthier homes would also have a collection of platters, basins, ewers for water and wine, and a great variety of serving vessels. Although matching sets were rare, the possession of these items conferred status on the owner, and they could, of course, always be pawned or, if silver, melted down in case of emergency. Napkins, which were usually large and draped across the shoulder, and tablecloths were also becoming ever more typical items among those who chose to dine politely.

Household furniture also proliferated in number and delicacy throughout the early modern period. From a rough bench and literally a "board" set on wooden trestles that could be moved from room to room, there soon appeared permanently fixed tables with turned legs, and elegant sideboards and cupboards on which to display the family tableware. Elaborate candelabra also became necessary as the time for dinner as the main meal of the day gradually shifted from midday to early evening. The dining room itself, as a separate, intimate room with one function, is an invention of the early modern period.

Beyond the dining room, the bedstead, linens, and chests—often containing the wife's dowry—were also highly valued possessions. They were almost always listed in wills and household inventories, and their deposition after death was very carefully monitored. Even the pillows, bolsters, and blankets, sometimes the most valuable items listed in inventories, would be carefully preserved for the use of heirs.

Clothes, too, were considered important articles of property. While the average peasant or laborer might own only a few sets of clothing and only one suitable for special occasions, wealthy people could invest a serious fortune in doublets, hose, and starched ruffs for men, or jewel-studded brocades and silks for women. Domestically produced velvet, damasks, and satins were even exported to Asia. The fabric as well as the dyes used, not to mention the workmanship, made these extremely expensive items. The fur lining in the finest cloaks, something its possessors were proud to show off in portraits, may not have been merely a fashion statement. Unusually cold and erratic weather—what has been called the Little Ice Age—beginning in the late sixteenth century and extending into the eighteenth, may have actually made such items necessary.

One can see the small but expensive consumables that so entranced our early modern forebears by looking at still life paintings of the period. Beyond the lush vessels and glasses prized for their radiance, clocks, mirrors, books, writing implements, and musical instruments often clutter these canvases. Although they often figured some way in

the memento mori ('remembrance of death') theme of these paintings, they were also possessions that people wanted to show off. So, too, were paintings themselves: whether portraits, devotional images, or genre scenes, they were something anyone with enough money sought to commission. Tapestries were also typical and valuable household items that served both as decoration and a way to prevent drafts. What is perhaps unique about the way such items were purchased and kept is that they became true collections. Some people sought out antique statues or cameos, others bronzes or strange and marvelous beasts that were amassed into "cabinets of curiosities." Connoisseurship became the true test of the refined gentleman, and, on the requisite grand tour, young men would begin their collections by scrounging up books and manuscripts, paintings, and other souvenirs from their trip through Europe. Ironically, just as the military role of the nobility was being ceded to the professional soldier, collecting arms and armor became one way to preserve one's heritage.

The growth of consumerism was fostered by several fiscal innovations that undoubtedly played a major role in the increased volume of trade. Although only fully functional toward the end of the early modern period, joint stock companies and stock exchanges, legally guaranteed limited partnerships and contracts, and insurance, not to mention more accessible forms of credit, all made trade a more reliable business venture. Trade became less of a wild gamble or "adventure" than a steady source of regular income. All this meant that more and more goods were available and affordable for the average consumer, but it would still be premature to label this society as consumer-oriented.

Among the factors that prevented this from becoming a truly consumerist society, perhaps the most important were the mental constructs of the period and the basic tenets of mercantilist theory and state policy based on them. Working under the assumption that wealth can only be generated by carrying goods abroad to obtain the highest price and having a favorable balance of exports over imports, European states imposed stiff restrictions and duties to check domestic consumption. Only if manufactured goods were sold abroad, they reasoned, would money flow into the country, bullion (precious metals) being the index of national

wealth. To produce and consume goods domestically might shift the money around, but it could never generate wealth. By this logic, governments offered incentives to have goods shipped abroad, from surplus grain to woolens to cutlery and manufactured items. This effectively kept the supply low and prices high at home. Governments stimulated external trade by granting monopolies, chartering companies with exclusive privileges (the East India Companies are a good example of these, as are the colonial settlement charters), and by financing mercantile wars. Compounded with demographic pressure and inflation, this meant that most people never became full consumers until the industrial age, and that the goods that were consumed tended to remain expensive imported luxury items. For the wealthy few, Europe offered real opulence to which an increasingly large number of people had access, but for most people it would not be until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century that they became true consumers.

See also Capitalism; Class, Status, and Order; Clothing; Commerce and Markets; Food and Drink; Grand Tour; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Mercantilism; Monopoly; Trading Companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burke, Peter. Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe. New York, 1978.

Cipolla, Carlo. Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700. 3rd ed. New York, 1993

Dalby, Andrew. Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices. Berkeley, 2000.

De Vries, Jan. *Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, 1600–1750. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1976.

Flandrin, Jean-Louis, and Massimo Montanari, eds. Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present. Translated by Clarissa Botsford. New York, 1999.

Foster, Nelson, and Linda S. Cordell, eds. *Chilies to Chocolate: Food the Americas Gave the World.* Tucson, 1992.

Glanville, Phillipa, and Hilary Young. Elegant Eating: Four Hundred Years of Dining in Style. London, 2002.

Jardine, Lisa. Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance. New York, 1996.

Mennell, Stephen. All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present. Oxford and New York, 1985.

Mintz, Sidney. Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History. New York, 1985. Musgrave, Peter. The Early Modern European Economy. New York, 1999.

Paston-Williams, Sara. The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating. London, 1993.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants. New York, 1992.

Visser, Margaret. The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities, and Meaning of Table Manners. New York, 1991.

Wheaton, Barbara Ketcham. Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789. New York, 1983.

KEN ALBALA

CONTRACEPTION. See Sexuality and Sexual Behavior.

CONVERSOS. The Jews of Spain who converted to Christianity are usually called conversos, although they are also known as Marranos or New Christians to distinguish them from the more numerous Old Christians. Some Jews converted voluntarily. Two of the best known are Abner of Burgos and Pablo de Santa María, both of whom were baptized in the fourteenth century and inspired others to follow their lead. Other Jews were forced to convert to save their lives during the massacres and mob violence motivated by a rising tide of anti-Semitism that was most perceptible in the late fourteenth century and continued on through the fifteenth century. However conversion was accomplished, integration of this ethnic minority into the majority Old Christian culture was a much debated and uncertain issue from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century.

Conversion brought with it certain benefits, such as the opportunity to occupy church and state offices prohibited to Jews, and the new converts began to fill these offices. *Conversos* played an important role in the Castilian economy and administration, as treasurers, merchants, money managers, secretaries, and record keepers. Some of these highly placed royal servants chose to marry their daughters into the Old Christian nobility, thus forming a new group of mixed ethnic origins. If these developments argue for successful assimilation at court, matters were not so positive in some urban

centers, where the appearance of wealthy conversos in city and church councils and as tax collectors caused resentments. In the city of Toledo, for example, battles between conversos and Old Christians occurred in 1449 and again in 1467. In these two rebellions, the animosities felt by some Old Christians were formulated in "pure-blood" statutes, which stripped conversos of their municipal offices on grounds of their tainted or impure lineage, that is, their Jewish ancestry. Some converts were also accused of continuing to practice Judaism. Conversos were soon restored to their offices and the pure-blood statutes rescinded, but relations between the two ethnic groups, frequently referred to as "the two lineages," remained unstable in many towns of the realm.

The Catholic monarchs determined to resolve the *converso* problem. To this end, they founded the Spanish Inquisition, which was to ensure that the new converts did indeed observe the tenets of Christianity and abandon the customs, traditions, and beliefs of their ancestors. In its early years, the Inquisition struck a savage blow to the *converso* community, as few families escaped punishment. These same monarchs also expelled the Jews from their realms, and one of the motives for this expulsion was to protect *conversos* from any temptation to revert to their old religion.

Any conversos who remained in Spain after the Inquisition was established would have to observe at least the exterior forms of Christianity or risk being burned at the stake. And most conversos did try to observe these forms. From 1508, when the heresy known as "The Coming of the Messiah" was finally put to rest, mass punishments and executions of conversos subsided. The Toledo Inquisition still kept track of conversos, however, through the compilation of detailed genealogical records, and by having the name and crime of anyone punished by the Inquisition publicly displayed in his or her parish church.

Despite this surveillance and public humiliation, some *conversos* prospered and attained an impressive upward mobility during the first half of the sixteenth century. This was an era of population and economic growth within the crown of Castile and of imperial expansion, developments that favored the skills and talents of entrepreneurial-minded *con-*

versos, many of whom amassed substantial fortunes. Others trained in bookkeeping, law, or writing found employment in the ever-expanding bureaucracy of the realm as secretaries, treasurers, or accountants. Many who made their fortune through business and trade were able to buy a seat in a municipal governing council or place a son in the cathedral chapter, and some, not all, married their daughters to spouses outside the *converso* community, just as they had done before the Inquisition was established.

The city of Toledo serves as an example of some of these generalizations. Aside from a crownappointed corregidor, the city was governed by a council of regidores (aldermen) and an advisory, nonvoting council of jurados (parish representatives). In the first half of the sixteenth century, conversos were especially visible as jurados and as regidores who sat on the citizens' bench, rather than on the more prestigious nobles' bench. Many of the converso citizen regidores were money managers, such as tax farmers, or wholesalers who dealt in wool, silk, and other products in the Indies, Italy, and the Iberian Peninsula. Active in the city council from the 1530s to the 1560s, the citizen regidores and the jurados were instrumental in advancing the city's textile industries by supplying them with raw materials and distributing their products. They also organized and set up the credit mechanisms needed to purchase large quantities of grain during a subsistence crisis of 1557-1558.

All this apparent acceptance and integration was to change in mid-century when the doctrine of pure blood reappeared. In Toledo, a pure-blood statute was first imposed on the cathedral chapter by Cardinal-Archbishop Juan Martínez Silíceo in 1548, and this statute was approved by the pope in 1555 and the crown in 1556. Then, in 1566, a similar statute was imposed on the citizens' bench of the city council. Not only were the citizen regidores to be of pure blood, their numbers (theoretically twelve) were to be reduced, while the seats on the nobles' bench were augmented. The noble regidores suffered no genealogical scrutiny, although they were supposed to have inherited their nobility, as opposed to buying it, and were not to be involved in any base occupations.

Many conversos fought the pure-blood statutes, but with their acceptance by both the crown and the papacy, opponents faced formidable obstacles. If conversos could meet the demand of becoming good Christians, they could hardly manage to escape their ancestry and meet the pure-blood qualifications. So conversos dissimulated, falsifying lineage, changing names and birthplaces, and paying for false testimony. Some were wealthy enough to buy their way into the nobility, by marrying a daughter to an impoverished aristocrat, by buying a village that would enable their heirs to claim nobility, or by having their nobility approved by a chancellery court. In the Toledo city council, many of the citizen regidores first attempted to have their lineage approved locally, and then, if they could afford it, to upgrade their seating arrangements by moving from the citizens' to the nobles' bench. For example, the converso Vaca de Herrera brothers, who farmed royal taxes in the 1580s and 1590s, managed to secure three city council seats, and all the brothers ended up on the nobles' bench. They also had their nobility confirmed in the chancellery court of Valladolid.

With the death of Philip II in 1598, public debates about pure-blood statutes resurfaced. Modifications were urged by deputies of the Castilian Cortes and by others of more prestige, such as cardinal-archbishops of Toledo and of Seville. Little was done, however, until 1623, when the count-duke of Olivares, the favorite of Philip IV, did moderate the statutes. His reforms, which limited the genealogical inquiry of candidates to two generations and took into consideration pure-blood certificates held by other family members, helped some conversos to move up the social scale. Given the inflation of honors that occurred over time, what wealthy merchants and financiers sought in the seventeenth century was a habit in a military order, and Olivares's reforms allowed many to achieve this goal. It is an irony that Olivares should complain of the lack of merchants in Spain, when during his rule the citizens' bench of the Toledo city council, long the bastion of converso merchants and entrepreneurs, was finally phased out—not because conversos had disappeared, but because those who lasted until 1639 had some sort of pure-blood pedigree that disqualified them from mercantile activities and qualified them as nobles.

Thus, in addition to fostering perjury and a blatant hypocrisy, the pure-blood statutes accelerated movement from the middle ranks to the nobility. This upward passage had been going on for some time, of course, and was not unique to Spain, but the values implicit in pure-blood statutes certainly encouraged wealthy *conversos* to abandon commerce and trade, activities associated with Jews, and to seek a title of some sort, a post in the royal bureaucracy or in the church, or to live on their investments. The economic downturn in the seventeenth century also discouraged mercantile ventures and encouraged investments in rural lands, rents, and offices.

If, in the end, the crown won its battle against the *conversos*, most of whom abandoned their traditional activities and values and spent their wealth in acquiring an acceptable pedigree for themselves or their children, it also lost, or at least rechanneled, the dynamism and skills of a hard-working, talented minority. The myth of pure blood carried the day, and those unwilling to do lip service to the doctrine suffered.

See also Inquisition; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Spain; Toledo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna*. Reprint. Granada, 1991. Originally published 1955.

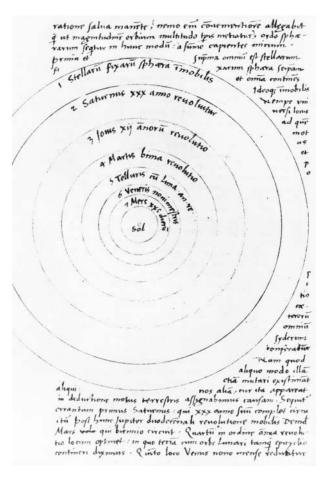
Martz, Linda. A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority. Ann Arbor, Mich., 2003.

Sicroff, Albert A. Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre. Controversias entre los siglos XV y XVII. Translated from the French by Mauro Armiño. Madrid, 1985.

Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto: Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics. Reprint. Seattle, 1981. Originally published 1971.

LINDA MARTZ

COPERNICUS, NICOLAUS (1473–1543), Polish astronomer, born in Thorn (Torun), West Prussia, a province subject to the king of Poland. In about 1485, after his father's death, Nicolaus came under the care and patronage of his maternal uncle, who shortly afterward became bishop of Varmia (Ermland).



Nicolaus Copernicus. An illustration from *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* shows Copernicus's heliocentric system. Getty IMAGES

EDUCATION AND CAREER

Beginning in 1491, Copernicus enrolled successively at the universities of Cracow, Bologna, and Padua, where he studied, respectively, mathematics and astronomy, canon and civil law, and medicine. He was elected a canon of the cathedral chapter of Varmia in 1497, providing him with a lifetime income. In 1503 he was awarded a doctorate in canon law from the University of Ferrara.

In 1610 Copernicus settled in Frauenburg (Frombork), near the Baltic Sea. There he carried out his canonical duties, practiced medicine, administered the holdings of the Varmia chapter, wrote on the problem of the debasement of the silver coinage of Royal Prussia, and continued to work intensively at improving the astronomical ideas he had begun to develop earlier.

As a student, Copernicus had become aware of the dichotomy between Aristotelian principles and the techniques employed by Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–c. 170), the greatest astronomer of antiquity. For Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) the motionless Earth at the center of the universe was surrounded by uniformly rotating homocentric spheres carrying the Moon, Sun, and planets. The task of astronomy was to devise geometrical means for calculating the apparent positions of the celestial bodies, which neither moved uniformly nor maintained a constant distance from Earth. The planets, moreover, periodically moved with retrograde motion.

Some time after 1502, Copernicus circulated among a few individuals an anonymous treatise, subsequently titled *Commentariolus* (Brief commentary), an early stage in the development of his heliocentric system. He shortly afterward began *De revolutionibus* (On the revolutions), his detailed exposition of this system.

In 1539 Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574) of the University of Wittenberg visited Copernicus. Impressed by Copernicus's theory, Rheticus tested the waters for the publication of Copernicus's almost completed work by publishing in 1540 his own account of it, *Narratio prima* (First account). Its reception encouraged Copernicus to publish his own work, a copy of which reached Copernicus as he lay dying in 1543.

Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), a Lutheran minister, oversaw the printing of the latter part of Copernicus's book and inserted an anonymous preface asserting, contrary to Copernicus's opinion, that the work represented only calculating devices and not the true constitution of the universe.

THE COPERNICAN SYSTEM

Copernicus's heliocentrism possessed several advantages over Ptolemaic astronomy. The apparent retrograde motions of the planets could now be accounted for by the revolution of Earth, dispensing with Ptolemaic astronomy's traditional geometric devices. Copernicus eliminated the Ptolemaic equant, a point not at the center of Earth about which the planets moved uniformly, and substituted a technique earlier used by a Muslim astronomer. Corrections to the apparent distances of the Moon also had Arabic roots. The relative distances of the planets from the Sun could now be determined as

fractions or multiples of the distance from Earth to the Sun. Above all, Copernicus had created an integrated astronomical system, contrary to the independent sets of geometrical techniques for each of the planets characteristic of Ptolemaic astronomy. This was undoubtedly the prime consideration for the creation of his system.

Despite its advantages, heliocentrism was not without physical, observational, and theological problems. A revolving and rotating Earth violated several long-established Aristotelian principles, including the tendency of dropped bodies to fall to Earth at the center of the universe. Copernicus held that bodies fell because they tended to rejoin the spherical bodies of which they had been a part. For the Peripatetics, objects on a rotating Earth would be flung off, and objects thrown aloft should then land to the west of the point from which they were thrown. Copernicus responded that bodies on Earth or above it share in its circular motion. To the charge that observations made from an orbiting Earth should show stellar parallax, a change in the apparent position of the stars in the course of a year, Copernicus answered that a parallax could not be observed because the stars were much farther than had been believed.

RECEPTION AND INFLUENCE

In 1551 Erasmus Reinhold (1511–1553) published the *Tabulae Prutenicae* (Prutenic Tables) based on Copernicus's work. They were more accurate than the tables commonly in use, and they helped sustain interest in the Copernican theory. In particular, astronomers at the University of Wittenberg thought the Copernican theory was superior to that of Ptolemy in a number of respects, but they did not accept its heliocentrism. Throughout Europe a few astronomers were open to the validity of Copernicanism's fundamental hypothesis, but hardly any accepted it fully.

However, successive challenges to Aristotelian concepts, based on precise observations, began to remove some objections to Copernicanism. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), whose astronomical observations were more accurate than any previously recorded, rejected heliocentrism, as did a few others, in favor of a geoheliocentric system, in which the planets circled the Sun, while the Sun revolved about the motionless Earth. Johannes Kepler

(1571–1630), using Brahe's data, modified Copernicus's system significantly in 1609. Kepler placed the Sun in one of the foci of each of his elliptical planetary orbits, which were traversed with non-uniform motion. This led to a significant improvement in the prediction of planetary positions.

Galileo Galilei's (1564–1642) observations with the telescope beginning in 1609, as well as his subsequent publications on the nature of motion, were most important in the removal of Aristotelian objections to a moving Earth and to the size of the solar system. The placing of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1616 and Galileo's subsequent trial for heresy had little effect. With the work of Kepler and Galileo, as well as the influence of Cartesianism, heliocentrism became increasingly accepted; most astronomers were won over by the middle of the seventeenth century.

Copernicanism marked a turning point in the history of astronomy and provided a foundation for the remarkable achievements in related sciences in the seventeenth century. Copernicus's heliocentrism played a significant role in debates about the cause of planetary motion, and the nature of space, matter, and motion, and was thus a significant component of and stimulus to the scientific revolution.

See also Astronomy; Brahe, Tycho; Cartesianism; Galileo Galilei; Index of Prohibited Books; Kepler, Johannes; Scientific Revolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Copernicus, Nicolaus. Copernicus: On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres. Translated by A. M. Duncan. Newton Abbot and New York, 1976. Translation of De revolutionibus orbium coelestium, 1543.

. Three Copernican Treatises: The Commentariolus of Copernicus, The Letter against Werner, The Narratio Prima of Rheticus. Translated with an introduction by Edward Rosen. 3rd rev. ed. New York, 1971.

Secondary Sources

Armitage, Angus. Copernicus: The Founder of Modern Astronomy. New York and London, 1957. A general survey in the context of the history of astronomy.

North, John. "Copernicus' Planetary Theory." In *The Norton History of Astronomy and Cosmology*. Chapter 11. New York and London, 1995. A brief survey for the general reader.

Swerdlow, Noel M., and Otto Neugebauer. *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus's* De Revolutionibus. 2 parts. Berlin and New York, 1984. Has a substantial nontechnical introduction, including biographical details and the development of Copernicus's ideas.

WILBUR APPLEBAUM

CORNARO PISCOPIA, ELENA LU-

CREZIA (1646–1684), first female university graduate. Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, born into a prominent Venetian noble family, was the first female to graduate from a university. She early manifested her learning and piety and studied theology and philosophy with tutors in Venice for many years. After performing brilliantly in a public disputation, an academic debate in which the disputant defended arguments against all comers, in Venice on 30 May 1677 she asked, with her father's support, to be examined for the doctorate of theology from the University of Padua because Italian universities did not confer bachelor's degrees. Obtaining a degree by examination without attending university lectures was unusual but possible in the Italian university system. A number of men, including the famous humanist Desiderius Erasmus at the University of Turin in 1506, had done the same. The archbishop of Padua, chancellor of the university and the person who conferred degrees, objected, but agreed that she might be examined for a doctorate of philosophy. The College of Doctors of Arts and Medicine examined her; she discussed issues based on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics and Physics, the required university texts in logic and natural philosophy on which professors lectured and on which doctoral examinations were based. The college voted unanimously in her favor, and she received the doctorate of philosophy on 25 June 1678. But she did not establish a precedent to be followed. A Paduan professor immediately asked if his daughter might be examined for the doctorate of philosophy, but she was rebuffed. Cornaro Piscopia wrote a number of works on religious and philosophical topics and poetry, always in Latin. But ill health soon limited her studies. She died in 1684.

A large modern statue of Cornaro Piscopia in the entrance of the main university building in Padua, where her doctoral examination was held, commemorates her accomplishment. She represents the highest academic achievement of a woman to that point in history, as well as the limits imposed by society. The next female university graduate was Laura Bassi (1711–1778), a highborn Bolognese woman, who obtained a doctorate of philosophy from the University of Bologna on 12 May 1732 and taught at the university there from 1732 to 1738. She was the first woman to teach at a university. The third was Maria Pellegrina Amoretti, who earned a doctorate in law from the University of Pavia on 25 June 1777.

See also Bassi, Laura; Universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fusco, Nicola. Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, 1646–1684. Pittsburgh, 1975. Contains English translation of Latin diploma.

Maschietto, Francesco Ludovico. Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia (1646–1684), prima donna laureata nel mondo. Padua, 1984. The basic source with documents.

PAUL F. GRENDLER

CORNEILLE, PIERRE (1606-1684), French dramatist and theoretician. Often considered the first major modern French playwright, Corneille was born and raised in Rouen, in Normandy, where his father was a lawyer. Little is known about his early life, except that he was a good student who studied law, but supposedly practiced only briefly. In 1625 his brother Thomas, who became a popular and respected (although now mostly forgotten) playwright, was born. Pierre's first play, Mélite, a comedy of manners, was staged in Paris in either 1629 or 1630, and during the next few years he wrote a number of comedies, including the fanciful L'illusion comique (1635-1636), and enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu. In 1637 his most famous play, the tragicomedy Le Cid, was performed; it was immensely popular with audiences and yet drew critical controversy.

The proponents of the newly emerging classical aesthetic in the 1630s criticized many of the "irregularities" in the popular play and strove to reduce its influence and prevent it from serving as a precedent for imitators. During the "Quarrel of *Le Cid*," critics found that the duels and the battle with the Moors stretched the credibility of the unity of

time (one day), the various scenes set around the city stretched the unity of place (one locale), and the presence of the king's daughter (L'Infante) who loved Rodrigue was considered a subplot, thus destroying the unity of action (one plot line). The play mixes the genres of tragedy (death) and comedy (marriage) in a tragi-comedy, a popular form that classicism rejected. Also, the play was set in medieval Spain, that is, in a Christian context, whereas the rules of classicism held that tragic actions should be set in pagan times, ideally in ancient Greece or Rome.

In Corneille's play the young Rodrigue and Chimène love each other but are torn apart by their duty to family. In order to avenge the honor of his frail father, Rodrigue fights a duel (to the death) with the offender, who is Chimène's father. Rodrigue kills him and discovers that Chimène, despite her continued love, which she keeps secret, seeks either justice from the king or revenge from other suitors. The Moors attack, and Rodrigue, showing great skill in battle, saves the country and is recognized by the enemy as the leader, "le Cid." The king is satisfied that Rodrigue has risked his life and served his people, but Chimène still publicly seeks revenge. For her to acquiesce would be to lose honor. The king finally allows one decisive duel between Dom Sanche and Rodrigue; Rodrigue is again victorious, but he spares the life of his opponent. The play ends with plans for a marriage between Chimène and Rodrigue one year later, after she can grieve her father's death and Le Cid can further serve his country.

Corneille's next play, the more technically unified tragedy Horace, was performed in 1640, followed by Cinna (1641) and a Christian tragedy Polyeucte (1642–1643); these four plays formed the traditional group of his masterpieces that were esteemed in theaters and classrooms for three centuries. In 1641 Corneille married Marie de Lampérière, and the couple had six children. After several failed attempts, he was elected to the French Academy in 1647. Throughout the 1640s he was a fairly prolific playwright (Le Menteur, 1643; Rodogune, 1645; and several less successful works). In 1651, however, after the failure of his tragedy Pertharite, he renounced the theater for eight years. In 1660 he published an edition of his complete plays, which included three "Discourses on Dra-



Pierre Corneille. New York Public Library Picture Collection

matic Poetry" in which he explained contemporary stage theory. The plays he wrote in the 1660s and 1670s had varying success, but they did not equal his earlier triumphs. His last work was a tragedy, *Suréna*, in 1674. He spent the final years of his life working on another edition of his theatrical works, and on a translation of the *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis (1379 or 1380–1471).

Le Cid shows many distinguishing elements found in Corneille's other great works (Horace, Cinna, Polyeucte). The characters are torn by an internal division between duty (to family, country, or religion) and love. Because they choose reason and honor rather than succumbing to passion, the characters are praiseworthy, yet they are somewhat remote and inhuman in their renunciations. The poetry is noble and memorable, often quoted by critics and writers who nonetheless praised the dramatic techniques of the younger Jean Racine (1639–1699), who adhered more strictly to the tenets of classicism and whose characters were all too human, renouncing reason for their passions. It was Cor-

neille, however, who gave French theater heroes whom the public could admire rather than pity.

See also French Literature and Language; Racine, Jean.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Corneille, Pierre. *The Chief Plays of Corneille*. Translated by Lacy Lockett. Princeton, 1957.

——. *Œuvres complètes*. Edited by Georges Couton. 3 vols. Paris, 1980–1987.

Secondary Sources

Carlin, Claire L. Pierre Corneille Revisited. New York, 1998.

Clarke, David. Pierre Corneille: Poetics and Political Drama under Louis XIII. Cambridge, U.K., 1992.

Greenberg, Mitchell. Corneille, Classicism and the Ruses of Symmetry. Cambridge, U.K., 1986.

Hubert, Judd D. Corneille's Performative Metaphors. Charlottesville, Va., 1997.

Lyons, John D. The Tragedy of Origins: Pierre Corneille and Historical Perspective. Stanford, 1996.

Mallinson, Jonathan J. *The Comedies of Corneille*. Manchester, U.K., 1984.

Nelson, Robert J. Corneille: His Heroes and Their Worlds. Philadelphia, 1963.

Schmidt, Josephine A. If There Are No More Heroes There Are Heroines: A Feminist Critique of Corneille's Heroines, 1637–1643. Lanham, Md., 1987.

ALLEN G. WOOD

CORREGGIO (Antonio Allegri; 1489/94–1534), Italian painter and draftsman. In the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari hailed Antonio Allegri (called Correggio) in his *Lives of the Artists* (1550), as the first Lombard artist to paint in the modern style. Although he worked in north Italian towns, such as his native Correggio and nearby Parma, rather than major artistic centers, he had a tremendous impact on later pictorial developments. His theatrical illusionism, rich coloring, and feathery brushwork were so widely imitated in the seventeenth century that he is often considered a precursor to the baroque.

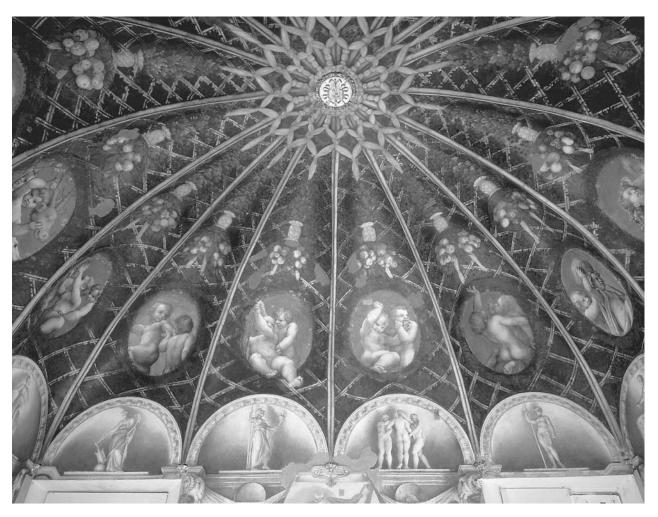
Correggio's early career remains largely undocumented, including his year of birth (debated, c. 1489/c. 1494). He presumably learned the rudiments from his uncle Lorenzo Allegri and the Modenese painter Francesco Bianchi Ferrari, but

found his first true inspiration in Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506). The convincing attribution of frescoes in Mantua (roundels from the church of Sant'Andrea, now in the Museo Diocesano) to the young Correggio supports a direct connection with this master and his workshop. The *Madonna of Saint Francis* (1514–1515; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), Correggio's earliest extant documented picture, reveals the formative influence of Leonardo as well as Mantegna.

In Parma, around 1518–1519, Correggio decorated for Abbess Giovanna da Piacenza a small room in the Benedictine convent of San Paolo. The frescoes in the so-called Camera di San Paolo depict Diana, the goddess of chastity and the chase, and transform the ceiling into a verdant trellis populated by boisterous putti with hunting accourrements. The unity of design, with its vocabulary of clas-

sicizing and more monumental forms, heralds the artist's mature style. Despite Vasari's claim that Correggio never traveled to Rome, it is now generally assumed, on stylistic grounds, that he took at least one such trip, probably before painting this chamber (c. 1518).

Correggio's success with the Camera di San Paolo soon led to other work in Parma, including two major fresco programs. In 1520, Correggio was commissioned to paint the dome, apse, and choir, followed by the nave frieze, of the Benedictine church of San Giovanni Evangelista, a project that occupied him (and his assistants) for four years (he received his final payment in January 1524). *The Vision of Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* (c. 1522), depicted in the cupola, is indebted to both Michelangelo (Sistine Chapel ceiling, 1508–



Correggio. Frescoes in the cupola of the Camera di San Paolo. @Massimo Listril/Corbis.

1512) and Raphael (*Transfiguration*, c. 1519–1520).

In November 1522, Correggio secured a contract for a vast campaign of mural decoration in Parma Cathedral, which he began some years later, but only partly completed (cupola and pendentives, c. 1524–1530). The dizzying illusionism of the cupola frescoes, in which a whirlwind of foreshortened angels and saints accompany the Virgin's Assumption, served as a fundamental point of reference for later experiments in baroque ceiling decoration.

Throughout his career, Correggio painted easel pictures of religious and mythological themes, but apparently few portraits. The altarpieces he made for patrons in Parma and nearby towns during the 1520s and 1530s reveal his ability to create poetic, strikingly original compositions. For example, the Adoration of the Shepherds (so-called Notte, contracted 1522, finished by 1530; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) is a dramatic yet intimate nocturnal scene, in which a radiant infant dazzles the onlookers. No less inventive, if very different in subject matter, are the Loves of Jupiter commissioned by Federigo Gonzaga as a gift for Emperor Charles V. Correggio's sensuous handling of paint—as in the vaporous gray cloud enveloping the pearly nymph in Jupiter and Io (c. 1530-1534; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)—heightens the erotic content.

Although he applauded Correggio's unrivaled use of color, Vasari pointed out (perhaps unfairly) the artist's inadequacy in drawing. His designs can be untidy in appearance, but others are extraordinarily beautiful in their coloristic effects. Moreover, Correggio's known graphic oeuvre suggests that he probably drew compulsively in the planning of his paintings, producing numerous preliminary sketches, of which a mere fraction have survived.

Vasari described Correggio as, literally, self-effacing and noted that his likeness could not be found to illustrate the *Lives*. The phenomenal rise in Correggio's reputation in the following centuries generated great interest in his biography and art. Alleged portraits of the artist began to circulate, and the Vasarian characterization of a talented but timid provincial painter who had failed to visit Rome came under direct attack. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Correggio's prestige was second only to that of Raphael.

See also Vasari, Giorgio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DeVito Battaglia, Silvia de. *Correggio bibliografia*. Rome, 1934. Comprehensive annotated bibliography of literature on Correggio from the sixteenth century until 1934.

Ekserdjian, David. *Correggio*. New Haven and London, 1997. Most recent English-language monograph on the artist, with keen observations on the patronage and intended site of works of art.

Gould, Cecil. *The Paintings of Correggio*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1976. Standard English-language monograph on the artist; includes documentary appendix.

Popham, A. E. Correggio's Drawings. London, 1957. The most important catalogue of the artist's drawings.

MARY VACCARO

CORSICA. The mountainous island of Corsica is visible from the nearby islands of Elba and Sardinia, themselves not far from Italy. Handicapped by a small population and few economic resources, Corsica during the Middle Ages was ruled by or associated with various Italian states. Corsica's proximity to Italy has also made it strategically of interest to such maritime powers as France, Spain, and Britain. Though not without rich soil, Corsica was plagued until the late twentieth century by malaria, causing the inhabitants to live for the most part in hilltop towns and villages considered safer and also easier to defend against endemic raids from the Barbary States. Not until the nineteenth century were any significant roads built. Thus Corsica's history has been continuously linked with that of other states, and since 1814 the island has been incorporated into France.

From 1447 until the eighteenth century Corsica was mainly under Genoese control. Until 1552 peace allowed population growth and agricultural development. Maritime commerce flourished, Calvi emerged as a major center, and Corsicans in Genoese service made their marks as far away as America. The Genoese began building solid and defensible watchtowers at points on the coast to limit the depredations of the Barbary corsairs, a program that continued all through the Genoese period. Peace and a degree of prosperity produced an increase in population mirrored by the rise in the

number of Corsicans in Genoese, Venetian, papal, and French service.

After 1552, however, French warfare and higher taxes stimulated agitation against Genoese rule. A Corsican distinguished in his many years of service in the French army, Sampiero Corso (1498–1567), with limited support from Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589), landed in Corsica in June 1564, but the effort to expel the Genoese collapsed after Corso's death in an ambush in 1567. Two years later Genoa proclaimed an amnesty and discussed a list of Corsican complaints. Corsicans continued to find employment in France. Corso's son and grandson both reached the rank of marshal of France under the name of d'Ornano.

Having been challenged by the Corsicans, the Genoese never trusted them again and systematically excluded them from the administration of the island and from various professions. The reservation of these positions for the Genoese, who were often unprepared and who benefited from nepotism and corruption, increased Corsican alienation from Genoa. The island's poverty encouraged considerable emigration (including to Sardinia and, for fishermen, to Algeria) of Corsicans seeking service in the armies of various states as well as those pursuing commerce in regions not controlled by the Genoese. Particularly notable over the centuries has been the settlement of Corsicans in Marseilles. To compensate for this depopulation, the Genoese planted six hundred Greeks in Corsica, where they met a hostile reception but, with difficulty, survived. On the positive side, efforts were made to stimulate agriculture, though without much success. Some success was reached in introducing vines, olives, figs, chestnuts, and silk production to areas that had neglected them, but profits went mainly to the Genoese, whose regime at this time can be described as "colonial." The growth of cities, especially Bastia, Ajaccio, and Calvi, demonstrates increasing commercial activity, but one result was the appearance of an expanding Corsican bourgeoisie, though handicapped, in competition with the Genoese. Banditry flourished, and the murder rate averaged nine hundred a year.

The early eighteenth century brought full-scale rebellion against Genoese rule. A series of bad harvests culminated in two particularly bad years in

1728 and 1729, the latter year coinciding with new taxes. The rural population attacked some large estates but notably attacked the cities, taking over Bastia, Saint-Florent, and Algajola. Austrian military intervention restored Genoese rule, but new rebellions followed in 1733. The War of the Polish Succession (1733-1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) prevented the great powers from intervening and opened a window of opportunity for the rebels. A sort of provisional government was set up in Corte with the support of a consulta or 'assembly' presided over by Giacinto (or Hyacinth) Paoli (1690-1768) and two other Corsican notables. To their aid in March 1736, totally unexpectedly, came a German adventurer, Theodor von Neuhof (1694-1756), bringing weapons and possibly British approval. In rapid succession Neuhof accepted the crown as king, distributed titles, ran out of money and support, withdrew (November 1736), and eventually died in a debtor's prison in London.

The Genoese turned to France. Troops landed in February 1738 and left in September 1741. A new Corsican insurrection followed. A coalition of Britain, Austria, and Sardinia fighting France, Spain, and their dependent Genoa in the course of the War of the Austrian Succession attempted to capture Bastia and succeeded briefly in 1745. A second attempt failed in 1748. In May 1748 French troops landed and imposed peace, but the commander, General Séraphin-Marie Rioult de Donilly, marquis de Cursay, emphasized conciliation. This displeased the Genoese and led to Cursay's recall and the departure of the French in April 1753. A fourth insurrection, headed by Jean-Pierre Gaffori (1710-1753), who was assassinated in October 1753, brought a period in which no single leader established dominance.

In contrast, the years from 1755 to 1769, when Pasquale Paoli (1725–1807) dominated, appear as a golden age, largely because of the favorable press he received as a thoughtful man of the Enlightenment and because of the heroic Corsican resistance to the French invasion of 1768–1769 that provoked enthusiasm across Europe and especially in America. Accounts of Paoli by James Boswell (1740–1795) and other travelers and comments about him by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Voltaire (1694–1778) helped create his legend. Undoubted

accomplishments help explain his success: the foundation (1765) of the university at Corte, a written constitution allowing for a degree of representation, the application of severe justice to reduce the rate of banditry and murder, a degree of accommodation with the church, the development of L'Île Rousse as a port not controlled by the French or the Genoese, and a degree of naval success culminating in the capture from Genoa of the island of Capraia (1767).

But Paoli was handicapped by financial shortages, bad harvests, and the opposition of major Corsican families. He would have been content to negotiate a benevolent protectorate with France, but the French minister Étienne-François de Choiseul (1719–1785) wanted control. By the treaties of Compiègne (1754, 1764), Genoa entrusted the major ports to France, thus limiting Paoli to the interior of the island. In the end the weight of French forces was too great. With the Treaty of Versailles (1768), Genoa handed over control to France.

From 1769 to 1789 the French regime attempted reforms much like those earlier attempted by Genoa, including improvements in agriculture, draining of the marshes, and repression of banditry by harsh measures (including repression of rebellions fomented by numerous exiles). Though some offices and estates were entrusted to Corsican supporters of France, in general the French benefited from government generosity at the expense of Corsicans, thus building up resentment. The university was abolished, though in an attempt at assimilation some Corsicans received scholarships for education and training in France.

The outbreak of the French Revolution brought new political upheavals. Although the French National Assembly voted that Corsica was part of France, Corsicans tried to expel French officials and succeeded in driving out Corsican supporters of the *ancien régime*. Paoli returned from exile in England in 1790 and reestablished a moral ascendancy over the island that left political power in his hands. Squabbles among minor figures for political office and their spoils became conflated with the major issues of the time. Thus the denunciation of Paoli as a friend of Britain shortly after the war against Austria was extended to Britain in 1793 may be seen as a political maneuver by Corsicans, who thought they could gain by his elimination. The belief that he

could not receive justice in the Paris of the guillotine prompted separation and independence. Since there had been no effective administration in Corsica since 1789, there were no resources. A full-scale European war was in full flow, and to prevent another French invasion, Paoli (who feared the return of Genoa) invited British protection. The result was the Anglo-Corsican Kingdom (1794–1796). This arrangement gave Britain valuable naval bases, but British priorities in the Caribbean and South Africa had precedence, leading to inadequate military resources to defend the island once Spain joined France and Napoléon I (1769–1821) overran Italy.

Fighting a world war, Britain had inadequate finances to subsidize Corsica as Paoli and many Corsicans had hoped. Thus the constitution, parliamentary system, and proposed reforms weighed little compared to the necessity to make Corsica pay for itself, and necessarily unpopular taxes, one cause of incipient revolt, were reintroduced. Napoléon reconquered the island as the British withdrew, and in 1814, at the Congress of Vienna, Corsica was incorporated into France.

See also France; Genoa; Revolutions, Age of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arrighi, Paul, and Antoine Olivesi. Histoire de la Corse. Toulouse, 1990.

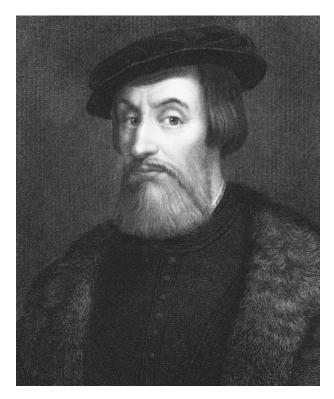
Caird, J. H. The History of Corsica. London, 1899.

Pomponi, Francis. Histoire de la Corse. Paris, 1979.

JOHN McErlean

CORTÉS, HERNÁN (c. 1485–1547), Spanish explorer and conqueror of Mexico. The son of Martín Cortés de Monroy and Catalina Pizarro Altamirano, Hernán Cortés was born in Medellín, in southwestern Spain. His father sent him at age fourteen to study law at the University of Salamanca, but Hernán had little taste for academic life. He was drawn instead to adventure and in 1504 sailed for the Caribbean, where he won lasting fame by conquering Aztec Mexico.

On Hispaniola, Cortés served briefly as a notary and then assisted Diego Velázquez in the conquest of Cuba. He received an *encomienda* (grant of indigenous tribute) and claimed several gold mines.



Hernán Cortés. Undated engraving by Holl. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Around 1515 Cortés married Catalina Suárez Marcaida. Velázquez, governor of Cuba, appointed him to lead an exploratory and trading expedition to the Yucatán. Before Cortés sailed in late 1518, however, Velázquez grew suspicious of his protégé's loyalty and tried to block his departure.

Cortés departed anyway, having personally financed much of the expedition of 11 ships, 508 soldiers, and 16 horses. His men responded enthusiastically to his energy, charisma, and seriousness of purpose. They landed at Cozumel in mid-February 1519 and then moved westward around the Yucatán, fighting and trading as they went. At one town they received a gift of twenty women, including one, La Malinche or Doña Marina, who became Cortés's mistress. More important, she spoke both Maya and Nahuatl and, after learning Spanish, proved invaluable to Cortés as both a translator and a cultural interpreter.

By April 1519 Cortés had become aware of the rich, powerful Aztec empire and its ruler Montezuma (Motecuhzoma II). Cortés disbanded his expedition and founded the city of Veracruz on the

Mexican coast. He and his men then organized a town government (cabildo), which appointed him to invade the Aztec empire and conquer it for Spain. This was a clever strategy by Cortés to free him from subordination to Velázquez.

In late summer 1519, Cortés marched inland toward the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. When the Spaniards arrived at Tlaxcala, bitter fighting erupted. The Tlaxcalans suspected that Cortés was an ally of their enemy Montezuma. Eventually, the Spaniards and the Tlaxcalans broke off battle and became allies themselves, seeing in each other potential help against the Aztecs. This proved crucial to the conquest: the Tlaxcalans provided manpower, food, and other logistical support and remained loyal, even during Spanish setbacks.

In November 1519, Cortés reached the densely populated valley of Central Mexico. Tenochtitlán lay on an island in Lake Texcoco, connected by causeways to the shore, and the other large cities "seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis." Montezuma welcomed Cortés to the capital, and the Spaniards seized the Aztec ruler and held him prisoner. For a while, Cortés managed to rule through Montezuma. Meanwhile, Velázquez sent a force under Pánfilo de Narváez to Veracruz to arrest Cortés. Leaving some of his men in Tenochtitlán under Pedro de Alvarado, Cortés returned to the coast, defeated Narváez, and persuaded many of his men to join in the campaign against the Aztecs. Returned to Tenochtitlán, however, Cortés discovered the populace in an uproar: Alvarado, fearing an attack, had massacred Aztecs participating in a public celebration. Besieged in the capital, Cortés fought his way out during the Noche Triste (Sorrowful Night), 30 June 1520. Montezuma was killed. Cortés lost hundreds of Spaniards and thousands of his indigenous allies, but managed to retreat to Tlaxacala and regroup.

Ever resourceful, Cortés gathered reinforcements and supplies, fabricated thirteen small ships to protect his men on the lake, and then returned to Tenochtitlán. During his absence, smallpox devastated the valley, weakening Aztec military might. Nonetheless, Cortés had to besiege the city from May to August 1521 before finally conquering the Aztecs and capturing their new ruler, Cuauhtémoc. To win the king's support, Cortés sent to Spain gold



Hernán Cortés. Cortés entering Tenochtitlán, undated illustration. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and feathered shields received as gifts from the Aztecs, along with reports of his exploits.

The conquest made Cortés a heroic figure, wealthy and powerful, yet his victory proved difficult to consolidate. He worked vigorously to subjugate other regions of Mexico and zealously pushed for the conversion of the indigenous population to Catholicism. From 1524 to 1526, he campaigned in Central America, trying to assert his right to Guatemala and Honduras. In his absence, chaos enveloped Mexico as factions struggled to control the spoils of conquest, especially when a rumor spread that Cortés had died. In 1527 he went to Spain and obtained from Charles I the title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, along with a vast encomienda. But the king was suspicious of Cortés's power in Mexico and stripped him of political command. A marriage to Juana de Zúñiga produced Martín, his heir. The conqueror returned to Mexico for a few years in the 1530s but in a further attempt to defend his estate and actions went back to Spain, where he died at Castilleja de la Cuesta near Seville in 1547.

See also Colonialism; Exploration; Spanish Colonies: Mexico.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cortés, Hernán. *Letters from Mexico*. Translated by A. R. Pagden. New York, 1971. The dispatches Cortés sent to the Spanish king.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *The Conquest of New Spain*. Translated by J. M. Cohen. New York and London, 1963. Famous account of the conquest written by one of the men who accompanied Cortés.

Hassig, Ross. *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*. New York, 1993. Analysis of the conquest from an indigenous perspective.

Madariaga, Salvador de. Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico. New York, 1941. Thorough, standard biography.

KENDALL W. BROWN

COSMOLOGY. During the fifteenth century, the cosmological systems of the Epicurean atomists, Plato, and the Stoics were known from antiquity, but the cosmology that was taught in universities throughout Europe was that of Aristotle, as augmented by Ptolemy. By the beginning of the eighteenth century a new cosmology, associated with the names of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton, had almost completely replaced the earlier consensus. The present article considers the cosmologies of these main figures and reviews changes in historians' understanding of the causes of the scientific revolution.

ARISTOTLE'S COSMOS

Aristotle's cosmos was finite, spherical, and full. Its outer boundary was a sphere carrying the fixed stars. Its center was the Earth, and the sphere carrying the Moon divided the cosmos into a terrestrial portion and a celestial portion. The region beneath the Moon consisted of four elements, each endowed with the tendency to return to its natural place by a motion along a radius of the cosmos. The element Earth tended to seek the center; water moved naturally to a sphere surrounding the central globe of Earth; air sought a sphere concentric to water, and fire, which in its pure form was quite transparent, would naturally move to the region above the air and beneath the Moon. The general structure of the world reflected its elementary constitution, with most earth covered by water and both inner elements covered by air. Only the sphere of fire was not directly observable, although it was a theoretical necessity. Mixing and transmutation created complex combinations of elements, such as people, plants, and animals. Changes in the proportions of the four elements explained terrestrial change, especially growth and decay.

By contrast, the heavens consisted of a single element, ether, which was already in its natural place, and moved naturally in a circle, at constant speed, around the central earth. Deprived of the opportunity for transmutation or mixing of elements, the heavens were incapable of physical change. The order of the heavenly bodies was determined partly by observation and partly by convention. Eclipses and occultations made it clear that the Moon was the closest heavenly body and the fixed stars were the most distant. Mars, Jupiter, and Sat-

urn could be ordered according to their periods of return, with the longest being the farthest away. However, the periods of return for the remaining planets and the Sun were not distinguishable. The locations of the five known planets were divided by the zone occupied by the Sun, and, beyond the Moon, an ordering of Mercury, followed by Venus, followed by the sun became conventional.

The heavens consisted of nested concentric shells. A single heavenly body was confined within and carried by each shell. Physically, the heavenly bodies were believed to be denser regions in the ether. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, followers of Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Ptolemy violently disagreed over the inner structure of these shells.

In the *Almagest* Ptolemy had introduced a system of moving circles carrying other circles to explain the details of planetary motion. In the Planetary Hypotheses he introduced a corresponding set of physical models, which Arabic commentators presented as sets of hollow orbs carrying smaller spheres within them. These, in turn, carried individual planets. Ptolemaic astronomers assumed that the orb clusters for different planets fitted perfectly inside one another, and were thereby able to calculate the distances of planets, including the Sun, and their relative sizes. But most importantly, Ptolemy's mathematical apparatus allowed the calculation of planetary positions with an accuracy sufficient, for example, to predict eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and approximate conjunctions and other planetary alignments important in astrology. These models were presented in Georg Peurbach's Theoricae novae planetarum (c. 1474), which rapidly became a standard text. Averroists objected to the eccentric circles and epicycles used by their rivals on the grounds that they were not strictly centered on the Earth. They proposed that planets were carried by a series of nested orbs, exactly concentric to the Earth, but, as late as the 1530s, attempts to construct predictive models failed. Copernicus was exposed to both viewpoints during his education.

THE NEW COSMOLOGIES

Motivated by a desire to establish an absolute order for the planets, Copernicus moved the center of the cosmos to the Sun (*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, 1543). In other respects, his cosmology

was conservative. He continued to assume that the planets were carried by orbs and that the sphere of fixed stars was the boundary of a finite universe, although his shift of center created large and inexplicable gaps between orbs, and especially between the outermost planet, Saturn, and the fixed stars. These gaps were later explained by Kepler using the geometrical construction introduced in the *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (1596). The immediate reaction, led by astronomers at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg, was to adapt Copernicus's new models to an Earth-centered system and to reject his cosmology on physical and scriptural grounds.

To remove Aristotle's cosmology, it was necessary to undermine his account of the construction of the heavens. Two major factors began this process: the revival of Stoic physics and precise observations of comets. Aristotle had taught that comets, which appeared and vanished at irregular intervals, must be long-lasting fires in the region below the Moon, because there could be no change in the heavens. In 1572 a nova suggested that change did occur in the heavens. Attempts to measure comets' distances placed them in the heavens. At the same time, the revival of Stoic physics suggested that the heavens might be filled by a continuous fluid rather than Aristotle's solid spheres. Tycho Brahe in Denmark and Michael Maestlin in Germany both measured precise distances for a comet that appeared in 1577. Both concluded that the comet had moved through a series of Aristotle's Earth-centered spheres and that any spheres must be centered on the Sun. Maestlin became a Copernican, later teaching his ideas to Johannes Kepler. But Brahe was unable to accept the motion of the Earth and developed a new cosmology in which the Earth remained the center, the Moon and Sun circled the Earth, and the remaining planets circled the Sun. To avoid the overlap his system created between the orbs of Mars and the Sun, Brahe adopted fluid heavens in which celestial spheres were no more than geometrical boundaries.

Today, Johannes Kepler is credited with discovering the three laws of planetary motion that bear his name, but his innovations were not generally accepted until Isaac Newton showed that they followed from his own theory. Kepler introduced the modern concept of an orbit, located the cause of planetary motion in the Sun, and replaced the circles

of traditional astronomy with ellipses, but he continued to regard the fixed stars as the boundary of a finite universe. Like Tycho, he adopted a theory that made the substance of the heavens a fluid. The unprecedented accuracy of his astronomical tables advertised the importance of his insights after his death in 1630.

Galileo Galilei, by contrast, preserved many features of traditional cosmology. He never adopted Kepler's ellipses and denied that comets were celestial objects. However, his telescopic discoveries offered a host of new observational evidence supporting Copernicus. Jupiter's moons showed that the Averroists were wrong in demanding a single center of rotation for the cosmos. Sunspots and the observation of terrestrial features on the Moon showed that the heavens were not changeless and suggested that a single physics should embrace both heavens and Earth. The cycle of phases displayed by Venus showed that it, at least, circled the Sun. It was possible to accommodate all of these innovations in a modified Aristotelian scheme (as postulated by Du Chevreul in 1623), but the motions of comets and their implications for the substance of the heavens were unaccounted for. In the climate created by the Catholic Church's condemnation of Copernicanism in 1616 and 1633, Tycho Brahe's system became the most attractive option to anyone wishing to reconcile religious orthodoxy, traditional physics, and new astronomical discoveries. Jesuits exported it to China, and it was taught in Northern European universities into the eighteenth century.

Galileo's later work helped revive the ancient theory that matter was composed of atoms, a viewpoint that was being developed by Beeckman, Gassendi, and Descartes. The latter delayed publishing an atomistic cosmology because of Galileo's condemnation. In Le Monde, finished in 1633, but not published until 1664, Descartes described a cosmos filled by vortices of atoms. Stars naturally formed at the center of each vortex, while matter falling onto their surface caused sunspots. A large enough quantity of infalling material formed a crust over the entire star, which then became free of its vortex and wandered through the heavens, appearing as a comet. When finally captured by another vortex, the comet became a planet. Descartes therefore explained many new discoveries in a single scheme that was inherently heliocentric, although the sun

was now just one among many vortex centers scattered throughout space.

Newton's synthesis (1689) provided a detailed mathematical physics that unified the heavens and the Earth. The planets were now held in place not by vortices, but by universal gravitation. Comets were divided into returning and nonreturning, and the reappearance of Halley's comet in 1758 was a highly visible success. With the general acceptance of Newton's system, cosmology assumed a form that persisted until the early twentieth century. As with Descartes, the Sun was identified as a star. The planets with their attendant satellites were bound to the Sun, but were not unique; other stars were assumed to be the centers of other planetary systems. Comets were definitely celestial, although only the determination of the numerical value of Newton's Universal Gravitational Constant allowed the recognition of their diminutive mass in comparison to planets or stars. Newton's First Law required that inertial motion continue indefinitely and implied a universe that was infinite in space.

THE NATURE OF THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

The changes in cosmology just described have often been taken as the centerpiece of an event known as the scientific revolution, usually described as the replacement of Aristotle's scientific system with modern mathematical physics, based on experimental evidence. But recent historiography has tended to emphasize continuity with earlier achievements. It is now clear that the modern conception of experiment developed over a long period, with important changes beginning in the sixteenth century with the work of astronomers and early mathematical physicists. Kepler's unification of physics and mathematical astronomy became an important precedent, although it was more important with hindsight, after the development of new mathematical techniques for doing physics by Descartes, Newton, and their contemporaries. The work of Boyle and other members of the early Royal Society, as well as members of similar institutions in France and Italy, also contributed, although the modern conception of experiment did not emerge until the power of the new mathematical methods had been reconciled with the empiricism advocated by Bacon, a process that continued from Newton's career through the development of mathematical physics in France during the Enlightenment. Galileo's use of experiment resembles the earlier, rather than the later, concept. He was clearly not the originator of the experimental method, and modern research also demonstrates that his ideas on physics and scientific method in general were transformations of existing ideas rather than complete novelties.

Recent historians also give a more equal role to noncanonical sciences such as alchemy and astrology in the development of modern science. Alchemy clearly contributed to the replacement of Aristotle's theory of the terrestrial elements. Astrology remained important as the main motive for the study of astronomy and cosmology because of applications including medical diagnosis and treatment, weather prediction, and political planning. Although most practitioners followed the great Lutheran reformer and educator Philipp Melanchthon in believing that the heavens predisposed rather than compelled terrestrial events, casting horoscopes was a professional skill prized by the patrons of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo. Alchemy was gradually transformed, first into the phlogiston theories of Stahl and his contemporaries, and then into the modern discipline of chemistry at the hands of Lavoisier. The disappearance of astrology lacks a generally agreed explanation. In England, at least, its public suppression may have had less to do with the development of the new science and new scientific societies after the Civil War than with the fact that its supporters were on the losing side after the Restoration of Charles II.

The supposed warfare between science and religion is now recognized to be largely a fiction of latenineteenth-century historiography. Both Catholic and Protestant churches were active in supporting and sometimes opposing the new science. During the sixteenth century, for example, followers of Melanchthon arranged for the publication of Copernicus's work and actively spread his ideas, although, initially, they accepted his mathematical astronomy and rejected his cosmology. The trial of Galileo in 1633 cannot be attributed solely to his defense of Sun-centered cosmology. Other factors may include the dynamics of patronage (Galileo's patron Ciampoli offended the pope; other supporters had died) and internal church politics (the potential rebellion of a Spanish faction over the pope's handling of the Counter-Reformation). The condemnation of Copernicanism, and especially the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, created new difficulties, but the Jesuit order of the Catholic Church remained at the forefront of scientific research. Kepler and Newton both saw their religious beliefs as integral to, rather than separable from, their scientific work.

The importance of new career paths and new scientific institutions has qualified earlier accounts of the scientific revolution. Copernicus was a lowly member of the Catholic hierarchy, who, until almost the end of his life, pursued his research essentially in private. His earliest supporters were university teachers, like Melanchthon's followers at Wittenberg and Maestlin at Tübingen. But his most important successors were courtiers whose research was supported by patronage. Tycho Brahe was financed by the king of Denmark, and later the Holy Roman emperor, who also supported his successor Kepler. Galileo moved from a university post to the court of the Medici in Florence, where he did his most important work. The first scientific societies appeared during the seventeenth century and provided new avenues of scientific communication, including published proceedings and journals, and new forms of support for scientists. In later life, Newton dominated the Royal Society of London. But the acceptance of Newton's system in Germany, and especially in France, followed the adoption of the new science as an intellectual fashion by the upper classes throughout Europe. This process depended upon the ascendancy of another social forum, the salon, where, for the first time since antiquity, women made major contributions to science.

The scientific revolution was not the work of a few great men, nor the result of changes that occurred only in the mathematical sciences, or in sciences that still exist today. It was not the result of the sudden appearance of the modern conception of experiment, nor did it come about because of any early separation between science and religion. There are profound differences between the content, method, and structure of the sciences from the origin to the close of the early modern period, but these changes are now regarded as the result of a complex combination of intellectual, theological, social, and institutional causes.

See also Alchemy; Aristotelianism; Astrology; Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Brahe, Tycho; Charles II

(England); Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Kepler, Johannes; Lavoisier, Antoine; Medici Family; Melanchthon, Philipp; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Revolution; Stoicism; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Aiton, E. J. "Peurbach's *Theoricae Novae Planetarum*: A Translation with Commentary." *Osiris*, 2nd series, 3 (1987): 5-44.
- Brahe, Tycho. *De Mundi Eetherei Recentioribus Phaenomenis.* Uraniborg, 1588. Tycho's book on comets and his new cosmic scheme.
- Chevreul, Jacques du. *Sphaera*. Paris, 1623. Contains an Aristotelian cosmic scheme that accommodates all Galileo's telescopic discoveries. (*See also* Ariew, below.)
- Copernicus, Nicolaus. On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres. Translated by A. M. Duncan. New York, 1976. Translation of De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium (1543).
- Galilei, Galileo. Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic & Copernican. Translated by Stillman Drake. Berkeley, 1967. English translation of Dialogo sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo, Tolemaico e Copernicano (1632), the work for which Galileo was condemned.
- Goldstein, Bernard R. "The Arabic Version of Ptolemy's Planetary Hypotheses." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 57 (1967), Part 4. Presents Ptolemy's physical models.
- Descartes, René. *The World and Other Writings*. Translated by Stephen Gaukroger. Cambridge, U.K., 1998. English versions of *Le monde de Mr Descartes; ou, Le traite de la lumiere*. Paris, 1664.
- Ptolemy's Almagest. Translated by G. J. Toomer. New York, 1984. Ptolemy's main work on mathematical astronomy. (See also Goldstein, above.)

Secondary Sources

- Aiton, E. J. *The Vortex Theory of Planetary Motions*. London, 1972. Cartesian cosmology.
- Ariew, Roger. *Descartes and the Last Scholastics*. Ithaca, N.Y, 1999. Presents Descartes in the context of Aristotelian responses to the new philosophy and science, including the work of Du Chevreul.
- Barker, Peter, and Roger Ariew, eds. Revolution and Continuity: Essays in the History and Philosophy of Early Modern Science. Washington, D.C., 1991. Appraises the alleged discontinuity between medieval and modern science.
- Biagioli, Mario. Galileo Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism. Chicago, 1993.

Dear, Peter. Revolutionizing the Sciences: European Knowledge and its Ambitions, 1500–1700. Princeton, 2001. Sound introduction that balances the contributions of canonical and noncanonical sciences.

Densmore, Dana. *Newton's Principia: The Central Argument.* Santa Fe, N.M., 1995. Translation, with notes, and expanded proofs of key mathematical arguments in *Principia Mathematica* (1687).

Osler, Margaret J., ed. *Rethinking the Scientific Revolution*. Cambridge, U.K., 2000. New historiography for early modern science.

Sutton, Geoffrey V. Science for a Polite Society: Gender, Culture, and the Demonstration of Enlightenment. Boulder, Colo., 1995. The social framework of Cartesian and Enlightenment science.

Westman, Robert S. "The Astronomer's Role in the Sixteenth Century: A Preliminary Survey." *History of Science* 18 (1980): 105–147. Classic study of the transition from university support to patronage support in early modern science.

PETER BARKER

COSSACKS. Frontierspeople between the Slavic and Turkic worlds, the Cossacks (name derived from the Turkic *kazak*, 'free person') emerged by the fifteenth century as military servitors. In the sixteenth century, a wider strata of the Slavic-borderland foragers and fishers took on the name Cossacks. They were especially numerous in the Ukrainian territories along the Dnieper River of the Polish-Lithuanian state and somewhat later along the Don River on the periphery of the Muscovite state, where they developed skill in building small boats and navigating the Black Sea. The Lithuanian state (after 1569 the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) enlisted the Cossacks in defending its long steppe frontier with the Crimean Khanate. Border officials often served as leaders of the Cossacks who defended grand ducal (later royal) castles. By the second half of the century, Cossacks established strongholds or siches beneath rapids in the lower Dnieper beyond the reach of the authorities (hence the name Zaporozhian, from the Ukrainian za porohy, 'beyond the rapids'). Increasingly the Zaporozhians became an autonomous force, often conducting raids on the Black Sea against the Ottomans. The commonwealth enlisted some Cossacks in its service (the registered Cossacks), but the register never encompassed more than a small part of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

The spread of the manorial serf economy into central Ukraine in the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century increasingly threatened the Cossack way of life and status as free people. Starting in the 1590s, Cossacks led revolts in Ukraine, with the authorities suppressing them in time of peace and seeking their support in time of war. Thus the magnates and court enlisted them in invading Muscovy in the early seventeenth century and in fighting the Turks in 1619-1621. Yet when Warsaw wanted peace with the Ottomans, it found the Cossack naval raids troublesome. After the Union of Brest (1596) established Orthodox union with Rome, the Cossacks resisted the religious change, and by the 1620s they played a major role in Ukrainian religious and cultural life. Cossack revolts in the 1620s and 1630s were put down by the Polish authorities, but the entire political and social order of Ukraine was overthrown by the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648), in which the Zaporozhian Host was transformed into the civil administration, much of the Ukrainian population "Cossackicized," and Cossacks became the major social Estate. In 1654 the Ukrainian hetman took an oath to the Russian tsar, and while the Cossacks changed their sovereigns frequently in the wars of the century, they ultimately came under Russian rule.

Out of the revolt two Cossack polities emerged, the Zaporozhian Host and the Hetmanate. The Zaporozhian Host, centered on the old sich, long retained the character of old Cossackdom in the unsettled steppe and remained autonomous of neighboring rulers. In the eighteenth century it came under Russian control and was destroyed by the Russian imperial forces in 1775. Its Cossacks were dispersed to other Black Sea areas (eventually the Kuban). The Hetmanate, known as Little Russia in the eighteenth century, developed into a complex society with a Ukrainian Cossack culture and identity controlled by the Cossack officers, who evolved into a nobiliary elite. The office of hetman was abolished in 1764, and the autonomy of the region was abolished in 1781. Cossack social strata were absorbed into the Russian imperial social structure. An outcropping of Ukrainian Cossack formations was established in parts of Muscovy by Cossack

emigrants in the mid-seventeenth century and became known as Sloboda Ukraine.

In the Muscovite and Russian state the Cossacks remained a borderland phenomenon. They intervened in Russian affairs in times of weakness, such as the Time of Troubles of the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. Major revolts, such those of Stepan Razin (died 1671) in 1670–1671, Kondratii Bulavin (c. 1660-1708) in 1707-1709, and Emilian Pugachev (1726-1775) in 1773-1775, were launched by Don, Iaik, and other Cossacks. The Don Cossacks, who like the Zaporozhians conducted sea raids in the early seventeenth century, came under more direct rule of Moscow in the eighteenth century and lost their autonomy in 1775. They were integrated into Russian military structures, as was the Kuban Host that formed near them in 1792. The Cossacks Hosts of the Terek and Iaik played a major role in the conquest of the Caucasus and Siberia and then were integrated into Russian imperial military structures.

See also Black Sea Steppe; Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of; Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine; Union of Brest (1596).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gordon, Linda. Cossack Rebellions: Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth-Century Ukraine. Albany, N.Y., 1983.

Hrushevsky, Mykhailo. *History of Ukraine-Rus*. Vol. 7. Translated by Bohdan Strumiński. Vol. 8. Translated by Marta D. Olynyk. Edmonton and Toronto, 1999–2002.

Longworth, Philip. The Cossacks. London, 1969.

Plokhy, Serhii. The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine. Oxford and New York, 2001.

Frank E. Sysyn

COST OF LIVING. See Inflation.

COULOMB, CHARLES-AUGUSTIN

DE (1736–1806), one of France's greatest engineers, who also made major contributions to the field of physics. Not only did he establish "Coulomb's laws"—by showing experimentally that the force between two electric charges, and similarly be-

tween two magnetic poles, is inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them—he played a key role more generally in the transformation of physics in the years around 1800 from a qualitative science into a quantitative, mathematical one. Coulomb was born at Angoulême on 14 June 1736, the son of a petty government official. After studying for a time in Paris and in Montpellier, he was briefly an adjunct member of the mathematical section of the Montpellier Academy of Sciences before entering the best engineering school in Europe, the École du génie at Mézières, in 1760. Upon graduation in November 1761, he became an officer in the French army's engineering corps.

Coulomb spent the years from 1764 to 1772 in the French West Indian colony of Martinique, successfully supervising the construction of major new fortifications to replace those destroyed by the British during the Seven Years' War. A series of postings followed in France itself, during which Coulomb had sufficient free time to write up his analyses of various traditional problems in structural mechanics, building on his experiences in Martinique. His paper created a very favorable impression when he presented it to the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris in 1773, and in the following year he was appointed a *correspondant* (corresponding member) of the academy.

In his paper, Coulomb studied the role of friction and cohesion in several traditional problems of structural engineering. His analyses, in which he pioneered the use of variational calculus in engineering theory, were a significant advance over anything that had been previously achieved. He arrived at general solutions that, as more engineers became familiar with mathematics, became part of the standard approach to the subject. His analysis of the pressure on retaining walls led him to "Coulomb's equation," which remains the starting point of scientific soil mechanics.

During the next few years, Coulomb contributed a number of other papers on engineering topics to the Académie Royale des Sciences. In addition, beginning with work reported in a prizewinning essay on magnetic compasses submitted to the academy in 1777, he extended his research into the realm of physics. Success in 1781 in another of the academy's prize competitions, this

time on friction between sliding and rolling surfaces, consolidated his reputation, and on 12 December of that year he was elected a member of the academy's section for mechanics.

In his investigation of friction, Coulomb combined quantitative experimental research with mathematical analysis in a way that was highly unusual at the time but that was characteristic of all his work. His paper was of immediate relevance to engineering practice, and his analysis became, for over a century, the starting point for all serious studies of friction.

Central to Coulomb's 1777 essay on magnetic compasses was his decision to suspend the compass needle from a thread, rather than mounting it on a pivot, as had traditionally been done. This led him to undertake a general investigation of torsion in threads and wires, which in turn provided him with the basis for his most famous invention, the torsion balance, which measures very small forces by the amount of twist they produce in a suspended thread or wire. The new balance was the tool with which Coulomb established the laws of electric and magnetic action in experiments that he reported to the academy between 1785 and 1791.

As a member of the Académie Royale des Sciences and also, from 1784, as superintendent of water supplies to the royal estates in and around Paris, Coulomb was one of the leading technocrats of late-eighteenth-century France. When the academy was abolished in the revolutionary fervor of 1793, Coulomb retired for safety to his house in the country. He became a member of the new Institut de France at its foundation in 1795, and for the next few years, despite declining health, continued to present papers regularly.

Throughout his career, Coulomb espoused a characteristically eighteenth-century view of nature according to which material corpuscles were bound together by short-range forces such as cohesion and elasticity. Much of his groundbreaking research into friction, torsion, and the strength of materials was concerned with the limits of action of these forces. He was one of the chief architects of the "two-fluid" theories of electricity and magnetism that dominated these fields throughout the nineteenth century.

See also Engineering; Physics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Mémoires de Coulomb. Edited by A. Potier. Paris, 1884.

Secondary Sources

Gillmor, C. Stewart. Coulomb and the Evolution of Physics and Engineering in Eighteenth-Century France. Princeton, 1971.

Heilbron, J. L. Electricity in the 17th and 18th Centuries: A Study of Early Modern Physics. Berkeley, 1979.

Heyman, Jacques. Coulomb's Memoirs on Statics: An Essay in the History of Civil Engineering. Cambridge, U.K., 1972.

R. W. Home

COUNTER-REFORMATION. See

Reformation, Catholic.

COUNTRY HOUSES. See Estates and Country Houses.

COURT AND COURTIERS. The royal and princely courts of early modern Europe were important centers of culture, politics, and patronage. New codes of conduct were developed at and for the court. The court was often criticized by contemporaries as a place where corruption, moral depravity, and political intrigues as well as waste, ostentation, and luxury reigned supreme. Nevertheless, court culture, which was centered on the cult of majesty, had an enormous impact on elite culture in early modern Europe.

THE COURTIER AND THE NEW CODE OF CIVILITY

Italy was the first European country in which life at court was systematically analyzed and where a whole series of books of advice for the future courtier was published. The work that laid the foundation for this sort of literature and thereby created a new literary genre was Baldassare Castiglione's (1478–1529) *Il Cortegiano*, a dialogue written between 1513 and 1524 and published in 1528. Castiglione's courtier appears as a true *nomo universale*, a perfect human being, learned, civilized, elegant, well dressed, courageous, and a good fighter both in

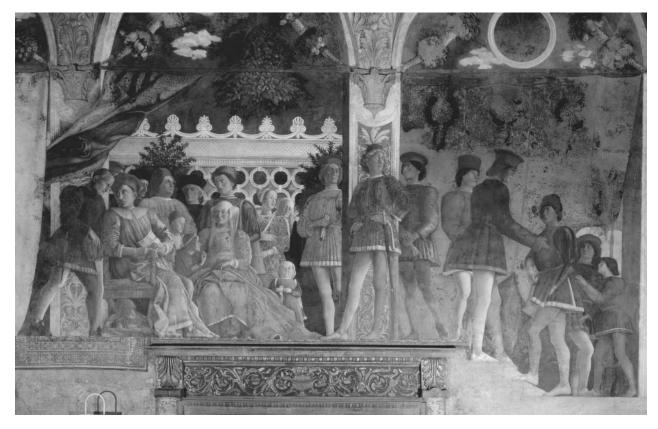
battle and in duels. The courtier has to be a man of many parts, at home in war as well as in peace, a man who will cut a good figure in an elegant conversation or when courting a lady. But it is impossible to reduce the courtier to any of his many roles; the feature that really defines him is none of his individual accomplishments but grazia ('grace'). An essential part of the "grace" or charm that marks the true courtier is that everything he does should appear natural and effortless. For this ease and naturalness in appearance and behavior, Castiglione coined the term sprezzatura (a certain nonchalance combining self-confidence with understatement and also spontaneity); this catchword was to become famous, and it remained a key term in later tracts on the courtier. It was an ideal that deeply influenced the way nobles in general, even outside the confines of the court, tried to appear to society.

Later tracts on the court were more skeptical with regard to the role of the courtier. The political style cultivated by princes who saw themselves as absolute rulers left little room for the courtier to act as the prince's instructor or as his partner in conversation; he was now seen rather as a potential favorite who had to win the ruler's favor by all means fair or foul and was advised to conceal his real thoughts behind an impenetrable facade consisting of perfect manners and absolute self-control, as in the writings of the Spanish Jesuit Baltasar Gracían (1601-1658). French tracts on the court, such as Nicolas Faret's L'honnête homme, ou l'art de plaire à la cour (1630), however, were more pragmatic. Faret's honnête homme seeks a compromise between virtue and the need to please the prince and other courtiers, between his own personality and social constraints. In the following decades, the ideal of the honnête homme, refined in the salons of Paris and by the noble Frondeurs whose political ambitions had been shipwrecked in the early 1650s, lost its connection with the court. The honnête homme, who had been a courtier seeking social advancement and a career in Faret's treatise, increasingly became a man of honor, though not necessarily of high morals in any conventional sense, cultivating his own personality in polite conversation in order to drive away the boredom that was the price he had to pay for the life of leisure that was such an essential precondition for his cultural achievements. Thus, in France as in Italy, but much later, a particular style

of conduct that had been developed for the court at the court became a more general and extremely influential model of behavior in upper-class society. At times its aesthetic or ethical implications would make it almost incompatible with the real life of a courtier.

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE COURT

In the early modern period and, in particular, in the seventeenth century, the court was at the center of a process that redefined the notion of honor in many continental monarchies. The honor and status of a nobleman no longer depended primarily on the informal respect of his equals or his betters, as it had still done in the early sixteenth century, but rather on the formal recognition of his rank and title by the prince and his legal agents. No early modern ruler could overturn the existing social hierarchy, but sovereign rulers increasingly claimed the authority to define status groups within this hierarchy and to endorse or reject claims of privileged positions in the existing system. And the court, more than anywhere else, was the place where these claims of status were assessed. At the same time the political culture of the early modern court offered a pronounced contrast with important political and administrative developments of the same period, which are often seen as specifically modern. The tendency to transform informal political and social relationships based on mutual trust into fixed legal structures based on contracts and laws and the development of more bureaucratic administrative institutions—so important for the development of the state in the early modern period—never really affected the rules of political life at court. Here conflicts were resolved in a much more informal way than in the courts of law, the conciliar bodies of the central administration, or the assemblies of Estates. In fact, one of the most important features of the court's political culture was the lack of formalized legal procedures—apart, of course, from the court ceremonial. The relationship between prince and courtier was never a contractual one: the courtier could not confront his lord with legal claims if he wished to be rewarded for his loyalty. On the other hand, he did not, qua courtier, receive orders, but was expected to adapt all his actions to the wishes of the prince without any formal command. When he received gifts and grants, these were a reward not for a specific service but for his loyalty and friendship.



Court and Courtiers. Ludovico Gonzaga, His Family, and Court, by Andrea Mantegna, 1471–1474. The Gonzaga family ruled the city of Mantua from 1328 to 1707. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

Certainly there were voices even at the time warning noblemen against subjecting themselves to the servitude of life at court. Against such arguments, defenders of the court, such as the Italian writer Matteo Peregrini (1595-1652) in his Difesa del savio in corte (1634; Defense of the wise man at court), replied that courtiers, by their nature, were the ruler's friends, not his servants, because they benefited from their position at court and received grants and gifts as a reward for their loyalty. A mere slave or unfree servant could never expect any reward at all. Gifts and grants were indeed extremely important for giving court society the coherence that other forms of social interaction, such as conversation and sociability, could no longer provide in the later seventeenth century, when the idea that courtiers could be the ruler's instructors had lost all credibility. The distribution of grants at court, which was the foremost center of patronage in the monarchical state, was therefore never exclusively a means to satisfy the desire of courtiers for material rewards. It was also a means of enhancing the status

of the recipient and of creating a social bond between the ruler and the nobles attending his court.

EUROPEAN COURTS BETWEEN RENAISSANCE AND ENLIGHTENMENT

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Italian courts such as that of the Medici in Florence, the Gonzaga in Mantua, and the papal court in Rome had set standards of magnificence and artistic patronage that rulers outside the peninsula, such as Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) of France, eagerly tried to emulate. In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the Spanish court was probably the most important among the royal courts of Europe. It was dominated by a strict ceremonial, introduced by Charles I (ruled 1516-1556; ruled 1519–1556 as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V), that made the king almost inaccessible—a clear contrast to the more easygoing way of the French court—and probably reached its greatest splendor under Philip III (ruled 1598-1621) and Philip IV (ruled 1621-1665) when Spain's political hegemony in Europe was already under attack and when the monarchy was often on the brink of insolvency. However, foreign visitors were deeply impressed by the works of art, the ceremonial, and the aura of dignity and royal authority that were the hallmark of the Spanish court.

In the greatest Protestant monarchy of the time, in England, the political and cultural impact of the court both under the later Tudors and under the Stuarts was limited, not least by financial problems. Elizabeth I (ruled 1558-1603), who was celebrated by her courtiers as the Virgin Queen, at once chaste and erotically attractive, successfully exploited the revival of chivalry in the late sixteenth century to create a culture of loyalty to the monarchy and of commitment to the Protestant faith, and had her nobles pay for many festivals and courtly pageants out of their own pockets. She prudently refrained from any extensive building activities. Her successors James I (ruled 1603-1625) and even more so Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) were more ambitious in their artistic patronage and wanted to emulate the cultural achievements of late Renaissance Italy and Spain. Their controversial policies and the religious divisions of the age, however, made it difficult to contain faction fights at court and to fully integrate the provincial elites into the political and cultural system of the court—something Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) was to achieve with great success in France after 1660. After the Restoration of the monarchy in England (1660), the court had to compete with Parliament as the center of politics. The court's cultural milieu offered a clear contrast to the discipline and self-restraint preached by strictly Protestant clergymen whose ideals-after the regicide of 1649—were now marked by the taint of republicanism. Sexual libertinage and a tendency for violent excesses, which could manifest themselves in duels as much as in attacks on social inferiors, therefore found a fertile breeding ground in the cosmopolitan and anti-Puritan culture of the Restoration court.

Whereas the English court was to some extent replaced by Parliament as the real center of political power in the eighteenth century, the imperial court in Vienna saw its apogee in the decades after the successful defense of the Habsburg capital against the Ottoman Empire in 1683. Great noblemen from the entire monarchy now moved to the capital,

where they built palatial residences. The emperors themselves remained more parsimonious in their building activities and relied less on extensive and costly artistic patronage than on the unrivaled dignity of their position as Europe's highest-ranking monarchs and on the cultural and aesthetic power of the Counter-Reformation church to legitimize their claim to authority. Not until the mid-eighteenth century did the palace of Schönbrunn just outside Vienna become the dynasty's principal residence, replacing at least in summer the rather old-fashioned and unassuming Hofburg in the heart of the capital. Even then the palace did not attain the gigantic dimensions Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), the great baroque architect, had once dreamt of in 1690, when he had hopes of surpassing Versailles. In fact, in the Holy Roman Empire of the eighteenth century, it was often lesser princes, who could not hope to create a powerful army, who continued to subscribe to the ideals of the baroque court culture and spent most of their income on building new palaces and maintaining oversized courts, a habit that was now increasingly criticized by enlightened intellectuals.

VERSAILLES: THE QUINTESSENTIAL BAROQUE COURT

Such criticism was much more muted in the seventeenth century when Versailles, the palace built by Louis XIV after 1660 near Paris to house his court, became for a time the almost unrivaled center of European court culture. Versailles has become a byword for the splendor of the baroque monarchy and also for its alleged ability to manipulate and tame the ancient nobility. The palace certainly differed from earlier royal residences in providing accommodation not just for the king's immediate household, but also for most of the more important government departments and for many high-ranking noblemen, including many who did not hold any office. Moreover, the art produced at and for the court, the courtiers' manners and style of conduct, the fashions adopted by court society, and the language spoken at court all set cultural standards to which provincial society more or less eagerly tried to conform in the late seventeenth century. In this sense Louis XIV's court certainly had a much greater impact on society than that of any of his predecessors despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that the king no longer went on progress through the provinces—unless he paid a visit to his troops in wartime. On the other hand, one should not overestimate the role of the court as an instrument of absolutism, as many older accounts have done. Louis XIV allegedly kept his nobles busy at court by an unbroken series of festivals and entertainments and by having them concentrate all their energies on receiving empty symbols of rank and precedence from the monarch's hand. While the members of the ancient nobility spent their time on such inane pursuits, men from families of far lesser status occupied the positions of power as secretaries of state, as officeholders, and as judges. However, this image, which rests to a considerable extent on the account given by Louis de Rouvroy, the duke of Saint-Simon (1675–1755), in his multivolume memoirs, completed long after the king's death, is at least partly misleading. It is indeed true that great nobles who in the past had often resided for long periods of time in the provinces now increasingly moved to the court. Those who did not show that they were eager to serve the king in person could hardly hope for his favor. However, far from being generally idle and without influence, many courtiers pursued military careers. In fact, employment in the royal household or in the guard units attached to it was often an important, if not indispensable, steppingstone for such a career.

Versailles is associated with the splendid festivals and pageants celebrating Louis XIV as the Sun King. However, the splendor of court life was gradually toned down at the very time when the royal household settled permanently in Versailles in 1682. Great festivals and entertainments became rarer and less exuberant, and many observers now felt that life at court was rather boring. In addition, whereas the sculptures and paintings created for Versailles in the early years in the 1660s and 1670s had used the language of ancient mythology and celebrated the king as Apollo or Helios, the later decor concentrated directly on his political achievements. With the ambiguity of the mythological language gone, the cult of the monarch became much less enigmatic and more blunt in its message, but also easier to attack by critics of the regime. Court culture was therefore arguably already in decline when the king died in 1715 and never entirely recovered even when the ministers of Louis XV (ruled 1715-1774) moved the royal residence back to

Versailles after the end of the regency in 1722. Louis XV and his successor Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) remained ill at ease in the enormous palace and came to resent the constraints imposed on them by the elaborate court ceremonial, whereas the aristocracy preferred to live in Paris, often paying only short visits to the court unless they had charges in the royal household. Nevertheless, the court and its culture were to survive in Versailles until the Revolution.

See also Advice and Etiquette Books; Aristocracy and Gentry; Castiglione, Baldassare; Elizabeth I (England); Louis XIV (France); Monarchy; Patronage; Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy; Versailles; Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Castiglione, Baldassare. *The Book of the Courtier*. Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby. Edited by J. H. Whitfield. London, 1975. Modern edition of a sixteenth-century translation.

Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de. *Mémoires*. Edited by Yves Coirault. 8 vols. Paris, 1983–1988. The standard critical edition. See also the abridged English edition: Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de. *Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*. Translated by Bayle St. John. 3 vols. London, 1901.

Secondary Sources

Adamson, John, ed. *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750.* London, 1999. Richly illustrated survey. The introduction by Adamson roundly rejects the idea of the court as the prison of a deracinated nobility.

Asch, Ronald G., and Adolf M. Birke, eds. *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.* 1450–1650. Oxford, 1991. A collection of essays that concentrates on politics and social life at court, less on culture and the arts.

Brown, Jonathan, and John H. Elliott. A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV. New Haven and London, 1980. One of the best studies of the Spanish court and its culture by an outstanding art historian and one of the foremost experts on the politics of Spain's golden age.

Burke, Peter. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*. New Haven and London, 1992. Brief survey of the changing cult of majesty at Versailles and its crisis. Less solid, but much more easily accessible than Sabatier's work.

The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano. Cambridge, U.K., 1995. Traces the influence Castiglione's work had on theories of civility across Europe.

Elias, Norbert. *The Court Society*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Oxford, 1983. Originally published in German in the late 1960s, this important sociological study relies too much on Saint-Simon. Nevertheless, most modern research on the political function of the early modern court is indebted to Elias to a greater or lesser extent.

Hinz, Manfred. Rhetorische Strategien des Hofmannes. Studien zu den italienischen Hofmannstraktaten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Stuttgart, 1992. Outstanding work on the Italian sixtenth- and seventeenth-century treatises about life and politics at court. Probably the best work available in any language on this topic.

Klingensmith, Samuel John. The Utility of Splendor: Ceremony, Social Life and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–1800. Chicago, 1993. Good on the political function of architecture.

Sabatier, Gérard. *Versailles ou la figure du roi*. Paris, 1999. The definitive analysis of the political significance of art and architecture at the French court.

Starkey, David, ed. *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*. London, 1987. Essential reading for the history of the English court.

RONALD G. ASCH

COURTS OF LAW. See Law: Courts.

CRACOW (Polish, Kraków; German, Krakau). Cracow arose on the left bank of the upper Vistula in the southern region of the Polish state known as Little Poland, at the intersection of trade routes linking Gdańsk and the Baltic with Hungary and Germany and Bohemia with Kievan Rus' and the Crimea. From 1000 it was a bishopric attached to the primatial see at Gniezno. Cracow received the Magdeburg Law for municipal self-government in 1257 and became the capital of a rising Polish kingdom by 1320, with a royal residence in the Wawel Castle. Poland's oldest university, established here in 1364, reached its peak in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, attracting humanists such as the scholar Callimachus (Filippo Buonaccorsi, 1437–1496) and the German neo-Latin poet Conrad Celtis (1459-1508), around whom a sodalitas litteraria vistulana grew up.

The early sixteenth century was the city's golden age, witnessing growth in architecture, literature, and printing. The first printed sheet dates

from 1474. In 1491 Szwajpolt Fiol (d. 1525/1526) published the world's first Church Slavonic liturgical book. Jan Haller established Cracow's first permanent printing house in 1505, and Florian Ungler issued perhaps the oldest book in the Polish language in the years 1513–1514; these and other German immigrants predominated at the beginning and played important roles in establishing a Polish literary standard. By 1580 eight of the seventeen printing offices functioning in Poland-Lithuania were located in Cracow. Printers produced books in Latin, Church Slavonic, Polish, and German for Catholic, Calvinist, Arian, Orthodox, and Uniate readers.

German burghers and Jews arrived in numbers beginning in the fourteenth century. Conflicts arose between largely German artisans and patricians and a largely Polish commonality. By the sixteenth century, through social advancement of Polish burghers and the Polonization of Germans, the patriciate had become Polish-speaking. Germans remained important in many trades. Over the course of the sixteenth century, Italian, Hungarian, Walloon, Flemish, and Scottish immigrants joined the mix.

Cracow was for centuries home to one of Europe's most important Jewish communities. Increasing conflicts with local burghers over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to the expulsion of the Jews in 1495 from within the old town and their reestablishment in the walled suburb-city of Kazimierz (named for Casimir III the Great, ruled 1333–1370) adjacent to Cracow on the south. By the 1570s there were some 2,000 Jews in Kazimierz, and by 1644 seven main synagogues and a number of yeshivas, making Cracow an important center of Jewish learning and printing and the leading Jewish community in the Kingdom of Poland.

Although an early center of the Polish Reformation, Cracow was quickly won for the Counter-Reformation. Arian and Calvinist churches destroyed in tumults of 1574 and 1591 were not rebuilt. By 1627 only Roman Catholics could achieve citizenship.

The city's golden age began to come to a close in the later sixteenth century with the decline of the university, the development of a rural manor economy based largely on the grain trade, a general neglect of Polish-Lithuanian cities, and the permanent establishment of the king's residence in Warsaw (1611). Cracow would remain the capital and coronation city until the end of the Commonwealth, but the absence of the court and parliament, together with a series of invasions (the Swedish occupations of 1655 and 1702), fires, and plagues over the later seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries contributed to the ruin and neglect that would make it impossible for Poland's last king, Stanisław II August Poniatowski (ruled 1764–1795), to be crowned there. With the first partition of Poland in 1772, Cracow became a Polish border outpost, and with the third, in 1795, a provincial town in the Austrian Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.

See also Jews and Judaism; Jews, Attitudes toward; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bałaban, Majer. Historia Żydów w Krakowie i na Kazimierzu, 1304–1868. 2 vols. Cracow, 1931 and 1936.

Bieniarzówna, Janina, and Jan M. Małecki. *Dzieje Krakowa*. Vol. 2, *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*. Cracow, 1994.

Schramm, Gottfried. "Reformation und Gegenreformation in Krakau: Die Zuspitzung des konfessionellen Kampfes in der polnischen Hauptstadt." In Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 19 (1970): 1–41.

DAVID FRICK

CRANACH FAMILY. Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), Saxon court painter and printmaker, Wittenberg city alderman (1519–1545) and mayor (1537/38, 1540/41, and 1543/44), owner of a Wittenberg printing business, apothecary and book shops, and a wine monopoly, was the most important member of this six-generation dynasty. Son of Hans Maler ("Hans the Painter," 1448-1528), presumably his first teacher, and grandson of Lucas Maler (1420-1488), Cranach was first employed in the ducal fortress at Coburg in 1500. By early 1502 he had settled in Vienna, painting portraits of the young rector of the university, Johannes Cuspinian, and his bride Anna (both 1502, Winterthur Museum) and designing woodcuts for Cuspinian's publisher Johannes Winterburger. In 1505 he became court painter to the saxon elector Frederick III (called the Wise, ruled 1486–1525),

working in his castles at Wittenberg, Torgau, and Lochau, and designing woodcuts for the illustrated catalog of Frederick's extensive collection of holy relics. On 6 January 1508 he received a personal coat of arms featuring a winged dragon. Cranach also served Frederick's successors Johan the Steadfast (ruled 1525–1532) and Johan Frederick the Magnanimous (ruled 1532–1547), a tenure of office unique in the history of European court painting. Cranach was succeeded by his son Lucas the Younger (1515–1586).

The grand house in Wittenberg, where the exiled king Christian II of Denmark had been a guest (1523) and where Katharina von Bora lived before her marriage to Martin Luther, remained the family home as the dynasty continued under Lucas the Younger's son Augustin (1554–1595) and grandson Lucas III (1586–1645).

The elder Cranach, described by the reformer Andreas Karlstadt as an excellent Latinist, was sent by Frederick on a secret diplomatic mission to the Netherlands, where he saw paintings by Quinten Metsys and Hieronymus Bosch that influenced some of his later work. His marriage in 1512 to Barbara Brengbier (d. 1540), the daughter of a Gotha city councilman, produced three daughters, Barbara, Anna, and Ursula, in addition to sons Hans (1513?–1537) and Lucas, whom he trained to assist him in the workshop, where there were also at times as many as a dozen apprentices. When his last employer, Johan Frederick, at the head of the Schmalkaldic League, was defeated by the imperial army of Charles V and imprisoned, Cranach temporarily resigned his position as court painter, but resumed it at the Augsburg meeting of the Reichstag (1550), since Charles had brought along his own court painter, Titian (in Augsburg 1548-1551). Cranach's portrait of Titian has been lost, but his portrait of Charles survives. When the imperial army was defeated in battle by the new elector, Moritz of Saxony (1552), who freed Johan Frederick, Cranach followed Johan Frederick to his new residence in Weimar, remaining there until his death at eighty-one.

Best known today for the many versions of his coquettish nude nymphs and Venuses, and for the various "power of women" paintings designed for the bridal suites of Frederick's successors, it was the elder Cranach's personal friendship with Martin Luther, professor of biblical theology at Wittenberg University, that was most important in his own day. Luther was godfather to Cranach's daughter Anna (b. 1520), and wrote to him immediately after the Reichstag at Worms (1521), hinting at his planned disappearance. Cranach was one of the few whom Luther visited in his disguise as "Junker Jörg" on his surprise trip to Wittenberg from his refuge in the Wartburg (1522). Cranach and his wife were witnesses at Luther's wedding in 1525, and Cranach was godfather to the couple's first child, Hans (1526). Cranach also lent his printing equipment for Luther's early publications (1523–1525). Their friendship may account for Luther's relatively moderate attitude toward religious works of art. However, Cranach also fulfilled commissions for Luther's foremost opponents, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg and Duke George the Bearded of Saxony, and made devotional works for Frederick the Wise, who never abandoned his Catholic faith.

Representative works by Lucas the Elder include the *Crucifixion* (1503, Munich), a *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* (1504, Berlin), the first dated chiaroscuro woodcut (St. Christopher, 1506), portraits of Duke Henry the Pious and his wife Catherine (1514, both Dresden), the Torgau altarpiece (1509, Frankfurt), *The Nymph of the Well* (1518, Leipzig), *Venus and Cupid as a Honey Thief* (a theme from Theocritus, 1521, Nuremberg), the Altarpiece of the Princes (1510, Dessau), *The Fountain of Youth* (1546, Berlin), and numerous portraits of both Luther and his wife in various media.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Luther, Martin; Prints and Popular Imagery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Friedländer, Max J., and Jakob Rosenberg. *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1978. Translated by Heinz Norden from the 1932 Berlin edition. The standard oeuvre catalogue of the paintings.

Hollstein, F. W. H. German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts c. 1400–1700. Vol. 6, Cranach–Druse. Amsterdam, 1954–.

Koepplin, Dieter, and Tilman Falk. *Lukas Cranach: Gemälde, Zeichnungen, Druckgraphik.* 2 vols. Basel, 1974. Catalogue of the exhibition honoring the 500th anniversary of the artist's birth.



Cranach Family. Adam and Eve, by Lucas Cranach the Elder. The ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF PRAGUE/DAGLI ORTI

Rosenberg, Jakob. "The Problem of Authenticity in Cranach's Late Period." *Art Quarterly* 18 (1955): 164–170.

Schade, Werner. Cranach: A Family of Master Painters. New York, 1980. Translation of Die Malerfamilie Cranach, 1974.

Thulin, Oskar. *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation*. Berlin, 1955. Much of this work is by Lucas the Younger.

JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON

CREDIT. See Banking and Credit.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT. The occurrence and types of crime, as well as the development of institutions of trial and punishment during

the years 1500–1800, may be described as moving along lines integral to general trends in the making of early modern Europe: the formation of stratified societies based on elements of class and patronage and the development of centralized states. It is easier to arrive at some general conclusions toward the end of the period than at its beginning.

STATE JURISDICTION

By 1500 the power to define crimes had all but moved out of the realms of religion, family, and clan into a new and separate sphere, that of the state. Acts amounting to crime were increasingly determined, not by aggrieved parties arguing their case before some form of public assemblage, but by monarchs and princes assisted by combinations of trained professionals and appointed amateurs, operating ever more efficient bureaucratic institutions. Likewise, punishments were constituted in formal law codes and meted out according to standards reflective of societies constituted by groups of unequal individuals. People guilty of the commission of crimes were no longer viewed as ordinary members of society who had gone beyond acceptable behavioral limits acknowledged by religion and tradition (sinners), but as types of people whose lifestyle of poverty predisposed them to a life of crime, creating and spreading an "underworld" of deviants who threatened to overturn decent society. The function of the legal and punitive apparatus, therefore, was changing from capture, trial, punishment, and resolution to deterrence, surveillance, suppression, and exclusion.

At the beginning of the period, definitions of "crime" varied among a multiplicity of locales, regions, states, and between various jurisdictions communal, seigneurial, ecclesiastical, and royal. There existed no uniformity of opinion as to what kinds of acts should be construed as crimes; therefore, the definitions of "crime" were as various as the many locations where it occurred. In areas where urbanization was the rule, as in northern and central Italy, large and small towns had criminal statutes on their books inherited from the Middle Ages, when communal governments had won their freedom from the jurisdiction of either the papacy or the Holy Roman Empire. Particularly in northern Italy, these laws derived from tribal law (Lombard Law), the criminal codes of Justinian, and the statutes deemed appropriate by local officials. To these were added, by the sixteenth century, the decrees of the princes, ruling over territorial states in increasing number, a power deriving from the Roman emperors. In other societies of Europe as well, tribal law was enshrined in written codes as customary law, along with the statutes of local officials with criminal jurisdictions, to which were added the laws of kings and princes.

This new sphere of state jurisdiction expanded considerably, squeezing to the margins ecclesiastical jurisdictions, its medieval predecessor in the definition and trial of most crime. From the sixteenth century on, ecclesiastical courts only exercised authority over transgressions such as, in England, for example (prior to the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII in 1536), working on feast days and sexual misconduct (fornication), earning them the nickname of the "bawdy courts." After the Reformation reduced the size and scope of the Catholic clergy, it was only in Catholic countries that the church retained jurisdiction over its personnel, in Italy, for example, exempting them from trial in secular tribunals.

Despite the increasing authority and judicial power of the developing state, it would be a mistake to say that the law reflected only the interests and desires of princes. Even though members of the royal family and the princely inner circle were not tried and punished in the legal system for their transgressions, because to admit to bad behavior that the princes were attempting to discourage (in part by their comportment and that of their peers) among their subjects weakened their efforts to lead by example, their professed social values were often identical to those of their subjects. Everyone agreed that theft, assault, rape, and murder, for example, were not to be tolerated because all were disruptive of the conduct of everyday life. Likewise, laws that punished those who sold grain at exorbitant prices during famine should be punished (on the basis that such practice was a form of usury).

On the other hand, many laws clearly did protect the interests of the aristocracy at the expense of the masses of people. In the Tuscan Grand Ducal State, for example, the Medici grand dukes criminalized hunting and fishing in most of their state for everyone but themselves and their aristocratic com-

rades. Those others caught hunting or fishing could be punished by a series of fines. Clearly, from the sixteenth century on, from the anti-hunting and fishing provisions of the Medici to the infamous "Waltham Black Act" of 1723 in Britain—a series of about a hundred forest laws based in Windsor that prohibited the poor from hunting there under pain of execution—the power to define crime passed into the hands of the princes, becoming a matter of state.

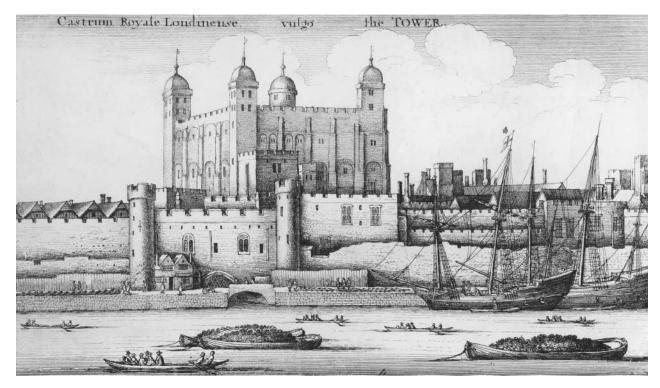
THE TYPOLOGY OF CRIME

A list and discussion of all types of crimes is impossible, but two significant trends in the typology of crime can be addressed: property crimes and crimes against persons, violent and otherwise, and the incidence of these crimes in rural, compared to urban, environments. Historians of crime influenced by Marxist economic theory have argued that these conjoined issues ride atop the deeper and more profound current then transforming Europe from the medieval to the modern: the development of industrial capitalism. Because the economy of medieval Europe did not produce a plenitude of goods available for theft, nor were the means of production in this agrarian society concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists (thus causing widespread poverty and the need to steal to survive), these historians argue, the majority of crimes were crimes of violence against persons. The onset of capitalist society reversed the situation in early modern Europe, multiplying many times the availability of goods and the extent of poverty, so that the broad typology of crime switched from crimes of violence to crimes against the property of the rich and well-to-do committed by the desperate poor. The agrarian society of the medieval period, with its population scattered across a pastoral landscape, concentrated its violence in its few crowded and noisome cities. Conclusions based on the research of historians of crime since the 1970s, however, disprove this thesis.

More recently, historians of crime have produced research supporting a new thesis that requires a new explanation. Crimes of violence seem to diminish dramatically in frequency in the seventeenth century, but the trend in crimes against property seems to remain stable. So, while Europe became a much less violent place, the rates of property crime remained level. What is surprising is the conclusion

that cities were not the locations for the majority of violent crime; that honor goes to the countryside. To explain this conclusion, historians of crime have resurrected Norbert Elias's arguments in The Civilizing Process (1939), which seem to better explain their results. Elias argued for the centrality of the royal courts in promoting the domestication of society from the sixteenth century on. The princes and their peers at court not only set the example for acceptable behavior, emphasizing self-restraint, but rulers also monopolized the means to commit violence within society. Consequently, increasingly complex European societies became peaceful on the domestic level, with low incidences of violent crime. (During this same period, it is also true that Europe engaged in vastly increased levels of violence in wars between its societies and in the larger world.)

Feuds and family honor. Explanation of the types and incidence of violent crime entails explication of a number of important social, political, and economic factors. One reason behind the incidence of violent crime is that assaults and murder were usually the result of the social importance of honor, particularly in Mediterranean Europe. Family and clan were the foundation of European society well past the sixteenth century, but these organizations of people were held together by more than ties of mutual affection: often these groups adhered together to achieve economic and political goals that also tested their mutual loyalty. Fulfillment of basic male roles—son, father, husband, and loyal friend—was required: these men were aggressive, out in society, and politically engaged. Females submitted to the protection and direction of their male relatives. Women were assigned more passive roles as daughters, mothers, and wives, even though many worked in agriculture, business, and industry (cloth workers in Florence, for example). These roles were defined by tradition and by religion; there is nothing surprising here. The reason for going briefly over this familiar ground is that these roles and their constraints shaped the reasons for and the participants in violent crime. Incidences of assault, murder, and rape (another violent, not sexual, crime even then) were overwhelmingly the provenance of males. Violence was often required in the fulfillment of male roles in defense of the honor (read: family or male honor) of women. Violence was necessary to achieve the political and economic



Crime and Punishment. A seventeenth-century engraving of the Tower of London by Wenceslaus Hollar. Built as a fortress in the medieval period, it later served as a prison for royalty and other notable captives. THE ART ARCHIVE

goals of the family or clan, and this was true at every level of society excepting the most destitute in rural areas, whose poverty and lack of connections excluded them from the action.

In the Mediterranean region of Europe, family and clan competition, which extended across political borders as well as the physically defined lines between city and countryside, produced the endemic violence of the feud. In urban and in rural areas family- and clan-based feuding was both political and economic in nature. Political goals were often pursued through violence, while economic relations were also protected with violent means, especially in border regions. The cataclysmic episodes of violence that shook many of Italy's major cities during the Renaissance are legendary. By the sixteenth century, however, these violent eruptions, which usually paralyzed political life, had come to an end in the larger cities. In the smaller towns and centers of rural society, located in mountainous border regions, and at the borders of major territorial states, however, episodes of feuding continued to occur, even into the modern period. Feuding was endemic into the seventeenth century in the hinterland of the Tuscan Grand Duchy, periodically roiling the towns of the Romagna. In the mountains of Genoa, feuding continued on the fringes of the Genoese state, coming to an end only with the immigration to America of a significant portion of the population in the nineteenth century. The causes for feuding in these regions were economic and cultural: economic, because the poor quality of land available for agricultural production, and the remoteness from seaports where trade might have been engaged in, meant that subsistence was impossible without the supplemental activity of smuggling, which occurred over routes for which clans fought each other for control; cultural, in that honor came into play in these contests, and honor could only be defended with violence. In the major cities, consolidation of the ruling classes, achieved as a group as in Venice, or more commonly behind one family, as with the Medici of Florence, and the increasingly useful and more peaceful alternative of litigation, worked together to suppress this type of violence. Real and perceived slights continued to occur, but they were contested at a different level of violence.

Very little violence in early modern Europe was unstructured. The tensions, the competitions, the affairs of honor were always present but were pursued in low-intensity conflicts, constituting the larger explosions as the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Explosions of feuding broke out as individual incidents piled up or when a particularly heinous violation occurred or an important person was aggrieved. Even when pacification occurred, individuals and small groups continued to confront each other in the streets of major cities. Efforts to control this type of violence and to limit its effects, with the potential for rupturing the solidarity of the aristocratic class, were focused on supplying an alternative, the ceremonial duel. Historians of dueling agree that they were more often written and theorized about by princes than they were tolerated in actuality. Most famously, the France of Louis XIII, with Cardinal Richelieu as enforcer, absolutely forbade participation in the duel. Likewise, the Medici wrote more about dueling than they tolerated participation in it by their fellow aristocrats. Instead, systematic examination of criminal records in Florence demonstrates that men from good families confronted each other informally in armed street brawls, structurally squeezed into the space between the formal duel, the large-scale combat of earlier times, and the alternative of litigation. Honor would be satisfied, but the story does not end here. In smaller towns, incidents of insulting language and acts—rape, assault, and murder—were usually linked to a level of clan feuding that occurred below the notice of officials. It is easy to see why this was the case: these factions existed in social spaces so small that it was impossible for them to avoid seeing each other on a daily basis. There were, however, other sources of violence.

Aristocratic retainers, whether in urban or rural settings, were responsible for some assaults. If the particular lord whom they served happened to be a protected resident in a foreign town while in exile, his bravos may even have been formally exempt from punishment for their violence under local statutes. At home they were usually likewise protected. These men usually showed off their status and honor by roughing up local townspeople or peasants while they roamed about city streets or country lanes. Soldiers and militiamen were another source of violent behavior. Soldiers may have been com-

pletely exempt until the professionalization of armies in the eighteenth century; militiamen were punished in special court sessions in Tuscany.

Still less structured forms of violence, for example, commissioned assassinations, were carried out by men who may have been professional killers with more than one crime in their résumé, but they could just as likely be well-known ruffians who killed when the right price was offered to them. Rape was mostly a group experience in the city, when it did not involve slave and servant women, but was committed by lone assailants in the countryside. In either case, the primary motive was the exercise of controlling power over vulnerable women, not lust. At times, a rape was another expression of low-intensity feuding.

Banditry: theft and violence. The activities of robber bands, constituting a different type of gang violence, also occurred in rural areas far from the seat of centralized power from the sixteenth century on into the nineteenth. In form, banditry had its medieval antecedents in the robberies and kidnappings of merchants as they passed on roads beneath some lord's castle, and in the freebooting mercenary armies of the fourteenth century. These men have been lauded as "primitive rebels," the precursors of modern political revolutionaries, who robbed the rich while protecting the poor, who sang their praises.

But the targets of most bandits in the early modern period were not the rich. For example, in the Austrian Netherlands, the Bokkeryders (the Goat Riders, after a medieval myth), active in the Lower Meuse in the 1730s to 1770s, the politically fragmented area of northeastern Maastricht, were organized around a core group of skinners and ironworkers whom unemployment had hit hard. These men had ties to local elites, as bandits usually did, and preyed on local churches and peasants. In Italy, bandit groups were composed of a core of men who had literally been banned from their home areas as contumacious of criminal charges. Banditry attracted a lot of attention from state officials and princes in the early modern period, as their depredations combined a high level of violence with theft and destruction of property.

A neat distinction between violence and theft is not possible in every case, because theft is often ac-

companied by violence. In early modern Europe, violence usually accompanied theft in the countryside, where highwaymen employed at least the threat of violence by showing a weapon, along with actual violence. In cities, however, violence seldom accompanied thefts. The category of nonviolent crime consisted of a variety of offenses against various forms of property (everything from trade or farming implements, to money, merchandise, and land with and without buildings), the accumulation of which both determined a person's qualification to participate in political life and conferred social position, if not quite personhood, especially on the bourgeoisie. As the accumulation of wealth came to assume a major place in European society among bourgeois and noble alike, thieves became subject to punishment by capital penalties, even for crimes as petty and necessary as the theft of a fish from the market.

Common types of theft included pickpocketing, burglary of homes and businesses, and theft from markets. The first two were usually the work of professionals, who were constantly on the move between one location and another, although, on occasion, the records reveal the existence of a criminal gang led by a young rogue aristocrat. They disposed of their pilfered items through fences, often Jewish merchants operating secondhand clothes shops or shops where other items, such as weapons, could be sold. Ideally, the stolen items were taken to such a shop for sale in a different locale than that where the theft had occurred; otherwise, the chance that an item might be recognized by its owner was too great. In Florence and elsewhere dealers in secondhand merchandise were subject to regulation because of their role in dispersing the fruits of thefts. At times the poor stole edible goods to ward off hunger, or were accused by neighbors of stealing farm implements.

Other, more sophisticated forms of theft occurred in the world of business. Usury, for example, was both a crime and a sin. Because profit was the inevitable outcome of a good business transaction, merchants devised numerous clever schemes for hiding profits that rose above the levels deemed acceptable by medieval churchmen. At times, bankruptcies of businesses were criminalized because there was always the possibility that what was really going on was concealment from one's associates or creditors of the intention of making off with what remained of the value of an enterprise in financial trouble. Hoarding grain for sale at higher-thanallowed prices during famine or dearth was another form of usury. From the sixteenth century on, the focus on what constituted a criminal act turned to crimes committed by the poor.

ASSOCIATING POVERTY AND CRIME

In both medieval and early modern Europe it was believed that the poor and crime would always be present in society because of the inherent misfortunes of life and the defective character of human beings. Yet the early modern period witnessed the advent of a decisive and telling sociological change in perception of the poor and of crime that more closely associated the two than before. The medieval poor were the holy poor: women whom fortune had deprived of a husband, children similarly deprived of one or both parents, and the blind or crippled of both sexes. It was the church that ministered to the needs of these unfortunate few, by the early modern period in partnership with the state. Symptomatically, prostitution, which many came to regard as a moral crime in the sixteenth century (everywhere but in Italy, where it remained merely regulated), was tolerantly viewed by the medieval church as the inevitable resort of lone women without a man to financially support them.

From 1500 on, the perceptual gulf between rich and poor widened. One of the reasons, but by no means the only one, was the development of a new self-concept among the wealthy: the rich were coming to see themselves as self-composed, restrained in their behavior and appearance, which reflected their superior inner worth, while the condition, behavior, and appearance of the poor similarly demonstrated their lack of worth. Various religions as well as governments began to note what they described as a great increase in the number of wretched poor flooding the cities.

Historians are not yet certain about the reality of the alleged increase in numbers or about what might have been the cause if the cited rise was, in fact, a reality. There would have been a notable increase in population from the post–Black Death lows reached around 1450, but the curve would not reach its highest point until 1600. It can be argued that city dwellers in particular were seeing two

things: first, a real increase in the number of people, many of them poor. But they were also becoming aware of a new phenomenon, the existence of persistent poverty among the working poor and the unemployed. Composed of able-bodied men, this group, which had come into existence during the medieval period, stood out among the growing crowd of holy poor.

Partnerships between the state and religious organizations, both Protestant and Catholic, formed in the sixteenth century in an attempt to find solutions to the problem of the teeming masses of poor people clogging city streets and flowing along country byways. Efforts were made to keep the poor in their home areas, dispensing aid to them there; no one wanted to bear the burden of supporting the nonnative poor. Numbers of wandering poor had been present in medieval Europe, too, which included an uncertain percentage of rogues, people banned from their home areas who had naturally gravitated to a style of life on the fringes of society. The image of the wandering rogue was a common motif of medieval literature.

By the sixteenth century, this image was apparently broadened and applied to explain the character and existence of larger numbers of able-bodied poor men, many of whom were not wandering rogues at all but were, in Florence, for example, recognized by churchmen as being unemployed and in need of assistance. However, in most areas of Europe they did not receive this help; the new stateand religion-based systems of assistance focused instead on the traditional holy poor and single women, marginalizing, sometimes criminalizing, unemployed men. Sir Thomas More, in the introduction to his Utopia, recognized that these men, many of whom were crippled war veterans, were in need of help and posed no threat to society. Unfortunately, this view did not then prevail: the increasing numbers of vagabonds were viewed as threats to rural and urban society alike in an age of warfare and suspicion that produced a demand for order above all else.

In this way, the association between systematic poverty and crime came into existence. But more was needed to produce this newly negative evaluation of the poor; more was needed to create the sociological concepts of "poverty" and "criminality" to replace the poor and those who violated the law but could be brought back into society. Poverty had come to be perceived as a "style of life" voluntarily adopted by those who were too lazy to work. In fact, the records reveal that, in the eyes of merchants and government officials, there was a widespread belief that the working poor abandoned their jobs because they had discovered that they could gather more money by begging in the streets. Criminality was thus characterized as the occupation of lazy men and women who made the decision to obtain money illicitly by disguising themselves as the deserving poor, depriving them of alms and deceiving those who provided those alms. Thus, dishonesty and immorality were learned and taught to the young by those who lacked stable family structures, the primary place where morality was taught during this period. As a result of such thinking, the concept of criminality as a self-replicating style of life that would corrode the underpinnings of decent society if it were allowed to spread unchecked appeared to spring into existence.

The sixteenth century also witnessed the birth of a fascination with the existence of a criminal "underworld," a topic that has also enthralled some historians of the poor and of crime. Some records of police interrogations of beggars from the period have been found, most notably for sixteenth-century Rome. In them, elaborate structures of this underworld of criminal beggars were outlined. By the seventeenth century, particularly in Spain, popular literary motifs of shady characters inhabiting this underworld became widespread. Police interrogations of frightened poor people were likely to produce confirmations of what the interrogators expected to hear. This is just as true of the images of the elaborately imagined structure of the underworld of beggars, where each type of begging scam was taught and practiced by members of something like craft guilds, who then federated together, as it is of the testimonies of women tried as witches, who confessed to truly incredible practices and occurrences under pressure. In this period and later, historians have also found evidence of special "languages" used by criminals to set themselves off from decent people. While this evidence cannot be completely disregarded, in criminal records assembled and examined by historians of crime, no proof of such an underworld exists. One must never underestimate the ability of literary motifs to affect the expectations and actions of educated elites. This was as true of the witchcraft phenomenon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where elite expectations were shaped by the fifteenth-century *Malleus Malificarum*, as it was of the documents confirming the expectations of the literate regarding the existence of a criminal underworld. One was as true, in fact, as the other.

SYSTEMS OF CAPTURE, TRIAL, AND PUNISHMENT

The police. Not much is known about the police in early modern Europe. In large part this is due to the informality of policing, often an ancillary responsibility of kings and lesser nobles, whose job it was to provide order in the realm. Italy led the way in forming urban and rural police agencies in the medieval period to deal with crime, while Great Britain joined in at the end of the period. Thematically there is a dual focus: on their effectiveness in capturing violators, and on the issue of police corruption, or what might be called the moral quality of officers.

The Italian cities displayed several different types of police units from the later medieval period. The main force, which was not large in number, was organized as a military unit under a captain of police (capitano del bargèllo or il bargèllo, in Florence), with one or more lieutenants under him and a number of men in squads. In emergency situations they might be aided in the capture of malefactors, or in suppressing crowd violence, by members of the military guard of nobles, which were routinely stationed outside palaces. These military units patrolled the city at night, carried various documents from the criminal courts and magistracies, and made arrests as necessary. To carry out these functions, they had to have achieved some level of literacy. The police captain, at least, kept his ear to the ground by maintaining close familiarity with a number of questionable personalities who served as informers. (Even this early in their history, the police faced the absolute necessity of relying on informants to make arrests.) Very small constabularies were established in the small towns of the countryside. In France, a marshal was established to control crime outside of the cities, while in Paris from 1667 on a lieutenant, a powerful official, was responsible for the control of crime. Great Britain formed centralized "French"

police units in London with the establishment in 1770 of the Bow Street Foot Patrol in London, with a contingent also to patrol the countryside, and a similar force for Westminster.

Other squads specialized in the operation of the many jails (including debtors' jails) that the cities established with the extension of municipal control over what had been, in the high medieval period, privately operated places of detention. The most common purpose of jails was to hold suspects during lengthy periods of pretrial detention, which, in early modern Florence, averaged six months. There is some question as to how effectively the guard kept watch over inmates; the reason that Florentine government took over administration of jails was to stop the many successful escapes. Making the owners of these jails liable for financial reimbursement to the city for escapees had not served as an effective deterrent. Escapes still occurred, sometimes under mysterious circumstances. Guards often had contact with prisoners because they not only provided security but also sold food, bedding, and other items to those few who could afford them while they were being held. Prisoners or their families were responsible for meeting the costs associated with maintaining a person in confinement, so the better off the person was, the better he or she lived. The others the vast majority-starved or marginally survived on meager alms provided by reluctant princes.

The last type of policing was directed at controlling banditry and vagabondage. In Italy banditry was dealt with by ad hoc militia units that conducted campaigns against bandit gangs, hanging as many culprits as they could catch. These campaigns were temporary because of their great expense. Vagabondage was controlled by local police forces: in France, for example, the marshals were charged with controlling vagabondage in the countryside.

Many experts on crime and punishment are harsh in their judgment of the effectiveness and corruptibility of the police in the early modern period, but they were too few and lacking in the technological advantages to match the effectiveness of modern police in the detection of crime and criminals and in the capture of malefactors. Many people charged with crimes simply left the area, becoming contumacious rather than submit themselves to the possibility of detention and punishment. Policemen were

paid very little at that time. In fact, the state spent very little on the support of the entire system of criminal justice. As a consequence, the prison situation was designed to provide the police with opportunities to supplement their salaries with the proceeds of legitimate graft. Legitimate graft easily crossed over into illegitimate territory, however, when the police accepted payment for abetting the occasional escape, in falsely imprisoning women on charges of prostitution and then collecting payments to release them, and so forth.

Conversely, others were clearly dedicated to service. There are accounts, for example, of rural policemen who pursued men who had come into the center of towns and small cities to engage in the violence associated with feuding, increasingly using harquebuses (heavy portable matchlock guns) from the sixteenth century on, even though they were outnumbered and outgunned. Because the nature of their work allows them the sanctioned exercise of violence and restraint—thus, the job will attract some persons of questionable morals—and because they are too few in number (but who wishes to live in a police state?) and poorly paid (some police will succumb to opportunities for corruption) policing the police will always be a difficult challenge.

Trial. Many types of courts, tribunals, and magistracies exercised jurisdiction over the adjudication of early modern crime. Although centralization was occurring, it was not achieved in Europe's early modern period. Some courts were professionalized, in that they were staffed with actual judges trained in the law; others were not, as in the English system, where quarter sessions and assize courts were staffed with justices of the peace appointed from the merchant class. Some magistracies, like the Eight on Public Safety in Grand Ducal Tuscany, while having wide but not exclusive criminal jurisdiction, were staffed by selected citizens with no juridical background at all. In Catholic countries, the church retained jurisdiction over its personnel. Finally, some bureaucracies regularly convened as magistracies to adjudicate violations of their own regulations.

Procedure in criminal cases exhibited some important similarities across Europe, despite the simultaneous persistence of differences. Cases were initiated through either accusatorial or inquisitorial process. In the first and older of the two, a case

commenced with a private denunciation; in the latter, developed in the medieval period by the church to investigate and adjudicate cases of heresy, the process was initiated by magistrates. Though both types of process existed side by side after 1500, inquisitorial procedure dominated on the Continent—in Spain, primarily in Aragón, in northern Italy, in Sweden, France, and Germany—by the middle of the century. Legislation of special interest occurs in the *Carolina* of 1532 in the German Empire, in the Royal Ordinance of 1539 in France, and in the Criminal Ordinance of 1570 in the Spanish Netherlands.

England was different in not adopting the inquisitorial process but developed instead, in the Marian Statutes of 1554–1555, its own process initiated by magistrates. The advantage to inquisitorial procedure was the investigative initiative and power conferred on magistrates who were appointed by princes. One need not wait for a complaint from an alleged victim to begin investigating a suspected crime, during the course of which witnesses and suspected culprits were held in jail if they could not make bond. Of course, the vast majority was poor people, who could not afford bond, or political enemies of the princes, who were held secretly. An important point to make is that inquisitorial process had its longer, more complex form, requiring the expertise of jurists, but it also had an abbreviated form that could be utilized by ordinary citizenmagistrates, appointed by the Grand Dukes, and advised only by a lawyer, as was the case with the Florentine Eight on Public Safety. One must be careful, therefore, not to automatically assume that the inception of the inquisition process indicated unidirectional progress toward modernity in every case. In Florence the medieval system, which relied on trained jurists acting as judges, was more "modern," while the early modern system, centered in the city, represents several steps away from professionalization.

Detention was a part of the trial procedure, as was some degree of torture. Defense lawyers were participants when the accused could afford them. Questioning was conducted while torture was being administered, then confirmed with the accused once it had ceased. Those found innocent were either freed without prejudice or provisionally acquitted with the state retaining the option of recharging

them in perpetuity, even after their death. Most of those suspected of serious crimes simply fled, entering the state of contumacy despite the severity of the penalties that were statutorily applied in that instance. This was a good strategy, because the state was willing to negotiate lesser penalties with the contumacious in return for submitting themselves to justice.

Punishment. Punishment was effected through afflictive and pecuniary penalties, and forms of penal servitude, with increasing application of a fourth, incarceration and outright expulsion, depending on the polity and the time period. England is the easiest to discuss because, for the sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries, it relied heavily on capital penalties as punishment for a wide variety of crimes, from theft to murder. Great Britain relied on using capital penalties to terrify potential criminals as a deterrent because it did not have police forces to catch violators, and would not have them until the late eighteenth century.

In the Mediterranean countries, pecuniary penalties and forms of penal servitude predominated. In sixteenth-century Florence, imposition of afflictive penalties was heralded as an equalizing reform, because the rich would not be able to lessen the impact of justice by using their wealth. In fact, what occurred in Grand Ducal Tuscany, and in Spain, was the increasing reliance on forms of penal servitude as punishment. Penal servitude derived from the opus publicum ('public works') of antiquity, giving it a long history. Its common form in Italy was in galley service, or service in the mercenary armies that Italian princes were obliged to raise to support the northern wars of their Habsburg masters. The Florentines added internal exile, another punishment with an antique heritage, sending many convicts to reside in Livorno, then a pestilent swamp that the grand dukes would turn into their only port to the Mediterranean. The Spanish also employed convicts in galley service, adding service in mercury mines at Almadén, and presidios ('hard labor prisons') in North Africa and in their American possessions. By 1748 they had abolished galley service in favor of sentences in presidios as the most common type of punishment. The motivation for these types of punishment was the need for manpower to serve the needs of war and of empire.

REFORM

The Enlightenment produced an interest in the reform of criminal justice and punishment. The most influential reformer was Cesare Beccaria, the Milanese dilettante. In Of Crimes and Punishments (1764), he proposed standardizing sentences in proportion to the seriousness of the crime without later modifying them, leaving aside consideration of the social differences between victim and culprit if there were any, and ending the practice of judicial torture and the infliction of capital penalties. The inflexible imposition of sentences would convince any potential criminal to weigh the likely result of committing a crime against the unlikely benefits, a calculation that Beccaria was confident would deter potential criminals. As a mode of punishment, he preferred penal servitude in the public interest: why should criminals not be put to use in making restitution to society for the losses caused by their violations? The barbarity of the old system, exemplified above all else by gruesome public executions, had to be brought to an end by a civilized society. During this same period, the English began to rely on a system of imprisonment in the decaying hulks of ships, before turning to a new system, expelling prisoners from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia, America, and Tasmania between 1787 and the end of the practice in 1868. The French also employed a system of expelling criminals to penal colonies in the Americas during roughly the same period.

The development of early modern crime and punishment ends with increasing reliance on excluding undesirable people from decent society. Commission of a crime had come to define an individual for life; exclusion was the proper response before the idea of reforming the criminal took hold in the nineteenth century. This is not to say that disciplinary institutions did not previously exist; the first prisons (as workhouses) were founded in the mid-sixteenth century, but the general adoption of the modern prison and its ideology of reform was not the teleological result of trends in the reform of criminal justice but the result of changes in the way that crime came to be conceptualized as criminality, and violators as criminals.

See also Authority, Concept of; Banditry; Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana, marquis of; Capitalism; Charity and Poor Relief; Church and State Relations; Cities and Urban Life; City-State; Class, Status, and Order; Duel; Equality and Inequality; Food Riots; Honor; Hunting; Inquisition; Landholding; Liberty; Mobility, Social; Peasantry; Police; Poverty; Property; Prostitution; Refugees, Exiles, and Émigrés; Serfdom; Torture; Utopia; Vagrants and Beggars; Villages; Widows and Widowhood; Witchcraft; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brackett, John K. Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537–1609. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1992.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford and Cambridge, U.K., 1994.
- Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York, 1979.
- Hay, Douglas, et al. Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England. London and New York, 1975.
- Johnson, Eric A., and Eric H. Monkkonen, eds. *The Civilization of Crime: Violence in Town and Country since the Middle Ages.* Urbana, Ill., 1996.
- Kagay, Donald J., and Villalon, L. J. Andrew, eds. *The Final Argument: The Imprint of Violence on Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Woodbridge, U.K., and Rochester, N.Y., 1998.
- Knafla, Louis, ed. Policing and War in Europe. Westport, Conn., 2002.
- Langbein, John H. Prosecuting Crime in the Renaissance: England, Germany, France. Cambridge, Mass., 1974.
- Pike, Ruth. Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain. Madison, Wis., 1983.
- Spierenburg, Pieter. The Prison Experience: Disciplinary Institutions and Their Inmates in Early Modern Europe. New Brunswick, N.J., 1991.
- Thompson, E. P. Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act. New York and London, 1975.
- Williams, Alan. *The Police of Paris*, 1718–1789. Baton Rouge, La., 1979.

John K. Brackett

CRISIS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Echoing contemporary diarists and chroniclers, recent historians have depicted the seventeenth century as particularly troubled. Two essays that appeared in the British journal *Past and Present* during the 1950s have proved particularly influential. Though based on different premises and propounding distinct interpretations, both portrayed a systemic Europe-wide "general crisis"

rooted in common economic distress and political unrest but producing a variety of outcomes.

Eric J. Hobsbawm's essay (printed in two parts in 1954, as "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the Seventeenth Century" and "The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century, II") addressed the then heated debate on the transition to capitalism. Whereas many participants held that the feudal economy had collapsed at the time of the Black Death, Hobsbawm argued that much of the old socioeconomic order had been perpetuated during the booming "long sixteenth century." By the end of that period, however, the feudal elements fatally obstructed growth. The ensuing broad and deep "retrogression" created opportunities for structural change, a possibility realized most completely in England, where political revolution removed obstacles to profound economic transformation.

Hugh Trevor-Roper (1959; "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century") instead focused on confrontations that pitted the Renaissance fiscal, political, intellectual, and moral system ("court") against reform-minded opponents ("country"). This "crisis in the relations between society and the State" eventually spawned both the Enlightenment and a range of radical, stabilizing, and indecisive political initiatives.

Both articles inspired searching critiques as well as widespread approval. Early modernists have questioned the generality, severity, and duration of crisis proposed in each hypothesis. The Soviet historian A. D. Lublinskaya contended that the heterogeneity of economic structures and trends across Europe (or even within individual states) precluded the appearance of general crisis on any level. Like Roger B. Merriman, whose earlier Six Contemporaneous Revolutions (1938) found that only chronology linked mid-seventeenth-century revolts, more recent scholars posit discrete clusters of movements generated by highly specific conflicts and following diverse trajectories. Rather than a general seventeenth-century movement drawing on common sources and exhibiting similar patterns, they suggest, a multiplicity of crises occurred in numerous places at different times. Nor did all social groups experience crisis: wage-earners, for example, saw their living standards improve. The gravity of the purported crisis has also been disputed. Immanuel Wallerstein maintains that economic downturn represented only a phase of contraction and consolidation within a capitalist world-system that had already substantially come into existence during the sixteenth century. Many Dutch historians minimize the extent of distress faced by the Dutch Republic during its "Golden Age," and England's economic—as opposed to political—problems have been presented as relatively mild and short-lived.

A period of difficulties extending across a century or more strikes some scholars as too protracted to be usefully characterized as a crisis (usually understood as an abrupt and dramatic turning point), especially when stagnation and instability rather than deep depression typified much of the time, with open revolt grouped in just a few decades. John Elliott has claimed that the sixteenth century saw more rebellions than the seventeenth century, and that those occurring in the 1560s were more severe than in any subsequent decade. Taking a longer view has convinced some historians, in fact, that crisis was endemic to the early modern period as a whole rather than uniquely defining any single century.

More prevalent are amplifications and refinements of the crisis idea. Drawing on Paul Hazard's description of intellectual ferment in the years around 1700 and Roland Mousnier's identification of a broad "century of crisis," Theodore Rabb outlines an era of turmoil, insecurity, and uncertainty extending from the early sixteenth to the midseventeenth century that was resolved by institutional transformation and intellectual reorientation exemplified by the "scientific revolution." Scholars of central Europe have reassessed the Thirty Years' War, previously regarded as an aggravating rather than basic causal factor of seventeenth-century troubles. They have reinstated that conflagration as both a principal agent of crisis throughout Europe, due to the enormous growth of taxes it provoked in all states involved, and—thanks to its severity, duration, and expense—the fulcrum for far-reaching institutional innovation.

The crisis theory has also helped illuminate critical aspects of seventeenth-century history in places slighted in the original essays. Some of these have been European peripheries—for example, Scotland and Muscovy—while others have been areas, such

as Italy and Iberia, usually regarded as especially hard hit yet little altered by seventeenth-century developments. Still others have been located outside Europe. Hobsbawm proposed that overseas colonies participated in a Europe-centered crisis and considered the creation of fresh plantations and settlements one of its crucial effects. But he discussed this "new form of colonialism" only in terms of markets for manufactures that provided dynamism for metropolitan European economic growth. Nevertheless, historians of New Spain have employed the idea of crisis to illuminate Latin American economic history, though no consensus yet obtains among them. Elsewhere, Jack Goldstone holds that a concatenation of government bankruptcies, elite discontent, and popular rebellions against a background of long-term demographic pressure and price inflation culminated in "state breakdown" in absolutist states across Eurasia—including the Ottoman Empire and China as well as France. In contrast, while acknowledging a 1630s-1640s subsistence crisis that stretched from Atlantic to Pacific, Niels Steensgaard claims that the location, course, and consequences of the larger and longer crisis signaled a European "new departure."

Numerous empirical and theoretical aspects of the seventeenth-century crisis therefore remain subject to debate. Moreover, neither Hobsbawm's Marxist teleological stage theory of economic development nor Trevor-Roper's court/country distinction command much assent today. But the concept has been widely if selectively appropriated and—like all intellectually fecund theorizations—continues to stimulate new research and new explanations of existing data. As a result, the outlines of a new interpretation are beginning to appear. It emphasizes continuities—for example, the acceleration of previously initiated regional differentiation, agrarian specialization and commercialization, and ruralization of industry. And, while not denying that significant retrenchment was forced on states and economies, it highlights concomitant opportunities, adjustments, and adaptations to new conditions. Thereby it contributes to a more discriminating understanding of both the significance of the seventeenth century and the nature of crisis in the early modern world.

See also Capitalism; Economic Crises; English Civil War and Interregnum; Historiography; Scientific Revolution; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aston, Trevor, ed. *Crisis in Europe 1560–1660.* New York, 1965. Contains the classic Hobsbawm and Trevor-Roper articles, together with early comments, critiques, and elaborations.
- Goldstone, Jack A. Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World. Berkeley, 1991. Bold attempt to extend the idea of the seventeenth-century crisis beyond Europe.
- Lublinskaya, A. D. French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase, 1620–1629. Translated by Brian Pearce. London, 1968. Chapters 1 and 2 are sharply critical of both Hobsbawm's and Trevor-Roper's theses.
- Modern Asian Studies 24, no. 4 (1990): 625–697. Four articles on the applicability of the seventeenth-century crisis interpretation to Asian history.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh C. "Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis." *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (1992): 417–441. Broad critique of leading interpretations and nuanced reformulation.
- Parker, Geoffrey, and Lesley M. Smith, eds. *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*. London, 1978. Especially valuable are the essays by Niels Steensgaard, Ivo Schöffer, and John Elliott.
- Rabb, Theodore K. *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe*. New York, 1975. Useful historiographical survey together with focus on intellectual and cultural stabilization.
- Thompson, I. A. A., and Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, eds. *The Castilian Crises of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1994. Excellent essays that illustrate the complex causes and differentiated effects of the crisis.

ROBERT S. DUPLESSIS

CRITICISM, ART THEORY AND.

See Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography.

CRITICISM, DRAMATIC. See English Literature and Language; Drama: English; and other "Literature and Language" and "Drama" entries for individual countries.

CRITICISM, LITERARY. See English Literature and Language; Drama: English; and

other "Literature and Language; Drama: English; and other "Literature and Language" and "Drama" entries for individual countries.

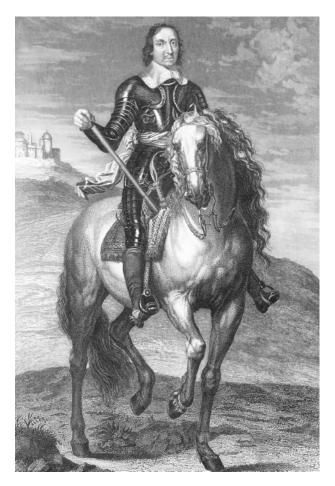
CRITICISM, MUSIC. See Music Criticism.

CROMWELL, OLIVER (1599–1658), military leader and ruler of England. Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was a descendant of Henry VIII's great minister Thomas Cromwell. A native of Huntingdon, he married Elizabeth Bourchier, the daughter of a London merchant, in 1620. Through her he established connections with the London merchant community and with leading Puritans in Essex. His long, stable marriage produced nine children.

In 1628 he was elected to Parliament for Huntingdon. At about the same time, he underwent a spiritual crisis and religious conversion, from being a conventional Protestant to a passionate, "bornagain" Puritan, that shaped the rest of his life. By 1631, however, he had fallen on hard times, and had to move to smaller quarters in St. Ives, where he worked as a yeoman farmer for several years. In 1636 he inherited substantial property, and with this dramatic increase in his income he resumed the status of a minor country gentleman.

CIVIL WAR

In 1640 Cromwell was returned as member of Parliament (M.P.) for the borough of Cambridge. He quickly made his mark in the Long Parliament, serving on eighteen important committees. When in August 1642 civil war broke out, he went back to Cambridge to recruit a troop of cavalry. Soon he was promoted from captain to colonel and effectively became the senior army officer in East Anglia. Devoid of military experience, he nevertheless devised a strategic plan for the defense of the region and made it work. In recruiting he insisted that no test except that of godliness be applied to those volunteering for service. "If you choose godly men to be captains of horse," he wrote to the Suffolk committee, "honest men will follow them . . . I had



Oliver Cromwell. Equestrian portrait engraving after a painting by Anthony van Dyck, c.1648. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

rather have a plain, russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else" (Carlyle, letter XVI, September 1643). In minor engagements Cromwell developed the ability to lead a cavalry charge and then regroup his men and lead them a second and third time against the foe. This would stand him in good stead later at Marston Moor and Naseby.

In August 1643 the Long Parliament created an army in East Anglia under the command of the earl of Manchester. Cromwell was named lieutenant general of the cavalry and Manchester's second-incommand. Early in 1644 he was appointed to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the chief executive body in charge of the war against the king. His star was on the rise.

At the end of June 1644 the combined armies of the English Parliament and the Scottish Estates

laid siege to York. When the king's main field army under Prince Rupert arrived to raise the siege, the result was the greatest of the battles of the civil war, Marston Moor (2 July 1644). Cromwell commanded the left wing of the 28,000-strong allied army and directed the final, decisive charge, scattering the royalist army and killing over four thousand of them. "God made them as stubble to our swords," he wrote afterward. (Carlyle, letter XXI).

The aristocratic generals on the parliamentary side were strangely reluctant to follow up this stunning victory. Open feuding erupted between Essex and Manchester on the one side, and Cromwell and his radical parliamentary allies on the other. The way out of the impasse was a resolution of self-denial (9 December 1644) under which all members of both houses were required to surrender their commissions and make way for new commanders. At the same time the Commons proceeded to construct a new army under centralized command and with solid financing on the ruins of the three older armies of Essex, Manchester, and Waller. By June 1645, on the eve of the battle of Naseby, the post of lieutenant-general of the cavalry of the New Model Army was still vacant. At the insistence of the commanderin-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Cromwell was allowed to fill the post in defiance of the Self-Denying Ordinance.

He rode onto the battlefield at Naseby on 13 June 1645, and the outcome of the English Civil War was decided the next day in the space of two hours. Cromwell scattered the royalist cavalry facing him and then regrouped to assist Fairfax in shattering the royalist infantry in a great coordinated charge. The next twelve months were little more than a mopping-up operation culminating in the surrender of the royalist headquarters at Oxford and the king's flight to the Scots army.

For Cromwell the New Model Army's unbroken chain of victories was the incontestable proof that the sun of God's favor shone upon them. He used the army's successes to plead for the cause closest to his heart: liberty of conscience. Parliament's response was to thank him for his pains, but to ignore his heartfelt pleas. In June 1646 he returned to his seat in Westminster to join his war party friends in the struggle to win the peace.

When the Presbyterian peace party decided to disband most of the New Model Army and pack the rest off to Ireland to fight the rebels there, Cromwell threw in his lot with the officers and rank-and-file who chose to rebel rather than submit. The king was seized and removed to army headquarters; London was invaded and the Presbyterian ringleaders in Parliament expelled. Charles was offered a settlement—The Heads of the Proposals—more generous than any terms Parliament had put on the table. He chose instead to make a secret agreement with the Scots to renew the war for his English kingdom.

Meanwhile, at Putney, Cromwell and his son-inlaw Henry Ireton faced a challenge from Levellerinspired soldiers and officers disenchanted with his prolonged dallying with the king. With great difficulty he prevented the Army Council from adopting the radically democratic Agreement of the People as the army's preferred constitution for England.

Further political argument was curtailed by the second civil war, which broke out in early 1648. Before setting off to snuff out the brushfires of royalist discontent, Cromwell attended the officers' three-day prayer meeting at Windsor. His call to repentance unleashed a flood of bitter tears from his comrades over the army's failure to follow the ways of God. They then bound themselves to call "Charles Stuart, that man of blood" to account for all his mischief (Allen, p. 5). After quelling the revolts in Wales Cromwell marched north to link up with Lambert, who was guarding the northern approaches against a Scottish invasion. Together they fell upon the Scots at Preston, completely liquidating their dispirited army (17 August 1648). It was the first major battle in which Cromwell had been commander-in-chief.

REGICIDE AND REPUBLIC

By the time he arrived back in London the army had published its demand for the king's trial and purged the House of Commons (6 December 1648) for persisting in negotiations with the "man of blood." Cromwell supported these measures, and while he may initially have hoped that the king could be forced to abdicate, when this proved unfeasible he accepted the "cruel necessity" of regicide. No one was more zealous in rounding up signatures for the king's death warrant, and seeing that the beheading

actually took place, than Cromwell. King Charles I was beheaded on 30 January 1649.

For the next decade Cromwell was continually torn between a yearning for constitutional respectability on the one hand and a hunger for godly reformation on the other. With Fairfax he marched to Burford in May 1649 to suppress a Levellerinspired army mutiny. Passionately committed to the suppression of the Catholic rebellion in Ireland and the elimination of support for Charles II, he led an expedition there in August. Despite his ruthless massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, the Irish were not subdued until 1652. Cromwell was forced to abandon the siege of Waterford, and at Clonmel he lost two thousand men. Before Ireland's subjugation could be accomplished he was recalled to England to prepare for the military threat from the Scots who had crowned Charles II king.

Marching north he met Leslie's army at Dunbar (3 September 1650), where he won his most sensational victory, in no small part because of his willingness to be guided by his brilliant major-general, John Lambert. The following year (to the day) he crushed Charles II and the last remnants of armed royalism at Worcester.

Back in London he found that Parliament was making no progress toward either constitutional settlement or godly reformation. When at last it was on the verge of passing a bill that would have excluded army officers from future Parliaments while erecting few safeguards against the election of conservatives or royalists, Cromwell expelled the members (20 April 1653), replacing them with a nominated assembly of "saints," that is, Puritan "godly men," commonly known as the Barebones Parliament. Their radicalism proved to be alarming, and within months they were prevailed upon to dissolve themselves.

THE PROTECTORATE

Next came a written constitution, the Instrument of Government (December 1653), which provided for a single-chamber Parliament, an elected council of state, and a lord protector. Although he was named to that post for life, Cromwell still had to meet his Parliaments, and he had little control over the makeup of the councils. Far from being a military dictator, and chastened by his many political setbacks, he now described himself as a good consta-



Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell dissolves the Rump Parliament, Dutch print, 1653. ©HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

ble, set to keep the peace of the parish. During the tenure of the protectorate he formally readmitted the Jews to England, while also leaving Catholics undisturbed in the exercise of their religion. The main thrust of his foreign policy was hostility to Spain. When the expedition to seize Hispaniola ended in failure, Jamaica was taken as the consolation prize (1655).

In 1657, under the Humble Petition and Advice, an upper house was reestablished and Cromwell empowered to name his successor. But with an eye to army opinion and to God, he refused to accept the title of king. By the time he died (3 September 1658), of malaria complicated by pneumonia, the nation was weary of constitutional uncertainty, large standing armies, burdensome taxation, and a bankrupt exchequer. Although Cromwell was one of England's three or four military geniuses, a religious visionary, and a man of

towering integrity, in the end he was an indifferent statesman.

Cromwell appears to have nominated his eldest son Richard (1626–1712) as his successor only hours before his death. A man of little military or political experience, Richard lacked totally the forceful personality of his father. He was eventually brought down by the intractable problems he inherited. Politically he found himself thwarted by the radical republicans in Parliament and the grandees in the army. When it came to a trial of strength with the grandees in April 1659, the grandees won hands down. Richard retired to private life, living in exile from 1660 to 1680.

See also Charles I (England); Charles II (England); Cromwell, Thomas; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism; Military: Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy; Parliament; Puritanism; Reformation, Protestant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Cromwell, Oliver. *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. Edited by W. C. Abbott. 4 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1937–1947.

Secondary Sources

Allen, William. A Faithful Memorial of That Remarkable Meeting of Many Officers of the Army in England, at Windsor Castle, in the Year 1648. London, 1659.

Buchan, John. Oliver Cromwell. London, 1934.

Coward, Barry. Oliver Cromwell. London, 1991.

Davis, J. C. Oliver Cromwell. London, 2001.

Firth, C. H. Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England. London, 1901.

Fraser, Antonia. Cromwell, Our Chief of Men. London, 1973

Hill, Christopher. God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution. London, 1970.

Morrill, John. Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution. London, 1990.

Paul, Robert S. The Lord Protector: Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell. London, 1955.

IAN GENTLES



English royal minister. Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, was principal secretary and chief minister to Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) and supervised the process by which the king became supreme head of the church in England. Born in Putney, in the county of Surrey, Cromwell was the son of a black-smith, brewer, and cloth merchant. (The great-grandson of his nephew Richard, who took on his uncle's surname, was the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell [1599–1658].)

After an apparently unruly adolescence, the young Thomas Cromwell spent several years traveling on the Continent before establishing himself in London as a successful merchant and business agent, which included some legal work. By the early 1520s, he had begun to act for clients in a number of important suits, several of which brought him to the attention of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475–1530). In 1523, he was elected to the House of Commons and the following year was appointed to Wolsey's staff. Here he managed the dissolution of nearly thirty monasteries to fund the cardinal's



Thomas Cromwell. Portrait by Hans Holbein. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

building projects in Oxford and Ipswich and came to supervise much of his legal work. When Wolsey fell from power in October 1529, Cromwell obtained a seat in the new Parliament and traveled to court on several occasions to represent the interests of the disgraced cardinal. He increasingly obtained Henry's confidence and, from June 1530, managed the receipt of Wolsey's college lands by the crown. The cardinal's death on 29 November 1530 enabled Cromwell to undertake further royal administrative and legal work, and he joined the king's council at some point toward the end of the year.

A skilled parliamentary draftsmen, by autumn 1531 Cromwell had taken control of the king's legal and parliamentary affairs. Although others formulated the policy relating to the king's divorce, Cromwell was responsible for much of its execution. He played a pivotal role in achieving the submission of the clergy in 1532 and secured parliamentary legitimacy for the royal supremacy through the management of Parliament and by supervising the drafting of all the major legislation, including the

Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and the Act of Supremacy (1534). In 1532, he was also appointed master of the jewels, the first of many offices he accumulated, including clerk of the hanaper (1532), chancellor of the exchequer (1533), principal secretary (1534), master of the rolls (1534), lord privy seal (1536), and lord great chamberlain (1540).

When Henry confirmed him as his principal secretary and chief minister in April 1534, Cromwell's main priority was the enforcement of policy. All the king's subjects had to swear to the act of succession, and those in religious life were required to either swear oaths or make declarations indicating their acceptance of the royal supremacy. His appointment as the king's vicegerent, or vicar-general, in January 1535 also substantially increased his power over the church. Cromwell was not the butcher he has sometimes been characterized as, though he was not above manipulating the legal process to remove dissenters viewed as a particular threat, most notably Sir Thomas More, who was beheaded in 1535.

As vicegerent, Cromwell ordered two commissions, one to determine the lands and revenues of the church (Valor Ecclesiasticus, 1535) and another to investigate monastic life (the so-called comperta, 1535–1536). The latter included grossly exaggerated reports of corruption and vice in the nation's smaller religious houses and was used to justify the suppression of most of these in early 1536. Yet while Queen Anne Boleyn shared the evangelical convictions that Cromwell had held since at least the beginning of the decade, she was furious that the proceeds were not to be used for charitable purposes. Recognizing the serious threat to his position, Cromwell levied an almost certainly groundless charge of adultery against her, which led to the trial for treason and the execution of Anne and several of her closest supporters in May 1536.

Cromwell was now at the height of his powers, but the remaining four years of his life were to represent a constant struggle against conservative opponents at court. Working closely with archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), he sought to introduce an increasingly radical series of evangelical reforms, principally the Ten Articles (1536), two sets of royal injunctions (1536 and 1538), and the introduction of the English Great Bible (1540). Although Cromwell had

Henry's complete support when he became a principal target of those who rebelled in the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), there were signs from early in 1538 that the king was becoming uncomfortable about the pace of reform. The Act of Six Articles passed the following year was unambiguously conservative.

Cromwell managed to discredit or remove many of his religious and political opponents (as in the judicial killing of the Courtenay and Pole families in 1538). But he was fatally weakened by his masterminding of the king's disastrous marriage to Anne of Cleves in 1539 (Henry abhorred her physically), which Cromwell believed would increase the prospect of an alliance with the Schmalkaldic League of Lutheran princes. Despite Henry's initial support, Cromwell's conservative enemies, led by Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, managed to persuade the king of the minister's treachery and heresy. After a dramatic arrest in the council chamber, Cromwell was condemned without a trial by parliamentary act of attainder (ironically, his favored means of dispatching opponents), and executed on 28 July 1540.

An efficient and pragmatic administrator, Cromwell's main function as chief minister was the execution and enforcement of the royal supremacy, and he was first and foremost the king's loyal servant. However, by using the influence this situation provided, he was able to introduce a number of reforms, both social and religious, and significantly advanced the evangelical cause during the 1530s.

See also Church of England; England; Henry VIII (England); More, Thomas; Reformation, Protestant; Tudor Dynasty (England).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beckingsale, B. W. *Thomas Cromwell: Tudor Minister*. Basingstoke, U.K., 1978. In the absence of a definitive biography, this remains the most comprehensive available.

Coleman, C., and D. Starkey, eds. Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration. Oxford, 1986. Revises Elton's thesis.

Dickens, A. G. Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation. London, 1959.

Elton, G. R. Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell. Cambridge, U.K., 1972. Cromwell and the enforcement of the Reformation.

— Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal. Cambridge, U.K., 1973. Cromwell and reform.

— The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII. Cambridge, U.K., 1953. Elton's highly influential work on Cromwell and administration.

Merriman, Roger Bigelow. *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1902.

HOWARD LEITHEAD

CULLEN, WILLIAM (1710–1790), British scientist and academic physician. Cullen was born in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland, the second oldest son of a steward working for the duke of Hamilton. His mother was a Robertson of Whistlebury. In 1741 he married Anna Johnstone, daughter of the minister of Kilbarchan, and they had seven sons and four daughters.

Cullen began his education at the Hamilton Grammar School and went on in 1727 to the University of Glasgow; he also served an apprenticeship with a well-known surgeon, John Paisley. At age nineteen, he went to London, where he obtained an appointment as a ship's surgeon on a merchant vessel bound for the West Indies. On his return, Cullen apprenticed with a London apothecary, going home in 1730 to settle family affairs and briefly practice in the parish of Shotts. Two years later, he resumed his studies, then attended medical courses at the University of Edinburgh during the winter sessions of 1734-1735 and 1735-1736 before starting surgical practice in Hamilton. Employed by the duke and duchess of Hamilton and other prominent families, Cullen became involved in local agriculture and manufacturing issues and developed interests in chemistry and linen bleaching.

After obtaining his M.D. degree from the University of Glasgow in 1740, Cullen remained in that city in 1744 and began teaching medicine as an extramural lecturer. Two years later, the university appointed him to teach both medicine and materia medica, and in 1747 offered him an independent lectureship in chemistry together with a research laboratory. Cullen's academic career in Glasgow culminated in 1751 with his appointment to the chair of medicine. Lack of resources and advancement prompted him to leave for Edinburgh, where

the Town Council in 1755 appointed him professor of chemistry and medicine at the local university. A year later, he also agreed to teach botany and materia medica. His teaching soon attracted many students and solidified his reputation.

Cullen's penchant for explaining the phenomena of health and disease with the aid of speculative medical theories that challenged the Boerhaavian system then in vogue created tensions among Edinburgh academics and their sponsors. This led to his appointment in 1766 to the chair of medical theory instead of medical practice. However, Cullen and the new incumbent, John Gregory (1724–1773), agreed to give alternate courses in the theory and in the practice of medicine, an arrangement that lasted until Gregory's death in 1773. Until his retirement in 1789, Cullen remained the University of Edinburgh's incumbent professor of Practice of Physic.

In Scotland, Cullen was an important pioneer in the transformation of chemistry into an independent scientific discipline by separating it from its close relationship with medicine. On the theoretical side, he was quite interested in theories of heat, the phenomenon of evaporation, and the property of salts, but he experimented and published little. Instead, Cullen was instrumental in promoting the practical value of chemistry for Scottish agriculture, mining, and brewing, also making useful proposals for the manufacture and purification of common salt and the bleaching of linens. In medicine, he was also known as a systematist, promoting a coherent theory of human physiology and pathology. His scheme was an eclectic combination of previous mechanical and chemical explanations of bodily functioning, now placed under the direction of the nervous system.

Among Cullen's major works was the *Synopsis Nosologiae Methodicae*, published in 1769, a useful and widely employed classification of diseases based on clinical symptoms and signs. He considered it a heuristic device useful to practitioners and students. His most important publication was the *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, published and expanded to include four volumes between 1776 and 1784. It was translated into several languages and made him an authority in medical practice throughout Europe and America.

Cullen was a transitional figure. As with other system builders before him, his medical theories became rapidly obsolete as new anatomical and physiological views transformed our understanding of the human body. Likewise, his disease classification was soon replaced by other schemes based on new criteria such as pathological changes discovered in human tissues and organs. Nevertheless, Cullen was widely admired and remembered as a gifted teacher, one of the first to lecture in the vernacular. He was the architect of clinical teaching in Edinburgh, and his reputation attracted students from around the globe.

See also Boerhaave, Herman; Chemistry; Medicine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Doig, Andrew, et al., eds. William Cullen and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World. Edinburgh, 1993.

Thomson, John. An Account of the Life, Lectures and Writings of William Cullen M.D. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1859.

GUENTER B. RISSE

CURIOSITIES. See Marvels and Wonders; Natural History.

CZECH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. The story of Czech language and literature in the early modern period (in fact, up to the very end of the eighteenth century) is one of a struggle to survive as a literary language that is more often frustrated and denied than rewarded. The primary reason for this is that geographically and demographically, the Czechs were more exposed to the pressures of a numerous and expansionist Germandom than other Slavs during the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries.

Bohemia was among those Slavic areas that had received Greco-Slavonic literacy and culture from Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, after which it underwent a Catholic Latinization, which was subsequently reinforced by the thirteenth-century arrival of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Literature at this time and into the fourteenth century was dominated by liturgical composition in Latin. Midway

through the thirteenth century, some prayers were translated from Latin into Czech. The first original works in Czech, such as songs, prayers, epic poems, and legends in verse, began to appear. One of the earliest and best known is "The Song of Ostrov" (composed 1260–1290), which celebrates Christ's incarnation. Czech prose writing also began around the same time, in the form of hagiographies written by usually anonymous authors. While most early writing was religious in nature, there also survive some few examples of profane literature, once numerous folk songs, chivalrous love poetry, and chronicles. All of this Old Czech literature shows in its forms and content the considerable influence of the Latin West, although it also reveals the survival of some early Slavonic traditions, which will later on reemerge. It does contradict a supposition that thirteenth-century literary life in Bohemia was already predominantly Germanic.

The reign of Charles IV in Bohemia (1346–1378) spread the influence of Italian humanism. Charles himself was familiar with at least the works of Petrarch, Cicero, and Seneca. Charles was also interested in historical chronicles, and commissioned the writing of several histories of Bohemia, which were also translated into Czech. A particular characteristic of fourteenth-century Czech humanism is the *Devotio Moderna*, a movement based on a more personal connection with one's God. This led to the production of numerous pious works written in the vernacular, including Czech translations of the Bible.

The successor of Charles IV, Wenceslas (ruled in Bohemia 1378-1419), allowed political infighting between the higher nobility and lower Estates to dominate the years of his reign, to the detriment of intellectual and cultural life. He also presided over a decline in the moral standing of the church, which was particularly wealthy and privileged in Bohemia. This led to the further growth of a reformism that had already taken root under Charles IV. Jan Hus was a product of these times and tensions. Born around 1371 in Husinec in Southern Bohemia, Hus was ordained a priest in 1400 and became rector of the University of Prague in 1402. Distressed by the corruption of the church around him, while he himself lived an unimpeachably clean life, Hus was attracted to the teachings of the reformer John Wycliffe. He especially liked Wycliffe's reforms in church practices. While not agreeing with all of Wycliffe's proposed doctrinal changes, Hus preferred Wycliffe's universalism to the nominalism that was embraced by the German professors at the University of Prague. When in 1409 King Wenceslas decreed that the Czech language should become the official language of the university, most of the German professors left the university, which lost its reputation as an intellectual center and gained one as a center for heresy. Hus himself came under increasing attack and was finally excommunicated in 1411, imprisoned in 1414, and executed in 1415. The Hussite Wars of 1420–1436 further disrupted intellectual and cultural life.

Hus's impact on Czech language and literature was great. He wrote his most important and influential works, letters, and essays to explain his positions between 1412 and 1415. He wrote in the vernacular language of Prague, simultaneously modernizing, creating orthographic reforms, and making the language more phonetic. Humanism continued to develop in both Bohemia and Moravia, where Hussitism was less prevalent and Catholicism dominated, through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite the disintegration that followed the Hussite Wars. In 1468, printing was introduced into Bohemia. Of those who wrote in the Czech language, Bishop John Blahoslav (1523-1571) of the Unity of Czech Brethren was clearly the most important for the development of the literary language. Not only did he translate the New Testament into Czech, he also wrote a Czech grammar. Stylistically, he carried the language forward into a new, more expressive form. In 1588, a committee of the Unity of Czech Brethren translated the entire Bible, which was published in Moravia.

In the late sixteenth century, literature in the Czech language was promoted by a publisher, Daniel Adam of Veleslavín (1546–1599), who sought out and published religious works, geographies, chronicles, histories, lexicographies, and translations of all types. While some have called this an early "golden age" of Czech literature because of the quantity and variety of publications, others have pointed out that there was little of exceptional quality or originality among them.

Still, the late sixteenth century must have appeared indeed as a golden age after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 destroyed the old Czech Protestant nobility and resulted in a thoroughgoing Germanization of all intellectual and bureaucratic life in Bohemia. For the Czechs of Bohemia, the seventeenth century was one of utter ruin, politically, economically, and nationally. Some Czech scholars continued to work abroad, either in Western Slovakia or, as in the case of John Amos Komensky (Comenius, 1592–1670), in Poland. Among his best-known and influential works are *Janua Linguarum* (an encyclopedia/grammar), *The Labyrinth of the World*, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (a children's picture book), and *Pansophia*.

The Counter-Reformation did not produce much in the way of original or memorable literature in the Czech lands. However, a publishing group founded in 1670, The Heritage of St. Wenceslas, did play an important role in ensuring the survival of the written Czech language by publishing religious works in Czech for simple people. History writing was also popular under the Jesuits. For example, in 1677, Bohuslav Balbín (1621-1688) published Epitome Rerum Bohemicarum. However, Czech linguistic patriotism was badly reduced by the end of the seventeenth century. The destruction of the Czech Protestant nobility, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the reduction in Czech population, balanced by aggressive German colonization and the domination of German language among the Habsburgs, all took its inevitable toll. In 1774 German was made the official language of instruction in Bohemia, and Czech was all but lost as a literary language.

The eighteenth century did not bring relief to the Czech cultural patriots until it was nearly over. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) was especially hard on the Czechs. Only toward the end of the century, under the influence of Enlightenment thinking, and especially that of Joseph II (ruled in Bohemia 1780–1790), did the Czechs begin to regain some ground. The popularity of Johann Gottfried von Herder's "folk nationalism" helped to advance the cause of national cultures. In 1784 the Royal Bohemian Society of Science was founded, heralding a new age of Czech intellectualism. Joseph's brother, Leopold II (ruled 1790–1792) founded a chair of Czech language at the

otherwise still Germanized University of Prague. He had also chosen to be crowned with, among others, the crown of King Wenceslas. As the nineteenth century opened, Czech language and literature were poised for a comeback from the dark days of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740-1748); Bohemia; Comenius, Jan Amos; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Hussites; Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Dvornik, Frances. *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*. New Brunswick, N.J., 1962.
- Kann, Robert A. A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918. Berkeley, 1974.
- Kann, Robert A., and David V. Zdeněk. *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526–1918.* Seattle, 1984.

Anita Shelton



DAILY LIFE. Until the mid-twentieth century, professional historians often ignored the details of everyday life as antiquarian, in the sense of mundane, instead concentrating their narrative efforts on the wars and machinations of the powerful. The new legitimacy of the study of daily life derives from the growing concern with social history, beginning around the middle of the twentieth century, with its focus on mentalities, social classes, and ideas. This outlook argues that continuity and evolution are more significant than dramatic events like wars and dynastic upheaval, and asserts the validity of the study of, literally, the mundane—conditions of material life, and modes of work and play, for instance.

A major step was the publication in 1977 of Lawrence Stone's Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800, which argued that the early modern era saw the traditional extended family evolve into a recognizably modern nuclear family of individuals connected by affect. Beginning in the 1970s, the use of the computer to compile, organize, and sort large amounts of data enabled historians to detect subtle changes and long-term continuities. In their influential work Tuscans and Their Families, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber digitized the wealth of detail in the 1427 catasto ('tax census') of Florence, which described the wealth, ages, size, and composition of families. The recent boom in women's and gender history has also contributed to the study of daily life by demanding the inclusion in the story of all members of society, not only prominent males.

Also vital to understanding this topic are the material conditions of life: what people ate, the diseases that sickened them, their sexual habits, how they worked, where and under what conditions they lived, their manners, even changes in their size. Although the material conditions of daily life varied according to factors like social class and geography, Europeans also shared commonalities, like exposure to diseases and, with the exception of the Jews, Christianity. Life in this era remained dependent on farming; not until the industrial revolution's agricultural surpluses and paid work in factories would the urban population boom. This new historical focus is documenting the economic, religious, and even climatic factors that influenced the evolution of daily life in early modern Europe.

FAMILY LIFE

An understanding of daily life in early modern Europe begins with the family. Recent research has revised the thesis of Philippe Ariès, who maintained that parents did not bond with their children because of high child mortality rates; both art, like Agnolo Bronzino's sensitive portrait (c. 1549) of Giovanni de' Medici as a baby, and documents reveal the deep love parents felt even for infants and their appreciation of childhood as a separate, formative stage of life.

While maintaining that marriage is licit and intended (by the Christian deity) for procreation, the Catholic Church upheld the superiority of celibacy. A licit marriage was one undertaken freely by the two parties, although males continued to arrange

marriages for dependent females. Most marriages included a dowry, often payable on consummation of the union. The Protestant Reformation, however, wrought a dramatic change. Martin Luther (1483–1546) declared that hardly one woman in ten thousand could keep a vow of celibacy, and that marriage and parenthood were the wholesome, divinely ordained destiny of human beings. He also urged women to become pregnant as often as possible, for doing so fulfilled God's will. Intercourse between spouses, therefore, was a spiritual duty, and Luther recommended it twice a week. Failure to produce offspring could lead to suspicion of witchcraft or vicious ridicule of the husband's lack of sexual prowess, and, in Catholic areas, be considered grounds for annulment.

Spouses were supposed to remain faithful. For males, however, this ideal was often honored in the breach: in Protestant Zurich, about 40 percent of divorce suits claimed that the husband had been unfaithful. Zurich retained its brothel, while Catholic Florence registered prostitutes. Male-male sexual activity was common in late Renaissance Florence despite anti-sodomy laws.

Advice literature stressed careful household management and childrearing, Protestant handbooks likened the father to God, lovingly correcting his wife and children, setting an example through his own disciplined life, and supporting the household. The good wife counseled her husband when asked, obeyed him, and oversaw the household with wisdom and thrift. Handbooks frequently admonished husbands not to mistreat their wives and children. This wholesome Christian family was to mirror the wholesome state, in which the monarch ruled his people as a loving father ruled his family.

Fathers hoped for sons. The sculptor Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) related that his mother, having borne a girl after several miscarriages, believed that her next pregnancy signaled another girl. When the newborn proved to be male, the ecstatic father named him Benvenuto ('welcome'), for his sex was a delightful surprise. The writer Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), however, reported that, although he had wished for a son, his infant daughter had filled him with tenderness and love at first sight. Still, adult reminiscences of beatings by parents or

schoolmasters indicate the frequency of harsh discipline.

The middle and upper classes tended to seek wet nurses for infants, despite the high rate of mortality from this practice and exhortations to mothers from advice manuals to nurse their own children. The recourse to wet nurses may have resulted from the sexual demands of husbands, for intercourse was believed to ruin a mother's milk; canon law called for new parents to remain celibate during nursing.

FOOD, DIET, AND HEALTH

The German saying "Der Mensch ist was er isst" ('a man is what he eats') was a social truth, for the prosperous could be recognized by their regular consumption of meat. Still, early modern Europeans generally consumed more meat than their contemporaries elsewhere. Economic and demographic change, however, meant less meat during the seventeenth century; in one French town, the number of butchers declined from eighteen in 1550 to two in 1660 to one a century later. Not until the industrial revolution did the meat consumption of average Europeans increase. The poor appear to have been increasingly prevented from hunting, as the aristocracy made game preserves off-limits to all but themselves, yet the growing exploitation of the fishing banks off North America gave Europeans a plentiful, cheap source of protein.

Vegetable foods, including grains, were the staff of daily life for Europeans. Only in Ireland and parts of Germany did the American potato become a significant foodstuff. Maize was cultivated as early as the sixteenth century, but made its way to the Danube only in the nineteenth. Guild rules governed the quality, weight, and ingredients of bread, but ample evidence shows frequent evasion of these regulations. Individuals also baked bread, but pressure from bakers led to attempts, as in Geneva in 1673, to forbid the practice. The poor ate darker, coarse bread, while consumption of white bread signaled a prosperous household. The social distinction was not lost in Florence, where a charity offered symbolic white bread to its clientele, the "shamed poor"-innocent paupers willing, but unable, to earn their livelihood.

Hard alcohol was used mostly for medicinal purposes until the eighteenth century, but wine was a staple in Europe, even more so than in the present: in the early seventeenth century, for instance, Germans cultivated four times today's vinifera acreage. The addition of brandy to Portuguese wines during fermentation allowed for more stability during shipping, and slaked the English thirst for sweet wines at a time when the crown imposed high taxes on imported French wines. Connoisseurship emerged, with one sixteenth-century Tuscan oenophile identifying the best vineyards and varietals. The grand dukes of Tuscany attempted to ensure quality by regulating the grape harvest. To stave off drunkenness among youths, they cracked down on taverns. The growing use of hops increased the popularity of beer, especially in non-wine-growing areas.

Products from Asia and the Americas changed everyday life. Coffee and tea became fashionable in the seventeenth century; the scientist, diplomat, and epicure Lorenzo Magalotti (1637-1712) suggested drinking coffee as an aid to health, digestion, and wakefulness. The first coffeehouse in London dates to 1650, and such establishments soon became so popular as places to exchange news and gossip that a royal attempt in 1675 to close them came to nothing. Chocolate, too, won favor, and was made into a hot, sweetened drink (Magalotti collected a recipe on his travels). Tobacco, brought back from the Americas by Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), was at first a botanical and medicinal curiosity. By the late sixteenth century, it was cultivated in Spain, Italy, the Balkans, and elsewhere in response to the European demand to chew, smoke, and sniff it. England attempted to prohibit its use in 1604, but in vain; governments taxed it instead.

The seventeenth century witnessed several wars and a "little ice age," resulting in poor harvests. According to a Tuscan report of 1767, of the previous 316 years there had been 111 years of dearth and only sixteen of bounty. The abbess of the French convent of Port-Royal wrote in 1649 that marauding soldiers had seized the crops, refusing to give anything to the locals. A 1651 account of St. Quentin, Normandy, claimed that the starving inhabitants had little to eat other than mice, roots, and bread made from straw and earth.

Early modern governments felt both concern for and fear of the poor. Begging, supplemented by occasional work, theft, pawning, and alms, formed part of a strategy of day-to-day survival for the lowest classes. Complaints proliferated about wandering, masterless men whose numbers increased as landlords enclosed formerly common land. An English law, drafted in 1536, complained that the ablebodied begged instead of working, depriving the honest, deserving poor of alms. Bavaria, among other areas of Europe, granted begging licenses only to inhabitants; outsiders were arrested or driven away.

HEALTH, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

Recent research has shown that the average adult male in seventeenth-century France was shortunder 5 feet, 4 inches (about 1,617 mm). The same study proved a strong correlation between average height and quality and quantity of harvest, and showed a trend to greater height with the waning of the "little ice age." Social class correlated with height: the sons of cloth workers were about 1.4 inches (36 mm) shorter, on average, than the sons of the upper classes. Class also helped determine lifespan. While between 30 and 50 percent of children died before age five, 70 percent of children of the ruling classes survived to age fifteen in the sixteenth century, a much better ratio than for the lower classes. Aside from plague, malaria, measles, smallpox, and the like, children suffered from worms, infections, dysentery, and other ailments. They learned about mortality early, both from the diseases that struck them and their relatives and from public executions.

Diseases, including smallpox, ravaged early modern Europe, but none was more feared than the plague. Not until the late seventeenth century did its threat recede. Some cities in northern Italy created health boards charged with detecting outbreaks of plague, issuing health passports, and preventing the disease's spread. In sixteenth-century Tuscany, the Medici dukes attempted to ensure the availability of physicians and pharmacists even in remote areas.

Written and archaeological evidence suggests that Columbus's sailors introduced syphilis from the Americas to the unexposed population of Europe. A 1496 woodcut by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) depicted the gruesome, shocking symptoms. Two years later, a Viennese illustration hinted at the cause of infection by showing a naked couple, pocked with sores, being treated in a bedroom.

Contemporary accounts described a rapid, horrifying progression of disfiguring lesions, madness, and death. Likely victims of syphilis included Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509–1547), Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) and Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) of France, and Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503).

Though the sick who could afford it consulted physicians, a leading British physician of the late eighteenth century complained that almost nothing was known of the nature and prevention of contagion. The first defense against a contagious disease arrived in the late eighteenth century with Edward Jenner's vaccinations—met with great skepticism—against smallpox. Some herbal remedies, like digitalis, from the foxglove plant, were effective, but others ranged from ineffective to dangerous.

Few of the sick sought care in hospitals, which treated the indigent. The Spedale degli Innocenti ('foundling hospital') of Florence enjoyed a lower mortality rate in the sixteenth century than some Parisian hospitals in the eighteenth. In 1776, Brussels, with 70,000 inhabitants, had only one hospital with seventy-seven beds; Antwerp, with 50,000 people and ninety-six beds, fared little better. Massive migration to the cities beginning in the mideighteenth century led to a worsening of living conditions and invited the spread of disease.

Personal hygiene varied widely. In some parts of Europe, curative baths were popular. Magalotti suggested cleaning the teeth with a paste containing spices and then rinsing with wine. The *ricordi* ('family memoirs and accounts') of one Florentine of the late sixteenth century included regular payments to barbers for haircuts, shaves, and shampoos. Other *ricordi* list the considerable expenses incurred in purchasing drugs to treat illnesses.

EDUCATION AND CIVILITY

By the sixteenth century, the middle class sought larger living quarters and more privacy, and had adopted good manners to distinguish itself socially from those beneath it. The humanist Desiderius Erasmus's (c. 1466?–1536) best-seller, *On Civility in Children*, taught the young that those who seized the choicest morsels from the common dish and overate behaved like peasants. Table cutlery grew in popularity, and middle-class Italians had begun to

use forks by the late fifteenth century. Not until the next century did the rest of Europe embrace them: the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558) owned only a dozen.

The importance of good manners in climbing the social ladder reached its zenith at the court of Versailles during the reign of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). There, nobles vied for the opportunity to be present at the king's rising and retiring each day. They learned that, to win the attention of the monarch and to rise above their peers, they had to master a byzantine etiquette that included bowing to the king's dinner as it was carried past. Still, merchants' manners and aspirations to nobility were bitingly parodied in the playwright Molière's (1622–1673) Self-Made Gentleman (Le bourgeois gentilhomme).

Some 25 percent of Florentine boys may have acquired basic literacy in the fifteenth century. Vittorino da Feltre's (1397–1446) school in Mantua accepted boys and girls, children of the nobility, and poor scholarship students. In general, however, education of girls aimed at instilling virtue and rudimentary literacy; embroidery and needlecraft taught them discipline and patience. Of course, the daughters of the upper classes often received a much better education from some of the outstanding teachers of the day. Education included religious instruction, with children memorizing their catechisms' questions and answers.

THE ECONOMY AND DAILY LIFE

In general, prices rose steadily over the course of the sixteenth century, apparently the result of the devaluation of silver currency. In 1540, for instance, Henry VIII of England took the silver shillings that he had collected in taxes, melted them down, mixed them with copper, and returned many more of these now-debased shillings to circulation. But rising prices also created opportunities for peasants with surplus crops, landowners who took in-kind rents, and some shopkeepers and merchants.

By the late sixteenth century, guilds controlled matriculation and standards in most skilled trades and professions, though their attempts to prevent the exodus of skilled workers—symptomatic of their waning power—crumbled before the prospect of higher wages elsewhere. In Rouen, they managed to prohibit the manufacture of a cheap cloth de-

signed to compete with silk. In response, merchantentrepreneurs simply moved production to the countryside, installing looms in peasants' cottages. Weaving cloth in the putting-out system, in which workers received wages per piece, offered country dwellers a source of cash income, which led to changes in buying habits and in consumer demand. The impact of international trade can be seen in northern still-life paintings, which, by the midsixteenth century, depicted such novelties as turkeys and North Atlantic lobsters. The 1640s witnessed the tulip mania in Holland, one of the first Western consumer fads.

See also Charity and Poor Relief; Childhood and Childrearing; Cities and Urban Life; City Planning; Class, Status, and Order; Clothing; Consumption; Death and Dying; Divorce; Economic Crises; Education; Environment; Equality and Inequality; Family; Food and Drink; Games and Play; Gender; Hospitals; Housing; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Laborers; Marriage; Medicine; Midwives; Mobility, Geographic; Mobility, Social; Motherhood and Childbearing; Patriarchy and Paternalism; Peasantry; Plague; Police; Popular Culture; Poverty; Property; Public Health; Sanitation; Serfdom; Vagrants and Beggars; Villages; Violence; Wages; Weather and Climate; Widows and Widowhood; Women; Youth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braudel, Fernand. Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800. Translated by Miriam Kochan. New York, 1973. Originally published as Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme (1967); a sweeping, classic study of the material conditions of life throughout the world over the long term.

Chartier, Roger, ed. *Passions of the Renaissance*, Vol. 3 of *A History of Private Life*, edited by Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1987–1991. Originally published as *Histoire de la vie privée* (1986); investigates changes in private life, including the increased desire for private space.

Elias, Norbert. History of Manners: The Civilizing Process. Vol. 1. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. New York, 1978. Originally published as Über den Prozess der Zivilisation (1939); traces the growing concern with manners from the medieval through the early modern era.

Herlihy, David, and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427. New Haven, 1985. Abridged from Les Toscans et leurs familles: Une étude du "catasto" florentin de 1427 (Paris, 1978). Quantitative study of the famous Floren-

tine tax census; the raw data that Herlihy and Klapisch compiled may be viewed at http://jamestown.services .brown.edu/projects/catasto/overview.html

Kertzer, David I., and Marzio Barbagli, eds. Family Life in Early Modern Times, 1500–1789. Vol. 1 of The History of the European Family. New Haven, 2001.

Komlos, John, in collaboration with Michel Hau and Nicolas Bourguinat. "The Anthropometric History of Early-Modern France." Available on-line: www.eh.net/XIII Congress/cd/papers/70BourguinatHauKomlos385.pdf. A study of men in early modern France based on quantitative analysis of military records.

Ozment, Steven. When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe. Cambridge, Mass, 1983. Argues that love and affection characterized the Reformation family; offers detailed insight regarding family life.

Rocke, Michael. Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence. New York, 1996.

Based on a study of police records; argues that malemale sex was part of male identity and maturation in the hub of Renaissance culture.

Stone, Lawrence. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England,* 1500–1800. New York, 1977. Abridged edition, 1979. Important study of the evolution of modern family life.

CAROL M. Bresnahan

D'ALEMBERT, JEAN LE ROND. See Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'.

DANCE. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, European dance existed widely within different social contexts and groups. Admittedly, religious dance no longer existed, save for rare local examples such as "The Dance of the Six" (El baile de los seises) in the Seville cathedral, since the Roman Catholic Church had refused to integrate such practices into its rituals. But secular dance, done as much as a ball as within the theater, underwent a deep renewal during this time, occupying a privileged place in court society. While the paintings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder suggest popular forms of dancing in the 1560s, there is no evidence of this style of dance in technical or aesthetic treatises. What has been studied in the history of Western dance have been those dances reserved for social elites, from which blossomed what became known as belle danse based on noble style.



Dance. Marguerite de Valois dancing La Volta at the Valois Court, anonymous sixteenth-century painting. (See also cover of Volume 2.) ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Western dance originated first and foremost in the Renaissance of fifteenth-century Italy and subsequently was favored by the leadership of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and the Counter-Reformation. It became associated both with music and with poetry, becoming an indispensable element within sumptuous feasts organized to lionize princely patrons, and it developed its own masters and traditions of apprenticeship. These masters not only taught the rules of their art, but also shaped acclaimed styles of choreography to which monarchs and courtiers themselves danced. The most renowned masters circulated chiefly between the great families in Mantua, Ferrara, Milan, and Florence, establishing a highly elaborated, refined, and stylized art that was a pleasure to dance and to see. These men wrote the first treatises on dance, books designed to serve both practice and theory. In the second half of the sixteenth century their work spread all over Europe, as their methods, styles, and terminology were adapted in new places, most prominently of all in France.

Dance crossed the Alps thanks to the Italian wars of Francis I after 1525 and the marriage of Henry II to Catherine de Médicis in 1533. Though the Valois had been accustomed to a more spontaneous form of dance, the court appropriated Italian practices in its own fashion. In the course of the seventeenth century, French masters established a new style of dance that made noble carriage and deportment, elegance, and ease the standard for all people of quality. Moreover, with its emphasis on suppleness and agility, dance was closely linked with fencing, horsemanship, and indeed with military training in general. It thereby became a necessary part of the education of the proper gentleman, the honnête homme, as much in Jesuit as in military academies. In a world where social success depended upon knowing how to comport oneself, the dance master was expected to teach his students appropriate attitude and gesture and thereby how to function on the highest levels of society. Under Louis XIII (ruled 1610-1643) and Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715), it was indispensable for a man

of quality to know how to dance, in order to participate in dignified fashion in the company of the king and his courtiers in the balls and the ballets.

Born at the end of the Valois reign in the 1580s, ballet de cour became central to Bourbon cultural leadership. Louis XIII used it as a seat of authority; Richelieu manipulated it as part of his new style of glorifying the monarch; and Louis XIV made it a centerpiece of his search for Europe-wide cultural prominence. Indeed, ballet de cour spread in related forms to Savoy, England, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Russia.

A transformation began in the dance when in 1670 Louis XIV withdrew from participating in it. The creation of the Académie Royale de Danse (Royal Dance Academy) in 1661 generated a movement of new thinking in both theory and practice among the French masters. Raoul-Auger Feuillet founded a system of notating dance movement, published in his Chorégraphie in 1700, that rapidly became standard practice Europe-wide for belle danse. Seventeenth-century choreographers applied the classicist outlook dominant in the court to notions of dancing with symmetry, equilibrium, clarity, and measure. Moreover, the academy led to a professional order of dance, in fact the first institutionalized ballet troupe, in the Académie Royale de Musique (Royal Music Academy), which was founded in 1669. The original restriction to men was dropped with the addition of women in 1681. During the second half of the seventeenth century, dance was integrated into the performance of all operatic genres, as well as some dramatic ones, and the Académie Royale de Musique, also called the Opéra (with the protection of Louis XIV and the dauphin and under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Lully), became the most prestigious hall of entertainment in Paris.

French theatrical dance proceeded to spread all over Europe in the early eighteenth century as artists started dance companies and schools. Dance styles—heroic or serious, half-serious (demicaractère), comic or grotesque—and performers became specialized, just as standards of virtuosity and expressiveness expanded for both male and female dancers. In England in the 1710s there arose a new kind of theatrical dance called ballet d'action, or ballet pantomime, that would tell a story without

words or singing. Such shows became diffused throughout the main theaters in Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, and France during the second half of the eighteenth century. Theatrical dance raised vigorous theoretical debates over claims that it rendered mimesis as an art of imitation in Aristotelian terms, as an interpretation of the totality of human experience. In the 1760s ballet began to gain independence from opera. In London, Paris, and Vienna a ballet pantomime was given on its own after an opera, though usually it was on a related theme. In Paris the practice first occurred at the highly innovative Opéra Comique in the 1760s and then at the Opéra in the 1780s. Owing to the mingling of pantomime and dance in this period, performers were required to be both mimes and dancers.

From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, dance was not simply a distraction. Created by masters, who were almost always musicians as well as dancers, it was closely linked to the musical idioms for which it was designed—dance genres such as the pavane, galliard, branle, courante, minuet, saraband, chaconne, rigadoon, or contredanse. Musicologists have in fact discovered that these idioms influenced many aspects of what went on in operatic and instrumental music of the eighteenth century. That is why when spectators entered the Opéra, they brought with them deep knowledge of complex interpretive aspects of dance and music, all of which was the fruit of an ancient European cultural tradition.

See also Class, Status, and Order; France; Gentleman; Louis XIV (France); Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Music; Opera; Renaissance; Ritual, Civic and Royal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, Selma Jeanne, ed. International Encyclopedia of Dance. 6 vols. New York, 1998.

Hilton, Wendy. Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style, 1690-1725. Edited by Caroline Gaynor. Princeton, 1981.

Lancelot, Francine. La belle danse: catalogue raisonné fait en l'an 1995. Paris, 1996.

Negri, Cesare. Le gratie d'amore. Milan, 1602; reprint, New York, 1969.

Rameau, Pierre. Le maître à danser, suivi d'un Abrégé de la nouvelle méthode. Paris, 1725. Reprint, New York, 1967. Translated by Cyril W. Beaumont as *The Dancing* Master. London, 1931. Reprint, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1970. Tomlinson, Kellom. *The Art of Dancing*. London, 1735. Reprint, Farnborough, U.K., 1970.

NATHALIE LECOMTE

DASHKOVA, PRINCESS CATHER-

INE (1743–1810), confidante of Catherine the Great and educator. Princess Catherine Dashkova, a contemporary and confidante of Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796), in which capacity she is sometimes termed "Catherine the Small," was born into one of the most prominent noble and diplomatic families of eighteenth-century Russia, the Vorontsovs. Known for their Anglophilia (two of her brothers served as ambassador to the Court of St. James), the Vorontsov family created a tone of sociability that enabled Catherine to participate relatively comfortably in the salons and intellectual life of Catherinian Russia. It also enabled her, almost alone among women of her era, to have a career in public service, first as the president of the new Russian Academy of Arts (1783), and in the same year as the director of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

As director of the Academy of Arts and Sciences she had relatively little impact on scholarship. But she did strengthen the academy's financial footing, leaving it with a healthy surplus when she stepped down in 1794, embittered by the conservative tone of Russian politics in direct reaction to the growing radicalization of the French Revolution. She also presided over a significant growth in the academy's output of literary journals.

Dashkova's activities in the Russian Academy were rather different. Modeled after the French Academy, or L'Académie française, the Russian Academy's primary agenda was to compose an authoritative dictionary of the Russian language. Between 1789 and 1794 the academy published six large volumes listing over 40,000 words. Although the dictionary never had the prescriptive power of its French counterpart, it did constitute a significant cultural achievement, marking the rapid evolution of vernacular Russian and the emergence of an eighteenth-century literary language.

Dashkova, along with her patroness the empress, was one of a veritable handful of eighteenth-century Russian women to compose a memoir. Written in French and entrusted to her friend

Martha Wilmot, an Anglo-Irish woman who spent five years in Russia, the memoir was first published in English translation in 1857 in Alexander Herzen's émigré journal, the Polar Star. Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the memoir and suggested that Martha Wilmot and her sister may have at least significantly rewritten it. Most specialists, though, accept the text as Dashkova's own. It provides an insider's account of some of the most important political events of the day, including the coup that brought Catherine the Great to power in 1762 and much of the intrigue so characteristic of everyday life at the Russian court. If one takes her at her word, she spent most of her time interacting with the leading men of state and foreign dignitaries, much in the manner of male courtiers, rather than with their wives, daughters, or ladies-in-waiting. Dashkova also wrote and translated a great deal, including plays, poetry, and moralistic essays.

Like most of the empress's entourage, Dashkova quickly lost influence once Paul I (ruled 1796–1801) ascended the throne. Seeing her, not unreasonably, as an enemy of his late father, Peter III, he exiled her to a distant estate and only later allowed her to return to her primary estate of Troitskoe. Like several other wealthy nobles, male and female, she became an active, even domineering, presence on her own estate, acting very much as an absolute lord of the manor in her own private estate-within-a-state.

See also Academies, Learned; Catherine II (Russia); Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Russian Literature and Language; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

The Memoirs of Princess Dashkova. Translated and edited by Kyril Fitzlyon. Introduction by Jehanne M. Gheith. Afterword by A. Woronzoff-Dashkoff. Durham, N.C., 1995.

The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot, 1803–1808. Edited by the Marchioness of Londonderry and H. Montgomery Hyde. New York, 1971.

Secondary Sources

Hyde, H. Montgomery. *The Empress Catherine and Princess Dashkov*. London, 1935.

GARY MARKER

DAVID, JACQUES-LOUIS (1748-1825), French painter. David was born in Paris to a middle-class family of merchants. He was related to the famous rococo painter François Boucher (1703-1770). He attended the Collège des Quatre Nations and studied art with the neoclassical painter Joseph-Marie Vien at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. As a student, David lived in the Louvre with his tutor, Michel Sedaine, who was secretary of the Royal Academy of Architecture in addition to being a playwright. Through Sedaine, David came into contact with Enlightenment intellectuals such as Denis Diderot (1713-1784) who influenced his aesthetic development and ideas. David won the coveted Roman fellowship prize the Prix de Rome in 1774 and lived and studied at the French Academy in Rome until 1779. In Rome he interacted with an international community of artists and intellectuals as he studied history, aesthetics, anatomy, and perspective. He drew extensively from antique sculpture as well as celebrated Renaissance and baroque religious paintings and sculptures that he encountered in churches in Rome and numerous other Italian cities.

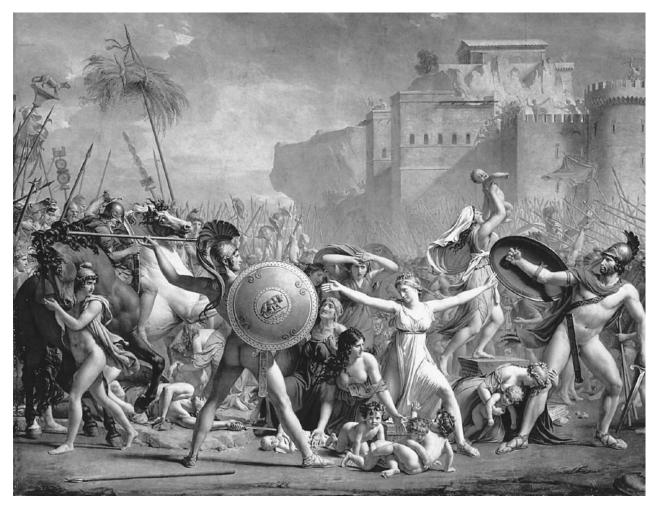
Through Vien, who had become director of the French Academy in Rome, David received his first major commission, to paint *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken* (1780–1781), a monumental religious work made for the chapel of the plague hospital in Marseilles and exhibited with great success at the Paris Salon of 1781. He followed this with another monumental religious painting, *Christ on the Cross*, commissioned by the Maréchale de Noailles and exhibited at the Salon of 1782. Although David, like his contemporaries, prepared for a career in which religious commissions would be expected, aesthetic developments and political events led him to represent primarily antique themes and contemporary history.

Influenced by the neoclassical movement in art and culture, toward the end of his fellowship in Rome David executed a monumental drawing, a frieze in the antique style, depicting the *Funeral of a Hero* (1778–1780). The contour style and emphasis on corporeal expression that dominate this composition became the hallmark of his great masterpieces of the 1780s. Works that were acclaimed at the Salon exhibitions in Paris include *Belisarius Re*-

ceiving Alms (1781), Andromache Mourning Hector (1783), and the Oath of the Horatii (1784-1785). The Oath, which David painted on a return visit to Rome in 1784, with its depiction of heroic and powerful human figures naturalistically rendered and its emphasis on gesture and corporeal form, transformed French and European art. David was a philhellene and in the 1780s became part of the intellectual circle of the Trudaine brothers, owners of one of the largest classical libraries in Europe. Inspired by Plato's writings, in 1787 David painted the complex and meditative Death of Socrates for Michel Trudaine de la Sablière. Due to illness he did not complete its pendant, the Love of Paris and Helen, until 1789. Both of these paintings had a direct impact on the development of romantic Hellenism in French art.

David's monumental The Lictors Returning to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons was exhibited at the Salon of 1789 shortly after the beginning of the Revolution. The problematics and ambiguities of this work, which questions the morality of politics when it conflicts with the family sphere, were forgotten during the early 1790s when the painting was understood as an exemplum of personal and familial sacrifice for the good of the country. David embraced the cause of the Revolution and the Republic, serving as a deputy to the national convention from 1792 to 1794. During this time he planned, promoted, and organized revolutionary festivals and funerals, designing temporary monuments, costumes, and emblems for these vast parades. He also contributed paintings to the revolutionary cause, including a large-scale sketch for The Oath of the Tennis Court (1791, never executed due to political vicissitudes), and to the martyrs of revolution, Lepelletier de St. Fargeau (1793) and The Death of Marat (1793), which became an icon of the Revolution, and Bara (1794).

In 1794 and again in 1795 David was imprisoned for his political role, and there began work on his next monumental history painting, the *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799), a remarkable encomium to the heroic women who ensured the founding of Rome by rushing onto the battlefield with their infants and children in order to end an internecine war between the Romans and the Sabines. Its pendant, *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814), represents the king of Sparta and his private army of



Jacques-Louis David. Intervention of the Sabine Women, 1799. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

three hundred men about to give up their lives by defending the pass at Thermopylae against the vast Persian army, thereby ensuring victory for the Greeks. Together, these works constitute a meditation on the precarious enterprise of founding and preserving Western civilization.

As Napoleon rose to power he called upon David to promote his heroic image and the ceremonies of empire. After painting the great equestrian portrait of *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (1800) David was named first painter to the emperor (1804) and completed two of four vast compositions, *The Coronation of the Emperor Napoleon I* (1806–1807) and the *Distribution of the Eagles* (1810). *The Coronation* commemorates the event during which Napoleon established himself as emperor and inaugurated his newly appointed court. David depicted himself along with family and

friends as spectators but also lavished attention on the pope and his retinue at the crossing of Notre Dame Cathedral. In the *Distribution of the Eagles* David reveals his growing dissatisfaction with the empire by depicting the emperor as a diminutive figure and emphasizing the energy and vitality of the armies over Napoleon himself.

When Louis XVIII became king in 1816, thereby restoring the Bourbons after Napoleon's fall, David was sent into exile in Brussels along with many fellow regicides who had voted for the death of Louis XVI in 1792. While in Brussels, David created a series of monumental mythological paintings that constitute a new direction in his art and are among the most surprising—and strange—works of his entire career. Using stylistic and compositional innovations, David explored the complex psychology of love, eros, and eroticism in *Amor and*

Psyche (1817), The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis (1818), The Anger of Achilles (1819), and Mars Disarmed by Venus and the Graces (1824). In these works, continuing a trend begun early in his career, David was inspired by multiple literary and visual sources but created new subjects or episodes that differed from precedents.

In exile David continued to paint portraits, creating masterpieces of the genre in such works as Sieyès (1817), Madame Morel de Tangry and her Daughters (c. 1820), and Zénaïde and Charlotte Bonaparte (1821). In these penetrating works David continued his exploration of the psychology of personality begun in portraits completed at the height of his earlier career, such as the famous Lavoisier and His Wife (1788), Pope Pius VII (1805), and Napoleon in his Study (1812), among many others.

David was celebrated as a dedicated teacher and trained vast numbers of students, including some of the major artists of the early nineteenth century such as Antoine-Jean Gros, François-Pascal-Simon Gérard, Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy, Jean-Auguste-Dominic Ingres, and the sculptor Pierre-Jean David d'Angers.

See also Diderot, Denis; France, Art in; Painting; Revolutions, Age of; Salons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brookner, Anita. Jacques-Louis David. London, 1987.

Dowd, D. L. Pageant-Master of the Republic: Jacques-Louis David and the Revolution. Lincoln, Nebr., 1948.

Hautecoeur, Louis. Louis David. Paris, 1954.

Johnson, Dorothy. *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamor-phosis.* Princeton, 1993.

Schnapper, Antoine. *David: Témoin de son Temps*. Fribourg, Switzerland, 1980.

Schnapper, Antoine, et al. *Jacques-Louis David*, 1748–1825. Paris, 1989.

DOROTHY JOHNSON

DAY OF DUPES (FRANCE). See Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

DEATH AND DYING. The certainty of death is something we share with our early modern

ancestors, but they were more likely than we to die young and to experience throughout their lives a sequence of bereavements. Average life expectancy was shockingly low by modern (Western) standards: barely thirty in the seventeenth century. The averages are brought down by high infant mortality: around a quarter of children died in their first year, and barely half made it to their tenth birthday. For adults, remarriage after the death of a partner was commonplace. Nonetheless, suggestions that early modern people were somehow inured to death, making little emotional investment in young children, have been largely rejected by modern scholarship: there is plenty of evidence for deeply felt grief.

Throughout the period, epidemic disease was a major killer. Early modern Europe witnessed no pandemic on the scale of the "Black Death" of 1348-1349, but plague was a recurrent visitor, wiping out a quarter of London's population in 1563 and nearly half of Marseilles's in 1720. Plague disappeared from Western Europe in the early eighteenth century, but there was little protection against other virulent diseases—typhoid, dysentery, smallpox, influenza. In urban centers the death rate invariably exceeded the birth rate, and towns relied on immigration to sustain their populations. Periodic harvest failure and famine exacerbated the impact of disease. The 1590s were years of hunger across Europe, as were the 1660s and 1690s (when a third of Finland's population died). The "mortality regime" was punitive and changed little over the course of the early modern period.

RITUAL AND REFORMATION

If death was frequent and unpredictable, it was also highly ritualized. The late medieval church stressed the importance of a good death; pious texts taught the ars moriendi, the "art of dying." On the death-bed Christians felt particularly vulnerable to the wiles of the Devil, who might tempt them to despair and damnation. An elaborate sequence of "last rites"—confession, communion, and anointing by a priest—offered some protection, though the moment of death remained fraught with danger, and "sudden death," with no opportunity to make amends for sin, was widely feared. Successful navigation of the deathbed was only the first stage toward eternal life with God in heaven. It was believed that since the ordinary good person could

perform only a fraction of the penance due for their sins, the remainder would have to be paid off after their death, in purgatory. Images of fire and torment filled descriptions of purgatory, though it is unclear whether people typically lived in fear of the prospect or stoically accepted it as their lot. In any case, it was possible to ease the pains of souls there and hasten their passage to heaven by performing good works on their behalf, particularly by having masses said for them. A great deal of pre-Reformation religion was driven by a "commemorative impulse": the bequeathing of lands and goods in order to be remembered, and thus prayed for. For some reason, purgatory and intercessory prayer appear to have been a more marked feature of north European than of Mediterranean lands in the century before the Reformation.

The Protestant revolt against medieval Catholicism was from the outset deeply concerned with issues of death. Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses of 1517 questioned the pope's authority to issue indulgences (certificates remitting "time" spent in purgatory), and by 1530 Luther, with other reformers, had denounced the doctrine of purgatory itself. Purgatory offended Protestants because they could not find it in Scripture and because it seemed to undermine Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, making human beings active participants in the business of salvation. The doctrine of predestination held that God had from time eternal assigned all people to one of two destinations: heaven or hell. There was no room for a "middle place" and no possibility for the living to change the dead's preordained fate. In territories where the Reformation took hold, institutions (chantries and monasteries) whose purpose had been to intercede for the dead were dissolved, and requiem masses were abolished. Deathbed rituals were radically simplified, and the presence of a clergyman became less necessary. Most Protestant theologians taught, contrary to the medieval theory, that infants dying before baptism could still be admitted to heaven. In Catholic Europe, by contrast, the cult of the "holy souls" in purgatory was emphasized in the Counter-Reformation period.

Yet the dramatic changes of the Reformation were accompanied by underlying continuities. Protestants continued to display a concern with the "good death," and *ars moriendi* literature remained

popular in both Catholic and Protestant societies. (To believers in predestination, appropriate deathbed demeanor might be an indication of "election.") Though Protestants were barred from praying for the dead, the impulse to commemorate them remained strong, finding expression in monuments and epitaphs and in a profusion of printed funeral sermons. The Reformation undoubtedly changed the relationship between the living and the dead, but it did not end it. Most evidence concerns the social elite, but it is at the level of popular belief that continuities were most marked. Though Protestant theologians taught that the souls of the dead could never return (and Catholic theologians imposed strict limitations on it), belief in ghosts was widespread. Indeed, some burial practices may have been concerned not so much with commemorating the dead as with providing protection against them. This was the case with the bodies of those committing suicide—the ultimate "bad death"—which were often staked and interred at crossroads.

DEATH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Moralists, Catholic and Protestant, presented death as a leveler-the artistic motif of the "Dance of Death" depicted popes, princes, and beggars linked by their common fate. Both before and after the Reformation, however, the delineation of rank was a major concern of funerary rites. This was particularly apparent in the case of royal funerals: the ritual was most elaborate in France, where it involved an eerily lifelike effigy of the deceased monarch—a symbolic assertion of the survival of the king's "social body." Extravagant aristocratic funerals, involving vast amounts of black cloth, hundreds of mourners, and lavish distributions of charity sent out messages about the location of power in local communities. The poor were typically carried to the grave with little ceremony. Burial practices, too, reflected social status. In London, Paris, and some other urban centers, pressure on space led to the repositioning of cemeteries in suburban locations away from churches—a process under way throughout the period. But across much of Europe traditional patterns persisted: the elites could expect burial within the church building; the masses had to be content with the churchyard outside, where graves rarely received permanent markers and bones were periodically dug up to be stored in charnel houses. Those who had died "dishonorable" deaths (e.g.,

by execution) were refused burial in the churchyard and were often interred under the gallows or in other dishonored places. In Calvinist Scotland the authorities forbade church burial as "superstitious," but landowners got around the ban by erecting elaborate "burial aisles" on the side of churches. Early modern Europeans were unequal in death, as in so much else.

See also Medicine; Plague; Reformation, Protestant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ariès, Philippe. *The Hour of Our Death*. Translated by Helen Weaver. London, 1981. Translation of *L'homme devant la mort* (1977).

Gordon, Bruce, and Peter Marshall, eds. The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Cambridge, U.K., 2000.

Koslofsky, Craig M. The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700. New York, 2000.

Marshall, Peter. Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England. Oxford, 2002.

PETER MARSHALL

DECORATIVE ARTS. Broadly understood, the decorative arts comprise objects that possess artistic qualities and were created by skilled makers, but do not belong to the general categories of painting, sculpture, or architecture. They include, but are not limited to, the decoration and furnishing of interiors, personal adornment (costume and jewelry), and, later, with the rise of industrialization, product design. From its origin in the midnineteenth century, methodology in decorative arts studies concentrated on connoisseurship—dating, attribution, establishment of formal and regional categories—which became increasingly specialized, usually divided by medium and country of origin (French porcelain, English furniture, German pewter, etc.). Since the 1970s, the field has been enriched by trends adapted from social and economic history (patronage and consumption) and anthropology (material culture and behavioral studies) to form a multifaceted investigation of the objects themselves within their context as part of the history of visual culture.

TYPES AND MATERIALS

For the greater part of the early modern period, textiles, especially pictorial tapestries, were the most valuable and valued items of interior decoration. Made of wool, silk, cotton, and linen, patterned flat weaves, velvets, brocades, and damasks were used to cover walls, floors, and furniture, while other fabric was made into clothing. Due to wear and their fragile nature, however, a disproportionately small number of historical textiles survive, which has led to their relative underrepresentation in art historical studies. Related to textiles, costume history examines the development of forms and techniques of dress and body ornament, which from the beginning, but especially since the eighteenth century, focused increasingly on female dress.

Furniture, made of a variety of woods according to regional availability and preference, forms another basic category, with tables, chairs, beds, case furniture (chests, cupboards, commodes, etc.), and frames representing the major types. Plain, carved, or painted, frequently inlaid (intarsia) or veneered (marquetry) in patterns or pictures with a variety of materials, or at times gilt and embellished with metal mounts, furniture could range from the mundane to the highly sophisticated in design and manufacture.

Ceramics, one of the most ancient crafts, also experienced an increase in variety, artistic attention, and refinement. Continuing a medieval tradition, the German Rhineland (Cologne, Raeren, Siegburg) and, later, Staffordshire in England produced prized stoneware, often with elaborate allegorical sometimes even political—relief decoration, while southern Europe (Spain, Italy, and France) excelled in earthenware (faience, majolica) using painting with metallic oxide pigments on tin glazes for colorful pictorial scenes (istoriato) or shimmering metallic effects (lusterware). Seeking to emulate costly imported Asian porcelain, technical experimentations led to a number of imitations of it—for example, Medici porcelain from Florence (c. 1575-1587), a highly vitreous substance, or the blue and white earthenware of Delft, Holland, from the midseventeenth century on—culminating in the "invention" of soft- and, later, hard-paste porcelain at the manufactories of Meissen, Germany, in 1709 and Vincennes-Sèvres, France (established 1738).

Major categories of metalwork are associated with cooking and the table, arms and armor, liturgical objects, lighting and heating, and jewelry. Depending on the rarity and qualities of the materials used, such works comprised utilitarian objects (bronze, brass, iron, steel, pewter) as well as more decorative ones (gold, silver, gilt silver, gilt bronze), intended mainly, but not exclusively, for show and status. Because of their high value, works in gold and silver received particular artistic attention, leading to an extraordinary sophistication of all the related techniques: the raising of sheet through embossing and chasing; the successful casting of detailed models, large and small, as well as natural objects; the development of hollow lost wax casting to achieve series of identical pieces; and enameling in translucent and opaque colors on flat (champlevé, basse taille, painted enamel) and round (en ronde bosse) surfaces.

The art of glass, retained in Europe since the Roman Empire, flourished anew from the early sixteenth century in particular in Venice, where clear crystal glass was rediscovered and fashioned into vessels, stemware, and mirrors (backed with an amalgam of mercury and tin). Centers in northern and central Europe (Nuremberg, Munich, Potsdam, Prague, Dresden, Switzerland) continued to produce stained glass and hard crystal suitable for etching and engraving (the latter a specialty in Holland) while geometric cut glass decoration was developed in England in the mid-eighteenth century and widely manufactured in Ireland (Cork, Waterford), Germany, and Bohemia.

PATRONAGE, MANUFACTURE, AND CONSUMPTION

Among the works preserved today, those made for the wealthy elite far outnumber those made for less economically strong consumers. This situation (putting aside the question of artistic value) has resulted in a less intensive investigation of objects made for the middle and lower classes, especially those from the beginning of the early modern period. In the sixteenth century, monarchs, court society, and the church provided most of the advanced patronage, while civic groups in the mercantile city-states and humanist circles played a somewhat lesser role. As patrons and consumers, the absolutist rulers of the seventeenth century were role models for the aristocracy and the growing patrician and merchant

classes, who imitated them as best they could. A greater diffusion of wealth, erudition, and interest in the course of the eighteenth century led to a broadening of the consumer base, but high quality decorative arts were still the focus of the luxury trade. Although production was tailored in an increasingly commercial way toward demand and changing fashion, consumption was massed in the upper social classes, which set the tone for others.

With the growing self-awareness of artists during the Renaissance, the medieval guild system, which guaranteed the quality of products and protected makers but also circumscribed their activities, was gradually weakened in favor of greater freedom of involvement by individuals in different crafts. In the course of the sixteenth century, court artists were exempted from guild rules by their royal or princely patrons. The first court workshops in Florence under the Medici and in Prague under Rudolf II inspired the development of better structured royal manufactories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the most famous were the Gobelins under Louis XIV and the porcelain factories of Meissen under August the Strong of Saxony and Sèvres under Louis XV. Concurrent with the rise of the mercantile middle class, independent entrepreneurs in the eighteenth century established the first commercial enterprises, for example the potteries of Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795) in Staffordshire (established 1759), the furniture works of David Roentgen (1743–1807) near Coblenz (established 1750), or the luxury merchants (marchands merciers) of Paris, such as Lazare Duvaux (1709-1758) and Dominique Daguerre (fl. 1787-1795). The official abolition of the guilds and corporations in post-Revolutionary France in 1791 was a signal event; after the Napoleonic wars, European guilds never again regained their former power.

STYLE

While certain regional preferences remained, the early modern period is generally characterized by increasing internationalism in terms of style and innovation. This development was promoted by two factors: traveling artists seeking their fortunes at different courts or mercantile centers, and the explosive rise of the print medium, which disseminated artistic ideas with precision and ease.

The humanist-influenced Renaissance brought a renewed and self-conscious review of the classical past. On objects it expressed itself in dense and colorful decoration with a multitude of figural and ornamental motifs derived from antiquity. Figures in classical drapery with well-defined anatomy, subject matter from mythology or Roman history, allegory, and personifications provided a rich canon to draw from. Other ornament was derived mainly from architecture: elaborate moldings, meanders, scrolling vines, acanthus leaves, rosettes, egg-and-dart and beaded bands, gadrooning, and grotesques, named after the excavations of grottos (most notably the Domus Aurea) in Rome in the early sixteenth century.

Architecture and sculpture also provided important impulses for baroque decorative arts: shapes of weightier proportions, massive S-scrolls, gilt ornament, and layered moldings; and energized, active, and emotionally expressive figures, animals, and mythological creatures. A particular development was the predilection for elaborate floral and vegetal ornament and patterns that can be found in almost all media of seventeenth-century decorative arts.

By the eighteenth century, France (and especially Paris) was the leading center for new taste and design. The essence of the rococo originated in French decorative arts, first apparent in the 1730s in silver and wood carvings (boiseries) and stucco decorations in interiors: swirling asymmetrical designs (opposed, irregular C-scrolls, shapes derived from rocks and shells, lines from water and waves), new naturalism (flowers, birds, and other realistic plants and animals), pastel colors, and fascination with the exotic Near and Far East. In a conscious backlash, the late 1750s brought back clearer, more rigid geometric principles derived from a new, more archaeologically based reception of antiquity. This neoclassicism evolved into more attenuated and richly ornamented forms in the 1770s and 1780s, and by the late 1810s resolved itself into an ever more rapid succession of revivals during the nineteenth century, from the neo-Gothic of the 1830s to the neo-Renaissance in the 1840s and 1850s, and the other historical styles that followed.

ARTISTS AND DESIGNERS

The number of anonymous masters in the decorative arts remains far greater than that of known artists, although recent research is uncovering more names of notable figures. Most textile weavers are unknown, while the designers, especially of tapestries, include many famous painters, such as Raphael (1483–1520), Bernard van Orley (1492–1542), and Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640).

There are hardly any known furniture makers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, although Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the Elder (1510/1512-1585) and Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1606) must be mentioned for their influential prints of furniture designs. The first names and careers emerge in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: foremost among the group of Netherlandish and German émigrés working in France was André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732), who became famous for his delicate inlays of brass, tortoiseshell, and pewter (Boulle marquetry) and is credited with inventing the commode. The factories of Abraham Roentgen (1711-1793) and his son David produced furniture with the finest pictorial marquetry and ingenious mechanical features, pieces which they exported from Neuwied near Coblenz to all the major cities in Europe. Thomas Chippendale (1718–1779), whose name is synonymous with mahogany furniture carved in a late rococo or "Chinese" style, was the most influential maker, designer, and businessman for furniture in England. He published the first comprehensive book of designs, The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker's Director (1st edition, 1754), which cleverly addressed both his potential clients and fellow craftsmen.

In the field of ceramics, Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719) stands out as the inventor of European hard-paste porcelain at Meissen, while Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–1775) was the factory's widely imitated modeler of animals and figures. In England, the great technical innovator and entrepreneur was Wedgwood, who revolutionized the manufacture, style, and marketing of his attractive pottery, especially his cameolike jasperware in muted opaque colors with applied delicate white reliefs.

It is remarkable how many of the great Renaissance sculptors began their careers as goldsmiths:



Decorative Arts. The "Mazarine" commode: tortoiseshell and copper marquetry on ebony, engraved and gilded bronze, top of marble griotte, executed c. 1708–1709 for the bedroom of Louis XIV in the Grand Trianon by André Charles Boulle. ©Réunion DES Musées NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

the most famous is Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), whose renowned saltcellar, made for Francis I, perfectly combines sculpture and goldsmith's work, but the list also includes Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446), Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1381–1455), Donatello (c. 1386–1466), and the painter Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Other innovative and noteworthy artists in gold and silver include Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508–1585, Nuremberg), Paulus van Vianen (c. 1570–1613, active in Utrecht, Munich, and Prague), and Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695–1750, Turin and Paris).

The seventeenth century saw the evolution of the designer as a distinct artist, a development that was instrumental for the gradually emerging notion of a stylistically unified interior. Most often trained as an architect or a painter, the designer worked mainly as a draftsman and often subcontracted or supervised other specialist craftsmen. Among the earliest are Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and Giovanni Paolo Schor (1615–1674) in Rome, who in turn inspired Charles Lebrun (1619–1690), the first and most important director of the French Gobelins, which furnished Versailles and the other palaces of Louis XIV. The outstanding architectdesigner of England was undoubtedly Robert Adam (1728–1792), who gave his name to a whole class of neoclassical buildings, interiors, and furnishings. Charles Percier (1764-1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) were jointly responsible for the enduring late neoclassical style of furniture and interiors, often referred to as the empire.

DECORATIVE ARTS AS VISUAL CULTURE

The early modern period lacked the hierarchical division of fine and decorative arts, which was only established in the mid-nineteenth century. Textiles, furniture, and gold and silver, for example, were seen as entirely equal in artistic value and were generally more expensive than paintings or sculpture. The decorative arts played an important role in the often scripted life of the higher echelons of society that was imitated by others. Records of objects' placement and meticulous descriptions illustrate their multifaceted functions. They articulated a space, defined the actors in it, and participated in the rituals and actions of daily life. Understood in this manner, decorative arts can provide a particularly immediate and detailed window into the past.

See also Artisans; Baroque; Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain; Jewelry; Prints and Popular Imagery; Rococo; Textile Industry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Campbell, Thomas P. Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence. Exh. cat. New York, 2002.
- Coutts, Howard. The Age of Ceramics: European Ceramic Design 1500–1830. New Haven and London, 2001.
- Girouard, Mark. Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History. New Haven and London, 1978.
- Hayward, Helena, ed. World Furniture: An Illustrated History from Earliest Times. London, 1965.
- Hernmarck, Carl. *The Art of the European Silversmith*, 1430–1830. London, 1977.
- Liefkes, J. Reino, ed. Glass. London, 1997.
- Ribeiro, Aileen. *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 1715–1789. New Haven and London, 2002.
- Thornton, Peter. Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland. New Haven and London, 1978.
- Verlet, Pierre. French Furniture of the Eighteenth Century. Translated by Penelope Hunter-Stiebel. Charlottesville, Va., and London 1991.
- Versailles et les tables royales en Europe: XVIIème-XIXème siècles. Exh. cat. Paris, 1993.
- Walker, Stefanie, and Frederick Hammond, eds. *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco.* Exh. cat. New Haven and London, 1999.

STEFANIE WALKER

DEE, JOHN (1527–1609), polymath English mathematician, natural philosopher, and consultant to the court of Queen Elizabeth. Dee was born in London, of Welsh descent. His father, Rowland, who had a minor position in Henry VIII's court, fostered Dee's education and laid the foundation for his later position in the Tudor court. Dee studied at St. John's College Cambridge for the B.A. (1546) and the M.A. (1548) degrees. Dee also studied at Paris and most importantly at Louvain with Gemma Frisius and others of Gemma's circle including Gerardus Mercator, Antonius Gogava and Gaspar à Mirica. Subsequently, he maintained contact and collaboration with scholars throughout Europe, including assisting with Federico Commandino's publication of De Superficierum Divisionibus Liber (On the division of surfaces).

Dee forged diverse roles as a scholar and public intellectual. At his house at Mortlake, outside London, he taught, consulted, and studied in one of the earliest experimental households. Here he built a personal library, reputed to be the largest of his day, rich in mathematics, sciences of all sorts, and philosophy, reflected both in the ancient texts prized in the Renaissance but also in unusually large numbers of medieval texts. He vigorously promoted the practical application of mathematics and the sciences through his service as consultant on navigation to the Muscovy Company and other voyages of navigation and through his contribution of the "Mathematicall Praeface" and extensive additions and annotations to the first English edition of Euclid's *Elements* of geometry (1570). In his private consultations he was one of the earliest to introduce Paracelsus in England. Dee enjoyed the patronage of Elizabeth and other Tudor courtiers and played an active role at court, advising on the reform of the calendar and other scientific issues and bolstering with his expertise the advocacy of British political and imperial expansion. In all these capacities Dee applied his scholarly skills to making available to Elizabeth and her counselors, navigators, explorers, and other writers and thinkers the information and wisdom of his personal library for the formation of policy and the solution of practical problems. Dee also pursued patronage at the courts of Wilhelm IV of Hessen-Kassel and Rudolf II at Prague, where he promoted his angelical, cabalistic, and alchemical

vision of nature, religious reform, and political conciliation.

Like others in the Renaissance, he sought new insights into the natural world as a reflection of divinity and to achieve personal spiritual insight. His inspiration was primarily Roger Bacon (c. 1214/ 20-c. 1292), enhanced by ancient, medieval, and Renaissance magical texts. In the Propaedeumata Aphoristica (Introductory aphorisms, 1558 and 1568) Dee developed a mathematically based optical theory of astrological causation and astral magic founded on Bacon's concept of the multiplication of species. His *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Hieroglyphic monad, 1564) presents an unusual blend of alchemy, astrology, Cabala, and magic that is as much an allegory of spiritual ascent as a study of nature. Later, he became increasingly absorbed in "spiritual exercises" in a quest for direct spiritual insight from angels contacted through a crystal gazer.

See also Alchemy; Astrology; Cabala; Calendar; Elizabeth I (England); Exploration; Mathematics; Paracelsus; Shipbuilding and Navigation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clulee, Nicholas H. John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion. London, 1988.

Harkness, Deborah E. John Dee's Conversations with Angels. Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature. Cambridge, U.K., 1999.

Sherman, William H. John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance. Amherst, Mass., 1995.

NICHOLAS H. CLULEE

DEFENESTRATION OF PRAGUE.

See Prague, Defenestration of.

DEFOE, DANIEL (1660–1731), English journalist, economist, and travel writer, often considered to be the first English novelist. Daniel Defoe wrote approximately 560 books, pamphlets, and journal articles, many of which were anonymously or pseudonymously published. Little is known about his early life other than that he was the first son of James Foe, a tallow chandler in the City of London (the family changed its name to Defoe

c. 1695). The Foes were Puritans, and, because they were Dissenters (or Nonconformists), the 1662 Act of Uniformity forbade them to practice their religion or educate their children. Nevertheless, Daniel was schooled at Morton's Academy for Dissenters in Newington Green, North London, and considered becoming a Nonconformist minister himself before eventually deciding to follow his father into the City of London. He started his career as a hosiery merchant in 1681. He married Mary Tuffley c. 1683/1684, and in 1685 left London to join the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, probably fighting in the Battle of Sedgemoor. Defoe produced his first piece of published writing in 1688, a pamphlet denouncing the reigning monarch, James II (ruled 1685-1688).

With the accession of William of Orange in 1688 (William III; ruled 1688–1702), Defoe began a career as a political pamphleteer, but he also independently traded wine, spirits, tobacco, and textiles. His enterprises being unsuccessful, however, he was declared bankrupt in 1692, and was subsequently imprisoned in the Fleet and King's Bench Prisons for insolvency. Turning to pamphleteering for a living, in 1700 Defoe published "The True-Born Englishman," a satiric verse defending the Dutch King William III, and detailing England's multicultural past. Defoe was again imprisoned for six months in 1703 for another controversial pamphlet, "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," which ironically demanded the savage suppression of Nonconformists. In 1707 he began publishing the triweekly A Review of the State of the British Nation, which ran until 1713. Enjoying a busy career as a journalist, in 1704 he was employed by the secretary of state, Robert Harley, on a secret mission to tour England and Wales, ostensibly to report on the development of trade, but covertly to monitor and report back on any cells of Jacobite rebellion. During this period of traveling, Defoe gathered material for his extraordinary travel book, A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain (3 vols., 1724), which describes the people, places, and trades of the nation in great detail (though sections of the text were plagiarized from earlier travel books). The Tour was supplemented in 1746 with a Tour thro' that Part of Great-Britain called Scotland.

Defoe's first foray into fiction came in 1719 when, at the age of sixty, he anonymously published

Robinson Crusoe, which describes the life of a shipwrecked mariner, to some extent based on the reallife experiences of the Scottish sailor Alexander Selkirk. Robinson Crusoe was an immediate success for Defoe, and its publication initiated a prolific period of fiction writing including Captain Singleton (1720), an adventure story, and, in 1722, Defoe's second success, Moll Flanders, which purported to be an autobiography of a resourceful pickpocket who lived in London and on the plantations of Virginia. Also in 1722 Defoe published The History of Peter the Great, Colonel Jack, and the historical fiction, A Journal of the Plague Year, which claimed to be an eyewitness account of events during the 1664-1665 Great Plague in London. In 1724 Defoe published his last, and possibly his darkest, fiction, Roxana, whose eponymous, tragic heroine dies in a debtors' prison after living a life of deception, which Defoe suggests was the result of her marrying a profligate man who abandoned her and their children. Defoe's fiction, which often drew on his own experiences of speculative enterprise, being in debt, and struggling to reconcile real life with a spiritual life, blended spiritual autobiography, journalism, and travel writing, and was original for its realistic subject matter and powerful, plain prose. Often regarded as the first novelist, Defoe certainly set a pattern for similar fiction writing, especially the novels of mid-century writers Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, and Laurence Sterne.

In his final years, Defoe published two economic texts, *The Complete English Tradesman* (1725) and *Augusta Triumphans: A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728). Ironically, despite his personal interest in trade, and his successes as a best-selling pamphleteer and writer of fiction, Defoe died in poverty in his lodgings in Ropemaker's Alley, in Moorfields, London.

See also Dissenters, English; English Literature and Language; Fielding, Henry; Jacobitism; James II (England); Richardson, Samuel; Smollett, Tobias; Sterne, Laurence; William and Mary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Defoe, Daniel. The Complete English Tradesman (1725). 2 vols. 2nd ed. New York, 1969.
- . The Englishman's Choice, and True Interest. 1694. Ann Arbor, Mich. [On-line.] Available: http://www.lib.umich.edu/eebo/proj_des/pd_defoe.html.

- The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders. Edited by G. A. Starr. London, 1981.
- The History and Remarkable Life of the Truly Honourable Colonel Jack. Edited by Samuel Holt Monk. London, 1965.
- ——. History of the Union of Great Britain. 1709. In Writings on Travel, Discovery, and History. 2 sets of 4 vols., edited by W. R. Owens and P. N. Furbank. London, 2001–2002.
- ——. A Journal of the Plague Year: Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, Contexts, Criticism. Edited by Paula R. Backscheider. New York, 1992.
- ——. *The Letters of Daniel Defoe*. Edited by George Harris Healy. Oxford, 1955.
- . The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the Famous Captain Singleton. Edited by Shiv K. Kumar. Oxford, 1969.
- The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. Edited by Donald J. Crowley. Oxford, 1972; repr. 1999.
- ——. Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe. Edited by George Atherton Aitken. 16 vols. London, 1895.
- —. Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress. Edited by John Mullan. Oxford, 1996.
- ——. Selected Poetry and Prose of Daniel Defoe. Edited by M. F. Shugrue. New York, 1968.
- . The Shortest-Way with Dissenters; Or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. 1702. Harvard Classics. English Essays: Sidney to Macaulay. [On-line.] Available: http://www.bartleby.com/27/12.html.
- . A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain. Edited by P. N. Furbank, W. R. Owens, and A. J. Coulson. New Haven and London, 1991.

Secondary Sources

- Backscheider, Paula R. Daniel Defoe: Ambition and Innovation. Lexington, Ky., 1986.
- . Daniel Defoe: His Life. Baltimore, 1989.
- Novak, Maximillian E. Daniel Defoe: Master of Fictions: His Life and Ideas. Oxford and New York, 2001.
- ——. Defoe and the Nature of Man. Oxford, 1963.
- Rogers, Pat, ed. *Daniel Defoe: The Critical Heritage*. London, 1972; repr. 1995.
- Watt, Ian. The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding. London, 1957.

ALISON STENTON

DEISM. A form of religious nonconformity upholding the view that human beings can know the truths of theology by rational methods, deism excludes any appeal to supernatural or revealed experience. Although some scholars have found anticipations of deism in various Greek and Roman schools of philosophy, deist ideas strictly speaking originated in early modern Europe. Coined as a term of derision in a Calvinist tract published in 1564, deist lost its pejorative sense over the course of the seventeenth century and was embraced by a wide range of thinkers before and during the Enlightenment. At the same time, deism encountered severe criticism both from defenders of conventional faith and from more skeptical and rigorously rational schools of thought.

The prehistory of deism is perhaps best encapsulated in the writings of the Roman philosopher and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 B.C.E.-43 B.C.E.). In various philosophical dialogues, including De natura deorum and De legibus, Cicero emphasized that divinity and its works can be known through the application of reason and, indeed, that reason itself constitutes the true divine spark or seed within humanity. Drawing heavily on an eclectic Romanized stoicism, Cicero articulated a coherent account of a rational religion, leading at least some scholars to proclaim him the "father of deism." Moreover, because Cicero's writings (including De natura deorum) enjoyed a large audience in later antiquity as well as medieval and Renaissance Europe, they may have inspired some thinkers associated with a more self-consciously constructed school of deist thought during early modern times.

The origins of deism properly speaking, especially in England, cannot be separated from a range of other nonconformist movements during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Unitarianism, anticlericalism, Erastianism, Arminianism, and Socinianism. Generally speaking, the early thinkers associated with deism were engaged in a broad revolt against authority. Among the leading figures—who did not, however, consistently identify themselves as deists—were Edward Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), Charles Blount (1654–1693), and John Toland (1670–1722), all of whom were at the forefront of European religious

nonconformity and freethinking. In their wake came a number of lesser deists whose commitments to the doctrine varied widely. The deists shared in the British trend toward nonconformism by challenging central premises of enforced unity of belief, by doubting the rational demonstrability of major tenets of Christian theology, by asserting the distortion and perversion of religious faith by clerics and ecclesiastical institutions, and by establishing the complicity between church authorities and secular rulers in maintaining religious conformity in the interests of the powerful.

Deists starting with Lord Herbert had argued for a set of natural and universal principles common to all religions; to the extent that any system of belief embodied these tenets, it had a presumptive claim to validity. They praised expressions of religiosity that reflected those elements consonant with natural human worship of divinity. The common principles (laid down in Lord Herbert's 1624 treatise De Veritate) embraced acceptance of a single supreme God; insistence upon the worship of that God, achieved in particular by virtuous and pious deeds; expectation of remorse and contrition for one's sins; and acknowledgment of both temporal and extra-temporal divine dispensation of rewards and penalties. Such precepts are universally accessible by human reason, rendering revelation of secondary or derivative significance. Consequently, deists also subscribed to the principle that human nature was the same and inalterable throughout the world.

One of the favorite themes of the seventeenthcentury deists was the postulation of a sort of urreligion, a primitive piety that had been erased by the introduction of formal religious worship. In his De Religione Gentilium (1663; Religion of the Gentiles), Herbert declared that before religious rites, ceremonies, scripture, and so on were created, the worship of God occurred in an entirely rational manner. For Herbert and his successors, religion as practiced by contemporary human beings, burdened with unnecessary accretions, departed greatly from original, natural belief. Superstition and idolatry, complex systems of guilt and its expiation, and the creation of a professional priesthood all marked religion's distance from true reverence for the divine.

Thus, deism did not merely defend the authority of human reason in religious matters, but it also proposed a brief against the system of power that conventionally supported institutionalized religion. Two important claims made by the deist case against religion should be highlighted: that priests manipulate superstition and ritual to implant a fear of God in human beings, and that the authority of churches rests upon a spurious claim that priests are uniquely competent to interpose themselves between human beings and divinity and to dictate to people (against their natural inclination and reason) how they shall live. Deists thereby equate religion with the creation of human misery, conflict, and immorality.

The British deists explained the course of institutional religion (modern as well as ancient) in terms of "priestcraft," that is, the erection and dissemination of false ideas, practices, and superstitions in order to enhance the interests of priests themselves. Blount asserted that theological doctrines were propagated in the most mysterious and obscure manner not because truths about divinity were complex, but in order to confuse and therefore control the laity. Toland went so far as to say that the distinction between religions resulted from the machinations of priests, designed to serve their baser worldly ambitions. Much of the substance of deistic anticlericalism was directed toward debunking the trappings of priestly superiority that cloaked less esteemed motives.

In the place of organized and ritualized religious practices, the deists recommended natural worship, best performed by sound moral action. Herbert and Toland both maintained that the means of salvation might be sought in the rational practice of virtue, piety, and faithfulness. Subsequent deists regarded this position as a defense of the purity of "heathen vertue" as distinct from the idolatry of more recent times. In the deist view, heathens were perhaps less encumbered by the cheats of religion than latter-day Christians—and certainly no more so. Hence, the practice of natural worship might be guided more by "heathen vertue" than by the more recent teachings of Christian (or Islamic or Judaic) religion.

Scholars have commonly ascribed a connection between religious nonconformity in England and republican political conviction. To what extent the bond between the two is judged necessary or inextricable remains an open question. Some authors with openly deist sympathies also subscribed to Toryism and royalism. Hence, it may be the case that the connection between deism and republicanism was in fact looser than scholarship often claims.

Although England may perhaps be regarded as the cradle of deism, the writings and ideas of the early deists spread to the Continent and infected some of the leading figures of the early Enlightenment. While France, for instance, had its share of nonconforming thinkers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries-Pierre Charron, Michel de Montaigne, René Descartes, and Pierre Bayle among them—deism received perhaps its most visible and influential statement there from Voltaire (1694–1778). Both in France and during an exile to England, Voltaire encountered deist thinkers and began to propound their views. Voltaire himself used the term theist, but the nomenclature is inconsequential. He advocated a notion of natural religion based on reason, defending the existence of a single God but assailing priestcraft and ecclesiastical corruption.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who was profoundly influenced by Voltaire's important statement of deism, the Lettres philosophiques (1734; Philosophical letters), seems to have adapted deist views in his own Émile (1762). But Rousseau's version of deism was less rationalistic, and less politically charged, than Voltaire's. Rousseau postulated a divine goodness that degenerated in human hands when artificially represented through rites and ceremonies. He called on his readers to adopt a natural religion by finding God in their own hearts and imitating the pure justice that the deity instills in every member of humankind. Conscience, according to Rousseau, was the greatest teacher of religious truths and the most faithful way of honoring God.

During the reign of Frederick II the Great of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), the work of the British deists was imported into Germany through more widely circulated translations and editions. Several thinkers identified themselves with the deist cause, perhaps most prominently Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768). His defense of deism,

composed in 1754, was directed with equal force against the materialist and atheistic claims of the most extreme proponents of Enlightenment and against narrow interpretations of Christianity. Indeed, Reimarus's work embodied the intellectual problem of deism throughout Europe: the orthodox suspected that deists were secretly atheists, while the more extreme critics of deism regarded it to be insufficiently critical of religious superstition. Other German thinkers grazed on the edges of deism. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) did not fit the mold of a typical deist, but he and his friend Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) maintained views that echoed important deist themes. More significantly, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) advocated a vision of Christian deism, most notably in his work Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft (1793; Religion within the limits of reason alone), that cannot be understood apart from the deist doctrines of earlier times. Kant's overriding project for the liberation of the human mind from "tutelage" through the exercise of reason coincides neatly with the deist cause.

The deists also enjoyed a substantial following in North America among some of the leading intellectual lights of the colonial and Revolutionary eras. Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and the cosmopolitan Thomas Paine all identified in writings or public pronouncements with key deistic doctrines. When he was just twentytwo years old, Franklin (1706-1790) composed a statement of "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" (1728), which formed a virtual manifesto of deism and to which he apparently subscribed for the rest of his life. Likewise, Jefferson (1743–1826) created his own carefully expurgated version of the Bible out of snippets of the New Testament Gospels, his selections overtly informed by deistic beliefs. The quality of American deism was, however, far different from its European counterpart. The virulent attacks on priestcraft and clerical corruption so common among British and continental deists were largely absent from the American scene. Indeed, figures such as Washington and Jefferson were in public conventionally pious churchgoers even as they maintained unorthodox beliefs in private. Thus, American deism lacked overtones of anticlericalism. On the other hand, the imputed connection between republican political convictions and deist

doctrines was sustained by the American wing of deism.

Ironically, even as deism was spreading throughout continental Europe and North America in the later half of the eighteenth century, it was coming under serious scrutiny in its cradle, the British Isles. On one side, the form of religious enthusiasm preached by John Wesley (1703–1791) was directed explicitly against the rationalism of deistic thought. Wesley emphasized the personal, inward-dwelling, and supernatural aspects of religious experience that deism had consciously sought to expel. On the other side, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) ridiculed deistic teachings for their intellectual bankruptcy. Hume produced a series of tracts, culminating in the posthumously published Dialogues concerning Natural Religion (1779), which demonstrated how skepticism was the inescapable consequence of subscribing to deism, given the fundamental unsoundness of its logical, epistemological, and metaphysical assumptions. In England, Hume's basic stance was seconded by authors such as George Berkeley and Joseph Butler.

Deism also received a challenge in France from the even more extreme camp of atheistic materialists who constituted a large share of the philosophes and their Enlightenment fellow travelers. Jean Le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac and Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, and most others in the leading circles of the French Enlightenment found deism to be intellectually disreputable or simply disingenuous—a faint-hearted attempt to preserve the hope of salvation while dispensing with the more overtly superstitious or corrupt features of organized religion. Yet nowhere did deism completely die out. Edmund Burke's declaration of the passing of deism in 1790 was premature, as the school of thought enjoyed both intellectual support and a popular following (especially in America) well into the nineteenth century.

See also Anticlericalism; Atheism; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Reason; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Voltaire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Gay, Peter. Deism: An Anthology. Princeton, 1968.

Herbert of Cherbury. *De Veritate*. Translated by Meyrick H. Carré. Bristol, 1937.

Waring, E. Graham, ed. Deism and Natural Religion: A Source Book. New York, 1967.

Secondary Sources

Bedford, R. D. The Defence of Truth: Herbert of Cherbury and the Seventeenth Century. Manchester, U.K., 1979.

Betts, C. J. Early Deism in France: The So-Called "Déistes" of Lyon (1564) to Voltaire's Lettres philosophiques (1734). The Hague and Boston, 1984.

Champion, J. A. I. The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies, 1660–1730. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1992.

Herrick, James A. The Radical Rhetoric of the English Deists: The Discourse of Skepticism, 1680–1750. Columbia, S.C., 1997.

Sullivan, Robert E. John Toland and the Deist Controversy: A Study of Adaptation. Cambridge, Mass., 1982.

Walters, Kerry S. The American Deists: Voices of Reason and Dissent in the Early Republic. Lawrence, Kans., 1992.

CARY J. NEDERMAN

DEMOCRACY. A literal translation of the Greek *dēmokratia*, democracy means rule of the people, or government by the people. It was understood by the ancients as the direct participation of the citizen body in the government of the political community. The political and social institutions that originally gave rise to democracy both as a form of government and as a tool of political analysis soon died out, but democracy as an idea or an ideal persisted in various permutations through the survival or recovery of classical political thought.

CONVENTIONAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

In the classical and conventional typology of constitutions or forms of government, as in Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), democracy is viewed as an unlawful or unjust form of rule. There are three legitimate forms of rule: monarchy, aristocracy, and polity—the rule of one, the few, or the many in the public interest. The corresponding illegitimate forms are tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy—the rule of one, the few, or the many in their own interest. Thus, democracy

originally was understood as government conducted in the interest of the poor rather than in the public interest. Democracy did not shed these negative class incrustations until late in the nineteenth century, when it came increasingly to be equated with representative and liberal (constitutional) government.

The feudal and monarchical structures of the medieval West reinforced this tradition. Yet three major historical movements signaled the disintegration of the traditional order, and spawned new political ideas that, although not in themselves democratic, led to the rise of democracy. The first are the Renaissance, the Protestant (especially Puritan) Reformation, and the Enlightenment; the latter are republicanism and social contract theory.

RENAISSANCE AND REPUBLICANISM

The rise of the Italian city-states brought a radical change in political practice and political theory. Popular political institutions emerged, and government by the people was shown to be possible and desirable. These city-states, and the political thought they produced, contributed significantly to the history of modern democratic thought and practice. A renewal of interest in ancient history and culture, especially in historians such as Polybius (c. 200-c. 118 B.C.E.), Sallust (c. 86-35 or 34 B.C.E.), and Tacitus (c. 56-c. 120 C.E.), combined with the political experience of the Italian cityrepublics, produced a political literature focused on the problems of popular government, and on its relation to liberty and equality. For the first time since the ancients, arguments in favor of popular rule were articulated. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) is the culmination of this tradition. His thought links popular government, political liberty, and civic and political equality with the socioeconomic health and military strength of the body politic. Government by the people is deemed necessary to the pursuit of the public interest, and the other governmental forms are therefore seen as inferior. Machiavelli is thus a watershed in the history of democratic theory and practice. As such, his thought was mined by subsequent thinkers such as James Harrington (1611–1677), Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689-1755), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).

New attitudes. The waning of the Middle Ages, the Protestant Reformation, the dissolution of feudal ties, and the disintegration of a unified religious view, along with profound economic change and painful social dislocations, led to new attitudes, both in the way people perceived themselves and in the way they saw politics and society. The increase in knowledge and wealth, and the spread of literacy and printing, contributed to rapid political and social transformation. The English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution signaled the rise and growing importance of these new attitudes. The execution and deposition of kings exploded the traditional belief in the passive acceptance of political power, showing that the basis for that power is human will and action. Major political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), and John Locke (1632–1704) responded to these economic, political, and intellectual changes by redefining and redirecting traditional ideas of natural law, human nature, and government. Hobbes in particular, with his absolute individualism and radical skepticism, expresses the breakdown of traditional forms of community and legitimate government, and their reconstitution by human reason and will.

Contemporary with Hobbes and with the Puritan revolution there developed in Britain a pamphlet literature in which some authors articulated definite arguments for democratic ideas. Chief among these were the Levellers, whose leader, John Lilburne (c. 1614–1657), located sovereignty in the common people as represented in Parliament. The Levellers developed the first truly modern conception of democratic government, proposing such ideas as universal manhood suffrage, equal representation of electoral districts, equality under law, freedom of expression, and biannual election of Parliaments. English republicanism, as enunciated by James Harrington, John Milton (1608–1674), and Algernon Sidney (1622–1683), also looked to the sovereignty of the people to ensure the public interest. Although not strictly democratic, it was concerned with electoral and political devices that later democrats addressed.

Dutch republicanism contributed significant strands to democratic thought and practice. Weaving together ancient Roman historians, Italian republicanism (especially Machiavelli), and the work of René Descartes (1596-1650) and Hobbes, thinkers such as Pieter de la Court (c. 1618–1685) and his brother Johan (also Jan) de la Court (1622-1660), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), and Pufendorf elaborated a theory of the state in which the individual interests and passions of both ruler and people would be subordinated to the common good. Spinoza and the de la Courts believed that a (more or less) democratic system would enable individuals to obey the will of the government and at the same time obey their own will, which in a democratic system is an element of the government's will. Spinoza, especially, thought that of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, the last was the most natural as well as the most rational.

English political thought, whether republican or contractualist, was much more concerned with individual rights than with the rights of the sovereign. Even Hobbes, who obligated the individual to obey an absolute sovereign, nevertheless recognized the absolute and sovereign rights of the individual in the natural state. It was John Locke, though, who integrated the rights of the individual in civil society with the power of the sovereign. His notion of government as a popular trust placed supreme power with a legislature representative of the people, who never alienated their right to change the constitution. Natural right, contract, and political obligation were important ideas; yet they were not necessarily democratic. Most early modern thinkers defined the notion of the people quite narrowly. But they did offer a defense of legislative supremacy, mixed government, and constitutionalism against the traditional and paternalistic claims of absolute monarchy.

In France, Montesquieu combined English ideas of mixed government and parliamentary rights with republican and Machiavellian ideas of the balanced constitution to criticize the despotic tendencies of the French monarchy. The classical sixfold classification of governments he reduced to three: despotism, monarchy, and republic. The latter, in a manner reminiscent of Florentine republican ideas, he further subdivided into aristocratic and democratic. Montesquieu's theory of despotism and his doctrine of the separation of powers were important influences on liberal constitutionalism and on the theory of limited government, but his preferences

for limited monarchy and aristocratic government made his ideas undemocratic.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The Enlightenment, with its emphasis on human rationality and the efficacy of scientific inquiry, and with its belief in the human capacity for growth (or what Condorcet and Rousseau call "perfectibility"), undermined the religious, cultural, and customary underpinnings of the social and political order. Voltaire (1694-1778) and Denis Diderot (1713-1784) in France, like David Hume (1711-1776) and Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) in Britain, explored the human and temporal bases of governmental power. The freedom of thought and expression so necessary for cultural, scientific, and moral development was intimately interwoven with political and civil liberties. In France especially these ideas constituted a thoroughgoing critique of church and state. These thinkers prepared the ground for democracy's future emergence as an actual system of government.

It was Rousseau, product and critic of the Enlightenment, who took the disparate ideas of both the ancients and the moderns (Plato and Aristotle, Roman writers, Machiavelli, Locke, Montesquieu) and made a truly original contribution to democratic theory. Rousseau's thought weds the ancients' concern with the primacy of political activity to the moderns' emphasis on political sociology. Humanity is defined by its capacity for liberty, and liberty means to be the author of one's actions. Thus, in Rousseau, liberty and equality presuppose each other, such that the people, when they come together as the sovereign body, look to the general and common interest of the community. The people acting together as equals in the pursuit of the public good generate the general will. Liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty are embodied in the citizen body as it makes laws for itself through the general will. By returning to the ancient polis, in which the public sphere is the realm of liberty, and in which equal citizens form an indivisible community, Rousseau formulated a novel theory of democracy.

Early modern Europe, from the Renaissance through the Reformation to the Enlightenment, was a transitional stage characterized by political, social, and intellectual/cultural transformation. It established the conditions that would, with the American and the French Revolutions, make possible the birth of the modern. It germinated and brought together ways of thinking and acting that would later form modern democracy. Ideas such as legislative supremacy, representation, constitutionalism, majority rule, and liberty and equality as indefeasible political rights were elaborated during this critical stage of European history. As a result, the basis of political legitimacy was radically transformed: all political power must issue, or appear to issue, from the people.

See also Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; English Civil War Radicalism; Enlightenment; Grotius, Hugo; Harrington, James; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Liberty; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Milton, John; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Natural Law; Reformation, Protestant; Renaissance; Representative Institutions; Republicanism; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Spinoza, Baruch; Voltaire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bock, Gisela, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli, eds. *Machiavelli and Republicanism*. Cambridge, U.K., 1990. Provides interesting and informative essays on Machiavelli, his forerunners and contemporaries, and on his influence on English and Dutch republicanism.

Burns, James Henderson, ed. *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700.* Cambridge, U.K., 1991. A comprehensive history on all aspects of political thought.

Dahl, Robert A. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven, 1989. An analysis of democratic thought and practice.

Dunn, John, ed. *Democracy: The Unfinished Journey, 508 B.C. to A.D. 1993.* Oxford, 1992. A number of theorists such as Quentin Skinner, John Dunn, and David Wootton offer interesting analyses of democracy from the ancient Athenians to the present.

Graubard, Stephen R. "Democracy." In *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. New York, 1973. A good survey and discussion of democratic thought and practice since classical antiquity.

Hazard, Paul. European Thought in the Eighteenth Century: From Montesquieu to Lessing. Translated by J. Lewis May. London, 1954. Translation of Pensée européenne au XVIIIème siècle. A good discussion of Enlightenment thought.

Pagden, Anthony, ed. The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe. Cambridge, U.K., 1987. A series

of essays on the political and intellectual changes in early modern Europe.

Riley, Patrick, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau*. Cambridge, U.K., 2001. Number of essays on various aspects of Rousseau's thought.

Sartori, Giovanni. *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*. Chatham, N.J., 1987. Provides both an analytical and historical discussion of various theories of democracy.

Skinner, Quentin. The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 1, The Renaissance, and Vol. 2, The Age of Reformation. Cambridge, U.K., 1978.

BENEDETTO FONTANA

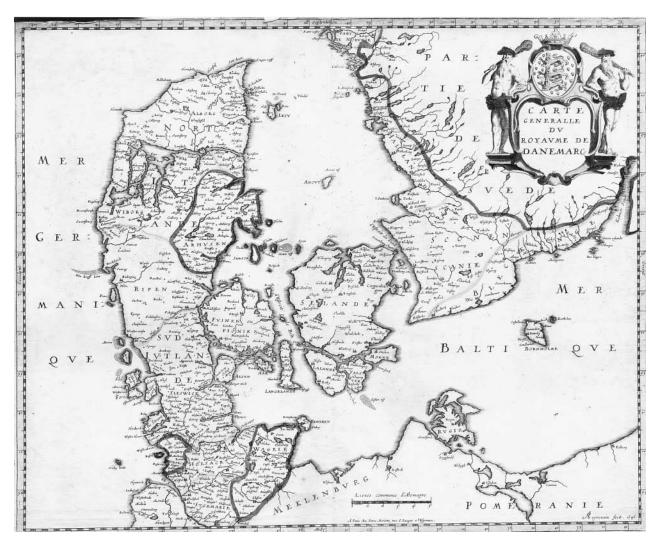
DEMOGRAPHY. See Mobility, Geographic; Mobility, Social.

DENMARK. Denmark was an expansive, sparsely populated kingdom. It embraced Denmark itself, the Scanian provinces at the southern tip of the Scandinavian peninsula (until 1660), the kingdom of Norway and its vassal state, Iceland, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein-Segeberg, the Færoe Islands, and the Baltic island of Bornholm. Its aggregate population in 1600 numbered around 1.5 million, but territorial losses incurred in 1658– 1660 reduced that number somewhat. Although not a wealthy state, at its height it produced and exported substantial quantities of grain, hides, timber, fish, and cattle. Its main source of wealth and power came from its position astride the Sound and the Belts, which gave Denmark control over maritime traffic entering or leaving the Baltic. From 1426, the kings of Denmark collected the Sound Dues, a commercial duty on shipping passing through the Sound at Helsingør. The Sound Dues became the monarchy's single most important source of revenue, and command of the Sound gave Denmark prestige and influence disproportionate to its small population and resource base.

Before 1660, the system of government was a conciliar, elective monarchy under the rule of the Oldenburg dynasty, with its administrative center at Copenhagen. The kings shared power with the Council of State (*Rigsråd*), whose membership was drawn from a handful of aristocratic families. Diets and popular assemblies were generally insignificant

at the national level. From 1536 to 1660, Norway, with its vassal state Iceland, was a mere province of Denmark, while the "duchies" of Schleswig and Holstein were the monarch's personal patrimony. The kings' dual identities as Scandinavian sovereigns and as princes of the Holy Roman Empire ensured that Denmark would enjoy close commercial and cultural ties with the German lands.

The sixteenth century witnessed a considerable expansion of royal and state power in Denmark. At the beginning of the century, Denmark was still linked to both Norway and Sweden by the Kalmar Union of 1397, but separatist tendencies in Sweden had rendered the union meaningless before its dissolution in 1523. The autocratic and centralizing rule of Christian II (ruled 1513-1523) sparked a national uprising in Sweden in 1520, leading to Sweden's independence three years later. The king's policies, which favored mercantile and peasant interests over those of the nobility, likewise stirred discontent within Denmark and led to his deposition in 1523. The council replaced Christian II with his more passive uncle, Frederick I (ruled 1523-1533), who paved the way for the Protestant Reformation by his toleration for Lutheran preaching. Civil war-the so-called "Count's War" (1534-1536)—broke out when Frederick died, as the king's son, the avowedly Lutheran Christian of Holstein, and the exiled Christian II fought over the throne. Ultimately, Christian of Holstein was victorious and was crowned Christian III (ruled 1536-1559). Christian III introduced Lutheranism as the state religion, and, although he brought greater power and wealth (the latter through the confiscation of church properties) to the central authority, he maintained good relations with the great magnates and kept the realm at peace for his entire reign. His enviable record in this regard was shattered by his son, Frederick II (ruled 1559–1588), who conquered the Ditmarschen region in Holstein (1559) and brought Denmark to war with Sweden in the Seven Years' War of the North (1563–1570). Denmark proved unable to vanquish Sweden, but the bloody conflict severely disrupted Baltic trade and thus drew the attention of all Europe. The remainder of Frederick II's reign was peaceful, and after 1570 the king devoted himself to ecclesiastical reform, endeavoring as well to craft an international Protestant alliance. Denmark was at the height of its



Denmark. This 1646 French map of the Kingdom of Denmark, published near the end of the long reign of Christian IV (1596–1648), omits Norway, which was under Danish rule until the nineteenth century. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

power and cultural influence: the navy was, in 1588, the equal of the Elizabethan fleet, and the monarchy supported such luminaries as the theologian Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) and the astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601).

TRANSITION TO ABSOLUTISM

The central event in seventeenth-century Denmark was the transition to absolute monarchy. Following a difficult regency, Frederick II's ambitious son came to the throne as Christian IV (ruled 1596–1648). Christian IV sought to expand Denmark's dominance in Baltic and north German affairs, taking control of several secularized bishoprics in the

Holy Roman Empire, challenging the waning commercial power of the Hanseatic League, initiating a trade monopoly in Iceland, and trying without success to conquer Sweden (the Kalmar War, 1611–1613). The king's fears of Habsburg aggression prompted him to take up the leadership of a Protestant coalition and to intervene directly in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Denmark's intervention, called the "Lower Saxon War" (1625–1629), proved calamitous. Denmark escaped utter destruction through a lenient peace treaty (Lübeck, 1629), but the war bankrupted the state, damaged Denmark's international reputation, and wrecked the relationship between king and council.

Christian IV's efforts to reassert his influence in German affairs, and to sidestep the opposition in the council, exacerbated the split between king and aristocracy. Sweden's invasion of Denmark near the end of his reign (the Torstensson War, 1643–1645) effectively ended Christian's political career. Christian's son and successor, Frederick III (ruled 1648-1670), was initially almost powerless because of the aristocratic reaction that followed his father's death. His attempt at revenge against Sweden (the Charles Gustav Wars, 1657–1660) was an abject failure; Swedish armies invaded Denmark and compelled the conclusion of a humiliating peace (Roskilde, 1658, and Copenhagen, 1660). Only Dutch intervention prevented the Swedish king Charles X Gustav (ruled 1654–1660) from partitioning Denmark. Denmark lost the Scanian provinces and much of Norway, and, thereby, control over the Sound.

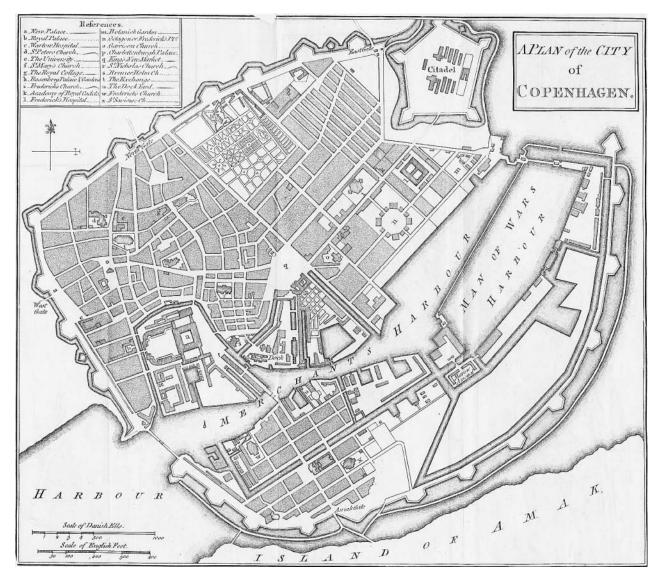
The crushing defeat, a huge national debt, and a popular antiaristocratic backlash spurred a royalist revolution in the autumn of 1660. Frederick III accepted the diet's offer of hereditary and absolute kingship, confirmed by the Royal Law (Lex Regia) of 1665, Europe's only formal absolutist constitution. Under absolutism, which would survive until the revolutionary upheavals of 1848-1849, Denmark would gain a measure of order and efficiency, but it would never again attain the status of a major power. The old administration was replaced gradually by a collegial system, topped by a privy council; the nobility lost its tax-exempt status. During the reign of Christian V (ruled 1670-1699), the king and his chief ministers (notably Peder Schumacher Griffenfeld [1635-1699]) initiated a flurry of reforms and commercial endeavors, including the introduction of ranking in the noble estate (1671), the creation of the West Indies Company (1671), and a standardized law code (1683). Denmark had recovered sufficiently from the disasters of 1657-1660 to undertake an offensive war against Sweden (the Scanian War, 1675–1679), although all of the territories conquered by Danish forces were returned to Sweden as the result of French diplomatic pressure. Christian V's attempts to subjugate Hamburg and Holstein-Gottorp in the 1680s proved similarly fruitless.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century started with a new king (Frederick IV, ruled 1699-1730) and a new war. Denmark's resentment of its powerful neighbor Sweden continued unabated, and in 1700 Frederick IV attacked Sweden's ally Holstein-Gottorp in conjunction with offensives launched by Poland-Saxony and Russia (the Great Northern War, 1700-1721). The young Swedish warrior-king, Charles XII (ruled 1697-1718), easily defeated Denmark and forced it out of the war within weeks. Although temporarily cowed, Frederick renewed the war after Charles XII's 1709 defeat at Poltava (in what is now the Ukraine), managing some limited territorial gains. The war continued in earnest after Charles XII returned in 1714 from his lengthy exile in Turkey but ground to a halt after the Swedish king's death in battle in Norway (1718). Although there were serious international crises involving Sweden in the 1740s and Russia in the 1760s, Denmark did not go to war again for the remainder of the century.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the kings (Frederick IV, ruled 1699-1730; Christian VI, ruled 1730-1746; and Frederick V, ruled 1746–1766) steadily exerted greater control over Danish society while favoring the mercantile elite. The peasantry, already suffering the effects of falling grain prices, felt the most pressure: the creation of a national militia in 1701 restored to the landowning nobility considerable control over the lives of the peasants; to sustain the militia, further decrees enacted in 1733 restricted the movement of male peasants of military age. The trading companies especially the West Indies-Guinea Company, which managed the lucrative sugar exports from Denmark's colonies in the Caribbean (the present-day U.S. Virgin Islands)—prospered, as did Copenhagen, the staple-town of several trade monopolies.

The Enlightenment had as profound an impact on Danish politics and society as it did on intellectual life. Mid-century witnessed the blossoming of literature and the arts in Denmark, as evidenced by the career of the author Ludwig Holberg (1684–1754). Though the last two kings of the century (Frederick V, 1746–1766; Christian VII, 1766–1808) were mediocrities at best, a series of ministers and royal favorites—Adam Gottlob Moltke (1710–1792), Andreas Peter Bernstorff (1735–1797),



Denmark. The shape of Copenhagen, Denmark's capital, as depicted on this eighteenth-century British plan by Thomas Kitchin, owed much to King Christian IV. The "Architect King" was responsible for the canal network, the fortification surrounding the town, and many impressive edifices that still remain. Many of the buildings identified on this map were erected after a disastrous fire in 1728 that destroyed large parts of the old city. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1773), and Ove Høegh-Guldberg (1731–1808)—introduced typical "enlightened" reforms, aimed primarily at increasing agricultural productivity while improving the brutal living conditions of the peasantry. Struensee was personally responsible for sweeping reforms, including freedom of the press, but his unchecked ambition and scandalous affair with Queen Caroline Mathilde, the sister of King George III (ruled 1760–1820) of England, brought an end to both his career and his life in 1772. Reforms continued despite this setback, cul-

minating in the abolition of serfdom in 1788. At the close of the early modern period, Denmark was a prosperous, stable, and well-ordered state, but no longer a significant participant in international politics.

See also Absolutism; Aristocracy and Gentry; Baltic and North Seas; Baltic Nations; Brahe, Tycho; Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Charles XII (Sweden); Enlightenment; Habsburg Territories; Holy Roman Empire; Kalmar, Union of; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Northern Wars; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Serfdom; Sweden; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Trading Companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barton, H. Arnold. *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era*, 1760–1815. Minneapolis, 1986. The best account in English of the reform era in Denmark, particularly with regard to Struensee.

Christianson, John Robert. On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe and His Assistants, 1570–1601. Cambridge, 2000. Well-researched analysis of Brahe's career, and of the vibrant intellectual atmosphere of Frederick II's court.

Frost, Robert I. *The Northern Wars: War, State, and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721.* New York, 2000. By far the best account, in any language, of the complicated series of conflicts in early modern Scandinavia and the Baltic.

Grell, Ole Peter, ed. The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform. Cambridge, U.K., 1995. Includes articles on the course and implications of the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark by Martin Schwarz Lausten, Thorkild Lyby, and Ole Peter Grell.

Jespersen, Leon, ed. A Revolution from Above? The Power State of 16th- and 17th-Century Scandinavia. Odense, Denmark, 2000. A summary of the work of the "Power State Project" of the 1980s and 1990s, including valuable essays by Leon Jespersen (Denmark) and Øystein Rian (Norway). Includes a thorough bibliography.

Lockhart, Paul Douglas. Denmark in the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648: King Christian IV and the Decline of the Oldenburg State. Selinsgrove, Pa., 1996. Examination of Denmark's involvement in the war, as well as of the constitutional upheaval that followed.

Munck, Thomas. *The Peasantry and the Early Absolute Monarchy in Denmark*, 1660–1708. Copenhagen, 1979. Far broader than the title suggests; an excellent description of the rural classes and of the ramifications of absolutism.

Paul Douglas Lockhart

DEPRESSIONS. See Economic Crises.

DESCARTES, RENÉ (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician, and scientist. Descartes was one of the most important intellectual figures of seventeenth-century Europe. His thought, often regarded as ushering in the "modern" period of philosophy, represented a revolutionary attempt to break from the restrictive and tradition-bound medieval Scholastic model that governed the universities and that was dominated

by the method and categories of Aristotelian philosophy. By the time of his death, Descartes's influence extended across Europe and into various intellectual domains, including theology, medicine, and even rhetoric.

In 1633 Descartes, who had already written a treatise on method, Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii (Rules for the direction of the mind), was ready to publish a book on cosmology and physics, Le Monde (The world). But Galileo's condemnation that year by the church for propounding scientific ideas very much like what Descartes was about to present, including a heliocentric picture of the universe and a purely mechanistic account of nature's operations, caused him to withhold the work. He first came to public attention with the publication of his Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la verité dans les sciences (1637; Discourse on the method of rightly conducting one's reason and reaching the truth in the sciences) and the groundbreaking essays in geometry, optics, and meteorology that it accompanied. The Meditationes de Prima Philosophiae (1641; Meditations on first philosophy), often regarded as Descartes's philosophical masterpiece, is a short work in epistemology and metaphysics. It was not until his magisterial Principia Philosophiae (1644; Principles of philosophy) that Descartes offered a complete and systematic presentation of his metaphysical and scientific views; he hoped that the work would become a standard textbook in university curricula and supplant the Aristotelian Scholastic works then in use.

Descartes lived most of his adult life in the Netherlands, having left France in search of peace and solitude to pursue his inquiries. His fame led to an invitation to Sweden by Queen Christina in 1649; with misgivings about giving up his quiet, familiar life in the Dutch countryside, he reluctantly joined her court. It was not long, however, before he fell ill from the rigors of the routine imposed upon him in the harsh Swedish winter and died of pneumonia.

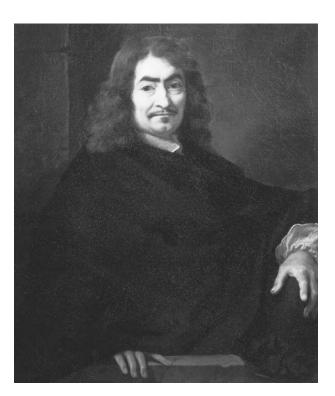
Philosophy, for Descartes, encompasses the whole of human knowledge, systematically ordered, and can be compared to a tree. Its roots are metaphysics, or "first philosophy" (including the theory of knowledge); its trunk is physics; and its branches are all of the particular sciences (medicine, ethics,

mechanics) that depend on the most general physical principles. Certainty in philosophy or science can be achieved only if one proceeds methodically from well-established first principles to explanations in the particular disciplines by means of a proven method.

In the Meditations, Descartes begins by taking the reader on a journey of intellectual self-discovery. His goal is to determine what exactly can be known for certain, not just about the world around us but especially about ourselves. Even under the most adverse skeptical assumptions about the reliability of our senses and our rational faculties, we can always be absolutely certain of our own existence. As he so famously expresses it in the Discourse on Method, the reasoning represented by the proposition "I think, therefore I am" (Cogito ergo sum) can never be doubted. This single epistemological nugget can serve as the foundation for a host of other certainties. For once I know my own existence and my nature as a thinking being-endowed with certain thoughts or clear and distinct ideas—I can establish not only that God, an absolutely perfect being, exists and cannot be a deceiver, but also that this benevolent God created me with my rational faculties. Thus, to the extent that I use those faculties properly and give my assent only to what I clearly and distinctly perceive, I cannot go wrong and will obtain true beliefs about myself and about the external world.

Among the truths I will thereby discover is the real distinction between mind and matter. One of Descartes's most important and lasting legacies to philosophy is the doctrine that has come to be known as "dualism." Mind and matter (or body), according to Descartes, are two essentially and radically different kinds of substance. Mind is unextended, indivisible, simple thinking; its modes or properties are ideas or thoughts. Matter, on the other hand, is nothing but extension or dimensional space, and is therefore divisible; its modes are shape, size, and mobility. There is nothing materialistic about the mind, and nothing mental or spiritual about the body.

This doctrine is of great importance not only for understanding the nature of the human being, who is a composite—or, to use Descartes's phrase, a "substantial union"—of these two substances, but



René Descartes. Portrait by Sebastien Bourdon, c. 1640. @ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

also for science. According to Descartes, the physical world is nothing but passive matter or extension, divisible ad infinitum into material parts. The active, spiritlike "forms" of the Aristotelian world picture have been banished from nature. All natural phenomena, no matter how complex, and regardless of whether they are terrestrial or celestial, are henceforth to be explained solely in terms of matter and the motion, rest and impact of its parts. Descartes's separation of mind and matter was a crucial step in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and laid the metaphysical foundations for the mechanical philosophy that dominated the period until Isaac Newton (1642–1727).

See also Aristotelianism; Cartesianism; Galileo Galilei; Philosophy; Scholasticism; Scientific Revolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Descartes, René. *Oeuvres de Descartes*. Edited by Charles Adam and Paul Tannery. 12 vols. Paris, 1964–1976.

— The Philosophical Writings of Descartes. Translated by John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch. 2 vols. Cambridge, U.K., 1984–1985. —. The Philosophical Writings of Descartes. Vol. 3, The Letters. Translated by John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, Dugald Murdoch, and Anthony Kenny. Cambridge, U.K., 1991.

Secondary Sources

Cottingham, John, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Descartes*. Cambridge, U.K., 1992.

Garber, Daniel. Descartes' Metaphysical Physics. Chicago, 1992.

Gaukroger, Stephen. Descartes: An Intellectual Biography. Oxford and New York, 1995.

Kenny, Anthony. Descartes: A Study of His Philosophy. New York, 1968.

Watson, Richard. Cogito Ergo Sum: The Life of René Descartes. Boston, 2002.

Wilson, Margaret. Descartes. London and Boston, 1978.

STEVEN NADLER

DESIGN. The idea that the natural world exhibits evidence of design is very ancient, finding its first formal expression in the writings of the Greek philosophers. Plato (c. 428-347 B.C.E.) asserted that inert matter is incapable of motion and that movement and change in an orderly cosmos are suggestive of a supreme, superintending mind. His pupil Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) agreed that there is goal-directed activity in nature, but attributed this activity to the inherent tendencies of objects to fulfill their natural ends. These immanent "final causes" are thus suggestive of purpose or "teleology" in nature, but this purpose is nondeliberative and does not call for a divine designer. In the thirteenth century these two strands of argument were woven together by Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1226-1274), who established the position that was to become normative for the later Middle Ages and much of the early modern period. Aguinas adopted the Aristotelian view that natural objects exhibit goal-directed activity, but followed Plato in asserting that such purposefulness in the world has its origin in a creative, intelligent being now identified as the Christian God.

DESIGN AND THE NEW SCIENCE

The early modern period witnessed a significant revival of interest in the argument from design. It came to provide an important foundation for natural history and natural philosophy and assumed a

central role in theological arguments for God's existence. Many figures prominent in the Scientific Revolution made reference to design in nature, but it was English scientists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who proved most enthusiastic in their endorsement of the idea. Robert Boyle (1627– 1691), one of the founders of modern chemistry and a champion of the new mechanical philosophy, argued that no robust explanation of natural phenomena could omit reference to divine purposes. An account of a watch would be incomplete if mention were made only of the mechanical dispositions and motions of the parts without reference to the use that the maker intended the watch to serve. Similar considerations, Boyle insisted, applied in the sphere of nature. The analogy of the divine watchmaker subsequently became a commonplace in both natural theology and natural history, receiving its definitive articulation in William Paley's classic Natural Theology (1802). Given the intimate connection between the new science and the idea of design, it is fitting that the greatest scientist of the period, Isaac Newton (1642–1727), should have included the design argument in a later edition of his masterwork, Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy (1687). Here he observed that the beautiful arrangement of the sun, planets, and comets could only have proceeded from the wisdom and power of an intelligent being.

If the earliest works on design had tended to focus on the clockwork of the cosmos, from the eighteenth century attention turned toward the remarkable adaptations or "contrivances" of living things. John Ray (1627–1705), a pioneering taxonomist and natural historian, wrote The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation in 1691, establishing a pattern that other naturalists would follow for the next hundred and fifty years. In this work he listed numerous instances of the adaptations of living things, arguing that they could not have been the products of chance and thus constituted evidence of divine wisdom. While the concept of design was important primarily in the natural sciences, it also came to assume a role in the social sciences. Scottish moral philosopher and political economist Adam Smith (1723-1790) thus saw evidence of design in the propensities with which human beings had been endowed, for the pursuit of individual interests led to unintended social goods.

DESIGN AND NATURAL THEOLOGY

In the eighteenth century the notion of design became the prevailing paradigm in both natural history and natural theology. In addition to providing an ordering principle for the study of nature, the idea of design also provided a theological sanction for the new scientific enterprises. In the sphere of natural theology, the design argument all but displaced the other two classical arguments for God's existence—the ontological and cosmological arguments. These came to be regarded as abstract and logically complex. Unlike the design argument, they were not based on induction and hence did not mesh with the methods of the sciences. The dominant form of natural theology in the eighteenth century thus became known as "physicotheology," a combination of physics (in the broad sense of the study of nature) and theology.

This admixture of natural science and theology was not without its critics. In the seventeenth century both Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and René Descartes (1596–1650) had opposed the incorporation of final causes into scientific explanation— Bacon because he thought that explanation in terms of purposes hindered the quest for physical causes, Descartes because he thought God's purposes were ultimately unknowable. Boyle's arguments in favor of physicotheological explanations were partly intended as a response to Descartes. Subsequently, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) highlighted fundamental weaknesses in the analogical aspects of the argument from design in his Dialogues concerning Natural Religion, posthumously published in 1779. Hume's arguments did not have a major impact on either popular or scientific audiences, no doubt due to the lack of alternative explanations for the adaptations of living things. Such an alternative had to await the appearance in 1859 of Charles Darwin's Origin of Species, which enumerated a number of possible mechanisms for organic adaptation, including natural selection.

ANTHROPOCENTRISM, TELEOLOGY, AND FINAL CAUSES

There are three common confusions about the idea of design in the early modern period. First is the mistaken view that the design argument is essentially anthropocentric—asserting that all things in nature were designed for human use. In fact most early modern advocates of the design argument

readily conceded that certain features of nature had not been designed solely for human use. Second, "teleology" and "design" are commonly regarded as synonymous, but they are not. Aristotle posited teleology without design, and some nineteenthcentury zoologists were to propose design without teleology. Third, and related to the previous point, "final causes" may be understood as immanent in natural objects, or as transcendent divine purposes. Final causes in the first sense had many trenchant critics in the early modern period, but most were willing to admit final causes in the second sense. Confusion on this last point contributed to seventeenth-century debates about the propriety of invoking final causes in natural history and natural philosophy.

The prominence of the idea of design in the early modern period is indicative of the mutual support of theology and natural science characteristic of the era. By the same token, it has been argued that the reduction of natural theology to a single set of inductive arguments paradoxically played a role in the emergence of a secular view of nature. So much had been invested in a single physicotheological argument that the triumph of natural selection as an alternative explanation of organic adaptation dealt a telling blow to theological interpretations of nature.

See also Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Descartes, René; Hume, David; Natural History; Natural Philosophy; Newton, Isaac; Ray, John; Scientific Revolution; Smith, Adam.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Boyle, Robert. A Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things. London, 1688.

Paley, William. Natural Theology: Or, Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature. London, 1802.

Ray, John. The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation. London, 1691.

Secondary Sources

Brooke, John Hedley. *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives*. Cambridge, U.K., 1991. Chapter 6 explores eighteenth-century links between natural theology and natural history.

Harrison, Peter. *The Bible, Protestantism and the Rise of Natural Science*. Cambridge, U.K., 1998. Chapter 5 gives an account of the rise to prominence of the notion of design in early modern thought.

Osler, Margaret J. "From Immanent Natures to Nature as Artifice: The Reinterpretation of Final Causes in Seventeenth-Century Natural Philosophy." *The Monist* 79 (1996): 388–407. Traces the move away from the Aristotelian understanding of final causes as immanent in nature to the idea of final causes as externally imposed divine purposes.

PETER HARRISON

DETERMINISM. Determinism is a doctrine about causes and effects, some version of which has been in contention at almost every period in Western philosophy. In logic, a thing is said to be "determined" or "determinate" (from Latin *determinatus*) in its properties if, for each generic property, it has a fully specified property of that sort. A cat cannot simply be feline; it must be Siamese, slender, long-legged, raucous, and so forth. Nor can it be simply colored; it must be black, or white, or ginger, or teal. Most philosophers have held that actual concrete individuals are completely determined.

An efficient cause is said to be determined in its effects by prior causes if its action, and therefore its effects, are entirely determined by those causes. The most important case for early modern philosophers was the human will. The will in choosing can be inclined toward this or that choice by passion, sentiment, or reason: on that, almost all early modern philosophers agreed. According to some it is always determined by the totality of causes acting upon it. Others held that no combination of prior causes ever suffices: however "inclined" the will may be toward one alternative, it is never necessary that it should act thus, even given all the causes acting upon it.

Determinism, then, is the conjunction of two claims: that given the totality of causes that have combined to produce a certain effect, that effect cannot but occur (causes "necessitate" their effects), and that the action of a cause is fully determined by the prior causes that have set it in motion. The action of one billiard ball on another when colliding with it is not merely to make it move somehow, but to make it move in a precise direction with a precise speed (René Descartes [1596–1650] called the direction of a motion its "determination"). The word *determinism* was seldom used by

early modern philosophers. David Hume (1711–1776) referred to the "doctrine of necessity" in his discussion of free will; Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), objecting to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's (1646–1716) version of determinism, said that it imposed a "more than fatal necessity" on human action. We may distinguish in early modern thought a theological and a physical determinism.

THEOLOGICAL DETERMINISM

According to theological deteminism, everything that occurs in the world has been entirely determined by the creative act of God, the "first cause." Being omniscient, God knows timelessly all there is to know about his creation. Since (in the predominant view) God not only creates the world but continues to cooperate with every "second" cause, God knows timelessly not only what he does but also what every created thing will do. In particular the acts of the human will are, if not determined by God (here opinions differed), known to him eternally insofar as they are determined by causes acting upon the will. Since causes (including God) necessitate their effects, even what we regard as "free" choices are extrinsically determined.

Theological determinism was by no means a new doctrine. Medieval philosophers had dealt with it at length. During the Reformation it received new impetus from debates on predestination, debates renewed in the seventeenth century by the Jansenist controversy. Among early modern philosophers, some tried to limit divine knowledge, holding that before the fact God does not know what a free will chooses (Luis de Molina [1535-1600]). Others, including Descartes, denied that the determination implied by divine foreknowledge is inconsistent with freedom (Sixth Response). Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and Leibniz, on the other hand, held that although the will does not have the "freedom of election," which consists in being able to choose otherwise than it actually chooses, it does have the "freedom of autonomy," which consists in an agent's acts being determined by that agent's own nature rather than by extrinsic causes.

Leibniz, whose God is the traditional omniscient creator of the world, agreed that all acts, including acts of will, are determined (Leibniz uses the term "certain"). But he denied that those acts are "necessary": God could have created a different

possible world, and his will in creating the actual world was only inclined, not necessitated, by the aim that it should be the best of all possible worlds. Moreover, the human mind, like every individual substance, is utterly autonomous in its acts, since no substance ever genuinely affects another.

Spinoza, who identified God with the entirety of the world, held that all things occur of necessity. In particular the will has no freedom of election: what I do I must do. The human mind may, however, aspire to freedom of autonomy by virtue of acting according to reason, which is to say, out of what belongs most properly to its nature.

PHYSICAL DETERMINISM

Although some ancient philosophers had entertained notions of physical determinism, the predominantly Aristotelian philosophy of the sixteenth century did not seriously raise the question. Natural causes—the active powers of nature—act, in the usual phrase, "always or for the most part": generally speaking, it was thought that there was a certain indeterminacy in their action; indeed, for some philosophers that indeterminacy provided an argument on behalf of divine concurrence or cooperation with natural causes, determining the precise nature of their effects.

With Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Descartes, natural philosophy began to take as fundamental the notion of a "law of nature." A law of nature admits no exceptions; causes acting according to laws of nature not only necessitate but wholly determine their effects. Physical determinism received its definitive statement in the *Théorie analytique des probabilités* (Analytical theory of probabilities) of Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749–1827):

An intelligence which, for a given instant, knew all the forces by which nature is animated and the respective situation of the beings that compose it, and if it were, moreover, vast enough to submit all these data to Analysis, would embrace in one formula the movements of the largest bodies in the universe and those of the smallest atom: nothing would be uncertain for it, and the future, like the past, would be present to its eyes. (pp. vi–ix)

A world in which all causal interactions are governed by immutable, universal laws is a world from which, it would seem, not only freedom of election but even freedom of autonomy is excluded. If physics is in principle sufficient to explain the motions

and qualities of material things, and if all my acts have—eventually as one traces back the chain of causes leading up to them—causes extrinsic to me, then the will is not only determined in its acts but determined extrinsically.

Freedom of election is an artifact of our ignorance of the springs of human action. Spinoza and Hume agreed in this diagnosis. But Spinoza, as we have seen, held that we can aspire, as reasonless beings cannot, to freedom of autonomy insofar as knowledge of causes and effects and of our own nature renders our will independent of the usual causes acting on it—the passions, for example. Hume, writing after the enormous success of Newtonian physics, deterministic through and through, offered a different sort of freedom or "liberty," which he regarded as sufficient to the purposes of moral judgment-in particular, the attribution of responsibility for our actions. An agent is "at liberty" if not physically or mentally constrained: not, that is, in chains or drunk or hypnotized. The prior determination of the will by whatever unknown, and perhaps unknowable, causes typically act on it does not constitute constraint.

Immanuel Kant's (1724–1804) view of physical nature, or the "world of phenomena," much resembled that of Laplace. Like Hume, he did not seek theological backing for the necessity pertaining to the laws of nature; unlike Hume (but in certain respects in agreement with Hume's analysis of causal reasoning), Kant regarded the universality and necessity of the laws of nature as a prerequisite for understanding natural phenomena. Merely probable laws are not laws at all. The human being is, with respect to its existence in the natural world, subject to the same lawful necessity that governs all things. It is therefore determined in its motions. Whether that entails the determination of its volitions is another matter. A rational will is a will governed not by the laws of nature but by the moral law, a law which the will freely legislates for itself in accordance with reason. The result is that in considering ourselves as capable of moral action, and therefore as having freedom of autonomy (because the moral law, if it governs our will, does so according to our nature as rational agents), we must somehow think of ourselves as if we were not also things in the natural world (pp. 124-125). Kant admitted that it is not easy to see how the two "standpoints"

can be maintained simultaneously. What keeps the standpoint of freedom from collapsing into the natural standpoint is the distinction between "subjectivity," the self experienced as part of nature and governed by its laws, and moral "objectivity," the self considered according to its own nature, capable of choosing on the basis of reasons, independently of the natural causes that would influence it.

See also Arnauld Family; Descartes, René; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Hume, David; Jansenism; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Logic; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Natural Law; Spinoza, Baruch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Kant, Immanuel. Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals. Translated by H. J. Paton. New York, 1964. Translation of Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten (1785).

Laplace, Pierre Simon. *Théorie analytique des probabilités*. 3rd ed. Paris, 1820.

Molina, Luis de. Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donis, Divina Praescientia, Providentia, Praedestinatione, et Reprobatione Concordia. Lisbon, 1588.

Secondary Sources

Clatterbaugh, Kenneth C. The Causation Debate in Modern Philosophy, 1637–1739. New York, 1999.

Nadler, Steven M., ed. Causation in Early Modern Philosophy: Cartesianism, Occasionalism, and Preestablished Harmony. University Park, Pa., 1993.

DENNIS DES CHENE

DEVOLUTION, WAR OF (1667-1668). The Franco-Spanish Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) brought France modest territorial gains. The peace was sealed by a marriage in 1660 between the young Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and the daughter of Philip IV, Marie-Thérèse (1638-1683). If both powers regarded the 1659 settlement as a welcome escape from twenty-five years of indecisive conflict, by the mid 1660s perceptions had hardened that France was the dominant military and political force in Europe, while the Spanish monarchy was locked into a spiral of instability, weakness, and diminishing resources. With Philip IV's death in 1665 and the minority of the young and sickly Charles II (ruled 1665–1700), the temptation for Louis XIV to exploit his once-powerful rival became overwhelming. Though dynastic convention would grant the inheritance of the entire Spanish monarchy to the male heir of Philip IV, Louis's jurists argued that local custom in parts of the Spanish Netherlands granted shares in an inheritance to the female heirs by a previous marriage. Because the Spanish had never paid Marie-Thérèse's dowry, it was claimed that her renunciation of rights to the Spanish inheritance was void, and that the private law of the Netherlands could thus be applied to territory coveted by the French king. This legal sophistry proved sufficient to justify Louis's aggressive designs, and in May 1667 three armies totaling 70,000 men poured across the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands. Defensive capacity had been depleted since 1659 as many troops had been transferred back to the Iberian Peninsula to sustain the failing struggle against Portuguese independence. The French offensive was overwhelming: more major cities and fortresses fell to the French in a single campaign than in the previous twenty-five years of war.

However, the scale of this success concerned other European powers. Although the Dutch had previously been allies of the French, the prospect that the Spanish Netherlands would be entirely absorbed by Louis's armies caused them to join with the English and Swedish, committed if necessary to forcing France back to her 1659 frontiers. This Triple Alliance was ratified in January 1668. The French response was further military activity—the occupation of Spanish Franche-Comté. Yet shortly after this Louis XIV and his ministers agreed to the modest peace settlement of Aix-la-Chapelle (2 May 1668). The critical factor in the settlement was the secret partition treaty for the division of the entire Spanish inheritance, drawn up in January 1668 between Louis and the Habsburg emperor, Leopold I (ruled 1655-1705), and based upon the assumption that Charles II would not survive his minority. Leopold had little doubt that he would then inherit the entire Spanish Empire but did not believe that he could make good his rights against a powerful France that would be nervous about a reunited Habsburg Empire. Hence a partition was arranged, giving France the Spanish Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples and Sicily, the Philippines, and Navarre, in return for accepting the emperor's succession to the rest of the empire. The partition treaty



War of Devolution. Tapestry from the series *The History of the King* shows Louis XIV at the Battle of Douai, part of Louis's 1667 offensive against Spanish-held territories. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

had the desired effect on Louis XIV, persuading him that a rapid settlement of the outstanding Netherlands conflict would facilitate the orderly acquisition of a greater prize than even the most successful military campaign in 1668 would offer.

See also Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XIV (France); Military; Netherlands, Southern; Pyrenees, Peace of the (1659).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Louis XIV. Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin. Translated and edited by Paul Sonnino. London, 1970.

Secondary Sources

Bérenger, Jean. "An Attempted Rapprochement between France and the Emperor: the Secret Treaty for the Partition of the Spanish Succession, 19 January 1668." In *Louis XIV and Europe*, edited by Ragnhild Hatton, pp. 133–152. London, 1976.

Corvisier, André. *Louvois*. Paris, 1983. Though untranslated, provides important material on the French army

reforms of the 1660s and the growing recognition of French military strength.

Kamen, Henry. Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665-1700. London, 1980.

Lynn, John A. The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714. London, 1999.

Rowlands, Guy R. The Dynastic State and the Army under Louis XIV: Royal Service and Private Interest in France, 1661 to 1701. Cambridge, U.K., 2002.

Sonnino, Paul. "The Origins of Louis XIV's Wars." In *The Origins of War in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jeremy Black, pp. 112–131. Edinburgh, 1987.

Wolf, John B. *Louis XIV*. New York, 1968. Still the best biographical study available.

DAVID PARROTT

DIAMOND NECKLACE, AFFAIR OF

THE. Though ostensibly unconnected to serious politics, the Affair of the Diamond Necklace damaged the French monarchy's standing in public

opinion and thus constituted an important step toward the Revolution of 1789. The case centered on a series of deceptions. In 1785 a young woman living at Versailles persuaded Louis de Rohan, a leading courtier and churchman, that Queen Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) wished him to purchase on her behalf a famous and fabulously expensive necklace. He would have to make the purchase secretly since King Louis XVI (ruled 1774-1792) had previously indicated his disapproval. Forged letters and a brief appearance by a prostitute disguised as the queen had already softened Rohan for a request of this kind; he acquired the jewels and handed them to the plotters, who promptly sold them abroad. When the deception became known, he proclaimed himself an innocent dupe, but the outraged king and queen insisted that he be tried for fraud. Despite their efforts, in 1786 France's highest court, the Parlement of Paris, voted narrowly for Rohan's acquittal, a public rebuke to the monarch.

Historians have emphasized the widespread public discussion the case generated and the impact that such discussions had on eighteenth-century politics. Contemporaries from all levels of society eagerly bought pamphlets and lawyers' memoranda retelling the story; and many of these defended Rohan and the plotters by suggesting Marie Antoinette's involvement with all of them. These pamphlets attracted readers, it appears, because they expressed widespread fears about royal despotism and about women's influence over the monarchy. The affair made the queen seem greedy and possibly promiscuous, the king weak yet vengeful. From 1785, such images would increasingly dominate public discussion of the monarchy.

See also Louis XVI (France); Marie Antoinette.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kaiser, Thomas. "Who's Afraid of Marie Antoinette? Diplomacy, Austrophobia and the Queen," French History 14, no. 3 (Sept. 2000): 241–271.

Maza, Sara. Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary. France. Berkeley, 1993.

Mossiker, Frances. The Queen's Necklace. New York, 1961.

Jonathan Dewald

DIARIES. Contemporary diaries and journals offer one of the most important sources of evidence for the social, economic, and cultural life of early modern Europe. An immense range of different types of serial memoranda were produced at a time when the personal memoir had not yet crystallized into its modern forms, the private diary and the autobiography. Taken as a whole, those diaries that have survived represent most segments of the European population except for the very young and the very poor. Both sexes kept diaries and journals, with authors ranging in age from teenagers like Sebald Welser, a Nuremberg Lutheran who recorded a semester at the Catholic University of Louvain in 1577, to "ancient" matrons like Sarah Savage, an English Nonconformist who continued to add entries to her spiritual diary at over eighty years of age. Although the bulk of personal memoranda from this period were composed by the educated elite, we have many examples from the middling sort and a few from the laboring classes, like the sporadic memoirs of Mary Hurll, a poor lacemaker's apprentice.

Among the earliest types of diary to have survived is the travel journal, generated by the voyages of explorers like Christopher Columbus (1492-1493) or Antonio Pigafetta (1519-1522), who accompanied Magellan on his circumnavigation of the globe. In subsequent years, European explorers, missionaries, diplomats, merchants, colonial settlers, and tourists of all kinds set down memoranda of journeys that ranged as far away as Africa and central Asia, North and South America, the Far East and Australia, and the Pacific Ocean. By the seventeenth century, female as well as male travelers had begun to offer accounts of their experiences. Celia Fiennes wrote detailed descriptions of the people, places, and material objects she encountered in her sightseeing trips around the length and breadth of England (c. 1682–1712), providing valuable information for economic and cultural historians.

Professional and occupational journals offer insight into the daily lives of a diverse group of men and women. Work diaries were kept by farmers and shopkeepers, physicians and midwives, politicians and civil servants, clerics and missionaries, artists and musicians, and a cluster of miscellaneous occupations and avocations. The Elizabethan theater

manager Philip Henslowe noted particulars of the dramatic productions he supervised, while in the eighteenth century Humfrey Wanley, librarian to the first and second earls of Oxford, recorded book purchases and prices (1715–1726). Military diaries offer participants' views of early modern warfare both on land and at sea. Scholars have utilized parliamentary diaries and other private political memoranda to supplement, confirm, or contradict records generated by official bodies. Some sources, such as the diaries of Pierre de Blanchefort in France (1576) and Roger Morrice in England (1677–1691) offer information about parliamentary debates and political alliances that would otherwise have been inaccessible to historians.

Several prominent seventeenth-century scientists kept diaries that include a great deal of scientific observation and commentary, among them John Dee, Samuel Hartlib, Robert Boyle, and Robert Hooke. The "work-diaries" of Robert Boyle, which include notes on experiments, observations and measurements, travelers' reports, and other sporadic memoranda, are a valuable source of information about Boyle's evolving scientific interests and details of his experimental method. Robert Hooke, who kept a diary from 1672 until 1692, seems to have regarded his own day-to-day experiences as an object of research to be recorded as a species of scientific experiment.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the most popular type of serial memoir was the religious diary, widely employed by a broad spectrum of the populace as a means of practicing the pious virtue of godly self-examination. Such diaries were most common in Protestant localities, where they fulfilled much the same purpose as auricular confession to a priest in Catholic areas. In England and other countries where literacy rates were relatively high (for example, in late-seventeenth-century London over half the female population could sign their names), great numbers of men and women kept spiritual journals and other occasional memoranda that were inspired by religious motives. Advice manuals offered instruction on why and how to keep a spiritual journal, like that of the cleric John Beadle, whose The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian (1656) became a best-seller. Beadle's neighbor Mary Rich, the pious countess of Warwick, was among those who followed his guidelines with diligence and discipline. From 1668 until her death in 1678 the countess made daily notations about her spiritual and secular life, resulting in five large manuscript volumes of diary entries.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the spiritual diary evolved along with various hybrid genres into two modern forms of serial memoranda, the secular personal diary and the financial journal or account book. Although Dame Sarah Cowper began her diary in 1700 avowedly for religious reasons, her daily entries over a sixteen-year period devote far more attention to familial and political concerns than to purely spiritual matters. Other early modern diarists transferred the model of daily spiritual self-examination from the religious to the material and fiscal realm. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bookkeeping techniques that had been developed for Italian merchants as early as the thirteenth century spread widely throughout the European populace. In 1666, the businessman and moneylender William Smart began keeping a detailed financial journal in addition to his bookkeeping accounts, often transferring information from account books to personal diary and vice versa.

Some diarists combined the models of spiritual self-examination and fiscal accounting, transforming the resulting amalgam into a medium for expressing insights into their own individual identity vis-à-vis the world at large. Of the descriptive and introspective personal diaries produced during the early modern period, the greatest and most famous is that of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), an English civil servant who eventually became secretary of the admiralty. Written in cipher (a form of shorthand), the diary was deciphered in the nineteenth century, but was not printed in full until the definitive eleven-volume edition by Robert Latham and William Matthews (published 1970-1983), which took more than thirty years to complete. Pepys' diary provides the ultimate insider's view of every aspect of seventeenth-century London life, offering as vivid, detailed, and comprehensive a picture of early modern England and its human inhabitants as we are ever likely to get from any single source.

See also Biography and Autobiography; Pepys, Samuel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Fiennes, Celia. *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes* 1685-c. 1712. Edited by Christopher Morris. London and Sydney, 1982.

Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*. Edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews. 11 vols. London 1970–1983.

Pigafetta, Antonio. *The Voyage of Magellan: The Journal of Antonio Pigafetta*. Translated by Paula S. Paige. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969.

Secondary Sources

Havlice, Patricia Pate. And So to Bed: A Bibliography of Diaries Published in English. Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1987.

Matthews, William. British Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of British Diaries Written between 1442 and 1942. Gloucester, Mass., 1967.

Mendelson, Sara H. "Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs." In Women in English Society 1500–1800, edited by Mary Prior, pp. 181–201. London and New York, 1985.

SARA H. MENDELSON

DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPE-

DIAS. The early modern period fostered the publication and use of a wide range of dictionaries and encyclopedias, starting with medieval texts that continued to be printed in the sixteenth century and culminating with works that set the modern standards for these genres, notably Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert (1751–1775), and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1768–1771).

DICTIONARIES

The term *dictionarius* is first attested in the thirteenth century to designate a collection of Latin words, often hard or specialized, meant for study. The first such lists were arranged thematically, but the *Catholicon* (1286) of the Dominican Giovanni Balbi of Genoa already offered an alphabetical listing of Latin words with definitions; it was one of the first printed books produced by Johannes Gutenberg in 1460 and was reprinted down to 1520. In a parallel line of development, medieval glossaries were antecedents to the polyglot dictionary. They started as Latin-to-vernacular translations until the Dominican friar known as Geoffrey the Gram-

marian first switched the traditional order to compile an English-to-Latin *Promptorium* in 1440, printed in 1499. In the sixteenth century, the term *dictionary* entered English and French, with Thomas Elyot's alphabetical *Latin-English Dictionary* (1538) and Robert Estienne's *Dictionnaire français-latin* (1539), which clustered proverbs and expressions under keywords ordered alphabetically. Henri Estienne's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, still valued today for its Greek philological scholarship, clustered Greek terms according to their root and ordered the roots alphabetically. But thematic arrangements persisted too, as in John Withals's Latin *Shorte Dictionarie for Yonge Begynners* (1553).

The humanist focus on practicing and teaching precision in Latin expression fueled the career of the longest-running dictionary of the early modern period: the Dictionarium of the Augustinian friar Ambrogio Calepino (1435–1511). First published in 1502 as a Latin-Latin alphabetical dictionary, it included illustrative quotations from classical texts for many terms. The Calepino went through 150 editions down to 1785, with many variations and additions made by editors and printers along the way. It grew by accretion to include translations of the Latin terms in up to eleven languages (in the edition of 1590) and, though the Calepino included some proper names, it was often published with a separate dictionary for proper names, Conrad Gessner's Onomasticon, first published in 1544. The work was so well known and so widely distributed that calepino came to be used as a generic term for dictionary and spawned the current French word for the appointment book (calepin). One seventeenthcentury author, Gabriel Naudé, described how teachers especially relied on the Calepino and similar reference books to lift material for the commentaries on assigned classical texts that they would dictate to their students in class (Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque, 1627, p. 51).

But outside higher education, Latin was steadily losing ground in all areas of culture. Polyglot dictionaries spanned an ever wider array of languages—European (for example, Polish [1564], Welsh [1632], or Danish [1634]) and non-European, as increasingly encountered by merchants and missionaries: from Arabic (1505) to Amerindian languages (Nahuatl, 1555) to Japanese (1595) or Malay (1603). Within Europe the rise of national

vernaculars was consolidated by the formation of the first two language academies: the Accademia della Crusca, which in 1582 made official the informal meetings of a group of Florentine intellectuals, and the Académie française, founded in 1635 by Louis XIII and his minister, Cardinal de Richelieu. Each of these academies set to work on producing a monolingual vernacular dictionary that would be normative of proper usage. The Crusca's Vocabulario appeared in 1612, while the Dictionnaire de l'Académie française appeared only in 1694, after the publication of other major French dictionaries, such as the Dictionaire [sic] universel of Antoine Furetière (1690) and the Dictionnaire françois of Pierre Richelet (1680). These dictionaries were prescriptive in that they did not include words that their authors considered in poor taste, for example, because they were old-fashioned, vulgar, or excessively technical.

When Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) designed his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) to rival the great French dictionaries, he created a new descriptive model to replace the prescriptive one. Drawing only on authors who were dead to avoid acrimony among the living, Johnson provided quotations to illustrate usage and numbered the different meanings, or senses, of a term. In these ways Johnson's *Dictionary* became the model for the modern dictionary in use today.

LATIN ENCYCLOPEDIAS

The term encyclopedia was coined almost simultaneously in many languages in the sixteenth century and attests to the widespread enthusiasm during the Renaissance for the ideal of a "circle of learning," which was thought to be the etymological meaning of the term. This long-traditional etymology is now considered spurious; the correct derivation is from the late antique notion of enkyklios paideia or common education/culture. Encyclopedia was not often used as the title of a reference work before the eighteenth century, when it became commonplace. Nonetheless the term can serve as a convenient category in which to group together works that have a variety of titles (including such colorful ones as "forest," "mirror," "theater," "pearl," or "cornucopia") and that functioned as encyclopedic reference works in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The first encyclopedias to be printed were medieval texts, especially Bartholomaeus Anglicus's De Proprietatibus Rerum (On the properties of things; 1230s, with 14 editions prior to 1500 and the last printing in 1601) and Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum Maius (Great mirror; 1255, first printed 1473, then as late as 1624). These large folio volumes gathered information from written sources and oral culture on a vast array of topics, especially the natural world and humankind, with additional books on world history, the disciplines, and moral philosophy in the Speculum Maius. Vincent of Beauvais explains his motivation in terms of constraints of time, memory, and overabundance of information that ring familiar today: "Since the multitude of books, the shortness of time and the slipperiness of memory do not allow all things which are written to be equally retained in the mind, I decided to reduce in one volume in a compendium and in summary order some flowers selected according to my talents from all the authors I was able to read" (Speculum Naturale, author's prologue). The presentation in short numbered chapters with topical headings arranged systematically in numbered books facilitated finding specific passages, particularly given such extra features as running heads, tables of contents, and alphabetical indexes present in both manuscript and printed versions.

An alternative encyclopedic tradition with roots in late antiquity (for example, Martianus Capella) was organized according to the disciplines. The Margarita Philosophica (Philosophical pearl, 1503) of the Carthusian Gregor Reisch (d. 1525) treated the traditional seven liberal arts-the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music)—with five additional books on natural and moral philosophy. The most fully developed encyclopedia in this genre is Johann Heinrich Alsted's Encyclopedia of 1630. Alsted (1588-1638) was a professor of philosophy and then theology at the Calvinist academy of Herborn in the duchy of Nassau. In this four-volume folio work he devised his own division of the disciplines and offered a short textbook for each in turn, including, after the preparatory disciplines of the liberal arts, the three higher faculties (law, medicine, theology), the mechanical arts, and a large "farrago" or medley of the "composite arts," many of them designated for the first time by terms of Alsted's own invention, from apodemica, or the art of travel, to stratagematographia, or the art of war strategy. Alongside this systematic presentation, Alsted also provided an alphabetical index, which combined related entries under a single keyword, much as indexes do today.

Another major reference genre that flourished in the early modern period from medieval origins is the florilegium. First developed in the thirteenth century as an aid to preachers, florilegia presented quotations and examples sorted under theological headings (such as the vices and virtues) to facilitate retrieval of material, for example, in composing a sermon on a particular theme. The headings in medieval, Renaissance, and early modern florilegia were typically arranged alphabetically. The humanist Polyanthea of Domenico Nani Mirabelli (1503, with at least 26 editions down to 1686) included classical authors, including poets, in addition to the traditional biblical quotations and church fathers. Through its long career, including a revised edition by the Lutheran Josephus Langius, the Polyanthea acquired new headings that moved away from the traditional theological ones to include the various disciplines (arithmetic, astronomy) and aspects of the natural world, and new quotations, notably long excerpts from Petrarch. The florilegium was primarily an engine for Latin rhetoric, a storehouse of readily available quotations with which to ornament a text and to prove one's standing as a person of learning.

One reference genre that was peculiar to the Renaissance and without medieval antecedent is the miscellaneous commentary, composed especially by humanist professors, who would gather in one book the fruits of their philological research and reading of ancient texts. Some were primarily linguistic commentaries, like the Commentarii Linguae Graecae of Guillaume Budé (Commentaries on the Greek language, 1529) or the Commentarii Linguae Latinae by Etienne Dolet (Commentaries on the Latin language, 1536-1538). Others offered encyclopedic historical and cultural commentary, like the Cornucopiae of Niccolò Perotti (1489), where commentary on a two-line epigram of Martial could run to sixty folio pages; the Lectiones Antiquae (Ancient readings, 1516) of Caelius Rhodiginus (Ludovico Ricchieri); or, most famously, the Adages of Desiderius Erasmus (1500, much expanded in 1508, then 158 editions down to 1696). These authors were inspired by ancient models such as Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* (c. 180) and prided themselves on the pleasure provided in the diversity and unpredictable succession of topics. Nonetheless these texts consistently contained alphabetical indexes that also made possible a focused consultation on a particular word or theme.

Also without medieval precedent, at the other extreme of orderliness, was the genre of the systematic commonplace book. Theodor Zwinger's Theatrum Humanae Vitae (Theater of human life; 1565, revised and enlarged to 4,500 pages in 1586) gathered tens of thousands of examples of human behavior excerpted from accounts of human history from all times and places, and from which Zwinger exhorted the reader to draw lessons for moral conduct. Zwinger used typographical symbols and different fonts to delineate a multilayered hierarchy of headings and subheadings and expended particular care on elaborate dichotomous diagrams, often continued over multiple pages, in which he presented the material for each book in tabular form. One can find such diagrams in Reisch and Nanni already, but the extensive use of this mode of presentation was given particular impetus, especially in Protestant contexts, by the influence of the Calvinist pedagogue and dialectician Petrus Ramus (Pierre de La Ramée; 1515-1572) who taught that through the careful subdivision of a subject in a tabular chart one could acquire a rapid understanding of it. Alsted, also a Calvinist, made considerable use of these charts in his Encyclopedia of 1630, but when Zwinger's Theatrum was reworked and expanded into the Magnum Theatrum Humanae Vitae (Great theater of human life; 1631, 8,000 pages in eight folio volumes), the charts and the systematic arrangement were dropped in favor of an alphabetical ordering of headings, in the style of a polyanthea.

VERNACULAR ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Disciplinary encyclopedias, florilegia, miscellanies, and commonplace books offered ready-made the kinds of notes—quotations selected from one's reading or abridgments from longer treatises—that students and teachers were expected to take and rely on in their work of reading and composing texts. Zwinger also describes the utility of his work for those too occupied with serious matters (for exam-

ple, government) to have time to study. These works were in Latin in order to provide the fruits of study that carried authoritative status in the Renaissance and late Renaissance. Before 1650 only a few subject encyclopedias appeared in the vernacular, for example in cosmography (Sebastian Münster's Cosmographia, printed in German in 1544, and André Thévet's Cosmographie universelle, 1575) and agriculture (Charles Estienne's Agriculture et maison rustique [Agriculture and rustic home], 1566, and Olivier de Serres's Théâtre d'agriculture, 1603). Vernacular titles equivalent to those of the Latin miscellaneous commentaries appear in the genre initiated by the Silva de varia lecion of Pedro Mexia (1540), which was widely printed, translated, and imitated. These miscellaneously arranged collections of memorable stories and anecdotes, from both bookish and oral sources, overlapped to a certain extent with the contents of learned collections, but without the philological discussions, citations, and alphabetical indexes that gave the latter scholarly utility.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) were among the first to envision encyclopedic projects in the vernacular, though they were never realized. Comenius's project of a Great Didactic called for abridgments of all important literature, but his most influential work was a kind of illustrated encyclopedia for beginning readers: the Orbis Pictus Sensualis (1658). The linguistic tide in scholarship had turned by the last quarter of the seventeenth century under the impact of national institutions like the academies and of a new science often but not exclusively composed in the vernacular (from René Descartes to Robert Boyle, though not Isaac Newton), and driven by expanding markets of educated men and women without proficiency or interest in Latin. Alongside the great vernacular language dictionaries, two new kinds of vernacular reference books appeared—the biographical dictionary and the dictionary of arts and sciences.

The biographical dictionary in the vernacular was imitated from Latin antecedents (such as John Bale, Johann Freher): the *Grand dictionnaire historique* (1674) by Louis Moréri and especially the work it inspired to correct its mistakes, Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697). Bayle studded his entries with two levels of

footnotes, one to cite the sources of his exacting scholarship and the other to offer critical interpretation of the behaviors reported there, from the misdeeds of Old Testament figures to the virtues of his contemporary Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). This widely owned reference work played a special role in the diffusion of early Enlightenment thought and established a model for a critical encyclopedia that was followed by Diderot. The largest offshoot of the biographical genre was the 64-volume *Universallexikon* (1732–1750) of Johann Heinrich Zedler.

The dictionaries of arts and sciences like John Harris's Lexicon Technicum (1704) or Ephraim Chambers's Cyclopaedia (1728) focused instead on presenting the developments of the new science: they were especially concerned to stay abreast of the latest work and strove to offer coherent summaries of entire disciplines, so that although they were alphabetically arranged, cross-references between entries and long synthetic articles would enable the reader to read closely and methodically through a subject. The project of translating Chambers' Cyclopaedia into French, which an ambitious publisher commissioned of the struggling author Denis Diderot, resulted in the famous Enlightenment Encyclopédie. Funded by subscription, the project rapidly expanded far beyond Chambers's original, with articles commissioned of 250 contributors filling seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates; it appeared over twenty-five years (1750-1775), including delays due to the objections of the French book censors. The work is alphabetically arranged, but the ideal of connecting all knowledge systematically survives through the abundant use of crossreferences and in the Preliminary Discourse of Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, which offers a table charting the relations between the disciplines. The Encyclopédie triggered an explosion of works of that title in a variety of fields and set the pattern for the encyclopedia as a multivolume, multiauthor, illustrated alphabetized reference work that is still predominant today. Its first imitator was the Encyclopedia Britannica, published in 100 weekly installments in 1768-1771, by two Scottish publishers as a response to the perceived godlessness of the French Enlightenment. While the Encyclopédie was not reprinted beyond the eighteenth century, the Encyclopedia Britannica became the most successful encyclopedia of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Bacon, Francis; Bayle, Pierre; Budé, Guillaume; Comenius, Jan Amos; Diderot, Denis; Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Latin; Ramus, Petrus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Binkley, Peter, ed. Pre-Modern Encyclopedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen, 1-4 July 1996. Leiden and New York, 1997.

Burke, Peter. "Reflections on the History of Encyclopaedias." In *The Social Philosophy of Ernest Gellner*, edited by John A. Hall and Ian Jarvie, pp. 193–206. Poznan Studies in the Philosophy of the Sciences and the Humanities 48. Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1996.

Darnton, Robert. "Philosophers Trim the Tree of Knowledge." In *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York, 1984.

Kafker, Frank A., ed. Notable Encyclopedias of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Nine Predecessors of the Encyclopédie. Oxford, 1981.

Ong, Walter J. "Commonplace Rhapsody: Ravisius Textor, Zwinger and Shakespeare." In Classical Influences on European Culture, A.D. 1500–1700: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1974, edited by R. R. Bolgar, pp. 91–126. Cambridge, U.K., 1976.

Yeo, Richard. Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture. Cambridge, U.K., 2001.

Ann Blair

DIDEROT, DENIS (1713–1784), philosophe and encyclopedist. Denis Diderot was born in Langres on 5 October 1713, the son of Didier Diderot, a master cutler. Although Diderot's fate will forever be linked to his role as general editor with Jean Le Rond d'Alembert of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772), he was perhaps the French Enlightenment's most profound thinker and most innovative writer, making remarkable contributions in the domains of philosophy, art criticism, theater, the essay, and prose fiction. Some of Diderot's greatest works, however, were not published until as late as 1830; he is simultaneously one of the most brilliant and (in his time) one of the most overlooked writers of the eighteenth century.

Educated by the Jesuits first in Langres, then in Paris at the Collège d'Harcourt or the Collège Louis-le-Grand (or both; biographers are uncertain), Diderot showed great intellectual talent from an early age. Following his studies, he was encouraged by his father to pursue a career in law, but Diderot, whose heart was devoted to humanistic study, was unwilling to commit himself to mercenary aims. His father refused to support him in undertaking a life without financial security, and the young Diderot had no choice but to subsist by his own lights, independent but poor.

Diderot frequented cafés such as the fabled Procope and the Café de la Régence, making the acquaintance of the day's Parisian luminaries. He surreptitiously married Antoinette Champion in 1743; the only surviving child of that unhappy marriage, Angélique, would later write Diderot's memoirs. In 1746 he published his first major work, the *Philosophical Thoughts*, in which he embraced theological skepticism; the later *Addition to the Philosophical Thoughts* (1762) is a far more vehement critique of the church and of Christian dogma.

It was also in 1746 that Diderot was commissioned, with d'Alembert, to edit a translation of Ephraim Chambers's Cyclopaedia (1728). This initial project developed over the years into the Encyclopédie, the Enlightenment's most audacious attempt not only at mapping but at restructuring human knowledge in a secular and often rabidly anticlerical schema. It was part polemic and part a summa of existing knowledge, drawing on Baconian organization. Perhaps because of Diderot's artisanal and provincial family background, the Encyclopédie paid special attention to the mechanical as well as the liberal arts, to agriculture as much as philosophy, and to the rapidly expanding bourgeois economy as much as theology and mathematics. The fourteen years it took to produce the seventeen volumes of text, and the further seven to produce eleven volumes of plates (other editors added additional volumes of text, plates, and an index, so that by 1780 the *Encyclopédie* stood at thirty-five volumes), saw d'Alembert's abandonment of the project in 1758, condemnations and revocations of the work's royal privilege, and countless hours of Diderot's labor. In the end it was to become the Enlightenment's single greatest monument, in spite of heavy-handed censorship, which was circumvented in part by an elaborate system of subversive cross-references.

In 1749 Diderot was imprisoned for three months at Vincennes, primarily for his *Letter on the Blind*. In 1755 he met Sophie Volland, who became the love of his life and with whom he maintained a brilliant correspondence; indeed, some of Diderot's finest sentences are to be found in his letters to her. She remained his lover and intellectual interlocutor until her death in February 1784, five months before Diderot's on 21 July.

Much of Diderot's work appeared only posthumously. His writings that were known to his contemporaries were generally undervalued, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, despite a bitter break with his friend in 1757, later wrote that Diderot's genius would only be understood in centuries to come. Diderot's contributions to philosophy and literature are many. In the theory and practice of the theater, he rejected the rigidity of classical forms, proposing instead le drame bourgeois (bourgeois drama), a form of theater abandoning both the aristocratic values and the Aristotelian formality of the previous century. His play The Natural Son (1757), and the analytical texts Commentaries on the Natural Son (1757), the Discourse on Dramatic Poetry (1758), and the Paradox on the Actor (published 1830), articulated his new vision of the theater, which was to have a profound impact on the Romantics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Diderot is also widely hailed as the first modern art critic, with his Salons (1759-1781), written for Friedrich Melchior von Grimm's Literary Correspondence (1753-1790), his 1766 Essays on Painting, and his 1776-1781 Detached Thoughts on Painting. In his fiction Diderot experimented with dialogic and conversational forms (most remarkably in Rameau's Nephew, published in 1821, retranslated from German), and with narrative style in Jacques the Fatalist and His Master (published 1796), which was heavily influenced by Laurence Sterne's Tristram Shandy (1759-1767). Diderot's philosophy finds its richest and most mature expression in D'Alembert's Dream (written 1769, published 1830), in which he proposed a biological "continuism," arguing for the connection between all forms of matter, prefiguring, but also more radical than, Darwinism and modern genetics. The scientific experimentalism of his Letter on the Blind, considered the first scientific treatise on blindness, and Letter on the Deaf and Dumb (1751), supports a materialism far bolder than that suggested in the Philosophical Thoughts, resulting in a worldview marked not only by the deep unity of matter but in which there seems little place for God or Christian morality. Materialism therefore naturally posed moral questions: In a society in which Christian dogma may well be obsolete, how is one to account for ethical behavior? Diderot concluded that one is simply "well or ill born": morality is also a function of matter. In the Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage (1796), he showed the arbitrariness of Western sexual mores, pointing to the factitious quality of any morality not deriving from the natural system, and adumbrating the more radical materialism and rejection of conventional morality of Donatien-Alphonse-François de Sade (1740–1814). Considering the inventive audacity of his works, it is understandable that Diderot preferred to keep many of them relatively private until after his death.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; French Literature and Language; Philosophes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Diderot, Denis. *Correspondance*. Edited by Georges Roth. 16 vols. Paris, 1955-.

- Jacques the Fatalist and His Master. Translated by Michael Henry. Harmondsworth, U.K., and New York, 1986.
- —. Oeuvres. Edited by Laurent Versini. 5 vols. Paris, 1994–1997.
- -----. *The Paradox of Acting.* Translated by Walter Herries Pollock. New York, 1957.
- ——. *Political Writings*. Edited and translated by John Hope Mason and Robert Wokler. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1992.
- ——. Rameau's Nephew, and D'Alembert's Dream. Translated by L. W. Tancock. Harmondsworth, U.K., and New York, 1966.

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Wilda. Diderot's Dream. Baltimore, 1990.

Darnton, Robert. "Philosophers Trim the Tree of Knowledge: The Epistemological Strategy of the *Ency-*

clopédie." In his The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History. New York, 1985.

Fellows, Otis. Diderot. Rev. ed. Boston, 1989.

Furbank, P. N. Diderot: A Critical Biography. London, 1992.

Rex, Walter E. Diderot's Counterpoints: The Dynamics of Contrariety in His Major Works. Oxford, 1998.

PATRICK RILEY, JR.

DIENTZENHOFER FAMILY.

Architects active in Bavaria and Bohemia, six members of this extended family are associated with over 250 buildings: the five brothers, Georg (1643–1689), Wolfgang (1648–1706), Christoph (1655–1727), Johann Leonhard (1660–1707), and Johann (1663–1726); and Christoph's son, Kilian Ignaz (1689–1751). In the churches that dominate their oeuvre, they created spatial sequences by means of curved, open forms in which plan, elevation, and vaults are woven into works of complex counterpoint.

Georg built the large Cistercian monastery and church at Waldsassen, the pilgrimage church nearby known as the Kappel bei Waldsassen, and St. Martin in Bamberg. The Kappel (1684–1689) consists of three apses, a triangular vault, three campanili, and a low ambulatory. Inside, the three curved spatial units are united into a centralized whole. Drawing on a broad architectural inheritance of medieval, Slavic, and folk traditions, Georg's exploration of architectural space produced an original achievement that set the tone for his brothers' buildings.

Wolfgang was responsible for brilliantly stuccoed wallpier churches in Bavaria, among them Michelfeld, Speinshart, and the pilgrimage church Maria Hilf in Amberg. The wallpier, a buttress drawn into the body of the church, permitted a skeletal structure and thin, nonsupporting walls as the bases for spatialized interiors. His tentative explorations of this potential would be developed by Christoph.

Leonhard served as court architect in Bamberg, designing large complexes such as the new Residenz, and the monasteries at Ebrach and Banz. His severe if precise elevations, reminiscent of work from the 1670s and 1680s in Prague and Vienna,

suggest a conservative architectural attitude. On the other hand, his projects for centralized churches exhibit a lively, inventive approach to design.

Johann was responsible for the cathedral and palace in Fulda, and the imposing palace at Pommersfelden; he was appointed Bamberg court architect after Leonhard's death, and built the church at Banz. Johann, the only brother to receive a formal architectural education, later traveled to Rome for further study. At Banz, he employed transverse ovals, curved entablatures and vault ribs, and narrow and wide bays arranged in counterpoint to the vaults, to develop a range of spatial possibilities. The distinctive feature of the great palace at Pommersfelden is its dominant, projecting center, which contains a grand staircase and imperial hall above. This architectonic assertion of ritual and prestige would resonate in Middle European palace architecture, as at Neumann's Würzburg Residenz.

Christoph and Kilian Ignaz, father and son, worked primarily in Prague, where their two churches of St. Nicholas, one in the Lesser Town and one in the Old Town, remain decisive shapers of the urban setting. In many of his churches, Christoph centralized longitudinal plans. For the monastery church of St. Margaret at Brevnov (on the outskirts of Prague), he employed two transverse ovals bracketed by smaller ovals and extended at one end by a choir. The bays in elevation and vault are reversed in relation to one another, the vault is interpreted as two shells (one open to the other), piers and entablatures curve into the space, and walls are thin, curved planes. The whole, including the vault frescoes and liturgical furniture, is lucid and transparent, a spatial complexity realized with consummate ease.

Among Kilian Ignaz's many centralized churches, St. Nicholas in Prague is extraordinary. Set on a narrow site in the heart of town, the flank is treated as a two-towered facade with an idiosyncratic entrance and polygonal dome. At right angles and to one side of the flank is the main entrance, to the other the choir apse. Inside, piers, chapels, balcony, and pendentives are organized vertically below the octagonal dome, forming a dominant centralized counterpoint to the strong horizontal axis running from entrance to altar. Here the duality of center and path, of skeletonized forms and multiple

sources of light, create an intensely expressive architecture.

Both father and son worked on St. Nicholas in the Prague Lesser Town. Christoph designed the facade and nave, Kilian Ignaz the choir. The nave is defined by deep wallpiers, chapels, and gallery. Pilasters on the pier faces are placed obliquely to support vault arches that twist across the nave, so that the reading of a bay established in elevation is reversed in the vault. These spatial dynamics were made more unusual when, shortly after completion, the ribs were removed and the vault transformed into a single undulating surface for an extensive fresco. Kilian Ignaz further expanded the interior by adding a huge dome supported on paired columns and vertical pendentives, extended on three sides by shallow transepts and choir. Part of a large Jesuit complex, the church stood within a large space. Christoph's undulating facade dominated the square on one side, while on the choir end, overlooking the Charles Bridge and the Old Town, Kilian Ignaz constructed a bell tower, asymmetrically, next to the dome. This unique combination creates an urban ensemble in which dome and tower dance about one another as they are experienced from different locations within the city.

See also Architecture; Baroque; Neumann, Balthasar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Die Dientzenhofer, Barocke Baukunst in Bayern und Böhmen. Exh. cat. Rosenheim, 1991.

Heinrich, Gerhard Franz. Bauten und Baumeister der Barockzeit in Böhmen: Entstehung und Ausstrahlungen der böhmischen Barockbaukunst. Leipzig, 1962. Classic study of the Dientzenhofer family within the context of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Bohemian architecture.

K. I. Dientzenhofer, seznam dila a texty k ilustracim. Exh. cat. Prague, 1989.

CHRISTIAN OTTO

DIPLOMACY. Diplomacy in one form or another has had a long history, dating back to the beginning of political states. Since the nature, size, and composition of these states varied, so did the system of relations between them. Usually such relations were simple and personal, but in time they

became more complex as the political entities became better organized and more tightly controlled.

THE ORIGIN AND TESTING OF EARLY MODERN DIPLOMACY

By the middle of the fifteenth century the principal city-states of Renaissance Italy had reached a tenuous balance of power and began establishing more permanent diplomatic relations with one another through the instrument of resident embassies. Resident ambassadors were accredited representatives of one government to another, assigned for an extended period of time for the purposes of negotiating, providing a constant source of important information to the home government, and safeguarding the honor and prestige of the ruler they represented. Primary negotiations of treaties and alliances, as well as other specific assignments, were still carried out by special envoys sent with plenipotentiary powers for that purpose, but the more permanent resident became an additional aid in this process.

The system in the early modern period was far less structured than it was later to become. In the first place, not everyone was convinced that it was the safest or wisest course to follow. Rulers, especially, were reluctant to have representatives of other states snooping around their capital, randomly inquiring about matters that they would just as soon the ambassadors not know. But that led to one of the key dictums of diplomacy, quid pro quo ('something for something'), interpreted to mean that the best way to get information is to give it. Diplomats needed to be well informed so they could exchange their own information for equally or more valuable information possessed by someone else. Even the shrewd Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) advised, "A great prince should sooner put in jeopardy both his own interests and even those of the state than break his word." This advice was not often followed, especially by Richelieu, and agents had to be constantly on the alert not to reveal more than they received. By the seventeenth century it was becoming evident that honesty was the best policy for diplomats because honesty inspired confidence and that, more than anything else, gave credibility to what an ambassador was trying to accomplish. The counsel of Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy (1625–1696), French secretary of state for foreign affairs, to his son who was leaving for an embassy to Portugal in 1684, "to gain the reputation as a perfectly honorable man, and deserve it," was good advice, even though it was not always followed.

The testing period came in the second half of the sixteenth century when Europe was split into hostile camps as a result of the Reformation and the Wars of Religion. "The religious wars," wrote Garrett Mattingly, the authority on early diplomatic history, "nearly wrecked the diplomatic institutions with which Europe had been trying to adjust its quarrels. . . . Successful diplomatic negotiations require that parties involved can at least imagine a mutually satisfactory settlement, . . . But the clash of ideological absolutes drives diplomacy from the field" (pp. 195–196). Nevertheless, diplomacy was not driven from the field. Compromises and adjustments continued to be made, and some states, especially France under the cautious Catherine de Médicis (1518–1589), found ways to balance ideology and necessity with theory and practice and to give early modern diplomacy a valuable new impulse.

EARLY MODERN DIPLOMATS AT WAR

By the seventeenth century the machinery of diplomatic relations had reached an impressive level of organization. This is not to say that it operated in a totally logical and systematic way, but many of the misgivings associated with its earlier years were being worked out as diplomacy was increasingly applied to European rulers' changing needs.

The selection of ambassadors was determined by several factors: birth, political and family connections, loyalty to the government, and the likelihood of acceptance by the government to which they were being sent. Depending on where he was going, an ambassador of noble rank was usually chosen; sometimes a man of the cloth was preferred, although this was less likely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it had been in the sixteenth. A man's experience in negotiation and familiarity with the political affairs of the country to which he was being sent also made a difference. Language proficiency was another factor in such a selection. Several Italian dialects were used effectively during the Renaissance, but Latin was the most common language of diplomacy, especially for written correspondence and treaties. After the middle of the seventeenth century, when the court of Louis XIV (1638–1715) set the tone for European culture, French became more widely used, and in the next century it became the lingua franca of diplomatic discourse. What rulers wanted most in their ambassadors, however, was loyalty and dedication to the cause they represented.

Ambassadors were accompanied by—or they recruited after arrival at their assigned post—a number of lesser officials: secretaries, scribes, stewards, grooms, and assorted personnel. These were normally paid for by the ambassador himself, although by the eighteenth century, the principal embassy secretaries were being appointed and paid by their home governments.

Once a selection was made, there were several steps that had to be taken before the new ambassador embarked on his assignment: ambassadorial staff and other household affairs were arranged and approved, and sometimes negotiation over salary and expenses took time. If the new ambassador was not well acquainted with the court to which he was assigned, or was unfamiliar with the policies preferred by his home government, he had to take the time and effort to acquaint himself with them. He also needed to learn as much as he could about the people, policies, and preferences of his host government, as well as other sources of information he might be able to tap. Then, after receiving his letters of appointment, introduction, instructions, credentials, passport and safe-conduct, cipher keys, and any other documents or household goods, he was ready to depart.

The arrival of an ambassador at his new assignment was the occasion for elaborate ceremony and ritual, beginning with an impressive procession of troops, carriages, and musicians escorting the ambassador through the streets of the city to a reception spot where he would be received and welcomed by an official responsible for receiving ambassadors. Following a second procession to court, the ambassador presented his letters of credence and instruction to the sovereign and delivered his formal oration. The ceremonial entry was simplified in the eighteenth century, and the ambassador was sometimes received at court to present his credentials without prior processions. However, the entry ceremony continued to play a large role both for resi-

dent ambassadors and for special agents and ambassadors extraordinary.

Maintenance of ambassadors at foreign posts was traditionally the responsibility of the government to which they were assigned and depended upon the rank and importance of the envoy and the respect due his government. Because this added to the problem of precedence that plagued the ceremonial practices of diplomacy, it gradually became more common for the home government to provide for the maintenance of its embassies abroad. On the periphery of Europe, however, governments continued to provide maintenance allowances to foreign ambassadors and, of course, expected the same consideration for their own representatives abroad. The victory of the concept of extraterritoriality (meaning that the ambassador carried with him the laws of his own country) reduced the issue of maintenance by recognizing the prime responsibility of the home government for maintaining its diplomats.

Along with the principle of extraterritoriality came the comparable assumption of diplomatic immunity. Some degree of immunity had been claimed for embassy personnel since before the Renaissance, but its general approval was less broadly accepted. Through the next three centuries legal immunity of diplomats became more clearly defined and recognized. Consequently, problems and disputes over immunity declined as people came to agree that ambassadors and their staff were entitled to extensive immunity from both civil and criminal litigation and that they were specifically allowed to practice their own religion even though it clashed with that of their host. Sometimes diplomats abused this right of immunity, but by the end of the eighteenth century it was an accepted principle.

Salaries and other payments to ambassadors by the home government varied a great deal during the early modern period. In most cases an agreement was reached before embarking on the mission as to the amount and kind of compensation to be received. But this was sometimes vague and almost never followed completely. Papal nuncios were among the first to receive a monthly allowance, but it was usually insufficient, and the nuncio was expected to supplement this allowance with money from benefices he held. Likewise, secular agents, with or

without specific salaries, were expected to get by partly on their own initiative and the promises of future compensation, usually in the form of titles, land, or other symbols of value.

But these did not pay for current needs. Ambassadors' letters to their home governments related sorrowful stories of their financial problems and pleas for assistance. François de Noailles, for example, wrote to the French king in November 1562: "I humbly beseech Your Majesty to please remember that for nine or ten years I have been almost constantly in your service, during which time I have never shrunk from giving freely of my money, labor, or industry, nor of the resources of my friends and parents, or employing all my means of credit for Your Majesty's service. . . . But my present need is such that serious damage could be done to both my desire and my duty." There follows a marginal note about his creditors closing in on him, and then a concluding plea: "Which moves me to beseech Your Majesty . . . to assist me in whatever way you can . . . before my true poverty is discovered here in Italy and the dignity and grandeur and honor of Your Majesty's name suffers incalculable damage." ("Lettres inédites de François de Noailles, évêque de Dax," Revue de Gascogne, VI (1865): 87-88).

Had it not been for the custom of giving a departing gift to ambassadors when they completed their missions, their plight would have been greater. The amount or value of such donations depended on so many variables—the rank of the recipient ambassador, the length of his service, the evaluation of his accomplishments—it is unlikely that all parties to the transaction were equally satisfied. The most common gifts were gilt plate, gold chains, jewelry, or any item of recognized worth. As the office of ambassador became more professional, the number of such presents declined although there were many other occasions when gratuities were still granted.

AMBASSADORIAL DUTIES

The primary duty of resident ambassadors was to obtain and transmit information. This was done in many ways and varied greatly in extent, reliability, and difficulty. The most open method, which had many drawbacks as far as reliability is concerned, was direct interviews with the sovereign or with leading ministers. When at court, the ambassador could pick up information from other agents, but

this too might be laced with misinformation and lies; tapping many such sources increased the chances of getting good intelligence. As printed newsletters and newspapers began to appear in the eighteenth century, it became easier to acquire overt information. For more vital and furtive intelligence, ambassadors still relied on paid informants and spies, although the complex implementation of international espionage was increasingly conducted through contacts outside the official diplomatic system.

To communicate this variously gathered intelligence to his home government, the early modern diplomat used the methods available to him: national post, paid couriers, commercial caravans, and private messengers. More confidential communications were put into increasingly complex ciphers. Duplicates and triplicates of important messages were often sent by different routes to insure the delivery of at least one. On occasions demanding extreme secrecy, messages, or parts of them, were given verbally to a courier or other confidant who then delivered the message orally to the proper authority. Such precautions were felt to be necessary because, with increasing frequency, written communications were intercepted and ciphers broken.

By the mid-seventeenth century, London postal officials were routinely opening and copying many of the dispatches intended for foreign diplomats. A secret office was established in 1653 for such activities and by the end of the eighteenth century, it maintained an active staff of semi-undercover employees who deciphered and read foreign correspondence. The same thing was happening in France, where the *cabinet noir* (black chamber) conducted a similar type of surveillance during the *ancien régime*. Other countries had their appropriate procedures.

NEGOTIATION

Early modern diplomats were involved in many functions other than information gathering. They might be assigned to important negotiations, according to the powers and instructions given by their home government. Normally, negotiation was the primary duty of special representatives with precise powers for that purpose, but resident diplomats were also involved in a variety of negotiations, especially at major diplomatic conferences and con-

gresses. After four tortuous years of negotiation, the major settlement ending the Thirty Years' War took place in 1648 at two locations in Westphalia: at Münster, where ambassadors and other representatives of the Holy Roman emperor, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and delegates of the German Electoral College met; and at Osnabrück, where other emissaries of Sweden, the emperor, France, several German principalities, and others also convened. The total number of delegates at these two locations reached one hundred thirty-five, the largest assemblage of diplomats ever seen by that time.

The resulting Treaty of Westphalia marked a new direction in the political composition of Europe toward secularly oriented, sovereign, almost absolute states. The various states of the empire were given territorial sovereignty under the nominal authority of the emperor. Calvinism was officially recognized along with Lutheranism. Sweden was given a voice in the imperial councils and a vote in the Diet. France emerged as the leading power in Europe as imperial unity disintegrated and Habsburg Spain declined. Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands were both declared free and sovereign. Similar congresses met at Nijmegen in 1676–1679 following the Dutch Wars, at Ryswick in 1696-1697 at the conclusion of the War of the League of Augsburg, and at Utrecht in 1712–1713 after the War of the Spanish Succession. The Treaty of Utrecht, especially, created a new order in Europe based on an "equilibrium of power" among the leading states. Belief in this balance of power became a recurring feature of eighteenth-century diplomacy.

Negotiation included far more than treaty arrangements. It also comprised a large range of topics and goals set out by the home government, including interpretation of the rules of trade, persuading a sovereign to follow agreements previously made, convincing the sovereign to pursue policies favorable to the ambassador's master, and in general trying to maintain good relations between the two governments. A good diplomat might be involved in negotiations over many issues, from alliances, boundary disputes, and commercial regulation, to territorial treaties and usurped property.

CEREMONIAL

Another duty of early modern diplomats was to represent their ruler as if he were present. The ambassador stood in the place of his master and therefore represented both his person and prestige. If an ambassador failed to receive, or assert, the proper respect for his ruler, he was held accountable. But not everyone recognized the same hierarchy of station, and therefore ambassadors were locked in a rivalry of rank at public functions, especially those offering high visibility, such as official state gatherings and processions. Public entries of new ambassadors still served to reflect the power and importance of the states they represented, and no expense was spared to make the carriages and horses magnificent and the dress of the ambassador brilliant. Assertions of precedence at such occasions frequently led to awkward dilemmas or even open conflict. In London in October 1661, for example, the Spanish ambassador, thinking he merited a more honored position than the French ambassador, tried to overtake and pass the French coach in a state procession through London. In the ensuing fray several people were killed.

Following the elaborate first audience, proper etiquette still had to be maintained at subsequent official visits of the ambassador to the head of state and to the diplomats of other nations, being especially careful to visit those of highest rank first. Throughout his tour of duty the ambassador was expected to participate in many public functions, from state banquets and weddings to frequent funerals of prestigious persons. Even at these gatherings the issue of precedence continued to arise and sometimes awakened strong feelings and even disputes among diplomats. "Points of honour, rank, and precedence are the most delicate articles of political faith," wrote Rousset de Missy in 1746. How could it be otherwise in an age when hereditary differences in the social orders were universally justified and even considered essential to the survival of any state? The maintenance of that same social stability on the international level was thought to be just as fundamental to the existence of international sociality.

THE THEORY OF EARLY MODERN DIPLOMACY

The theory and practice of diplomacy did not always correspond in real life. Diplomatic practice contin-

ued along lines determined primarily by precedent and practicality rather than by the suppositions of political theorists. Still, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their correspondence was closer than it had ever been, due in part to the fact that it was practical diplomats themselves who wrote most insightfully about diplomatic theory.

The first of these practitioner/theorists was Juan Antonio de Vera, a distinguished Spanish nobleman and diplomat who published his El embajador (The ambassador) at Seville in 1620, better known in its French version of 1642 as Le parfait ambassadeur (The perfect ambassador). In this dialogue de Vera talks about the conduct of embassies, privileges of ambassadors, diplomatic procedures, and the qualities needed for success. The leading prerequisite, he insisted, was moral virtue, which meant not only obeying the letter and objectives of his master, but also being true and honest in his dealings with the ruler to whom he was assigned. The illustrious Dutch lawyer and diplomat Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) provided a reasoned repertory of maxims in his 1625 De Jure Belli ac Pacis (On the law of war and peace), allowing for the compatibility of a world of sovereign states committed to their own self-interest and yet consistent with the notion of peace and justice. He also argued convincingly for the extraterritoriality and diplomatic immunity of accredited ambassadors. Another Dutch writer, Abraham de Wicquefort, published his widely popular book on practical diplomacy, called L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions (The ambassador and his functions), in 1681. In this diplomatic manual Wicquefort abandoned the myth of a "perfect ambassador" and supplied diplomatic examples, especially contemporary, of how diplomacy operated in the late seventeenth century. In 1716 an important treatise appeared in Paris, written by a man who had spent his life in the service of Louis XIV's diplomatic business. De la manière de négocier avec les soverains (On the manner of negotiating with princes), by François de Callières, was another book of reflections on the principles and conditions of successful diplomacy, arguing in favor of the careful selection and specialized training of career diplomats rather than relying on the erratic behavior of capricious nobles.

EXPANSION AND SPECIALIZATION OF DIPLOMACY

Although much in the operation of eighteenth-century diplomacy was still reminiscent of the procedures and attitudes of earlier times, many changes had taken place and gradual modification continued. Notable among these was the expansion of diplomatic activity. In the time of Louis XIV, European diplomatic relations were still concentrated in western Europe, with fewer continuous contacts with the Ottoman Empire, Poland and eastern Europe, and tsarist Russia. The eighteenth century saw notable expansion of these contacts. Relations between Moscow and the West increased dramatically during the reign of Tsar Peter I (1684–1725) as reciprocal diplomatic representation was established with western states from Vienna to London. Similarly, connections were expanded between Europe and the Turkish Empire, and even China, although not as fast nor as completely as with Russia. More permanent relations were also established with Scandinavia and with eastern Europe.

In the eighteenth century budding foreign offices also began to appear as the need for greater continuity and order required more specialized effort. Developing out of the earlier royal chanceries, the foreign office became the principal department for handling relations with other states and for dispatching ambassadors to them. Such offices were still small and rudimentary but indicated the direction of later growth. In France the secretary of state for foreign affairs became one of the chief ministers of the government. England and other states also developed more effective machinery for the conduct of foreign affairs. To operate this new diplomatic machinery, a more professional bureaucracy slowly emerged. This gradual growth of professionalism in the management of foreign affairs was one of the marks of more modern times.

See also Grotius, Hugo; Law: International; Louis XIV (France); Military; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Wars of Religion, French; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, E. R. The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. London and New York, 1929. An old but very valuable book.

- Anderson, M. S. *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 1450–1919. London and New York, 1993. A useful survey yet frustratingly disjointed.
- Barber, Peter. *Diplomacy: The World of the Honest Spy.* London, 1979. Examination of early modern diplomacy and catalog of the British Library exhibition.
- Carter, Charles H. *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs:* 1598–1625. New York, 1964. Well-crafted study of Spanish diplomacy and espionage at the court of James I.
- The Western European Powers, 1500–1700. Ithaca, N.Y., 1971. Emphasizes the use of diplomatic sources.
- Chaytor, H. J., trans. and ed. Embajada española [Spanish Embassy]. Camden Miscellany, vol. 14. London, 1926. Anonymous contemporary guide to diplomatic procedure at the end of the seventeenth century. Spanish and English texts.
- Hatton, Ragnhild, and M. S. Anderson, eds. Studies in Diplomatic History: Essays in Memory of David Bayne Horn. London, 1970. Valuable collection of articles primarily on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century diplomatic affairs.
- Horn, David Bayne. *The British Diplomatic Service*, 1689–1789. Oxford, 1961. Comprehensive yet detailed study of a century of British diplomacy.
- Jones, Dorothy V. Splendid Encounters: The Thought and Conduct of Diplomacy. Chicago, 1984. In conjunction with the 1984 University of Chicago exhibition.
- Lachs, Phyllis S. *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II.* New Brunswick, N.J., 1965. A thoughtful analysis of a segment of English diplomacy.
- Lossky, Andrew, "International Relations in Europe," *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 6, pp. 154–192. Cambridge, U.K., 1970. Excellent summary of diplomatic relations in the late-seventeenth century.
- Mattingly, Garrett. *Renaissance Diplomacy*. Boston and London, 1955. The best study to date of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century diplomacy.
- Roosen, William J. *The Age of Louis XIV: The Rise of Modern Diplomacy*. Cambridge, Mass., 1976. Many insights and extensive research, but too many printing errors, and no index.
- Thompson, J. W., and S. K. Padover. *Secret Diplomacy: Espionage and Cryptography*, *1500–1815*. New York, 1963. Simplistic but very interesting.

DE LAMAR JENSEN

DISEASE. See Medicine; Public Health.

DISSEMINATION OF KNOWL-

EDGE. Between 1450 and 1800 the focus of European intellectual life shifted away from the traditional university centers to become diffused across a much greater geographical and social spectrum. The advent of printing radically changed the exchange of knowledge and ideas in Europe and facilitated an additional move away from the communication of knowledge at local levels—universities, courts, early humanist academies—to international communication among the self-proclaimed "republic of letters." Oral and manuscript communication nonetheless remained vibrant through the end of the eighteenth century at both institutional and informal levels of dissemination.

UNIVERSITIES

Building on strong medieval foundations, the university as an institution continued to expand throughout the early modern period. Thus, while the importance of the university as an instrument for the communication of knowledge fluctuated greatly, it continued to fulfill its essential social and cultural function of creating educated elites. It would be this corps of university-trained personnel who provided both actors and audiences for new ideas and new forms of communication from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment.

The staple of university education was the public lecture, dependent on the oral delivery of information. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries university lectures increasingly made use of printed books. Students used two principal methods of recording lectures: either in manuscript notebooks or through annotation of printed texts. Many university lectures, commentaries, and entire yearlong courses also circulated in manuscript. Private teaching was equally important to the dissemination of knowledge within the universities. At Cambridge and Oxford private teaching was carried out within the confines of the college system, roughly equivalent to the modern tutorial. Elsewhere, particularly in central and southern Europe where the college system was less developed, students were offered group instruction in the houses of university faculty members, for which professors were paid directly by the student. Much of this kind of teaching at the college and private levels was preparatory teaching, using drills and exercises to enable students to master core university subjects and techniques (for example, in declamation, disputation, and even letterwriting). The informal, largely unregulated nature of such teaching also meant that it was often responsive to intellectual trends and new currents of learning well in advance of formal university lecture courses. In some areas of Europe and particularly in the North—the Netherlands and Germany—the university remained a pivotal part of intellectual life. In other areas—England and France, for example—major new intellectual movements such as the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment evolved more or less independently of the university.

ACADEMIES

The earliest and most clearly defined rival to the intellectual authority of the university came from the academy. With their origins in fifteenth-century Italy, the academies spread only gradually elsewhere in the sixteenth century before rising to positions of considerable importance over the next two centuries. Academies could be either informal gatherings, usually centered around one or two scholars of prominence, or—as they generally were after 1650—institutions with established rules and procedures. Most academies established intellectual discussion and the discovery and communication of knowledge as their guiding principles and were usually devoted to the pursuit of specific branches of knowledge: for example, natural philosophy (the Royal Society of London and the Académie des sciences in Paris) or language (the Accademia della Crusca in Florence and the Académie française in Paris). By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, academies contributed greatly to the professionalization of science and scholarship. Academies readily followed the winds of intellectual fashion. Eventually they created not simply a new forum for intellectual exchange, but a new public role for science and scholarship more generally. In England, France, and Italy they existed largely independent of local university culture, while in Germany their constituencies often overlapped with that of the universities. Related to the academies are the salons of the eighteenth century. More informal in nature and with strong ties to aristocratic culture, they were more socially exclusive. Nonetheless they frequently functioned to bridge rigid social boundaries. It was largely through salons that women actively participated in the communication of knowledge, and salons served as jumping boards to intellectual respectability for those to whom advancement in the republic of letters was otherwise blocked.

CORRESPONDENCE

Much of the real work of early modern scholars, antiquarians, natural philosophers, and other members of the republic of letters was carried out using one of the most traditional instruments of communication: the manuscript letter. Despite the traditional form of the letter—a genre of communication well known to antiquity and the Middle Ages epistolary exchange in the early modern period attained a new level of abstraction in the exchange of information. Letters between scholars from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries most closely resemble the political reports and diplomatic dispatches of the period: communication was informal, direct, and frequently candid. As such, this was a new mechanism of intellectual exchange based on a constantly shifting balance of social standing, patronage, and common intellectual interests. Networks of like-minded investigators, even if they had never met, used correspondence to share information, work through problems, and disseminate their own "findings" well in advance of-and in many instances in place of-print publication. The Latin letter was capable of overcoming linguistic and, to a certain extent, social barriers to the exchange of knowledge. It was also not uncommon for correspondents to assume a basic understanding of the two dominant vernacular languages of intellectual exchange, French and Italian. The manuscript letter was also key to keeping lines of intellectual communication open across the confessional divide that separated—and isolated—Protestant and Catholic investigators in the officially regulated world of print. Some astute early modern scholars— Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), for example, or Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)—carefully orchestrated their epistolary exchange and edited their correspondence for publication in their own lifetime. To a great degree it was the letter, rather than publication in print, that was key to achieving fame in the republic of letters.

PRINTING

Books for members of the professions, university professors, and scholars were printed in the major centers of Paris, Venice, Rome, Florence, Geneva, Cologne, Frankfurt, and other locations of slightly lesser importance. Sixteenth-century printers were quick to capitalize on international as well as established regional markets for Latin imprints, a development that would only really change with the market dominance of vernacular imprints in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the greatest material innovations in print production was the use of the small octavo format for printed books by Aldus Manutius in Venice around 1500. While this did not immediately have an effect on the price of books, it did influence their portability at the level of both distribution and readership. Eventually, prices for octavo texts would be much lower than for larger formats.

Knowing about books was almost as important as knowing what was in them. There were many informal mechanisms within the print world for the dissemination of this kind of information. Booksellers frequently posted lists of books for sale outside their shops (in many areas of Europe they were required to do so by local censorship laws). The practice of printing such lists was well established by the end of the sixteenth century, and book lists entered into wider and wider circulation. Bookshops also served as meeting places for those concerned with the latest developments of the print world. News of books could be exchanged, and frequently books could be read as well. The major forum for the international book trade was the Frankfurt book fair, held twice a year in the spring and the fall. Here, printers and publishers from across Europe gathered to exchange wares and settle accounts. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Frankfurt fair regularly printed its biannual catalogs. Book lists also circulated informally among various networks of scholars, and many libraries jealously guarded their collections of book lists, catalogs, and other bibliographical ephemera. By the late sixteenth century institutional libraries began to print their catalogs, although the practice would remain restricted until the eighteenth century. Auction catalogs of private libraries were also printed beginning in the Netherlands in 1599, and the practice was well-established elsewhere in Europe notably in Germany, England, and France—by the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

By the end of the seventeenth century, printed periodical publications assumed a major role in the communication of knowledge. Many journals were closely associated with academies. The first journal aimed directly at the world of learning was the Parisian Journal des Sçavants (1665), closely allied to the Académie française; it was followed quickly by the Philosophical Transactions (1665) of the Royal Society of London. The main business of the Paris Journal was reviews of books published in France and abroad. Reviews were initially less important for the Philosophical Transactions, which instead described the scientific experiments of the members of the Royal Society. But in this the Transactions was almost unique: reviews would remain the staple of the learned journal for the next two hundred years. Such was the case, for example, with the Giornale de' letterati (Rome 1668), Pierre Bayle's Nouvelles de la république des lettres (Rotterdam, 1684), and Jean Le Clerc's Bibliothèque universelle et historique (Amsterdam, 1686). Along with such well-established publications that enjoyed lengthy runs, there were a considerable number of periodical ventures that produced only a few issues. The length and tenor of reviews varied from short and descriptive to long critical assessments of major works of science and learning. More or less up-to-date news on ideas in print was thus available to a wide and increasingly diverse audience. The rise of the periodical publication not only facilitated communication between like-minded scholars but also disseminated the fruits of learning to a much broader, and eventually even a popular, audience. These review journals bridged many divides: linguistic-between Latin and the vernacular and between the dominant vernacular idioms of the republic of letters (French, Italian, English, and German); religious—between Protestant and Catholic; and geographical—both in contributing to the creation of a cosmopolitan public forum for knowledge and ideas and in opening channels of communication between national intellectual centers and regional peripheries. The eighteenth century offered the reading public a dense thicket of review publications. Perhaps most representative of the new popular appeal of the review journal was the Gentleman's Magazine (London, 1731), which became an institution in its own right. Where the early reviews were affiliated with learned academies and scientific societies, the later, more popular journals

were rooted in the intellectual culture of the coffeehouse and the gentleman's club.

See also Academies, Learned; Education; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets; Journals, Literary; Printing and Publishing; Republic of Letters; Universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chartier, Roger. The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton, 1987.

Eisenstein, Elisabeth. The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe. 2 vols. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1979.

McClellan, J. E. III. "L'Europe des académies." Dixhuitième siècle 25 (1993): 153-165.

Outram, Dorinda. *The Enlightenment*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1995.

Waquet, Françoise, and Hans Bots, eds. Commercium litterarium: La communication dans la république des lettres, 1600–1750. Amsterdam, 1994.

. La république des lettres. Paris, 1997.

PAUL NELLES

DISSENTERS, ENGLISH. The dissenters were those English Protestants who refused to conform to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England as laid down in the 1662 Act of Uniformity. They were persecuted, especially during the reign of Charles II (ruled 1660-1685), and were legally excluded from full participation in the country's civil and political life until the nineteenth century. Although broadly speaking the dissenters were the heirs of the English Puritans, they were divided into several occasionally antagonistic denominations. Common suffering encouraged them to move toward cooperation, but they had difficulty sustaining even these initiatives in the more tolerant atmosphere that prevailed after the Toleration Act of 1689. In the next century, industrialization and urbanization were to transform dissent and pave the way for its considerable political influence in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. But the roots of the tradition lay in Tudor and Stuart England.

DISSENT

In 1662 the dissenters were a diverse group. English Puritanism had splintered into several denomina-

tions and sects during the Civil Wars and Interregnum (1642-1660). Yet as a consequence of the Uniformity Act and the Clarendon Code, a raft of penal legislation aimed at non-Anglicans, all these factions were classed as "dissenters." Although sectaries, Quakers, Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians might now all fall into the same legal category, they had little else in common: learned, university-educated, and socially conservative ministers shared nothing with itinerant lay preachers. And they resented being lumped together: "It is a palpable injury to burden us with the various parties with whom we are now herded by our ejection in the general state of Dissenters" (Corbet, p. 27). The author of this complaint saw himself as a "Nonconformist"—a subtle but significant distinction. This was the label preferred by those, mainly the Presbyterians, who could not bring themselves to conform to the national church as it now stood, but who hoped it might be further reformed. Prominent in this grouping were the ministers who had lost their parish livings on St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1662, and yet still attended the Church of England's services as laymen. They would often hold additional private meetings with godly neighbors for Bible study, prayer, and impromptu preaching. There were many shades of conformity in Restoration England, and some of the laypeople who attended these godly meetings were also conforming Anglicans. Other dissenters, however, were determined to separate entirely from the national church. Congregationalists believed in the principle of autonomous congregations formed by men and women who could offer testimony of their conversion at the hands of God. Quakers and other sects suspected all churches as formalist and domineering institutions.

There were several notable individuals among the dissenters. Eminent preachers and divines like John Owen and Richard Baxter maintained their spiritual leadership through publications, correspondence, and, when political circumstances allowed, the pulpit. Two very different dissenters, the Baptist ex-tinker John Bunyan and the great poet and radical John Milton, used the printing press to give literary voice to the aspirations and experience of the godly. All dissenters, however, shared a Word-centred piety, an introspective concern with the sufferings of the godly, and an acute sensitivity

to the dangers posed by hypocrisy, popery, and profanity.

PERSECUTION AND POLITICS

The persecution of dissenters was a sporadic business. It varied from year to year, place to place, and denomination to denomination. Although the Quakers suffered extensive and prolonged persecution, the "sober" Presbyterians might experience little more than minor harassment. Much depended upon the zeal of local magistrates and the perceived political threat posed by dissent. General persecution reached its height in the mid-1660s and again in the early 1680s. Historians now believe that the majority of the English had little appetite for persecution. Their Anglican neighbors may have disparaged dissenters as "fanatics," "enthusiasts," or "sectaries," but they did not relish the activities of professional informers or the jailing of pious fellow Protestants.

The "dissenting interest" was thought to be strongest among the artisan and merchant classes of the towns and cities. There was significant support for dissenters in places like Bristol, Norwich, and the City of London. Inevitably this was translated into political influence. There were Presbyterian and Independent sympathizers among both M.P.s and peers in the Cavalier Parliament (1661–1679). Yet opportunities to improve dissent's legal position were squandered because dissenters lacked a common goal: some aspired to "comprehension" or reunion with the Church of England, while others were interested only in religious toleration.

Dissent also suffered by its association with radical politics. Tainted by its Cromwellian past, dissent was suspect in the eyes of the government and subject to persecution on grounds of subversion and disloyalty. Radical elements among dissent, including Baptists and Independents, did exploit the Exclusion Crisis to plot the overthrow of Charles II and/or his brother. The conspiracies exposed by the investigation of the supposed Rye House Plot in 1683 and the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685 against James II (ruled 1685–1688) confirmed this extreme wing within dissent.

In the later 1680s James II courted the dissenters in the hope that they would support a religious toleration for Roman Catholics and Protestants. Once again, dissent was divided over strategy.

Was it desirable or even safe to ally with an idolatrous false religion like popery in pursuit of their own religious freedom? While some dissenters offered their thanks for the 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, the majority rallied to the Protestant cause and reaped their reward after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

TOLERATION

The Toleration Act of 1689 confirmed the legal identity of "dissent" by providing freedom of worship for all non-Anglican Protestants. The future of dissenters lay outside the national church. Although national collaborative initiatives like the Common Fund and "Happy Union" failed, other local ventures, between Presbyterians, Congregationalists (as Independents were increasingly known), and Baptists, flourished. But the sharing of meeting halls or costs was only part of the story. Many of the denominations seem to have suffered from growing apathy among their followers. Perhaps like the national church before them, they were succumbing to formality. They were also plagued by theological disputes over fundamental issues such as the Trinity, justification, and predestination. By the early eighteenth century, there were ominous signs that dissenters were no longer the spiritually fervent, evangelical force that they had been in the previous century.

See also Baxter, Richard; Bunyan, John; Church of England; England; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism; Exclusion Crisis; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Milton, John; Persecution; Quakers; Toleration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Corbet, John. An Account Given of the Principles and Practises of Several Nonconformists. London, 1682.

Keeble, N. H. The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England. Leicester, U.K., 1987.

Watts, Michael R. The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution. Oxford, 1978.

JOHN SPURR

DIVINE RIGHT KINGSHIP. The belief that kings are related to gods, if not actually gods themselves, and derive their authority from this sta-

tus has been a remarkably enduring feature of human societies. Monotheism challenged it, but in Europe the belief lost power only very gradually, as European society slowly became Christianized. Christian doctrine identified Christ as the divine king, Son of God the Father, who was incarnated once for all in order to rule over the souls of men. It thus set in train the separation between the spiritual and temporal realms that would eventually allow for the secular, or "constitutional" kingships characteristic of modern European monarchies. Christian kings could, and from the time of Charlemagne (742-814) did, claim to rule dei gratia: by the grace of God, by his gift and permission. As such they were God's representatives on earth. They might even possess God-given miraculous healing powers that attested to their sacred status. By the twelfth century both English and French kings regularly touched for scrofula, a tuberculous infection of the skin of the neck that, left untreated, produces draining sores. The kings' ability to heal the condition through the laying on of hands led to the condition being known as the "King's Evil." That supernatural power, and the view of kingship as quasi-divine that informed it, survived the abolition of kingship in both countries brought about by the English and French revolutions, ceasing only in the early nineteenth century. Kings could thus claim to have a quality of divinity, but Christian doctrine insisted that they themselves could not be divine. It is, as A. M. Hocart remarked (p. 16), "a very fine distinction between a king who is the incarnation of the Deity and one who is only His representative"—but it proved to be a decisive one in the European history of kingship.

CULT OF KINGSHIP

Over the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, religious reformation led men to wrestle with this distinction in ways that enhanced the absolute power of the king. At first sight, paradoxically, these theoretical developments constituted an important staging post in that longer-term secularization process. By 1450 the main features of divine right kingship were well established. Monarchy as a form of government was ordained by God. Kings ruled by divine right, as individuals and as a caste, and they were accountable to God alone. Their right was indefeasible: inalienable and, once created, irremovable. Subjects' duty was to obey

their kings, even as they would do God himself. In reality, however, regal power was not so absolute. Even in those western European countries where centralization was well advanced, monarchical claims were pressed in no small measure in an attempt to define the king as categorically distinct from and superior to the nobility. This state-building exercise occurred in a European political context that was increasingly dominated by efforts to reform the Roman Catholic Church, in the first instance by limiting or rejecting papal claims to supreme power of jurisdiction over Christian society. The concurrence of these two endeavors led opponents of papal authority—humanists, and later especially Protestant reformers—to define territorial kingdoms as sovereign empires. This meant that they did not and never had recognized any "foreign" superior power, including that of the pope, in jurisdictional matters. But it also encouraged a reconsideration of the nature of kingly power. Might it be the case that the king, rather than the pope, inherited Christ's powers as priest? If this were the case, then the king, not the bishop of Rome, might claim plenitudo potestatis: supreme authority in all matters, spiritual as well as temporal.

Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century French and English theorists explored this terrain, in movements associated with Gallicanism in France and with the Henrician Reformation in England. Both presented monarchical absolutism as the only effective barrier against papal pretensions, and buttressed it by emphasizing the supernatural character of kingship. The French jurist Charles de Grassaille argued the case for French sovereignty by stating that the French king is "above all other kings." His superiority was attested to by his title of "most Christian"—that is, most Christlike—king, and by his ability to work miracles (Regalium Franciae libri duo, 1545). In England, the cult of kingship flourished as the break with Rome made Henry VIII priest-king of the English church. Writing in 1539 Richard Morison identified Henry VIII as "our king, our ruler by the will and ordinance of God"; he, not the pope, was "God's minister" (An Exhortation, 1539). This cult of kingship continued to flourish throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reaching its apogee in the reign of Louis XIV, the Sun King (ruled 1643-1715). But in England it coexisted uneasily with reforming

Protestantism, the other legacy of Henry VIII's break with Rome. It raised fears that the Church of England over which such a supreme head presided harbored idolatry at its heart—the same charge that fueled attacks on Roman Catholicism. This tension reached a breaking point in 1649, when Charles I was executed, and kingship abolished, in expectation of the immediate reign of Christ, the True King.

ABSOLUTIST CLAIMS

The late sixteenth century witnessed new claims concerning the divine right of kings as a consequence of confessional polarization. Both England and France aimed at religious uniformity. Yet both contained sizeable Protestant and Catholic populations and, by the late sixteenth century, significant numbers of religious militants on both sides. From the mid-sixteenth century inflammatory and influential "resistance theories" circulated widely. These argued that subjects must put loyalty to God above their obedience to worldly rulers. It was a duty as much as a right to resist, even if necessary to kill, a ruler deemed ungodly. Ungodliness consisted, in the first instance, of embracing, or appearing to embrace, the "wrong" religion. At the same time both countries experienced succession crises. The ending of the Tudor and Valois lines brought James Stuart, King of Scotland, to the English throne as James I in 1603, shortly after another "foreigner," Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, inherited the French throne as Henry IV. Unsurprisingly, in this political climate, both claimed the right to inherit on the basis of blood entitlement alone, despite their religious orthodoxy. (James I was Protestant, and Henry IV rapidly converted to Catholicism, famously proclaiming that "Paris is worth a mass.") These circumstances produced what G. R. Elton called the "final logical elaboration" of the doctrine of divine right kingship (vol. 2, p. 204). This was the identification of indefeasible divine right with hereditary succession in the legitimate bloodline. In this view the king is God-ordained through his possession of absolute blood right. At any given time there is only one true king, whether or not he ever occupies the throne, and he is his predecessor's legitimate heir. This elaboration constituted an effective counter to religious militants—Protestant and Catholic—who would restrict the right to rule, and subjects' unconditional obedience, to a king who was, in effect if not in actuality, elected to the office due to the public perception of his religious credentials. But this final development also removed the "get-out" clause that had allowed people to accept the theory of divine right rule, yet invest that right in individual kings, not necessarily their dynasties. From the early seventeenth century, in both England and France, the survival of divine right kingship was immediately attached to unconditional acceptance of the personal claims of the king and the dynasty that he represented.

See also Absolutism; Bourbon Dynasty (France); Church of England; Feudalism; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Monarchy; Resistance, Theory of; Revolutions, Age of; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Tudor Dynasty (England); Valois Dynasty (France).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bloch, Marc Léopold Benjamin. The Royal Touch. Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France. Translated by J. E. Anderson. Reprint. London, 1973. Translation of Les rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre (1924).

Burns, J. H. Lordship, Kingship and Empire: The Idea of Monarchy 1400-1525. Oxford and New York, 1992.

Elton, G. R. "The Divine Right of Kings." In *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*. Vol. 2, edited by G. R. Elton, pp. 193–214. London and New York, 1974.

Figgis, J. N. *The Divine Right of Kings* (1914). Rev. ed. Cambridge, U.K., 1965.

Giesey, Ralph E. "The Juristic Basis of Dynastic Right to the French Throne." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 51, no. 5 (1961): 1–46.

Hocart, A. M. Kingship (1927). Reprint. London, 1941. Sommerville, J. P. Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-

1640. London, 1986.

Anne McLaren

DIVORCE. Prior to the Protestant Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, legal divorce, in the sense of complete dissolution of the marriage bond with the right to remarry, was impossible anywhere in Europe because the Catholic Church, which governed marriage formation, considered marriage a sacrament dissoluble only by the death of one of the spouses. Unhappy couples did, however, sometimes divorce informally. While the Reformation made di-

vorce theoretically possible in most Protestant regions, judges' reluctance to grant divorces, coupled with economic barriers, meant that not until the late eighteenth century did more than a small number of couples divorce legally.

CATHOLIC EUROPE

Throughout the early modern period, canon law offered only two avenues for Catholics unhappy with their marriages: separation or annulment. A separation from bed and board (separatio a mensa et thoro) granted a spouse who could prove the other spouse's adultery or excessive cruelty (or, infrequently, heresy) permission to live separately and separated the spouses' finances, often giving the innocent spouse possession of the wife's dowry. Neither spouse could remarry, however, because the marriage bond remained intact. In contrast, an annulment allowed remarriage because it declared the marriage had never existed. It did so on the basis of one or more legal impediments to the union, primarily if the spouses were too closely related either by blood or by marriage or if one spouse had contracted an earlier and valid marriage, had taken religious vows, was under the age of twelve for girls or fourteen for boys at the time of the marriage, or had married under duress. Despite earlier claims, scholars have come to agree that the use of annulments as quasi-divorces was not widespread. Indeed, convinced that marriage preserved moral order by containing sexual activity, ecclesiastical courts made obtaining separations and annulments quite difficult by imposing strict formal and evidentiary standards.

People from all economic levels brought suits, but separations and annulments were most necessary for the wealthy, for whom marriage, as a union of property and families more than of individuals, needed clear legal resolution. Only annulment would allow subsequent legal marriage with legitimate children and enforceable property and political arrangements—as in the case of Henry VIII (1491-1547), who in 1527 sought an annulment of his eighteen-year marriage to Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) to marry Anne Boleyn (1507?-1536). People, particularly women, tended to use legal separations to confirm an already existing situation and to improve their legal and financial positions. For example, a wealthy woman who had already left her financially irresponsible, adulterous,

and physically abusive husband might seek a legal separation to gain control of her dowry as well as to keep her husband from compelling her return. A poor couple generally only sought a separation or annulment when their marital situation caused a scandal and authorities intervened.

Unhappy spouses with little property, such as wage laborers, had an alternative to court: informal divorce. Authorities condemned these customs but could do little to stop them. Communities informally policed troubled marriages, enforcing conventional standards of marital behavior by sanctioning inordinately abusive or lazy husbands, disobedient wives, and adulterers of both sexes with penalties ranging from gossip to charivari, or ritual shaming. Neighbors acting as go-betweens might try to reconcile spouses, but they also might support spouses, and particularly abused wives, who left their marriages.

Desertion, sometimes by mutual agreement, was the most common means of dissolving a marriage. Poor communication exacerbated the lack of effective official oversight, enabling a spouse willing to start a new life in a distant location to make a new (though bigamous) marriage. The deserted spouse traditionally had to wait seven years for the absent spouse to be presumed dead before remarrying, but in practice many seem to have remarried much sooner, driven by economic needs. It appears that some communities condoned almost immediate remarriage, particularly when there were no children and multiple attempts at reconciliation had failed. Some couples lived separately in the same community, but they generally could not remarry. However, some people in isolated rural areas, such as seventeenth-century northern Spain, conceived of marriage as a contract that could be broken by the consent of the parties, who could then remarry at will.

As much as legal constraints, material circumstances severely limited both formal and informal marriage dissolution throughout the period, even where divorce became legal. Dissolving a marriage meant dissolving an economic unit outside of which it was difficult to survive. Both sexes initiated informal or formal dissolutions, but men more commonly did so, because they had wider employment opportunities. People who lived by working the

land probably found it most difficult to separate or divorce. The association of military service and deserting a wife was well recognized, but some husbands deserted by finding jobs in distant cities. Women's well-known difficulty in supporting themselves without a husband, particularly if they had children, probably encouraged many wives to persevere in troubled marriages, sometimes despite lifethreatening violence. Deserted wives, along with widows, appeared frequently on poor rolls.

RELIGIOUS REFORM

Rejecting church control of marriage, and with it the sacramentality and indissolubility of marriage, the Reformation legalized divorce with remarriage in most of Protestant Europe (with the major exception of England) by the mid-sixteenth century. For the next two centuries, however, divorce remained largely theoretical and unobtainable for most people.

Protestant joint lay-ecclesiastical courts, perhaps even more than their Catholic predecessors, sought to preserve marriage to promote its primary purposes of saving people from the sin of wantonness and social disorder. They made legal separation difficult and granted divorces only in cases of adultery or desertion, which struck at the heart of marriage in their eyes, never on the grounds of incompatibility and only rarely for extreme cruelty. Judges granted few divorces and frequently forced couples to reconcile. Scottish courts between 1658 and 1707, for example, granted a total of thirty-five divorces, fewer than one per year.

Divorce was punitive: usually only the innocent party could remarry and received custody of any children and control of most financial resources. A divorce suit often led to criminal prosecution for an adulterer, who could be punished with imprisonment or even death, as in Calvinist Geneva. In part because wives were subject to a stricter definition of adultery than husbands, men requested and received more divorces than women.

The Council of Trent's reconfirmation of marital indissolubility in 1563 meant that in areas that remained Catholic, legal divorce continued to be impossible. Despite this basic difference, sixteenthand seventeenth-century Protestant and Catholic authorities approached the problems of marital breakdown and informal dissolution with similar ef-

forts at control and with similarly limited success. Linking marital harmony to social order, Catholic priests and Protestant pastors chastised spouses living apart privately and publicly at church, while magistrates of both confessions levied fines and even imprisoned those who refused to cohabit. Parish priests investigated the marital status of outsiders seeking to marry their parishioners, making bigamous remarriage after desertion more difficult. In Spain the Inquisition focused on rooting out bigamy, meting out one hundred lashes and three to five years in the galleys to men and banishment to women found guilty. A few Protestant and Catholic regimes for a time even created de facto divorce for adultery when they pursued and executed adulterers. Civic and religious institutions also developed to help unhappily married women, known in Italy as the malmaritate, offering refuge from abusive husbands and even assistance in seeking legal separations.

The effects of these efforts on actual behavior remain unclear. People still dissolved their marriages as before and even devised new ways. Some spouses in seventeenth-century Switzerland used notaries and written acts to divide their property and separate, while some eighteenth-century English husbands engaged in the infamous "wife selling" by "auctioning off" their wives on market day to prearranged "buyers."

SECULARIZATION

The eighteenth century, especially the latter half, saw the secularization of control of marriage in both Protestant and Catholic Europe, as civil powers eroded ecclesiastical control of marriage. In Catholic lands change was primarily institutional, leaving the content of the law largely unchanged, as in France where the monarchy claimed jurisdiction over such matters as marriages of minor children, bigamy, and separation. These institutional changes did, however, lay the groundwork for the French Revolution's legalization of divorce in 1792.

In Protestant regions encroachment of secular institutions eroded the influence of churchmen and with it their conception of marriage as a union based on duty, opening the way for a softer official attitude toward divorce. Sweden, for example, placed divorce under secular jurisdiction in 1734. Secular judges, influenced by Enlightenment ideas that

love, respect, and companionship were central to marriage, became more willing to grant divorces and separations when these qualities were lacking, namely in cases of cruelty or even incompatibility. These broader grounds made legal divorce a possibility for many more people, particularly for women, who began to seek divorces in much larger numbers. At the same time proto-industrialization and urbanization loosened household economic ties, making it possible for more spouses, and especially wives, to dissolve their marriages.

See also Concubinage; Family; Gender; Marriage; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gottlieb, Beatrice. The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to the Industrial Age. New York and Oxford, 1993.

Kamen, Henry. *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation*. New Haven and London, 1993. Especially chapter 6.

Kingdon, Robert M. Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva. Cambridge, Mass., 1995.

Phillips, Roderick. Putting Asunder: A History of Divorce in Western Society. Cambridge, U.K., 1988.

Stone, Lawrence. Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987. Oxford, 1990.

Watt, Jeffrey R. The Making of Modern Marriage: Matrimonial Control and the Rise of Sentiment in Neuchâtel, 1550–1800. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1992.

Emlyn Eisenach

DMITRII, FALSE. See False Dmitrii, First.

DONNE, JOHN (1572–1631), English poet and divine. Donne was born in London sometime between 24 January and 19 June 1572, the son of John Donne, an ironmonger, and Elizabeth, daughter of the epigrammatist and playwright John Heywood and the great-niece of Sir Thomas More. Donne's mother's family were staunch Roman Catholics: his maternal uncle Jasper headed a Jesuit mission to England in 1581–1583, and was imprisoned and later exiled; Donne's younger brother Henry died from the plague in 1593 while being

held in Newgate Prison, accused of harboring a seminary priest.

Donne entered Hart Hall, Oxford, in October 1584, and according to some accounts, also studied at Cambridge. He may have spent time on the Continent with Jasper Heywood. In May 1592 he entered Lincoln's Inn after a period of preliminary study at Thavies Inn. He took part in the English expeditions to Cádiz and the Azores in 1596 and 1597 and worked as secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper of England. Most of his Satires and a number of other poems, including the Elegies, are thought to have been written in the 1590s, although the dating of most of Donne's poetry is extremely slippery. The Satires and Elegies play with the image of a young man in a glittering but seedy London and present Donne's poetic personae in a variety of social and sexual situations.

Donne served as M.P. for Brackley in the Parliament of October-December 1601, but his public career was irrevocably damaged by his secret marriage in December 1601 to Anne More, daughter of Egerton's brother-in-law, Sir George More. More seems to have objected to his new son-in-law's Catholic background, to his presumptuous behavior, and possibly to Donne's own rakish reputation. When the marriage became publicly known, Donne and the friends who had helped him were briefly imprisoned, and Donne lost his employment with Egerton. His subsequent attempts to find state employment were consistently unsuccessful, although he accompanied Sir Robert Drury to the Continent in 1611-1612, and served as M.P. for Taunton in 1614. He had earlier converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism, avowedly as a result of sustained intellectual consideration, but the prohibitions against Catholics in English society may also have had a contributory effect. The majority of his verse letters, occasional poems, and holy sonnets date from these years of frustration, and he also produced a series of religious tracts: The Pseudo-Martyr (published 1610), in which he urged English Catholics to submit to the oath of allegiance, Ignatius His Conclave (1611), and the study of suicide, Biathanatos (not published until 1647). Two of his poems, the disjunctive and often disturbing Anniversaries, written to commemorate the life of Drury's daughter Elizabeth, were printed in 1611-1612.

On 23 January 1615 Donne was ordained in the Church of England. This decision clearly met with favor from the king, and he was appointed as a royal chaplain only a few weeks after his ordination. He was presented with a series of lucrative livings, and held the divinity readership at Lincoln's Inn from October 1616. Anne Donne died in August 1617, and in May 1619 Donne went to Germany as chaplain to Viscount Doncaster, returning in January 1620. On 22 November 1621 he was elected dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, an office that he held until his death. He was widely regarded as the most eloquent and learned of preachers. Reflecting this fame, his sermons were printed from 1622, and in 1624 he published Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, inspired by a recent illness. Although his prose works are not today as familiar to readers as his poems, the Devotions and Sermons display a similar controlled power, stylistic experimentation, and intellectual focus.

Donne's best-known sermon is his last, "Death's Duel," preached at court only a month before his death. "Death's Duel" is a typically brilliant piece, drawing its power from its combination of biblical exegesis, linguistic control, and the quasitheatrical display of the dying preacher's body. Donne died on 31 March 1631, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. His tomb, for which—according to his early biographer Izaak Walton—he posed in the months prior to his death, wearing his shroud and standing on a funeral urn, survived the fire of 1666 and can be seen in Christopher Wren's cathedral, completed in 1710.

Donne's public reputation during his lifetime was based mainly on his church career and the wide circulation of his prose works, especially his sermons. He began to be reconfigured as a poet, however, after his son John collected his poems in print for the first time in 1633. The volume was prefaced with elegies on the author; these elegies and Walton's biography, published with LXXX Sermons (1640), disseminated two images of Donne, the youthful, rakish poet "Jack Donne" and the older and wiser Reverend Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's. Close examination of his career and writing does not fully sustain these starkly divided personae. Donne was already publishing religious polemic before his ordination, and he continued to compose poetry until at least 1625. His career in fact demonstrates the impossibility of maintaining clear divisions between the secular and the sacred in early modern England.

See also Church of England; Clergy: Protestant; English Literature and Language; Herbert, George; Puritanism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Donne, John. *Biathanatos*. Edited by Ernest W. Sullivan. Newark, N.J., and London, 1984.
- ------. *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*. Edited by Anthony Raspa. Montreal, 1975.
- . The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets. Edited by Helen Gardner. Oxford, 1965.
- . The Epithalamions, Anniversaries and Epicedes. Edited by W. Milgate. Oxford, 1978.
- ——. Ignatius His Conclave. Edited by T. S. Healy. Oxford, 1969.
- ——. Paradoxes and Problems. Edited by Helen Peters. Oxford, 1980.
- ——. *Pseudo-Martyr*. Edited by Anthony Raspa. Rev. ed. Montreal, 1993.
- The Satires, Epigrams and Verse Letters. Edited by W. Milage. Oxford, 1967.
- ——. Selections. Edited by John Carey. Oxford, 1990. Complete poems and selected prose.
- ——. The Sermons of John Donne. Edited by George R. Potter and Evelyn Simpson. 10 vols. Berkeley, 1953–1962.
- ——. The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne. Edited by Gary A. Stringer. Bloomington, Ind., 1995–. Vols. 2, 7, and 8 published by 2002.

Secondary Sources

- Bald, R. C. John Donne: A Life. Oxford, 1970.
- Carey, John. John Donne: Life, Mind and Art. Oxford, 1981.
- Davies, Stevie. *John Donne*. Plymouth, U.K., 1994. An introductory account of Donne's poetry with a helpful annotated bibliography.
- Docherty, Thomas. *John Donne*, *Undone*. London and New York, 1986.
- Flynn, Dennis. John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility. Bloomington, Ind., 1995.
- Marotti, Arthur F. John Donne, Coterie Poet. Madison, Wis., 1986.

Lucy Munro

DORT, SYNOD OF. Convened in 1618 in the Dutch city of Dordrecht, the Synod of Dort met to settle the Arminian, or Remonstrant, controversy within the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. This controversy, which had developed over the course of a decade, centered around the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Other issues, including the precise confessional status of the Belgic Confession (an early doctrinal statement of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries) in the church and the relationship between civil and ecclesiastical authority, also played a role in the controversy. The synod included delegates from the Dutch Reformed Church as well as representatives from other Reformed churches throughout Europe. With the presence of foreign delegates, the synod took on an international character and represented an important step in defining and codifying seventeenthcentury Calvinism. Meeting over the course of 180 sessions, the delegates examined and rejected the central doctrines of the Arminian party and confirmed the doctrine of double predestination along with a number of its corollaries, including the sovereignty of God, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. These doctrinal decisions, formulated in the Canons of Dort, gave the Reformed Church of the Netherlands greater coherence but also made it clear that the Arminian position would not be accepted within the Dutch Reformed Church. After the synod ended in May 1619, the Remonstrants were expelled from the church and faced persecution within the Dutch Republic. The Canons of Dort became one of the confessional standards of the Dutch Reformed Church and gained general acceptance throughout the Reformed churches of Europe as a clear expression of Calvinist orthodoxy.

See also Calvinism; Dutch Republic; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Benedict, Philip. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven, 2002. See Chapter 10 (especially pp. 297–317).
- Israel, Jonathan. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806.* Oxford and New York, 1995. See Chapters 16–20 (especially pp. 421–477).

MICHAEL A. HAKKENBERG

DRAGONNADES. See Huguenots.

DRAMA

This entry includes four subentries:
ENGLISH
GERMAN
ITALIAN
SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

ENGLISH

In the fifteenth century, drama in England was dominated by modes now thought of as characteristically "medieval": cycles of liturgical mystery plays, morality plays—of which Mankind (c. 1465), and Everyman (c. 1509-1519) are among the bestknown examples—and secular interludes such as Henry Medwall's Fulgens and Lucrece (c. 1497) and John Heywood's The Four Ps (c. 1520-1530). By the end of the eighteenth century, the stage would have been almost unrecognizable to Medwall or Heywood. A tradition of performance based within communities was gradually supplemented by commercial structures; this new tradition was in its turn broken by the order that the public theaters be closed on the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. Although dramatic activities did not cease—private and surreptitious performances continued and a wide variety of dramatic texts were aimed at readers—there was a break with the pre-Civil War stage and with many of its conventions.

CHANGING THEATERS

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, drama was performed mainly in the houses of the nobility, in civic venues such as town halls or churches, or in educational establishments such as schools, universities, and the Inns of Court, where law students were educated. In the later period, large-scale openair amphitheaters or innyard conversions were developed, with which settled companies became established: the best-known include the Red Lion (1567), the Theatre (1576), the Rose (1592), the Globe (1599), and the Red Bull (c. 1604). Other, smaller, commercial theaters were constructed in indoor venues; they were used in the first place by the children's companies that had devolved from performances by the choir schools of St. Paul's and

the Chapel Royal. By 1610, an adult company, the King's Men, had started to perform at the indoor Blackfriars Theatre, and by the end of the seventeenth century Continental-style proscenium arch theaters had supplanted the amphitheaters.

Perhaps the greatest change was in the nature of performers: professional actors rose from the level of vagrants to become substantial landowners and celebrities—Edward Alleyn, Richard Burbage, Thomas Betterton, and David Garrick are only the most famous. The Restoration (1660–1685) also saw the introduction of the first professional female performers, of whom the most celebrated include Elizabeth Barry, Anne Bracegirdle, and Anne Oldfield. This was also the period when women began to write for the commercial stages; the best-known of these writers include Aphra Behn, Mary Pix, and Susanna Centlivre.

KINDS OF DRAMA

In the early to mid-sixteenth century, classical influences began to intersect with folk and morality play influences, notably in plays such as *Ralph Roister Doister* (c. 1552) by Nicholas Udall, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1566), often attributed to William Stevenson. The universities (*Gammer Gurton* was first performed at Cambridge) and the Inns of Court saw plays in English and Latin. Particularly noteworthy is the performance of the first English blank-verse tragedy, Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex*, at the Inner Temple in 1562.

Tragedy. Influential tragedies included Christopher Marlowe's opulent and exotic two-part tragedy Tamburlaine (c. 1587-1589), Thomas Kyd's hugely popular revenge tragedy The Spanish Tragedy (c. 1589), William Shakespeare's romantic tragedy Romeo and Juliet (c. 1595), and Thomas Heywood's domestic tragedy A Woman Killed With Kindness (c. 1603). These models for tragic drama were developed throughout the period by writers including George Chapman, John Webster, John Ford, Philip Massinger, and James Shirley. A related line of historical drama can be traced from John Bale's moral history King Johan (c. 1539) through Marlowe's Edward II (c. 1592), Shakespeare's first (Henry VI, Part One; Henry VI, Part Two; Henry VI, Part Three; and Richard III) and second (Richard II; Henry IV, Part One; Henry IV,

Part Two; and Henry V) tetralogies, Shakespeare and John Fletcher's Henry VIII (1613), and Ford's Perkin Warbeck (1634).

"Closet" tragedy (intended primarily to be read, not staged) was more closely associated with classical and continental traditions: notable examples include Mary Sidney's version of Robert Garnier's Antonius (1595), Fulke Greville's Mustapha (1596) and Alaham (1600), and Elizabeth Cary's Tragedy of Mariam (1613), the first original English play written by a woman. A heavily classicist form of tragedy pioneered on the public stage by Ben Jonson in Sejanus (1603) and Catiline (1611) was unsuccessful in its own day.

It left its mark, however, on tragedies of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries such as John Dryden's All for Love (1678) and Joseph Addison's Cato (1713). These tragedies are often also termed "heroic drama": the mode is exemplified by Dryden's Conquest of Granada (1670) and Thomas Otway's Venice Preserved (1682) and parodied in George Villiers, duke of Buckingham's The Rehearsal (printed 1672) and Henry Fielding's Tom Thumb (1730). This period also saw a revival of domestic tragedy in George Lillo's The London Merchant (1731) and the revival and adaptation of many of Shakespeare's tragedies. Notable examples include Nahum Tate's versions of King Lear (1681), Richard II (The Sicilian Usurper, 1681), and Coriolanus (The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, 1681), Colley Cibber's Richard III (1700), and Garrick's adaptations of Romeo and Juliet (1748) and Hamlet (1771), in which he also acted.

Comedy. Comedies such as Campaspe (1583) and Sappho and Phao (1584), written by John Lyly for the children's companies, combined classical settings with topical allusion to court and country in witty antithetical structures (Lyly's technique is often termed "euphuism" after the title of his best-selling prose romance, Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, published in 1578). The romantic comedies of the next generation of writers, including those of Shakespeare, were heavily influenced by Lyly's work. Another important mode was comedy portraying the city, exemplified by Thomas Dekker's The Shoemaker's Holiday (1599), Ben Jonson's Volpone (1605) and The Alchemist (1610), John Marston's The Dutch Courtesan (1605), Thomas

Middleton's A Chaste Maid in Cheapside (1613), Massinger's A New Way to Pay Old Debts (1625), and Richard Brome's The Weeding of Covent Garden (c. 1632). In the mid-Jacobean period, the mixed genre of tragicomedy came to prominence, largely through plays written by Shakespeare and by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher. Both of these modes were quickly revived in the 1660s, and they exercised a shaping influence on the comedies of Behn, Centlivre, William Congreve, George Etherege, George Farquhar, John Vanbrugh, and William Wycherley. The plays of these dramatists constitute what is usually known as "Restoration Comedy": social satires that simultaneously criticized and enjoyed excessive behavior. Famous examples include Behn's The Rover (in two parts, 1677-1681), Wycherley's The Country Wife (1675), Etherege's The Man of Mode (1676), Vanbrugh's The Relapse (1676), Congreve's The Way of the World (1700), and Farquhar's The Beaux' Strategem (1707). Later, Richard Steele's The Conscious Lovers (1722) pioneered "sentimental" comedy, reacting against the supposedly immoral tone of Restoration comedies. A return to irreverence can be found in Fielding's 1730s farces, and in Oliver Goldsmith's She Stoops to Conquer (1773) and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's The School for Scandal (1777) and The Critic (1779).

Occasional drama. The early modern period also saw a flourishing tradition of occasional drama. Court theater included lavish entertainments under Elizabeth I-such as the entertainment at Kenilworth (1575), Philip Sidney's The Lady of May (1578), and the Elvetham Entertainment (1591) and the masques on which Ben Jonson collaborated with the architect Inigo Jones during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Other occasional drama included Thomas Nashe's Summer's Last Will and Testament (1592), John Milton's Masque at Ludlow (better known as *Comus*, 1634), and the earliest English opera, The Siege of Rhodes (1656), with a libretto by William Davenant and music (now lost) by Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Cooke, George Hudson, and Edward Coleman. The Siege of Rhodes is also notable for featuring the first use in England of perspective scenery, designed by John Webb, and one of the earliest appearances by a female performer, Mistress Coleman. Major cities such as London, Coventry, Norwich, and York had

their own tradition of plays, shows, and pageants, many of them organized by the trades guilds to mark religious festivals, the accession or entry to a city of monarchs, or the appointment of civic leaders. Other popular dramatic modes included puppet shows and, later, pantomimes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEMES

Drama was throughout the early modern period a socially and politically engaged form. John Skelton's Magnificence, performed around 1519, launched a devastating critique on Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, chief adviser to Henry VIII, and on Henry's young courtiers. Nicholas Udall's Respublica (1553) was a political allegory lauding the accession of Mary I and the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in England. A decade later, Sackville and Norton wrote Gorboduc to advise Elizabeth I about the succession. Middleton's A Game at Chess (1624), performed for nine days consecutively at the Globe Theatre, allegorized Anglo-Spanish relations and caused a public scandal by representing on the stage real people such as the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, marquis de Gondomar. During the Civil War (1642–1649) and Commonwealth (1649–1660), printed drama was highly prevalent in political polemic, including plays and dramatic dialogues such as A New Play Called Canterbury His Change of Diet (1641), Crafty Cromwell (1648), and Cromwell's Conspiracy (1660). These political playlets were published anonymously or under pseudonyms such as Mercurius Melancholicus (Crafty Cromwell) and Mercurius Pragmaticus (Cromwell's Conspiracy). Toward the end of the period, John Gay's The Beggar's Opera (1728) focused on the inhabitants of Newgate, the famous London prison, and the career of the highwayman Macheath. It launched a new form of socially aware drama, and, drawing on genres such as the ballad, re-inscribed the stage's associations with other areas of popular culture.

The Beggar's Opera seems to be a world away from the civic religious drama of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However, in spite of the many changes in performance location, casting, and dramatic style, the theater continued to exist in relation to society and the communities in which it was performed.

See also Beaumont and Fletcher; Behn, Aphra; English Literature and Language; Jonson, Ben; Marlowe, Christopher; Shakespeare, William; Sheridan, Richard Brinsley.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Space does not allow an exhaustive list of primary texts.

 Useful anthologies of early modern English drama include the following:
- Bevington, David, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, and Eric Rasmussen, eds. *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology.* New York and London, 2002.
- Canfield, J. Douglas, ed. *The Broadview Anthology of Resto*ration and Early Eighteenth-Century Drama. Peterborough, U.K., 2001.
- Kinney, Arthur, ed. Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments. Malden, Mass., and Oxford, 1999.
- Lyons, Paddy, and Fidelis Morgan, eds. *Female Playwrights of the Restoration: Five Comedies.* London and Rutland, Vt., 1991.
- Manning, Gillian, ed. *Libertine Plays of the Restoration*. London and North Clarendon, Vt., 1999.
- Somerset, J. A. B., ed. Four Tudor Interludes. London and New York, 1974.
- Walker, Greg. Medieval Drama: An Anthology. Oxford and Malden, Mass., 2000.
- Whitworth, Charles Walters. *Three Sixteenth-Century Comedies:* Gammer Gurton's Needle, Ralph Roister Doister, The Old Wife's Tale. London and New York, 1984.
- Womersley, David, ed. Restoration Drama. Oxford, 2000.

Secondary Sources

- Beadle, Richard, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1994.
- Braunmuller, A. R., and Michael Hattaway, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge, U.K., 1990.
- Cox, John D., and David Scott Kastan, eds. A New History of Early English Drama. New York, 1997.
- Fisk, Deborah Payne, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000.
- Gurr, Andrew. *The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642*. Cambridge, U.K., 1980.
- ——. The Shakespearian Playing Companies. Oxford and New York, 1996.
- Kinney, Arthur F., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1500–1600*. Cambridge, U.K., 2000.

Owen, Susan J. A Companion to Restoration Drama. Oxford and Malden, Mass., 2001.

Randall, Dale B. J. Winter Fruit: English Drama 1642–1660. Lexington, Ky., 1995.

Walker, Greg. The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1998.

White, Paul Whitfield. Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage and Playing in Tudor England. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1993.

Wiseman, Susan. Drama and Politics in the English Civil War. Cambridge, U.K., 1998.

Lucy Munro

FRENCH

See French Literature and Language.

GERMAN

Germany as a nation did not exist in minds or on the map during the early modern era. Each territory of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation) was its own entity with unique traditions driven by cultural imperatives, politics, religion, and other social variables, to include language. Drama and theater arts in the German territories saw a proliferation of forms derived from the reception of various literary traditions. By 1780, modern German drama came into its own, but the transition leading to that result was complex. Those forms and traditions that were discarded along the way constitute the story of early modern drama in Germany.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw dramatic forms linked to liturgical uses and ecclesiastical traditions. Oral rituals of the Latin mass were linked to the celebratory cycle of the Christian calendar, to the Christmas and Easter messages of birth, death, and salvation. Dramatic enactment served as an entertaining vehicle reinforcing wondrous truths. Raucous and salacious Shrovetide or Carnival plays (Fastnachtspiele) by the likes of Hans Rosenplüt and Hans Folz, warned Carnival revelers in Nuremberg of the foolishness of their excess just prior to Lent.

The recovery in 1493 of plays in Latin modeled after those of the Roman playwright Terence (c. 190–159? B.C.E.) by the tenth-century Saxon nun Hroswitha von Gandersheim legitimized and coincided with the rise of the humanist tradition of

the *Schuldrama* (dramas for schools), plays performed by schoolboy actors and university students so as to hone rhetorical skill and Latin fluency. Philipp Melanchthon's 1516 edition of Terence provided an authoritative textual base for both dramatic form and literary language and served as a catalyst for translation of the plays from Latin into German (1540), thereby assuring the spread of classical models. Whether written in German or Latin, *Schuldrama* was a constant; theater in Germany remained nonprofessional until the eighteenth century.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) was leery both of the diversions of medieval pageantry and the pre-Christian worldliness of Greek and Roman plays. His mentor Melanchthon, however, convinced him of the efficacy of placing drama in the service of the Reformation. While some playwrights pilloried the Roman Catholic Church, Luther encouraged the production of plays based on biblical sources. Prodigal Son plays, for example, defined the exemplary Christian life grounded in the precepts of faithalone theology, while Judith dramas portrayed heroic piety confronting blasphemous tyranny, Judith versus Holofernes representing the Lutheran versus the Roman Church. Lutheran schoolmasters and pastors cranked out German-language plays, spreading a Protestant message to cultural centers (notably Strasbourg) and to most corners of the empire and Switzerland. The Catholic religious orders, but especially Jesuit playwrights such as Jakob Bidermann and Jakob Masen, countered, producing Neo-Latin works, the theatricality of which influenced playwrights well into the seventeenth century.

The most prolific playwright of the sixteenth century was Hans Sachs (1494–1576). Often parodied because of his unrelenting German-language doggerel, the Nuremberg author absorbed classical and medieval literary and historical sources, authoring 128 tragedies and comedies as well as 80 Fastnachtspiele. Not only did he transmit a version of Terence's Eunuch or the medieval romance Tristan und Isolde to the German imagination, but his Fastnachtspiele toned down the blatant profanity of his predecessors, deploying the Shrovetide message of excess just prior to Lent firmly in the service of Reformation instruction. By the early seventeenth century, Sachs was passé, yet he had written

the only texts from the era that are still produced in modern Germany.

During the late sixteenth century, German playwrights also derived inspiration from the Italian commedia dell'arte and from traveling troupes of English professional players who toured cities and princely courts throughout the empire. The brand of theater was decidedly histrionic, focused more on slapstick action than on the word. Nicodemus Frischlin's Caminarius in the court-centered play Julius Redivivus (1585) was a lascivious commediatype. Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig's braggart soldier in the courtly piece named for him, Vincentius Ladislaus (1592), was as indebted to Shakespearean and Italian models as to classical sources. Also set at a court, Ludwig Hollonius's king-for-a-day play, Somnium Vitae Humanae (1605), drew on French sources. Each drama documents the derivative nature of German drama as well as the significance of princely court festival culture in the era; indeed, the first theater building in the empire was constructed by a Hessian prince for his court in Kassel (1604-1605).

Comedy, as Cicero had written, was a mirror of laughable life, while tragedy ended sadly. Such views were hardly complex or subtle, and with the variegated dramatic conventions competing for the German stage, what was lacking was a coherent theoretical base. A treatise by Martin Opitz (1597–1639), Das Buch von der Teutschen Poeterey (1624; The book concerning German poetics) filled the void. The author was a culturally patriotic student of Italian Renaissance poetics who simply translated Julius Caesar Scaliger's (1484–1558) definitions verbatim into German. Opitz's work became authoritative, spawning a host of learned theoretical publications. Playwrights after Opitz knew exactly what was expected of them and wrote accordingly.

Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) was honored as the consummate practitioner of literary art. His five tragedies and two comedies, along with lesser-known dramas, established him as the exemplar of the era's sensibility. *Leo Armenius oder Fürstenmord* (1657; Leo Armenius or regicide) is a case in point. Set in ninth-century Byzantium, the tragedy's text documents the playwright's indebtedness to both Jesuit and Netherlandic drama, even as the action cast in stately Alexandrine lines (iambic hexameter)

expresses the theme of human transience (Vergänglichkeit) coupled with a decidedly Lutheran philosophy of history. The drama explored a sociopolitical issue especially pertinent to seventeenth-century European absolutism: regicide, the Fürstenmord of the title. Subsequent dramas by Gryphius addressed the tragic fate of figures from both the distant and the recent past, for example, that of the English King Charles I, who was beheaded in 1649. In Ermorderte Majestät oder Carolus Stuardus (1657; Murdered majesty or Charles Stuart), Gryphius reconfigured the regicide as a martyrdom; the king became a latter-day Christ, a spin reflecting both the playwright's agenda and the political ideology of the absolutist era.

Gryphius's Absurda Comica oder Herr Peter Squentz (1658; Comic absurdities or Mr. Peter Squentz), seems to be a takeoff on A Midsummer Night's Dream, with the protagonist being a German Peter Quince from Shakespeare's "Pyramus and Thisbe" play within a play. Yet research has shown that Gryphius could not have known Shakespeare's text directly, even as he dramatized the tragic comedy of errors derived from Ovid's Metamorphoses. Instead, Gryphius explicitly satirized the ineptness of Hans Sachs, even as he dissembled Opitz's rigid definition of comedy. The oft-performed tragicomedy argued for the admissibility of chaotic absurdity on the German stage. On the other hand, Horribilicribrifax (1663), featuring two preposterous braggart soldiers, was more in line with Greek and Roman comedy, with commedia dell'arte traditions, and with the German conventions of the form. As a result of the cessation of hostilities, the pair is down on its luck and now in pursuit of eligible ladies. The happy-end marriage, a comedic process of reintegration, dramatized pertinent issues after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The six tragedies by Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635–1683) focused on protagonists of the Roman, Egyptian, and Turkish past, on exotic figures such as Nero, Cleopatra, and Sultan Sulieman. Grand passions, explicit eroticism, and absolute power drove both the action and the highly charged literary language. Such extravagance commented on and echoed the absolutism of the German empire and marked Lohenstein as a tragedian of skeptical rationalism, the antithesis of a reli-

gious playwright. During the eighteenth century, Lohenstein was censured, while a lesser literary talent, the schoolmaster-playwright Christian Weise (1642–1708) authored eighteen comedies and four tragedies in the tradition of the *Schuldrama*, plays that anticipated eighteenth-century trends of theater in the service of the Enlightenment.

The publication of Johann Christoph Gottsched's (1700-1766) Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen (1730; Attempt at a critical poetics for the Germans) a century after Opitz's treatise signaled the shift to thinking in line with the Enlightenment. Opitz had repeated sixteenth-century Italian descriptions of drama. Gottsched looked to French playwrights for his models: to the tragedies of Pierre Corneille (1606-1684) and Jean Racine (1639-1699), to the comedies of Philippe Destouches (1680-1754) and Charles Dufresny (1648-1724). Gottsched's definitions of comedy and tragedy were proscriptive (rather than merely descriptive), arguing for the adherence to French-inspired classicist form as well as for the moral function of theater.

It was in the *sächsische Typenkomödie* (Saxon comedy) that Gottsched's moralizing views were realized. For the playwrights from the territory of Saxony, a comic figure's laughable fixation—for example, hypochondria—was considered to be directly related to the character's lack of rationality. Comedy was not laughter for laughter's sake; the play presented both the irrational trait and the process leading to its abandonment. The members of the audience laughed knowingly about the failing and reveled in its correction, a notion in line with the optimistic rationality of the Enlightenment era (*Aufklärung*).

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1728–1781), Germany's prototypical *Aufklärer*, well knew the moral intent of Saxon comedy. In *Der junge Gelehrte* (1748; The young scholar), his first truly popular play, he satirized his own precocious intellect. Yet Lessing was also attuned to the effect of "sentimental comedy" as practiced by the English, the French, and by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769). If the audience could be moved to tears (comédie larmoyante), this too might effect moral betterment. In this variant, comedy became ever more earnest, and nowhere more profoundly

than in Lessing's play Minna von Barnhelm oder das Soldatenglück (1767; Minna von Barnhelm or the soldier's fortune). The protagonists, the lovers Minna and Tellheim, were not only laughable types (Tellheim, a braggart soldier), but also individuals movingly caught up in a near tragic comedy.

With Lessing, German drama came into its own. In 1755, he published Miss Sara Sampson, a sentimental bourgeois tragedy indebted to an English text. His 17. Literaturbrief (1759; Seventeenth literary letter) delivered a massive critique of Gottsched and the French playwrights, even as he championed Shakespeare. With the tragedy Emilia Galotti (1772), he took on the depravity of an absolutist prince bent on the seduction of middle-class Emilia. That the tragedy was first performed at a prince's court assured its impact and Lessing's notoriety. Like Gryphius, he did not shrink from criticizing sociopolitical institutions even as he sought to advance the greatest goal of the Enlightenment, the education of humanity. Nathan der Weise (1779; Nathan the wise) presented his vision of religious tolerance between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in dramatic form.

The era of the Enlightenment in Germany experienced a refinement of literary language. With the exception of the blank verse in Nathan, all of Lessing's dramas were written in prose, it being true to life. During the same period, German theater gradually became professional. The itinerant troupes of players, generally thought of as vagrants, were hired for residence at this court or that. Even though the permanent establishment of a Nationaltheater in Hamburg failed, actors and actresses gained a footing. Furthermore, the Hamburg experiment yielded Lessing's Hamburgische Dramaturgie (1767-1769; The Hamburg dramaturgy), a compilation of reviews of stage performances in Hamburg and essays on the nature of drama and theater. Most importantly, Lessing took on Aristotle's theory of tragedy, redefining the genre in terms of the Enlightenment: tragedy was to effect not only an emotional response, but also a moral change in the viewers.

Lessing's death in 1781 marked the transition from early modern to modern drama. He had introduced Germany to future directions; it has been argued that *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress)

drama was a radicalized extension of the Enlightenment. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) expressed his admiration of Shakespeare in 1771 and went on to write Götz von Berlichingen (1773). Goethe purposefully transgressed against the norms of French classicism, as he passionately depicted the titanic proportions of a very Shakespearean Götz. Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) championed rebellious youth in Die Räuber (1781; The robbers), later updating Lessing in the bourgeois tragedy Kabale und Liebe (1784; Intrigue and love), like Lessing's Emilia Galotti an indictment of the depravity of absolutism in Germany. Finally, Schiller's essay Die Schaubühne als moralische Anstalt betrachtet (1785; The stage as a moral institution) went both Gottsched and Lessing one better, laying the groundwork for what was soon to become the drama and theater of the German Klassik.

See also Dutch Literature and Language; German Literature and Language; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Demetz, Peter, ed. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing: Nathan the Wise, Minna von Barnhelm, and other Plays and Writings. New York, 1991. Translations of essential plays and writings into English.
- Gillespie, Gerald, ed. German Theater before 1750. New York, 1992. Excellent introduction and translation of six plays: Hrotswitha von Gandersheim, Dulcitius; Hans Sachs, Fool Surgery (Das Narrenschneiden); Paul Rebhun, Susanna; Andreas Gryphius, Leo Armenius; Daniel C. von Lohenstein, Sophinsba; Johann E. Schlegel, The Dumb Beauty (Die stumme Schönheit).
- Halbig, Michael C., trans. The Jesuit Theater of Jacob Masen, Three Plays in Translation with an Introduction. New York, 1987. Translation of the Latin plays Rusticus Imperans, Maurice, and Androphilus.
- Hinderer, Walter, ed. Friedrich Schiller, Plays. New York, 1983. A translation of Intrigue and Love and Don Carlos.
- Leidner, Alan C. Sturm und Drang. New York, 1992. Helpful introduction and translation of plays by Lenz, The Soldiers, Wagner, The Childmurderess, Klinger, Storm and Stress, and Schiller, The Robbers.
- Listerman, Randall W., ed. Hans Sachs. Nine Carnival Plays. Ottawa, 1990. Helpful introduction and translation of The Nose Dance, The Stolen Bacon, The Calf-Hatching, The Wife in the Well, The Farmer with the

Blur, The Evil Woman, The Grand Inquisitor in the Soup, The Dead Man, The Pregnant Farmer.

Secondary Sources

- Abbé, Derek van. Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland. Parkville, Australia, 1961. A useful overview.
- Aikin, Judith P. German Baroque Drama. Boston, 1982. Chapters on drama to include festival and musical culture.
- Alexander, Robert J. Das deutsche Barockdrama. Stuttgart, 1984. An indispensable handbook.
- Aylett, Robert, and Peter Skrine, eds. Hans Sachs and Folk Theatre in the Late Middle Ages: Studies in the History of Popular Culture. Lewiston, N.Y., 1995.
- Bacon, Thomas I. Martin Luther and the Drama. Amsterdam, 1976.
- Eckardt, Jo-Jacqueline. *Lessing's* Nathan the Wise *and the Critics*, 1779–1991. Columbia, S.C. 1993. A useful study of the tradition of scholarship on Lessing as a playwright.
- Ehrstine, Glenn. Theater, Culture, and Community in Reformation Bern, 1523–1555. Leiden and Boston, 2002.
 Examination of ten plays in a Swiss sociocultural context.
- Fick, Monika. Lessing-Handbuch: Leben-Werk-Wirkung. Stuttgart, 2000. The most up-to-date of numerous handbooks on Lessing and his works.
- Gillespie, Gerald E. P. Daniel Casper von Lohenstein's Historical Tragedies. Columbus, Ohio, 1965.
- Hardin, James, ed. *German Baroque Writers* 1580–1660. Detroit, 1996. Up-to-date scholarship and bibliographies on writers including the playwrights Avancini, Balde, Bidermann, von Birken, Gryphius, Heinrich Julius of Brunswick, Klaj, Opitz, Rist, and Stieler.
- Hardin, James, and Christoph E. Schweitzer, eds. *German Writers from the Enlightenment to Sturm und Drang,* 1720–1764. Detroit, 1990. Up-to-date scholarship and bibliographies on writers including Gottsched, Lessing, among many others.
- Hardin, James, and Max Reinhart, eds. *German Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation 1280–1580*. Detroit, 1997. Up-to-date scholarship and bibliographies on writers including the playwrights Folz, Frischlin, Manuel, Rebhun, Sachs, Waldis, Wickram, Wimpfeling, and also Luther and Melanchthon.
- Hinck, Walter. Das deutsche Lustspiel des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts und die italienische Komödie. Stuttgart, 1965. Valuable study of German adaptations of commedia dell'arte traditions.
- Hinck, Walter, ed. *Handbuch des deutschen Dramas*. Düsseldorf, 1980. An indispensable handbook.
- Hoffmeister, Gerhart, ed. *German Baroque Literature: The European Perspective.* New York, 1983. Informative chapters on dramatic theory, theater, and drama.

- The Lessing Yearbook / Jahrbuch. Vols. 1 (1969)–34 (2001). Richard E. Schade, managing editor. Scholarship on Lessing and the literary culture of the German Enlightenment.
- Michael, Wolfgang F. Das deutsche Drama der Reformationszeit. Bern and New York, 1984. An indispensable handbook.
- Parente, James A. Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition, Christian Theater in Germany and the Netherlands 1500–1680. Leiden and New York, 1987.
- Parente, James A., Richard E. Schade, and George C. Schoolfield, eds. *Literary Culture in the Holy Roman Empire*, 1555–1720. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991. Five chapters on drama and theater.
- Price, David. *The Political Dramaturgy of Nicodemus Frischlin*. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990. Authoritative study of the Neo-Latin playwright.
- Schade, Richard E. *Studies in Early Modern Comedy 1500–1650*. Columbia, S.C., 1988. An introductory overview of scholarship and chapters on five plays as well as Terence-reception and drama theory.
- Spahr, Blake Lee. Andreas Gryphius: A Modern Perspective. Columbia, S.C., 1993. A useful overview.
- Wailes, Stephen L. The Rich Man and Lazarus on the Reformation Stage, A Contribution to the Social History of German Drama. Selinsgrove, Pa, 1997. Scholarship on ten plays of the sixteenth century.

RICHARD E. SCHADE

ITALIAN

The rediscovery of classical drama and the flourishing of popular comedic forms in the fifteenth century contributed to the exponential growth of theater in sixteenth-century Italy. Interest in theater was also fed by the many social and political problems facing Italian states and their citizens, especially a series of wars that they eventually lost. Theater served both as an instrument of catharsis for powerful emotions and as a laboratory in which to experiment with solutions. With the second half of the century, tragedy grew in importance, and restraints were placed on comedy. Aristotelian norms were developed that called for clearly defined genres and character types. Toward the close of the century, as audiences tired of predictability, mixed genres grew in popularity, as did the pastoral. Seventeenth-century theater saw the predominance of the commedia dell'arte and of melodrama. During the eighteenth century, plays participated in the conflict between the old hierarchical system of social

authority and the growing recognition of the value of each member of society.

COMEDY AND TRAGEDY: REVIVAL OF THE ANCIENTS AND CREATION OF NEW GENRES

In the early sixteenth century, a new genre took shape: the erudite or regular comedy. Inspired by Roman comedy, this genre was also influenced by Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1348–1353). Written in Italian, erudite comedy focused on contemporary issues and characters, chiefly conflicts between the generations about money and love. Important plays include *La cassaria* (The coffer), *I suppositi* (The pretenders), and *Il negromante* (The necromancer or The magician) by Ludovico Ariosto; *La mandragola* (The mandrake root), *Andria* (Woman from Andros), and *Clizia* by Niccolò Machiavelli; and *Calandria* (The follies of Calandro) by Bernardo Dovizi (Il Bibbiena).

Comedy soon departed from strict erudite norms. In the works of Sienese playwrights and those of Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante), who wrote between about 1516 and 1536, Arcadian shepherds mingled with real peasants who spoke rural dialects. When wars, famine, and plague ravaged Italy in the late 1520s, Beolco's plays depicted the terrible sufferings inflicted on peasants. Ariosto's Lena (1528), which was probably influenced by Beolco, presents a bleak picture of lower-class urban life, while Pietro Aretino's comedies La corte Giana (1525; The courtesan) and Il marescalco (1526-1527; The stablemaster) satirize courtly life. The anonymous La veneziana (The Venetian woman) explores the hidden and transgressive amorous activities of Venetian patrician women.

The rediscovery of Aristotle's *Poetics*, first translated into Latin in 1498 and into Italian in 1549, sparked a lively debate about comedy and tragedy. From Aristotle's observations on art as imitation and on appropriate plot, character, sentiment, and diction choices for each genre, theorists derived laws about dramatic form. These laws included the famous unities of time, place, and action (plot) that confined the play to a single action occurring in one location on a single day and, adding Roman theories of dramatic structure, the division into five progressive acts. Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Poetics* began the debate with the first part (1529) and closed it with the second part (1563).

Respect for tragedy was fostered by Aristotle's belief that its subject matter (rulers) and the emotions it generated (horror and compassion) made it superior to comedy. Comedy's purpose was to reform behavior by showing the undesirable consequences of ridiculous actions; comic characters were from the lower classes. While observing the strict rules governing tragedy prescribed by classical theoreticians, Renaissance authors incorporated contemporary life into their plays. The first regular tragedies were written during the War of the League of Cambrai (1509-1517): Gian Giorgio Trissino's Sophonisba (1515), depicting the suicide of a queen defeated by the Romans, and Giovanni Rucellai's Rosmunda. The first vernacular tragedy, Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio's Orbecche, was staged at the Este court in Ferrara in 1541. The 1542 performance of Sperone Speroni's Canace was postponed by Beolco's death and eventually abandoned because of the controversy it generated. In the first generation of staged tragedy much blood was shed, and rulers and their families were depicted as depraved tyrants who committed murder and incest, causing distress among tragedy's aristocratic audiences.

At the same time that plays acquired fixed structures, theatrical presentations acquired fixed venues, with a permanent theater becoming a necessary feature of a signorial palazzo.

THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: VARIATIONS ON ESTABLISHED THEMES

Once Aristotelian norms had been established, it was no longer acceptable to laugh at upper-class characters. A new comic genre was born, the commedia dell'arte, performed by professional troupes rather than courtiers. These troupes worked not with scripts but with nonaristocratic typed characters and plot devices. Only Venice and Florence, with their republican traditions, maintained a robust written comedy, in the works of playwrights such as Andrea Calmo and Anton Francesco Grazzini. The pastoral, epitomized by Tasso's *Aminta* (1573), offered an acceptable courtly alternative, and erudite plays written early in the century continued to be staged.

Rigid Aristotelian distinctions, which audiences did not favor, were later softened. Comedy returned, written in a vernacular that was both subversive and deformed and with more lower-class and female characters. Exemplifying these developments are the comedies (1589–1601) of Giambattista Della Porta and *The Candlebearer* (1582) by Giordano Bruno. After a short hiatus, tragedy developed in more moderate directions, including the new genre of the tragedy with a happy ending. In these plays, kings owed their ill deeds to councillors rather than their own defects, and unpalatable actions occurred offstage. The pastoral reappeared in Ferrara with Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Faithful Shepherd*, written in a tragicomic style. Other blended forms such as the melodrama and the serious or dark comedy enjoyed popularity.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Theatrical activity flourished in the seventeenth century, with the commedia dell'arte, mixed genres, and melodrama dominating the stage. To make performance a profitable enterprise, large theaters were built and the public was charged an entrance fee. The leading family acting troupes such as the Andreini received public acclaim.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: COMEDY AND TRAGEDY

During the eighteenth century much literary energy was directed toward the stage. These achievements were epitomized in the works of the great Venetian playwright Carlo Goldoni, born in 1707. Although he began his career when the commedia dell'arte was dominant, Goldoni soon followed his audiences' interests and his own inclination toward realism. His plays increasingly included worthy characters of the middle and lower classes who spoke in dialect, and an unusually large number and variety of roles for women, including economically powerful women of the working classes. Goldoni's reform provoked an attack by Pietro Chiari, a Venetian cleric and playwright; their dispute resulted in the censure of the theater by Venetian authorities, who on a number of occasions required Goldoni to rewrite plays. Carlo Gozzi, an impoverished member of the upper class, led aristocrats in criticism of Goldoni for supposedly inverting the social order. Gozzi created a dramatic alternative that audiences favored: exotic tales set in a world of wealth and privilege. In 1762 Goldoni left for Paris, where he worked with the commedia dell'arte and wrote his memoirs in French.

A desire to overthrow the tyranny of outside powers over the states of the Italian peninsula inspired the tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri. After extensive travels abroad, Alfieri settled in Florence, dedicating himself to exposing the defects of tyrannical rule in his plays and his 1777 treatise *Of Tyranny*. Yet Alfieri showed signs of a lingering attachment to the old order, choosing the most conservative, aristocratic genre and never showing a ruler deposed. In his masterpiece, *Saul*, King Saul maintains his dignity despite his struggle with the knowledge that the mantle of leadership will soon pass to David.

See also Commedia dell'Arte; Goldoni, Carlo; Italian Literature and Language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Alfieri, Vittorio. *Of Tyranny*. Translated by Julius A. Molinaro and Beatrice Corrigan. Toronto, 1961. Translation of *Della tirannide* (1777).
- Aretino, Pietro. *The Marescalco*. Translated by Leonard G. Sbrocchi and J. Douglas Campbell. Ottawa, 1986. Translation of *Il Marescalco* (1533).
- Ariosto, Lodovico. *The Comedies of Ariosto*. Translated and edited by Edmond M. Beame and Leonard G. Sbrocchi. Chicago, 1975. Translations of *The Coffer* [in prose], *The Pretenders, The Necromancer, Lena, The Coffer* [in verse], *The students, The scholastics* (1508–1533).
- Beolco, Angelo (Il Ruzante). *La Moschetta*. Translated by Antonio Franceschetti and Kenneth R. Bartlett. Ottawa, 1993. Translation of *La Moscheta* (1528–1530).
- Bruno, Giordano. *The Candlebearer*. Translated by Gino Moliterno. Ottawa, 1999. Translation of *Il candelaio* (1582).
- Della Porta, Giambattista. *Gli duoi fratelli rivali*. Edited and translated by Louise George Clubb. Berkeley, 1980.
- Dovizi, Bernardo (Il Bibbiena). *The Follies of Calandro*. Translated by Oliver Evans. In *The Genius of the Italian Theater*. Edited by Eric Bentley. New York, 1964. Translation of *La Calandria* (1513).
- Goldoni, Carlo. Four comedies [by] Goldoni. Translated by Frederick Davies. Harmondsworth, U.K., 1968. Translation of I due gemelli Veneziani (1750), La vedova scaltra (1748), La Locandiera (1753), and La casa nova (1761).
- Villeggiatura Trilogy. Translated by Robert Cornthwaite. Lyme, N.H., 1994. Translation of Le smanie

- della villeggiatura, Le avventure della villeggiatura, and Il ritorno dalla villeggiatura (1761).
- Guarini, Battista. *The Faithful Shepherd*. Translated by Thomas Sheridan. Edited and completed by Robert Hogan and Edward A. Nickerson. Newark, Del., and Cranbury, N.J., 1989. Translation of *Il pastor fido* (1589).
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Comedies of Machiavelli*. Edited and translated by David Sices and James B. Atkinson. Hanover, 1985. Translations of *Mandragola* (1504–1518), *Andria* (1517–1518), and *Clizia* (1524–1525).
- Poliziano, Angelo. A Translation of the Orpheus of Angelo Politian and the Aminta of Torquato Tasso. Translated by Louis E. Lord. Reprint. Westport, Conn., 1986. Translation of Orfeo (1480).

Secondary Sources

- Angelini, Franca. Vita di Goldoni. Rome, 1993.
- Asor Rosa, Alberto. Storia della letteratura italiana. Florence, 1985.
- Attolini, Giovanni. Teatro e spettacolo nel Rinascimento. Rome, 1988.
- Baratto, Mario. La letteratura teatrale del Settecento in Italia: studi e letture su Carlo Goldoni. Vicenza, 1985.
- Carroll, Linda L. Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante). Boston, 1990.
- Di Maria, Salvatore. The Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance: Cultural Realities and Theatrical Innovations. Lewisburg, Pa., 2002.
- Ferroni, Giulio. Storia della letteratura italiana dal Cinquecento al Settecento. Milan, 1991. Vol. 4 of Storia della letteratura italiana.
- Fido, Franco. Guida a Goldoni. Teatro e società nel Settecento. Turin, 1977.
- ------. Nuova guida a Goldoni. Teatro e società nel Settecento. Turin, 2000.
- Oreglia, Giacomo. *The Commedia dell'Arte*. Translated by Lovett F. Edwards. London, 1968.
- Radcliff-Umstead, Douglas. The Birth of Modern Comedy in Renaissance Italy. Chicago, 1969.
- Siciliano, Enzo. La letteratura italiana. 3 vols. Milan, 1986–1988.

LINDA L. CARROLL

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

The early modern period was a time of significant developments in the quality, quantity, and popularity of dramatic literature and performance across Europe. For Spain and Portugal, this period is known as the Golden Age of drama, when the works of hundreds of playwrights were performed daily to

great acclaim on urban stages and by traveling companies all over the peninsula. Although plays were a popular form of entertainment throughout the Iberian Peninsula, the greatest playwrights and dramatic works are associated with Spain, and particularly Madrid, which became a cultural and artistic center after the court settled there in 1561. The best-known Spanish writers included Félix Lope de Vega Carpio (Lope de Vega; 1562–1635), who did the most to popularize drama and claimed to have written well over a thousand plays, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), whose death is often considered the end of the Golden Age. For Portugal, the single outstanding figure was Gil Vicente (1465?–1537?), whose work defined court theater in the early sixteenth century.

Golden Age drama drew on a range of native medieval traditions including vernacular folk ritual, Christian liturgical ceremony, and the secular pageantry of the elite. With the transition to the Renaissance, Italian traditions became influential as well, as scholars revived the elements of classical Latin drama. Many early Spanish Golden Age dramatic texts were drawn from Italian translations of Latin plays (particularly those of Plautus, Terence, and Seneca), and Spanish actors also borrowed from the Italian improvisational commedia dell'arte. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese playwrights emerged to make their own contributions; Juan del Encina and Bartolomé de Torres Naharro were the most influential of these early playwrights in establishing the structure and form of Golden Age drama.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, drama evolved into genres distinguished by content and setting. One form was the theater of the court, performed in the various royal residences of Portugal and Spain by professional actors and by the members of the court themselves. These spectacle plays often drew on classical and allegorical themes and featured elaborate scenery and stage machinery. Another genre was that of the auto sacramental, a brief one-act play with religious themes performed in the streets during the yearly Corpus Christi celebrations. Others included the zarzuela, a musical play which later evolved into the nineteenth-century operetta, and the loa and entremés, short dramatic pieces that served as preludes and interludes to accompany a full-length play.

By far the most popular and influential form of drama was the comedia, a uniquely Spanish genre established largely through the contributions of Lope de Vega and his treatise, The New Art of Writing Plays in Our Time, published in 1609. The comedia was a secular play in three acts, usually around 3,000 lines long, that blurred the classical distinction between tragedy and comedy. It drew on a wide range of subject matter from history, mythology, biblical stories, medieval epics, folklore, saints' lives, and contemporary Spanish life. Regardless of the setting in time or place, its most consistent characteristic was its reflection of contemporary language, customs, and relationships. The dramatic tension was usually caused by conflicts between love, honor, and the expectations and obligations connected to one's position in the social structure. To this end, rather than developing individual personalities, the comedia tended to portray stock figures that represented the different elements of society, and many significant characters were identified more readily by title or position than by name: the governor of Ocaña, the mayor of Zalamea, the knight from Olmedo. The comedia cast always included a young male protagonist (galán); one or more leading ladies (damas); an older, more powerful man (the viejo, a king, captain, or father figure); occasionally a peasant or other representative of rural life; and always a comic figure (gracioso), usually the servant of the galán.

The Golden Age comedia was dedicated to the tastes and interests of the broad cross-section of Spanish society that attended the plays. Before the sixteenth century, dramatic production had depended on the patronage of the nobility, the court, or the church. By the 1540s, playwrights and actors began to appeal to wider public audiences, as traveling companies of actors made their way across the peninsula performing in city marketplaces, taverns, inns, and public plazas. The number of these acting companies grew and, in the 1560s, charitable brotherhoods in Madrid and other cities began to hire them for regular fund-raising performances. The success of these ventures depended on drawing in large audiences, so plays ceased to be linked to particular occasions or messages, and turned more toward broader themes not limited by region or social class. Plays were appreciated by everyone from the king to the humblest laborer, and comedia performances in Madrid alone could draw in audiences of a quarter of a million each year.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, most major Spanish cities had established permanent public theaters, such as the Príncipe and the Cruz in Madrid, and authors wrote *comedias* with these spaces in mind. Because even the most established theaters were still open-air spaces with a simple platform for a stage, the most important factor in any performance was the text itself; unlike those of court drama, the props, costumes, and stage effects of the *comedia* were extremely simple. Often, after plays had gone through a series of performances, they would be published in Spain and throughout Europe, demonstrating their popularity as textual pieces as well.

During its height in the early seventeenth century, Spanish drama was widely known and imitated across Europe. However, by the end of the century, its quality declined. In the eighteenth century, with the transition from the Habsburg to the Bourbon dynasty, literary preferences shifted from baroque drama to neoclassic essays and poetry. Within the realm of drama, the Spanish *comedia* lost the originality that had led to its success, and became more derivative of French styles; with these changes, the curtain closed on the Golden Age.

See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro; Commedia dell'Arte; Portuguese Literature and Language; Renaissance; Spanish Literature and Language; Vega, Lope de.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, Walter. Drama of a Nation: Public Theater in Renaissance England and Spain. Ithaca, N.Y., 1985.

McKendrick, Melveena. *Theatre in Spain 1490–1700*. Cambridge, U.K., 1989.

Shergold, N. D. A History of the Spanish Stage: From Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century. Oxford, 1967.

Ziomek, Henryk. A History of Spanish Golden Age Drama. Lexington, Ky., 1984.

JODI CAMPBELL

DRESDEN. Dresden's development was determined by its rulers. In 1485 what had been a small market town on the River Elbe became the perma-

nent residence of the Albertine Dukes of Saxony. Under Duke George the Bearded (ruled 1500-1539), an opponent of the Reformation, the city began to expand. On his death in 1539 Dresden became Lutheran. In 1547, at the Battle of Mühlberg, Duke Maurice (ruled 1541–1553) wrested the title of elector of Saxony from the Ernestine branch of the family. Dresden was now the capital of a large and politically important Lutheran territory. Under Maurice it expanded to include the settlement on the northern bank of the Elbe, the socalled New Town. In 1549 forty-seven trade guilds were recorded with 707 master craftsmen. Maurice's brother Augustus (ruled 1553–1586) continued his efforts to create an Italianate Renaissance palace and to fortify the city according to the latest Netherlandish and Italian techniques. Augustus also built up important collections of books, scientific instruments, and curiosities. Between 1500 and 1600 the population trebled in size to fifteen thousand.

Dresden's importance as a musical center was confirmed when Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) was appointed Kapellmeister to John George I (ruled 1611–1656) in 1615. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) Dresden was not occupied but suffered from famine, plague, and economic stagnation. John George II (ruled 1656–1680) led the city's economic recovery after the war by encouraging trade and manufacture. In 1676 he began to lay out the park known as the Grosser Garten (Great Garden), in which he built a baroque palace (1678–1683) designed by Johann Georg Starcke (1640–1695).

His grandson Frederick Augustus I (known as Augustus the Strong, ruled 1694–1733) succeeded unexpectedly to the electorship in 1694. He was elected king of Poland in 1697 as Augustus II, having converted to Catholicism. This estranged him from his wife and his Saxon subjects and meant that he spent years at a time in Poland. It also led to the Northern War (1700–1721), which had serious economic consequences. Augustus was a noted patron of the arts, particularly the exquisite goldsmith work by the Dinglinger brothers, Johann Melchior (1664–1731), Georg Friedrich (1666–1720), and Georg Christoph (1668–1746). He also collected Far Eastern porcelain, encouraged the rediscovery of porcelain manufacture by Johann Friedrich



Dresden. The Old Market Square seen from the Schlosstrasse, 1751, by Canaletto. The ART ARCHIVE/GEMÄLDEGALERIE DRESDEN

Böttger (1682–1719) and Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708) and reorganized the Dresden art collections. He built the Taschenberg Palace between 1707 and 1711 to designs by Johann Friedrich Karcher (1650–1726) and Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann (1662–1736); the Zwinger (1709–1732), by Pöppelmann and the sculptor Balthasar Permoser (1651–1732); the Dutch (later Japanese) Palace (1715), also by Pöppelmann; and the new Opera House inaugurated in 1719 (no longer extant).

Augustus II's only legitimate son, Frederick Augustus II (ruled 1733–1763), also converted to Catholicism. He was elected king of Poland as Augustus III on his father's death. In 1719 he had married the Catholic Habsburg princess Maria Josepha. As a restatement of their Lutheran allegiance, the people of Dresden funded the building of the Frauenkirche (Church of Our Lady), which seated 3,500 worshippers. Begun in 1726 to a design by George Bähr (1666–1738), it was completed in 1743. As a counterblast to the Frauenkirche, between 1738 and 1754 Augustus III and Maria Josepha built the Catholic Court Church of the Holy Trinity (by the Italian architect Gaetano Chiaveri

[1689–1770]) in a dominant position in front of the electoral palace. Augustus III greatly augmented the art collection by buying one hundred paintings from the duke of Modena in 1745/1746 and Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* in 1754. He also had a passion for music. Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) was his Kapellmeister from 1731 to 1763.

In August 1756 Frederick II, king of Prussia, marched into Saxony and took up residence in Dresden. Augustus and his court fled to Warsaw, and the Seven Years' War began. In 1758 and 1759 whole suburbs were burned down by the Prussians. In September 1760 they bombarded Dresden, destroying five hundred buildings. When the war was over, Saxony had to pay heavy reparations to Prussia. It took sixty years for the city's population of 63,000 to return to what it had been before the war.

See also Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); Frederick II (Prussia); Northern Wars; Prussia; Saxony; Schütz, Heinrich; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Papke, Eva. Festung Dresden: Aus der Geschichte der Dresdener Stadtbefestigung. Dresden, 1997.

Stimmel, Folke, et al. *Stadtlexikon Dresden*. Dresden, 1998. Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen. *Court Culture in Dresden from Renaissance to Baroque*. Basingstoke, U.K., 2002.

HELEN WATANABE-O'KELLY

DRYDEN, JOHN (1631–1700), English poet, playwright, critic, and translator. Dryden was born on 9 August 1631 at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, the son of Erasmus Dryden and Mary (nee Pickering). He was educated at Westminster School, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge. His first poem was an elegy published in *Lachrymae Musarum* (1649), a collection mourning the death of Henry, Lord Hastings. Although his family had Parliamentarian allegiances, Dryden was taught at Westminster by the charismatic Royalist Richard Busby, whose influence is evident in this early elegy.

The death of his father in 1654 left Dryden in need of a regular income to maintain himself in London. From 1658 he was employed by Cromwell's government; he also worked for the publisher Henry Herringman. On Cromwell's death he published "Heroic Stanzas" in *Three Poems upon the Death of his Late Highness Oliver* (1659), but he was probably more comfortable with *Astraea Redux* (1660) and *To his Sacred Majesty*, *A Panegyric on his Coronation* (1661), written after the return of Charles II. In 1662 Dryden was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1663 he married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Berkshire and sister of Sir Robert Howard, with whom he lodged in the early 1660s.

Howard probably introduced his brother-in-law to the King's Company, who produced Dryden's first comedy, *The Wild Gallant*, at the Theatre Royal, Vere Street, on 5 February 1663. Although this play failed, *The Indian Queen* (1664), a collaboration with Howard, was a success, and Dryden began to write regularly for the King's Company, of whom he became a shareholder in 1668. Of his twenty-seven plays, the best known include the two-part heroic play *The Conquest of Granada* (December 1670/January 1671), the sparkling *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1671), the heroic tragedy *Aureng-Zebe* (1675), *All For Love* (1677), the finest neoclassical tragedy of its day, and the late tragicomedy *Don Sebastian* (1689). He also wrote

in collaboration with Sir William Davenant a highly popular adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1667). Less successful was *The State of Innocence*, his 1674 attempt to adapt his former colleague John Milton's *Paradise Lost* as an opera, which the King's Company could not afford to stage. Dryden also wrote substantial works of poetic and dramatic theory, notably *Of Dramatic Poesy: An Essay* (1667).

Following the publication of his mythologizing account of King Charles in Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, 1666 (1667), Dryden was appointed poet laureate on 13 April 1668. On 18 August 1670 he was appointed historiographer royal. He kept both offices until the accession of William and Mary in January 1689. Despite his public honors, Dryden's career was rarely free from aesthetic, political, or religious controversy. He squabbled with Howard over the merits of rhyme, was satirized as Mr. Bayes in the duke of Buckingham's play *The Rehearsal* (1671), and was physically assaulted by unknown assailants in 1679, perhaps as a result of an exchange with the earl of Rochester. His feud with Thomas Shadwell over the theory of comedy escalated into personal abuse. Lampooned in Shadwell's comedy The Virtuoso (1676), Dryden responded with the mock panegyric Mac Flecknoe, which satirized Shadwell and Richard Flecknoe (printed 1682).

Absalom and Achitophel (1681) is one of the greatest political poems of the period. It was inspired by the Exclusion Crisis, a period of political and religious turmoil seemingly sparked by a parliamentary attempt, led by the earl of Shaftesbury, to exclude Charles's Catholic brother James, duke of York, from the succession in favor of the king's illegitimate son, James, duke of Monmouth, who was Protestant. Dryden depicts Monmouth as Absalom, the rebellious son of David (King Charles) and satirizes Shaftesbury as the evil counselor Achitophel. The Medal (1682) was a further attack on Shaftesbury, and Dryden mined similar themes in *The Duke of Guise* (1682), a collaboration with Nathaniel Lee. His conversion to Catholicism in 1685 occasioned a number of attacks; Dryden defended himself and his coreligionists in The Hind and the Panther (1687). Following the revolution of December 1688, plays such as King Arthur (1691) and Love Triumphant (1694) are marked by a covert Jacobinism.

In his later years Dryden wrote fine occasional verse and a number of pindaric odes, notably Threnodia Augustalis (1685), To the Pious Memory ... of Mrs Ann Killigrew (1686), and Alexander's Feast; Or the Power of Music (1697). He also turned increasingly to translation, notably The Satires of Juvenal and Persius (1693), The Works of Virgil (1697), and Fables Ancient and Modern (1700), which also included original works such as "The Secular Masque." Dryden died on 1 May 1700, and was at first buried in St Anne's, Soho; he was reinterred in Westminster Abbey on 13 May.

See also Drama: English; English Literature and Language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Hooker, Edward Niles, H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., and Vinton A. Dearing, gen. eds., *The Works of John Dryden*. 20 vols. Berkeley, 1956–2000.

Secondary Sources

Hammond, Paul. *John Dryden: A Literary Life.* New York, 1991.

Hammond, Paul, and David Hopkins, eds., *John Dryden: Tercentenary Essays*. Oxford and New York, 2000.

Winn, James Anderson. *John Dryden and his World*. New Haven and London, 1987.

Zwicker, Steven N. Politics and Language in Dryden's Poetry: The Arts of Disguise. Princeton, 1984.

Lucy Munro

DUALISM. See Cartesianism.

DUBLIN. The rapid physical, economic, and demographic expansion of Dublin in the late Middle Ages came to an end in the mid-fourteenth century. The most striking feature of the long period of stagnation that ensued—which lasted until the early seventeenth century—was the cessation of the suburban growth previously promoted by the Anglo-Norman monastic foundations. As a result, the city's core remained within the old walled settlement, which was located on the south side of the River Liffey, nearly a mile from where the river met the sea at Dublin Bay. In keeping with its position as Ireland's main port and the administrative capital of

the English lordship, the city was secure against contraction. Even disruptive changes such as were caused in the 1530s by the dissolution of religious houses as part of Henry VIII's efforts to promote a Protestant Reformation could be turned to at least partial advantage; it encouraged some redevelopment and contributed to the emergence of the wealthy Catholic Old English elite that exercised a dominant command of civic politics in the second half of the sixteenth century. By this time also, the city had recovered from the devastating effects of the Black Death (1348), though its population continued to suffer the effects of epidemic disease. According to contemporary estimates, 3,000 people, or one-third of the city's population, then reckoned at 9,000, succumbed to plague in 1575. Modern assessments, however, put the city's population around that time at a more modest 5,500 to 8,000.

The condition of the city improved greatly from the early seventeenth century as, following the decisive military defeat of the native Irish, a new ruling elite—the New English—comprising soldiers, officials, settlers, and artisans, who arrived in substantial numbers from England, displaced the previously dominant Catholic patrician families. Dublin grew rapidly as a commercial, administrative, and industrial center as a result. This was not without interruption, notably during the war-torn 1640s, but the setbacks experienced then were soon reversed, as the growth of the city's population from about 20,000 in the 1660s to 45,000 in 1685 attests. Propelled by the immigration of English and French Protestants (Huguenots), the population had doubled again by 1730 when it exceeded 90,000. The city continued to grow rapidly, but the main engine of demographic growth thereafter was the in-migration of Catholics from the countryside, which pushed the population to 182,000 in 1798. The denominational character of the city was transformed in the process; in 1715, the city's population was nearly 70 percent Protestant, whereas in 1798 it was 70 percent Catholic.

Rural dwellers were drawn to the city in large numbers by the prospects of employment. One of the most vibrant sectors was construction, as the wealthy aristocratic elite (which also sustained a network of fine craftsmen, luxury goods sellers, and aesthetic, cultural, and intellectual endeavors) stimulated a building boom that transformed much of



Dublin. The entrance to one of the Parliament buildings in Dublin, built in the early eighteenth century. ©MICHAEL NICHOLSON/CORBIS

the city. As a result, not only were graceful townhouses and elegant public buildings introduced into the much reconfigured old city (to which the Wide Street Commission [1757] made an important contribution) but extended suburban development flourished as well, promoted by ambitious developers who oversaw the construction of classical Georgian squares and long streets of imposing houses with distinctive red-brick fronts to the southeast of the old city and north of the River Liffey. The relocation of the Custom House closer to the mouth of Dublin Bay was no less critical since, in tandem with a new easterly bridge, it moved the center of the city out of its old walled town and half a mile closer to the sea. It also linked the various major developments of the eighteenth century, which was critical to Dublin's emergence by the end of the eighteenth century as the "second city" of

the British Empire and one of the most improved cities in Europe.

See also Cities and Urban Life; Cromwell, Oliver; England; Ireland; Plague.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cosgrave, Art, ed. *Dublin through the Ages.* Dublin, 1988. An informed and informative collection of essays.

Dickson, David. "The Demographic Implications of the Growth of Dublin 1650–1850." In *Urban Population Development in Western Europe from the Late-Eighteenth to the Early-Twentieth Century*, edited by R. Lawton and R. Lee, pp. 178–189. Liverpool, 1989.

McParland, Edward. "Strategy in the Planning of Dublin 1750–1800." In *Cities and Merchants: French and Irish Perspectives on Urban Development, 1500–1900*, edited by L. M. Cullen and Paul Butel, pp. 97–108. Dublin, 1986.

JAMES KELLY

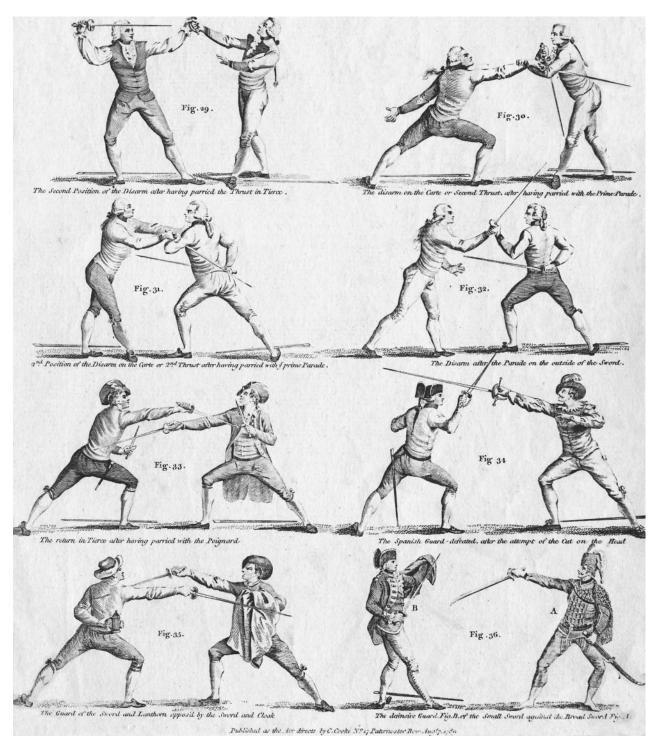
DUEL. Duels were a major source of disorder and crime in the early modern period. Of course, dueling has a history that transcends the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Trial by combat was common in the Middle Ages and was frequently prescribed and sanctioned by authorities as a means of settling criminal cases. The practice continued well into the modern period, especially between military men and even between public officials. The French statesman of the early twentieth century, Georges Clemenceau, is credited with twenty-two duels.

RISE OF THE DUEL IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

There are reasons for concluding, however, that dueling, defined as ritualized combat over affairs of honor, has a special place in the culture of early modern Europe. For one thing, it was then that the code of honor was established as a cornerstone of aristocratic life. Out of the Renaissance emerged understandings, derived ultimately from ancient notions of glory and heroism, that vaunted an exalted sense of the aristocratic self. Schooled in the precise etiquette of social interactions between gentlemen, noblemen were taught that honor aggrieved could only be satisfied with blood. The well-known legal scholar Andrea Alciati (Alciato) wrote an early code on the duel; Girolamo Muzio's Il duello (1550) was one of the most widely read treatises on the subject and spawned many imitations. Even Baldessare Castiglione, who expressed disapproval of the practice, acknowledged that, once committed to a duel, a gentleman must not fail to demonstrate his courage.

Another reason dueling was more of a problem in the early modern period is that, for technological reasons, it simply became easier for gentlemen to draw swords when provoked. By the mid-sixteenth century the rapier, an Italian invention, began to appear throughout Europe. Lightweight and deadly, this needlepoint sword allowed gentlemen to walk about with weapons at their sides that could be drawn at the slightest imprecation or insult. Encounters that might have ended in mutual exhaustion with cumbersome broadswords now turned instantly fatal with the merest thrust. Even courtiers and aristocratic fops with no military experience and little physical bearing were now armed and dangerous.

These factors alone, however, are not sufficient to explain the duel's prominence in the early modern period. The heart of the matter relates to the anxieties and sensitivities that prompted aristocrats to cross swords so readily. Without embracing the discredited notion of a "crisis of the aristocracy," it still can be argued that a heightened concern for their statuses and privileges led many gentlemen to the duel. Two factors seem most salient. One was the so-called military revolution that, generally speaking, challenged the aristocracy's traditional role in society, that of "those who fight," by replacing cavalry with infantry at the crux of battlefield tactics. Aristocrats continued to serve as officers in the military, but now they were forced to reconsider their role in an enterprise that increasingly valued esprit de corps over individualism, patient strategizing over brute impetuosity, leadership over heroism, and training over birthright. Another factor was the inflation of honors and the sale of offices, which greatly increased the pool of privileged elites. Under James I (ruled 1603-1625), England saw a dramatic inflation of honors, after the long depression of Elizabeth I's (1558–1603) reign, an upturn that indeed coincided with an outbreak of the dueling mania. In France new titles were distributed throughout the sixteenth century and especially during the religious wars. In addition, the nobility of the robe, the class of magistrates ennobled mostly through positions in the realms' sovereign courts, the parlements, more than doubled in the period. These magistrates not only added to the already crowded field of privileged elites, they also challenged traditional aristocrats of the sword with a different aristocratic ethos, one that emphasized learning, civility, and royal service. This did not mean they were immune to the duel. Pierre de L'Estoile recounted that a son of a robe official slew a gentleman who dared question his rank. It did mean, however, that, as with the military revolution, competition from parvenus and outsiders could provoke anxiety and uncertainty among aristocrats, prompting them to seek relief in a ritual that, if nothing else, reaffirmed their self-images as great men whose senses of honor and sensitivities to injury set them far above others. The Venetian ambassador observed that the duel formed the greatest bond between French noblemen, and his observation attests to the importance of this custom as a paradoxical feature of class solidarity.



Duel. Illustration from an eighteenth-century manual depicts sword maneuvers. ©Bettmann/Corbis

OPPOSITION TO THE DUEL

Authorities and critics bemoaned the dueling mania in part because de facto toleration of the practice seemed to concede that the nobility was above the law, subject to a code of conduct all its own. Disturbers of the public peace, duelists were thus obstacles to the goal of imposing civility, comity, and legal uniformity on early modern societies, a crucial task of early modern state making. But the real cost of dueling in terms of civil disturbance and lives lost was enough to make it a major concern. Precise figures are hard to come by, but it is clear that the bloodletting was significant. In the early seventeenth century the jurist Jean de Savaron commented that there were "few or no noble houses exempted from this carnage" (Traicté contre les duels, Paris, 1610, p. 49), while a preacher at the Estates-General in 1614 argued that dueling was responsible for twice as many deaths as the Wars of Religion. In Britain during the reign of George III (ruled 1760–1820) there were 172 reported duels, a somewhat modest figure except that 91 had fatal consequences. And if the comments of critics and reformers are any measure, dueling continued as a major source of criminality throughout the early modern period.

Attempts to curb the duel began in the midsixteenth century. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) condemned the practice. In 1566 unauthorized dueling was declared a capital offense in France; in 1576 it was deemed a treasonous act. James I, who had ample exposure to intramural brawling during his reign in Scotland, made extirpation of the duel a personal mission, even writing a treatise against it. Kings, however, often proved reluctant to prosecute a crime that stemmed from martial qualities they admired. Henry IV (1589–1610) of France was notoriously lax in backing up the royal ban. Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), on the other hand, encouraged Louis XIII (ruled 1610-1643) to remain steadfast in the execution of François de Montmorency-Bouteville (1530-1579), a well-known scion of one of the most prominent families in Europe, after he was convicted of breaking the law by dueling in broad daylight in a Parisian square. Religious reformers, secular moralists, and legal commentators continued to denounce the duel as a symptom of the egotism, lawlessness, irreligion, and other excesses, like drunkenness and libertinism, that seemed endemic to the aristocracy. In the Enlightenment, dueling, and especially the code of honor, came to be seen as a useless relic from a benighted age, unworthy of reasonable, truly sociable men. Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689-1755), commenting on the practice of seconds in the duel, famously remarked on the folly of a "man who would have been reluctant to give someone else five pounds in order to save him from the

gallows . . . would make no bones about going to risk his life for him a thousand times over" (*Persian Letters*, no. 90, p. 172).

And yet even in the age of reason the duel had its apologists. Some writers waxed nostalgic for the martial, heroic values it seemed to embody, especially in a time when refinement and the influence of women were hallmarks of high society. Others simply maintained the justice of recourse to the duel as a necessary, if dangerous, means of defending one's reputation in extremis. As Samuel Johnson (1709– 1784) pronounced, "No, Sir, a man may shoot the man who invades his character, as he may shoot him who attempts to break into his house" (Boswell's Life of Johnson, quoted by Kiernan, The Duel, pp. 179–180). If there was stubborn ambivalence with regard to the duel, this perhaps reflected the fact that the early modern period remained, despite all the changes, an aristocratic era dominated by notions of honor, a belief in the superiority of noble blood and lineage, and a sense of the legitimacy of private justice.

See also Honor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Billacois, François. *The Duel: Its Rise and Fall in Early Modern France.* Edited and translated by Trista Selous. New Haven, 1990. Translation of *Le duel dans la société française des XVIe–XVIIe siècles* (1986).

Kiernan, V. G. The Duel in European History. Oxford, 1988-1989.

Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat. *Persian Letters*. Translated by C. J. Betts. New York, 1973.

Savaron, Jean de. Traicté contre les duels. Paris, 1610.

Schneider, Robert A. "Swordplay and Statemaking: Aspects of the Campaign against the Duel in Early Modern France." In *Statemaking and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*, edited by Charles Bright and Susan Harding. Ann Arbor, Mich., 1984.

ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

DUMA. The duma was the main institution of government in Russia from the fourteenth century to the 1690s. Often referred to as the "Boyars' Duma" by modern historians, it was called either "duma" or "the boyars" in contemporary sources. It lacked any formal attributes of an institution beyond the name, though custom maintained it at the

center of government under the monarch for some four hundred years. The duma was the forum in which the boyar elite of the Moscow principality and later Russia influenced decision making and policy, and its history was closely bound up with the history of that elite.

The origins of the duma seem to lie in the fourteenth century, when the Moscow princes met frequently with the major landholders and warriors of the Moscow principality. Usually six to ten in number, they came from the major aristocratic clans and received the rank of boyar, a designation of honor and status, not administrative or military function. These numbers remained roughly constant until the end of the fifteenth century, when the numbers expanded slightly and a few received the rank of okol'nichii, a sort of junior boyar rank. Most boyars were untitled, but a few princes who moved to Moscow, such as the princes Patrikeev from Lithuania, received boyar rank in addition to their princely title. At the end of the fifteenth century and during the early sixteenth century, a number of princely clans from formerly independent princedoms entered the duma, joining the older families of untitled Moscow boyars.

There were no written rules that governed accession to boyar rank, but historians have reconstructed the governing principles from practice. In theory the prince could appoint anyone to the duma, but in reality he chose from among a relatively small number of aristocratic clans. Though the older males in the clan were normally chosen, not all senior males received the rank. Succession was collateral, that is, a given boyar's brother would acquire the rank ahead of the boyar's son. This meant that the operative family unit was really the aristocratic clan, not just a single lineage. The boyars and the state kept careful genealogical records and also records of service to the grand prince. These were necessary to maintain the system of precedence ranking (Mestnichestvo), which theoretically determined where boyars as well as lesser officials and landholders stood in the service hierarchy. The basic rule of precedence ranking was that a man could not serve at a lower position than his male ancestors. The system was necessarily complex and led to many disputes. From the time of Ivan IV the Terrible (ruled 1533-1584) onwards, tsars increasingly had to suspend precedence ranking during military campaigns.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the duma grew to some forty boyars and fifteen junior boyars. Most of these were great men, with large estates and luxurious houses, the great commanders of the army, and holders of most of the important administrative and court offices. Wherever their origins, their life now centered on Moscow and the court. They maintained estates around the capital, their houses were in or near the Kremlin, and when in Moscow they were in virtually daily attendance at court. Around them were lesser men who also had landed estates and made up the bulk of the tsar's army, holding the rank of Moscow gentleman. Still further down the ladder were the gentry who served in the army and elsewhere from provincial towns. From the middle of the sixteenth century, alongside the boyars the tsar appointed one or two of the chancellery secretaries to the rank of "duma secretary" as well as one or two of the Moscow gentlemen to the rank of "duma gentleman."

We know very little of the formal procedure of the duma. It met in the main room (the "Golden Hall") of the Kremlin palace. Its proceedings were never written down and in the seventeenth century were considered secret. Historical evidence of its actions comes from narrative sources and from laws with the formula: "the tsar decreed and the boyars assented." In the seventeenth century most legislation on taxation and other internal issues bore this formula, while military decisions were simply a matter of the tsar's decree. The duma also devoted much time to foreign policy, and indeed until 1667 the head of the ambassadorial office was not usually a boyar but a secretary, with the boyars retaining a sort of collective supervision, sending committees to meet with foreign emissaries. The duma was the seat of most of the court politics of the period and was at the center of the endless and murderous factional battles of the sixteenth century, influencing the relationships of the various factions to the monarch. The princes and tsars consulted regularly with the duma (sometimes with a small group within it) and it was an essential component of the theoretical autocracy of the tsars.

The duma stood at some thirty members before 1648, then increased to about sixty-five in the third

quarter of the seventeenth century. After the death of Tsar Alexis in 1676, a succession of weak rulers curried favor by granting duma rank. In 1690 there were some fifty boyars, fifty *okol'nichii*, forty duma gentlemen, and nine duma secretaries. Tsar Alexis had tried to regularize the meetings and assign certain days of the week to certain types of business, but this rule was hard to maintain. The abolition of precedence ranking in 1682 altered the meaning of the ranks, restricting their importance to duma service. In the 1690s Peter the Great gradually ceased to award the rank and called the duma together only infrequently. After 1700 it faded away, to be replaced by new institutions and new systems of rank.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Autocracy; Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Moscow; Peter I (Russia); Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bogatyrev, Sergei. The Sovereign and His Councillors: Ritualised Consultations in Muscovite Political Culture 1350's-1570's. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Seria Humaniora 307. Helsinki, 2000.

Crummey, Robert O. Aristocrats and Servitors: The Boyar Elite in Russia, 1613–1689. Princeton, 1983.

Kollmann, Nancy Shields. Kinship and Politics: The Making of the Muscovite Political System, 1345–1547. Stanford, 1987.

Pavlov, A. P. Gosudarev Dvor i Politicheskaia bor'ba Pri Borise Godunove. St. Petersburg, 1992.

Paul Bushkovitch

DÜRER, ALBRECHT (1471–1528), German painter, printmaker, mathematician, and theorist. Dürer is the first Western artist for whom an entire era is named—the Dürerzeit (the Dürer Time, c. 1490–1528), as the transitional period from late medieval to Renaissance in Germany is called. First mastering both the northern European tradition of rendering objects and textures in meticulous detail, he visited Italy twice to learn the Italian secrets of one-point perspective and classical human proportion. His graphic art was marketed internationally by two sales agents whose contracts still survive, and it was eagerly acquired by other artists as well as by the humanists who were his contemporaries. He counted among his friends the classicist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530); the imperial poet laureate Conrad Celtis (1459-1508); the mathematicians Johannes Werner (1468–1522), developer of conic sections, and Niklas Kratzer (1486/7–1550), court astronomer to Henry VIII of England; the Lutheran reformers Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534) and Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560); and the Augustinian vicar-general Johann von Staupitz (1468/9-1524), Martin Luther's (1483-1546) confessor. He owned sixteen of Luther's early pamphlets and sent Luther some of his own work as a gift. The Saxon elector Frederick the Wise (1463-1525), the Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519); Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490-1545), archbishop of Mainz and primate of the empire; and the great humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536) were among his most famous patrons.

Dürer was born in Nuremberg on 21 May 1471, the third of eighteen children of the Hungarian-born goldsmith Albrecht Dürer the Elder (1427–1502) and his wife, Barbara (née Holper, 1442–1514), and was apprenticed to the leading Nuremberg painter—woodcut designer, Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519). Hoping to study engraving under Martin Schongauer (1445/50–1491), he went to Colmar on his bachelor's journey, only to find that Schongauer had died. He worked briefly in Basel as a book illustrator before returning to Nuremberg (1494) to marry Agnes Frey (1475–1539) and made his first trip to Italy soon afterward—a journey commemorated in a series of pioneering landscape watercolors.

Returning to Nuremberg in 1495, he opened his own workshop, with Frederick the Wise his first portrait sitter (1496). His most famous works include his Self-Portrait (1500, Alte Pinakothek, Munich), the Fall of Man (engraving, 1504); the altarpiece for the church of St. Bartholomew in Venice (1506, National Gallery, Prague), the three so-called Master Engravings—Knight, Death, and the Devil (1513), Saint Jerome in His Study (1514), and Melencolia I (1514), and his watercolor The Wild Hare (1502, Albertina, Vienna) and chiaroscuro drawing *Praying Hands* (1508, Albertina, a study for the lost Heller altarpiece), and the Four Apostles painted for the Nuremberg City Hall (1526, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Underscored by quotations from the New Testament writings of Saints John, Peter, Mark, and Paul warning against the danger of following false prophets, this last work



Albrecht Dürer. Knight, Death, and the Devil, 1513. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

EUROPE 1450 TO 1789

was created in reaction against the violence of the German Peasants' War (1525).

Dürer made further trips abroad, to Venice (1505–1507), Switzerland (1517), and the Netherlands (1520-1521), attending the coronation of the new emperor, Charles V, in Aachen and making Antwerp his headquarters for a year. His experiences are recorded in his travel diary, and they include two dinners as the guest of Erasmus and his friend Peter Gillis (Aegidius: 1486-1533) and dinners with King Christian II of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (1481-1559), the Portuguese consul, João Brandao (served 1514-1521), and the young Dutch artist Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), and an audience with Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands (1480–1530). He recorded his delight at viewing the golden objects from Mexico sent to court by Hernán Cortés, as well as his deep despair at hearing the false news of Luther's arrest after the Diet at Worms (entry of 17 May 1521). During his stay in the Netherlands, however, he contracted the lingering illness that ended his life seven years later. He died in Nuremberg on 6 April 1528, aged fiftyseven, having devoted his last years to the writing of his theoretical works the Treatise on Measurement (Unterweysung der Messung, 1525); the treatise on fortification (Befestigungslehre, 1527), and the Four Books on Human Proportion, edited after his death by his friend Pirckheimer in 1532 and published by the widowed Agnes.

In 1509 Dürer had bought the house previously owned by the mathematician-astronomer Bernhard Walther (now the Dürerhaus Museum), which still contained both its observatory and scientific library. His house, tomb, and the bronze portrait statue of Dürer by Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857) erected in 1840—the first such public monument to honor an artist—can still be seen in Nuremberg.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Nuremberg; Peasants' War, German; Prints and Popular Imagery.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Rupprich, Hans. *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlass*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1956–1969. The complete texts of the artist's publications, personal letters, travel diary, and family chronicle, as well as contemporary references to him in the correspondence and publications of others. No English edition exists.

Secondary Sources

Anzelewsky, Fedya. *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk.* 2nd, rev. ed. 2 vols. Berlin, 1991. The standard catalogue of the artist's paintings.

Hutchison, Jane Campbell. Albrecht Dürer: A Biography. Princeton, 1990.

— . Albrecht Dürer: A Guide to Research. Artist Resource Manuals, vol. 3. New York and London, 2000.

Mende, Matthias. *Albrecht Dürer: Das druckgraphische Werk.* 3 vols. Nuremberg, 2001. Standard catalogue of the complete prints.

— ., ed. *Dürer-Bibliographie*. Wiesbaden, 1971. Complete bibliography of works on the artist published prior to 1970.

Panofsky, Erwin. *The Art and Life of Albrecht Dürer*. 4th ed. Princeton, 1955.

Strauss, Walter L., ed. Albrecht Dürer: The Painter's Manual. New York, 1977.

Strieder, Peter. Albrecht Dürer: Paintings, Prints, Drawings.

Translated by Nancy M. Gordon and Walter L. Strauss.

New York, 1982. An excellent general work, by the retired director of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON

DUTCH COLONIES

This entry includes two subentries: THE AMERICAS THE EAST INDIES

THE AMERICAS

The Dutch established virtually all their colonies in the Americas during the war with Habsburg Spain, known as the Dutch Revolt (1568-1648). Although most lands and islands appropriated were formally under Spanish jurisdiction, Dutch colonies were usually carved out deliberately in areas where there was no prior enemy presence. The only Spanish colonies that the Dutch actually conquered were Saint Martin and Curação, while their attempt to subdue Puerto Rico failed dismally. The most ambitious Dutch invasions, however, took place in Portuguese Brazil, where the capital city of Bahia (Salvador) was occupied for one year (1624–1625) and where the annexation of the northeastern captaincy of Pernambuco (now Recife; 1630) was the springboard for further conquests. At its height Dutch Brazil comprised all territory from Rio Grande in the north to Cabo de Santo Agostinho in the south. The Dutch withstood Habsburg armies but could not check a local Portuguese revolt that never lost momentum, forcing the Dutch to surrender in 1654.

The Dutch colony in North America, New Netherland (fully settled 1624–1664), was made up of settlements on the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut Rivers and on Long Island. The Dutch presence on the Delaware received a strong boost after the conquest of New Sweden in 1655. The English takeover of 1664 was followed in 1673 by a successful Dutch capture that led to the proclamation of New Orange. After one year, however, the Dutch had to relinquish control again.

More enduring colonies were established on the Caribbean Islands and in northern South America. The Caribbean colonies included three Windward Islands, Curação (1634), Aruba (1636), and Bonaire (1636), just off the Venezuelan coast, and three Leeward Islands, Saint Martin (1631), Saba (1640s), and Saint Eustatius (1636). A Dutch colony on Saint Croix, begun in 1642, was overrun by English and Irish settlers of neighboring Saint Christopher (Saint Kitts) three years later. Similarly the Dutch settlers of Tobago (1628) surrendered to a Spanish military expedition in 1637. Despite the bloody nature of this encounter, which left fortyfour unarmed Dutchmen dead, their compatriots returned to the island, where the Dutch maintained a presence until 1678.

Dutch colonization of Saint Martin was equally checkered. After the Dutch incorporation in 1631, it was lost to Spain (1633), only to be returned to the United Provinces at the Münster peace treaty (Peace of Westphalia, 1648), although the territory was immediately divided between Dutch and French settlers. In the next century and a half, Saint Martin, Saba, and Saint Eustatius frequently changed hands, but all eventually remained Dutch possessions. The last area of Dutch colonization was the "Wild Coast" or Guiana, the unsettled region between the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. After Dutch trading posts were erected on the Amazon perhaps as early as the mid-1590s, permanent settlements arose along the Berbice, Essequibo, Demerara, and Suriname (1667) Rivers, where the thick forests receded as plantations were laid out to accommodate cash crop production. The colonies founded in Pomeroon (1658–1666) and Cayenne (1658–1676) were soon vacated.

INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES

Immigration to the Dutch colonies was modest compared to Spanish America, English America, or Brazil. Hopes of a massive immigration of farmers and farmhands from the Dutch Republic never materialized. The few settlers that did come usually intended to make their stay a temporary one. The ideal these transients shared was to strike it rich and then retire in the mother country. New Netherland's population benefited from the influx of English citizens taking up residence in the Dutch part of Long Island (1642-1646) and people arriving from Dutch Brazil (lost in 1654), while the annexation of the Swedish colony in Delaware (1655) added Swedes and Finns to the colonial mix. A sudden rise in migration from the United Provinces after 1655 accounted for the doubling of New Netherland's estimated population from 3,455 to over 7,000 by the time of the transition to English rule.

In Brazil the Dutch assumed control of the flourishing captaincy of Pernambuco, which in 1630 boasted a population of ninety-five thousand, concentrated in the valley of the Capibaribe River and in the regions of Goiana, Ipojuca, Serinhaém, and Rio Formoso. About forty thousand were blacks, forty thousand were whites, and fifteen thousand were Indians. Southward migration by members of these three groups to Bahia reduced that figure to about eighty-five thousand by 1640. The Dutch were always a minority, never numbering more than ten thousand.

The population increase of Suriname, captured from the English in 1667, reflected the emergence of a prospering plantation economy. After a difficult start—the European segment declined from fifteen hundred (1667) to five hundred (1679)—the numbers kept rising steadily until the late eighteenth century. The overall population grew from 3,984 (1684) to 27,264 (1744) and further to 58,120 (1791); the last two figures do not include Maroons (escaped slaves) or natives. The increase of whites (from 652 to 3,360) in this period paled in comparison with the increase of black slaves from 3,226 (81 percent) to 53,000 (91.2 percent).

The next most populous colony was Curação, where six hundred Europeans were counted in the mid-1660s, when the African segment was still small. By 1789 the number of whites was 4,410, whereas nonwhites numbered 16,578 persons. Slaves made up the bulk of the population (12,864 or 61.3 percent). An even more dramatic rise of the enslaved African population occurred in Essequibo, from 276 in 1691 to 21,259 one hundred years later. By then Essequibo's demographic weight in Dutch America was second only to Suriname. Slaves also outnumbered whites by a wide margin in Berbice, which helped the spread of a rebellion in 1763 and almost drove out the whites. The revolt ended after fourteen months with the execution of 128 blacks.

ECONOMIES OF THE COLONIES

Suriname and Essequibo were plantation economies that revolved around the production of one crop in particular: sugar. Planters in Suriname were inspired by the example of Dutch Brazil, where sugar had been cultivated on a large scale and in a highly modern fashion. However, sugar production in Brazil was severely disrupted by warfare between the Dutch and Portuguese. Suriname blossomed into an important plantation colony producing sugar, coffee, cacao, and cotton in spite of natural obstacles. The coastal strip where many plantations were located was flooded time and again by high tides. The planters succeeded, nevertheless, in making Suriname the colony with the highest productivity in the Americas. Massive drainage and irrigation helped increase the number of plantations from one hundred to four hundred in the course of the eighteenth century.

Since conditions for cash crop production were far from ideal in their Caribbean Islands, the Dutch transformed Curaçao and Saint Eustatius into entrepôts. The African slave trade propelled Curaçao to regional significance. From 1662 through 1716 the island functioned as an important way station between Africa and Spanish America. Curaçao owed its development in large part to its suitable position close to the Spanish Main and its excellent natural port, Willemstad. By 1700 it had become more than a slave-trading center. Large amounts of cocoa, tobacco, indigo, sugar, coffee, and hides were sent to the United Provinces; ships

were repaired, fitted out, bought, and sold; several financial facilities were available; and sailors were enlisted for voyages to all parts of the Caribbean.

The second quarter of the eighteenth century saw the rise of Saint Eustatius, an even smaller island than Curaçao, owing to its intensive trade with the French West Indies. Commercial relations with British North America expanded after mid-century, and the island reaped the full benefit of the disruptions caused by the American War of Independence, when the thirteen colonies were cut off from Great Britain and were in need of weapons and ammunition. By the end of 1775 daily shipments of Dutch and French gunpowder were sent from Saint Eustatius to ports in North America. The island paid a severe penalty in 1781, when a British attack left it in ruins.

After 1621 Dutch activities in the New World had been coordinated by the West India Company (WIC), which was founded as a joint-stock enterprise. A private company, the WIC also had the attributes of a state. The States-General not only granted the company a monopoly of trade and navigation in its domain, they officially allowed the WIC to administer justice, make treaties with foreign princes, and maintain an army. Apart from an occasional windfall, the financial performance of the West India Company was miserable. The war in Brazil, first with Habsburg Spain and then with local and Portuguese forces, was costly, and the supply of African slaves on credit to Portuguese planters led to the company's bankruptcy, which was finally declared in 1674. Thereafter the WIC was replaced by an organization that had little in common with its predecessor except the name. Having already lost most of its commercial monopolies in previous decades, it was dismantled as a military machine.

After 1628 the company encouraged private initiatives to stimulate migration to the Americas in an effort to economize on the expensive task of colonization. Patroonships were assigned to applicants, the so-called patroons, who were granted land in fief, which they were expected to people. Patroons were also entrusted with certain administrative and judicial powers. The Caribbean islands of Saint Martin and Saint Eustatius were delegated to patroons shortly after the Dutch took possession in

the 1630s, while Berbice was from the outset the private domain of the Van Pere family from Zeeland. North American patroonships were granted a short life, and the second WIC gained control of all three Dutch Leeward Islands in 1680. But the patroonship of Berbice survived until 1720, when the colony was passed on to a joint-stock company, the Society of Berbice. Suriname was never a patroonship. The Estates of Zeeland, which conquered the English colony, sold Suriname to the WIC, which entrusted it to a new joint-stock company, the Society of Suriname.

See also Colonialism; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Trading Companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Goslinga, Cornelis C. *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680–1791.* Assen and Maastricht, Netherlands, and Dover, N.H., 1985.

The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580–1680. Assen, Netherlands, 1971.

Jacobs, Jaap. Een zegenrijk gewest: Nieuw-Nederland in de zeventiende eeuw. Amsterdam, 1999.

Klooster, Wim. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean*, 1648–1795. Leiden, Netherlands, 1998.

Meiden, G. W. van der. Betwist Bestuur: Een eeuw strijd om de macht in Suriname, 1651–1753. Amsterdam, 1987.

Mello, José Antônio Gonsalves de. Tempo dos flamengos: Influência da ocupação holandesa na vida e na cultura do norte do Brasil. 3rd ed. Recife, Brazil, 1987.

Wim Klooster

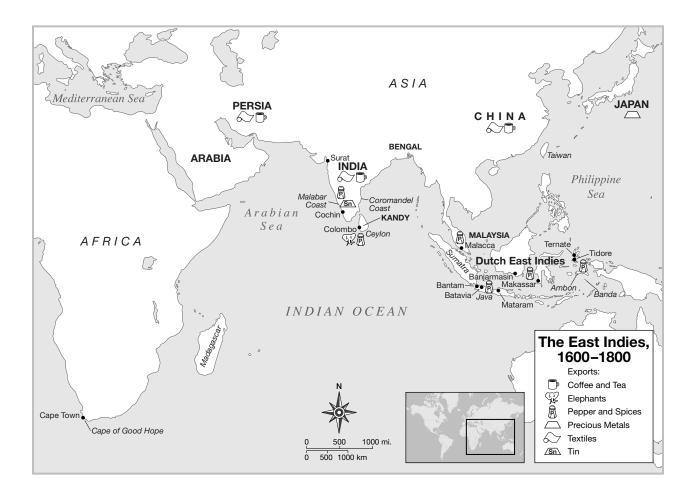
THE EAST INDIES

In the context of the Eighty Years' War (Dutch Revolt), the general expansion of trade and shipping, and to a lesser extent, the missionary impulse of Calvinism, Dutch overseas expansion was spurred by a powerful combination of politico-economic, commercial, and religious motivations. The "first shipping" to Asia of 1595 was followed by the creation of "precompanies" in various cities of the northern Netherlands trading to the East. To curb internal competition and forge a military-diplomatic tool against the Spanish-Portuguese colonial possessions, these "precompanies" were combined into the United East India Company (or VOC after its Dutch initials). On 20 March 1602 the States-General of the Dutch Republic issued a charter, which was continuously renewed until 31 December 1799, when the charter lapsed and the possessions of the VOC were taken over by the Dutch government.

ORGANIZATION AND POLICY

According to its charter, the VOC was given the monopoly of all shipping "from the Republic east of the Cape of Good Hope and through Straits Magellan." The company's sphere of operation effectively covered the Indian Ocean basin from South Africa and Persia in the West, via India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Melaka, and the Indonesian Archipelago, to China and Japan in the Far East. The charter combined the existing organization of the "precompanies" with several new regulations. Six chambers were established in Amsterdam, Zeeland (Middelburg), Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. The distribution of activities, such as the construction and equipping of ships or sale of return cargoes, was carefully apportioned: Amsterdam was accorded one-half, Zeeland one-quarter, and the four smaller chambers each one-sixteenth of a share. The total number of local directors was reduced to sixty: Amsterdam had twenty, Zeeland twelve, and Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each seven. Each chamber twice or three times annually selected representatives, who deliberated for several weeks in Amsterdam or Middelburg to determine central policy. This board of directors or Gentlemen Seventeen (Heeren XVII) consisted of eight representatives from Amsterdam, four from Zeeland, one from each of the four smaller chambers, and a final member selected by Zeeland or one of the smaller chambers. The charter also granted the company delegated sovereign powers, including the right to appoint governors, build forts, maintain armies and fleets, and conclude treaties with or wage war against indigenous rulers.

A central Asian rendezvous and trade emporium was established at Jakarta, renamed Batavia, on the island of Java in 1619. Batavia was the seat of the high government, the governor-general, and the Council of the Indies, which coordinated activities of the company settlements in the East. In theory subject to the authority of the board of directors in the Dutch Republic, this formal subordination was often easily lost in practice in a distant Asian environment. The administration of the regional and local settlements in the East, subject to the author-



ity of the high government, replicated that of Batavia.

The "General Instruction" of the directors to the High Government in April 1650 specified that the company divide its trading operations in Asia into three categories, with their relative significance indicated by their respective designations. The Dutch East Indies consisted of twenty or more establishments of different character and function. The core consisted of those areas where the company enjoyed trade as an outcome of its "own conquest," exercising its own jurisdiction. The majority of Dutch conquests was formed by either spiceproducing areas or trade emporia, such as the "governments" of Ambon, Banda, Cape of Good Hope, Coromandel, Makassar, the northeast coast of Java, Taiwan, and Ternate. A second category contained those regions where the company conducted trade "by virtue of exclusive contracts" with indigenous rulers, giving it monopolistic or monopsonic rights on local exports or imports, such as the "commandments" of Malabar and the west

coast of Sumatra. The third category consisted of those regions where trade was conducted "by virtue of treaties." There the company did not occupy any special position and found itself merely one among many merchant communities. This category included economically important establishments under a director, including Bengal, Surat, and Persia; part of powerful indigenous empires, such as Mughal India or Safavid Persia; and peripheral establishments under a resident, head, or chief, such as Banjarmasin, Ligor, or Tonkin.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND TRENDS

Before the industrial revolution, trade between Europe and Asia was characterized by a structural trade imbalance. The deficit was supplemented via the remittance of bullion from Europe and the reimbursement of Asian bills of exchange in Europe along with profits earned in the intra-Asian or intercountry trade. The intra-Asian trade served the dual function of acquiring commodities directly for Europe and earning additional means of exchange to

finance Euro-Asian trade. The economic history of the VOC can be divided into three distinct periods: a monopolistic phase, 1600–1680; a competitive phase, 1680–1740; and disengagement and decline, 1740–1800 (for financial results, see Table 1).

Dutch dominance in world trade and shipping after 1590 revolutionized the world economic order and transformed the pattern of Europe's colonial expansion. Between 1600 and 1680 the company's trade was determined by the acquisition of monopolistic or monopsonistic positions in various commodities and markets. Pepper and the fine spices (nutmeg, mace, cloves, and cinnamon) were and remained the raison d'être of company activities, accounting for 57.4 percent of the triennial sales of the Amsterdam Chamber in 1668-1670 (see Table 2). The spice monopoly was achieved through the bloody conquest of spice-producing areas and trade emporia, such as the Banda Islands (1622), Malakka (1641), Ambon (1655), the Southwest Ceylon littoral (1656), Makassar (1667), Ternate (1677), and Bantam (1682). Despite the capture of the Portuguese strongholds on the Malabar coast (1663) and Bantam, along with the conclusion of exclusive agreements with indigenous rulers of Sumatra, the company was unable to acquire a similar monopoly in pepper. By default the Dutch after 1641 also became the only Europeans to reside in Japan, an important source for gold, silver, and copper. Other monopolistic or monopsonistic positions included the export of elephants from Ceylon and tin from the west coast of the Malaysian Peninsula. The VOC also attempted to monitor and tax the intra-Asian trade by issuing passes and levying protection rights, but by 1680 concluded that the "true force of the passes was dead" (cited in Vink, 1990) because of the widespread use of flags of convenience and other means by Asian traders and merchants.

Dutch world trade hegemony in the last decades of the seventeenth century was gradually eroded, and many signs of incipient decline were attributable to the growth of mercantilist forces elsewhere. After 1680 the Euro-Asian and intra-Asian trades entered a new, more competitive phase characterized by the diminishing importance of monopolistic commodities and monopsonistic positions. The highly lucrative fine spices from eastern

TABLE 1

Expenditures and Sale	Revenues of	the Dutcl	ı East India
Company, 1640-1795			

(in Millions of Guilders)

	Expenditures	Sale Revenues	
1640-1650	42.7	78.4	
1650-1660	71.1	84.2	
1660-1670	80.4	92.3	
1670-1680	77.0	91.3	
1680-1690	87.6	103.4	
1690-1700	106.9	127.2	
1700-1710	122.6	139.5	
1710-1720	135.2	163.7	
1720-1730	172.9	185.6	
1730-1740	159.0	167.0	
1740-1750	148.7	159.7	
1750-1760	184.9	188.0	
1760-1770	198.9	213.6	
1770-1780	186.5	199.6	
1780-1790	212.3	145.9	
1790-1795	86.7	61.2	

SOURCE: J.P. de Korte, *The Annual Accounting in the VOC, Dutch East India.* Amsterdam, 2000, Appendix 1.

Indonesia and Ceylon and minerals from Japan were gradually supplanted by less-profitable nontraditional products, such as textiles, coffee, and tea, available on the relatively open markets of India, Arabia, and China. The share of cloves, nutmeg, mace, and pepper in the sale value of the Amsterdam Chamber in 1738–1740 decreased to 35 percent, while that of the "new" commodities rose concomitantly to 28.3 percent (textiles and raw silk) and 24.9 percent (tea and coffee). This "era of afterglow" or "profitless growth" was also characterized by an increasing volume of trade but no corresponding economies of scale.

From the 1680s onward the company gradually extended its sway over parts of eastern Indonesia, Java, and Ceylon. In eastern Indonesia, the Pax Neerlandica in Maluku, firmly established in the 1660s, was consolidated by the assertion of supremacy over the sultanates of Ternate (1683) and Tidore (1689). On Java the VOC, starting in 1677, was drawn into a series of succession wars involving the interior sultanate of Mataram. On the island of Ceylon the company's attempt to extend control over the coastal areas led to growing tensions with the inland kingdom of Kandy. Expansion north and

TABLE 2

Homeward Cargoes in the Euro-Asian Trade: Analysis of Imports and Sales of Various Commodities at the Amsterdam Chamber in Selected Triennial Periods

(in Percentages)

	1648-1650	16681670	1698-1700	1738-1740	1778-1780
Fine spices and pepper	59.3	57.4	38.1	35.0	35.4
Textiles and raw silk	17.5	23.8	43.4	28.3	32.7
Tea and coffee	0	0	4.1	24.9	22.9
Sugar	8.8	2.0	0.2	3.0	0.6
Drugs, perfumery, dye stuffs	7.3	5.9	6.6	2.7	2.3
Saltpeter	4.3	7.6	4.0	3.6	2.8
Metals	0.7	3.0	2.9	0.6	1.4
Sundries	2.1	0.3	0.7	1.9	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Jaap R. Bruijn, Femme S. Gaastra, and Ivo Schöffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Volume I: Introductory volume. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie 165. The Hague 1987, p. 192; Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade*, 1620–1740. The Hague 1981, pp. 12–14 and 269–278.

eastward into the Cape hinterland after 1717 was the work of the Boers, discharged company servants and European settler-farmer immigrants. While the company faced growing expenses in Asia, revenues declined as the fabric of intra-Asian trade started to unravel with the decline of the Mughals (after 1707), the fall of the Safavids (1722), and the increasing restrictive policies of the Tokugawa shogunate in Japan after 1685.

The period after 1740 was one of afterglow and final collapse of Dutch supremacy in world trade, marked by the commencement of the era of Franco-British global wars and a distinct decline in terms of the volume of Dutch trade and shipping. The last great period of Dutch trade extended from 1740 until the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784), when Dutch shipping and colonial trade were severely disrupted. During the last fifteen

TABLE 3

European, Free Asian, and Slave Populations of Various Establishments of the Dutch East Indies in the Late Seventeenth Century

(Estimates in Italics)

	Company Servants	Total European Population	Free Asian Population	Slave Population	Total
Ambon (1689)	816	914	58,352	10,761	70,027
Banda (1689)	637 *	1,103	1,912	3,619	6,634
Batavia (1699)**	3,853 ***	6,119	44,820	25,614	72,700
Cape (1693)	473	1,632	N.A.	1,546	N.A.
Ceylon (1684)	3,055	4,000	278,859	2,363 ****	290,000
Makassar (1697)	765	900	31,032	1,500	34,000
Malabar (1686)	641	698	679	745	2,122
Malacca (1680)	545	595		1,134	4,624
Ternate (1694)	697	800	350	450	2,295

- * This is the figure for 1687.
- ** Inside and outside the city of Batavia alone. An accurate estimate of the free Asian population in the Ommelanden is impossible to make.
- *** This is the figure for 1700. The total European population includes the 3,853 Company servants for 1700, plus the 2,266 Europeans listed for 1699 inside and outside Batavia.
- **** Company slaves only

SOURCE: W. Philippus Coolhaas ed., *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie.* 9 vols. to date. The Hague 1960–ongoing, IV, V and VI, passim; Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680–1731. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, pp. 486 and 491; VOC 1434, OBP 1688, fls. 263v–265v, Samentrekking huisgezinnen, 17.12.1687.

years of the Dutch Republic (1780-1795) and the subsequent French occupation, Dutch trade functioned at reduced levels compared with previous decades. Financial deficits in Asia assumed disastrous proportions. The creation of the Batavian Republic, in alliance with France, in 1795, precipitated a massive new British onslaught on Dutch shipping and commerce around the globe and initiated the collapse of the VOC on 31 December 1799. The loss of power and influence was most marked in the western Indian Ocean, where military setbacks contributed to the overall processes of disengagement and decline in India and the Persian Gulf. In addition the spice monopoly in eastern Indonesia was undermined by French and English activities after 1770. On Ceylon and Java the company, as a reluctant imperialist, was drawn into a creeping process of territorial expansion, evinced by the Treaties of Colombo (1766) and Gyanti (1755) respectively.

POPULATION SIZE AND TRENDS

The population of the Dutch East Indies was a typical plural society, with Europeans, the free Asian population, and slaves separated along religious, social, and linguistic lines (see Table 3). Typical of a trading post empire or militarized trade diaspora, the Dutch East Indies was concentrated around a relatively small number of central places scattered across the Indian Ocean basin. The major urban centers included Batavia, Cape Town, Cochin, Colombo, Kotah Ambon, Melaka, and Vlaardingen or Makassar (see Table 4).

Europeans consisted of company officials and free burghers. Company officials served as administrator-merchants, sailors, soldiers, craftspeople, clergy, medical practitioners, and other occupations in the settlements, in the intra-Asian trade, and aboard the homeward- and outward-bound ships. Their numbers increased from 7,700 in 1625 to 25,000 in 1700, peaked at 35,000 in 1750, and declined to 27,000 in 1780. The number of personnel on the Dutch East Indian establishments displayed a similar pattern with 3,000 employees in 1625, 18,000 in 1700, 25,000 in 1750, and 18,500 in 1780. About half were military, and one-third to one-fourth were seamen. The largest establishments were Java and Ceylon, each with 3,000 to 4,000 officials in the eighteenth century. A significant number of VOC servants came from abroad, espe-

TABLE 4

Population and Slave Population of Various Urban
Settlements of the Dutch East Indies in the Late
Seventeenth Century

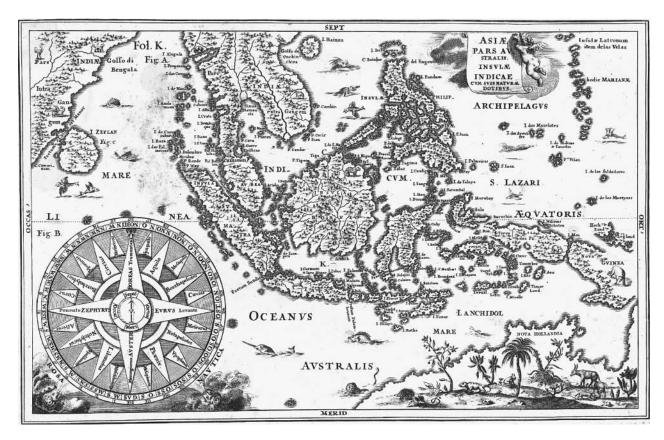
Urban settlements	Year	Total Population	Slave Population	%
Batavia	1673	27,068	13,278	49.05
	1679	32,124	16,695	51.97
	1699	21,966	12,505	56.93
Cape Town	1731	3,157	1,333	42.22
Cochin	1686	1,749	621	35.51
	1687	1,845	649	35.18
	1697	2,216	938	42.33
	1701	1,943	696	35.82
Colombo	1694	3,300	1,761	53.36
Kotah Ambon	1694	5,487	2,870	52.31
Malacca	1678	5,379	1,962	36.48
	1680	4,486	1,134	25.28
	1682	4,624	1,853	40.07
Vlaardingen	1676	1,384	921	66.55

SOURCE: Markus P. M. Vink, "'The world's oldest trade': Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century," *Journal of World History* 14:2 (2003), forthcoming.

cially German states and principalities: 40 percent of the sailors and 60 percent of the soldiers were of foreign descent.

Free burghers or settlers consisted of time-expired company officials who decided to stay in the East Indies and, much less significant, married couples and families from Europe. Initial schemes to foster the settlement and growth of Dutch communities in the tropics proved abortive, with the notable exception of the Cape of Good Hope. High mortality rates, restrictive commercial policies, powerful Asian competition, and failure to induce respectable Dutch women to emigrate precluded the emergence of an equivalent of the large class of casados (married men) and moradores (settlers) in the Portuguese colonial empire. A significant portion (one-fourth to one-eighth) was Indo-European, born in Asia but of European or European-Asian descent (low-class or slave origins). The most popular occupations were in the service sector and agriculture, such as the perkeniers, who cultivated the nutmeg gardens, in Banda, the wheat and wine growers of the southwestern Cape, and the pastoral farmers of the Cape interior.

On Java and Ceylon the VOC also ruled over large populations of free Asians. On Java these included peoples from the archipelago, Chinese, in-



Dutch Colonies: The East Indies. This map of the East Indies, from Heinrich Scherer's *Atlas Novus*, published in Munich circa 1710, features an exceptionally large and unusual compass rose or wind rose. Although Portuguese in pursuit of the spice trade were first into the Indies in the early sixteenth century, the Dutch soon followed. By 1610 they had ousted the Portuguese and, after several Anglo-Dutch conflicts (1610–1623), the English as well. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

digenous Christians, and Indo-European mestizos. On Ceylon the company wielded jurisdiction over significant numbers of indigenous Christians, Hindu Tamils, Buddhist Sinhalese, and Muslims. At the Cape, Khoikhoi pastoralists and San huntergatherers were incorporated into the expanding pastoral economy. In accordance with preexisting practices, these indigenous groups were accorded a great degree of autonomy under their own officials or traditional heads.

All Dutch urban centers and their surroundings were true "slave societies," in which slaves formed a significant proportion of the population (see Table 4). In the late seventeenth century there were about four thousand company slaves and perhaps sixty-six thousand total slaves in the various establishments of the Dutch East Indies, and their numbers increased in the eighteenth century. The Indian subcontinent remained the most important source of

forced labor until the 1660s. After 1660 relatively more slaves came from Southeast Asia, while the African mainland, Madagascar, and the Mascarene Islands became a more important catchment area in the eighteenth century. Slaves were general laborers used in a wide variety of occupations. Specialization, however, occurred in accordance with the size of the individual slave household and the particular position of the settlement within the company's overall trade network. The majority of slaves acted as domestic servants, but significant numbers were also employed in agriculture, mining, fishing, shipping, trading, manufacturing, and the service sector.

THE END OF THE COMPANY

Historians have pointed to a number of problems in both Europe and Asia to explain the eventual demise of the company. Scholarship has criticized nontransparent bookkeeping practices, failing entrepreneurship, lesser-quality company servants, lack of coordination between the high government and local company establishments in Asia with the Gentlemen Seventeen, or increasing corruption and private trade of company officials in Asia. By the early twenty-first century, however, company historians qualified these interpretations and stressed several other factors. Among those factors are changes in consumption patterns of Asian products in Europe, declining sales of monopolistic commodities in Asia owing to company price policies, the narrow financial basis of the VOC and the resulting dependency on outside capital, and the disruptions caused by the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784). Similar to the English East India Company some fifty years later, the VOC fell victim to the ongoing processes of territorialization and subsequent rising administrative overhead costs along with the relative decline of the intra-Asian trade partly because of changes in the Asian politico-economic environment and the growing competition of British country traders.

See also Amsterdam; Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Boxer, Charles R. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, 1600–1800. London and New York, 1965. Classic study of the Dutch East and West Indies, unsurpassed in English.
- Bruijn, Jaap R., Femme S. Gaastra, and Ivo Schöffer, eds. Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries. 3 vols. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie 165, 166, and 167. The Hague, 1979–1987. Major source of statistical information on the VOC.
- Coolhaas, W. Philippus, ed. Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. 9 vols. The Hague, 1960-.
- Gaastra, Femme S. *De geschiedenis van de VOC.* 2nd ed. Zutphen, Netherlands, 1991. Best survey in Dutch on the VOC.
- Glamann, Kristof. *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, 1620–1740. Copenhagen, 1958. Reprint, The Hague and Copenhagen, 1981.
- Idem, "VOC organization." www.tanap.net. Official website of TANAP, Dutch/Asian/South African program and UNESCO support, with background information, bibliography, and numerous links.
- Israel, Jonathan. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade*, 1585–1740. Oxford, 1989. Integrated politico-economic study of Dutch overseas commerce and shipping.

- The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806. New York and Oxford, 1995. Best overview of the history of the Dutch Republic from the Burgundian period to the Napoleonic era.
- Korte, J. P. de. The Annual Accounting in the VOC, Dutch East India. Amsterdam, 2000.
- Landwehr, John. VOC: A Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Dutch East India Company, 1602–1800. Utrecht, 1991. List of all published source materials on the company before modern times.
- Meilink-Roelofsz, Marie Antoinette Petronella, Remco Raben, and H. Spijkerman, eds. *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (1602–1795). The Hague, 1992. Essential inventory of the VOC archives with information on the organization and decision-making process of the company.
- Shell, Robert Carl-Heinz. "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680–1731." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1986.
- Vink, Markus P. M. "Passes and Protection Rights: The Dutch East India Company as a Redistributive Enterprise in Malacca, 1641–1662." Moyen Orient & Océan Indien 7 (1990): 73–101.
- . "'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of World History* 14:2 (2003). Forthcoming.
- Vries, Jan de, and Ad van der Woude. The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815. Cambridge, U.K., 1997. Successful account of the economic history of the Dutch Republic.

Markus P. M. Vink

DUTCH LITERATURE AND LAN-**GUAGE.** From the end of the twelfth century onward, the Dutch language developed into a literary medium in chivalric romances, didactic poems (Jacob van Maerlant [1235–1300]), mystical works (Jan van Ruusbroec [1293-1381]), plays, and songs. The dialects of the wealthy southern provinces of Flanders and Brabant prevailed in literature. Around 1600 linguistic hegemony shifted to Holland in the north as a result of important changes in the political and cultural landscape after the Dutch revolt against the Habsburg regime. In the course of the seventeenth century, a standard language was established that was based on the dialect of Holland with Brabantic influences. Grammar and orthography were regulated, and an active purist movement fought against loan words from Latin and French.

RHETORICIANS

The rederijkers, 'rhetoricians', dominated public literary life in the vernacular from about 1450 to 1620. The groups originated in Flanders early in the fifteenth century and were inspired poetically by the French arts de seconde rhétorique. The rhetoricians aimed at an ornate language with a preference for the use of sonorous French loan words, a tendency mocked later by more purist poets such as Bredero. The rederijkerskamers or 'chambers of rhetoric' were urban organizations that played an important role in religious festivals, offered entertainment for their fellow citizens, and provided a public relations service for their towns by means of interurban contests in performing and reciting. Scholars differ in their opinions about the goals of these chambers: Did they, as Herman Pleij believes, represent an attempt of the urban elites to impose a civic morality on the citizens, or did they give voice to a common culture? In addition to collections of ballads (refereinen), nearly 600 of the rhetoricians' plays have survived; they are mostly allegorical moralities and biblical stories but include historical and mythological dramas. The plays contain a great deal of arguing on ethical and religious issues intermingled with lively scenes from daily life. In Brussels a cycle of the Seven Joys of Mary was performed from 1441 to 1559. The best-known plays of the rhetoricians, Den spyeghel der saligheyt van Elckerlijc (c. 1496; The mirror of salvation of everyman), the source of the English The Summoning of Everyman (1510), and Mariken van Nieumeghen (c. 1500), about a young woman seduced by the devil, are exceptional. Mariken van Nieumeghen is actually a prose text with extensive inserted dialogues to be read aloud, whereas Elckerlijc once won a prize at a dramatic contest in Brabant. But neither can be connected with a specific chamber of rhetoric. Nor did the most interesting "rhetorical" poet belong to a chamber: as a woman, the Antwerp schoolmistress Anna Bijns (1493-1575) was excluded from membership. Three collections of her ballads were printed under the protection of the local Franciscans. Bijns wrote in a pungent satirical vein against the rising tide of Lutheranism, but also on the subjects of love and marriage.

Given their interest in religious disputes, the chambers got into trouble when the Reformation gained a foothold in the Netherlands. During the repression of Protestant movements, several rhetoricians were executed on the charge of expressing heretical ideas, and most of the chambers' activities were forbidden by the (Catholic) authorities in the 1560s. But from about 1580 most towns in the province of Holland, having liberated themselves from Habsburg rule, allowed the chambers to perform again, putting aside the objections of the Calvinist consistories against all theatrical performances. In Catholic Flanders and Brabant, the chambers flourished anew from 1609. Longstanding tradition and the conformity that was intrinsic in the collective production of literature delayed the acceptance of new Renaissance modes and granted the chambers a long life among the lower middle classes.

The Dutch Revolt, which broke out in 1568 and resulted in an eighty-year war against Spain, was accompanied by a large production of songs of protest and propaganda and others that gave accounts of military actions. The martyr songs, touching reports of the intrepidness of Anabaptist martyrs at the stake, are a special category. Calvinist polemics are found at their extreme in Den Byencorf der H. Roomsche Kercke, published by Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde in 1569, which was written in an exuberant Rabelaisian style and directed biting sarcasm at all aspects of Roman Catholicism (it was translated as The Bee Hive of the Romish Churche by George Gilpin in 1579). The humanist Dirck Coornhert (1522-1590), who earned the reputation of "the apostle of tolerance," can be seen as Marnix's counterpart. His main work, Zedekunst dat is Wellevenkunste (Ethics, that is the art of living well; 1586), aimed at the training of human willpower led by true knowledge that was provided by reason. Coornhert's ideas, related to the Neostoicism of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) (De constantia, Leiden, 1584; English translation, 1594)—whom Coornhert in some respects vigorously opposed had a strong hold on the next generation of Amsterdam dramatists such as Hooft and Bredero.

RENEWAL

From about 1560 elements of international Renaissance literature were introduced into Dutch litera-

ture. Sonnets and odes gradually replaced the ballads and rondeaux of the rhetoricians, and the morality plays slowly gave way to tragedies and comedies. Petrarch and the poets of the Pléiade became models for the lyric poets, and Seneca, and later Aristotle, exerted an influence on drama. Freed from the relative anonymity of the rhetoricians, individual authors came to the forefront. The "Golden Age" of Dutch literature began with the generation of writers born around 1580, some decades before the birth of painters such as Rembrandt, Steen, and Vermeer, whose works represent the Golden Age of Dutch art. An earlier supporter of the new Renaissance ideals was Jan van der Noot from Antwerp, who adapted the style and themes of Pierre Ronsard for works in his mother tongue. A Calvinist refugee, van der Noot published Het Theatre (a collage of translations and his own prose and poetry) in London in 1568, followed by a French and then an English translation (partly by the young Edmund Spenser) in 1569, and a German translation in 1572.

After the surrender of Antwerp to the Spanish army in 1585, a massive emigration of highly qualified Protestants took place. Many of them settled in Amsterdam, which took over Antwerp's role in book production. One of the specialties of the time was beautifully illustrated emblem books. In this very popular genre, image and text together expressed a deeper meaning in tripartite form: motto, image, and explanation. The emblemata amatoria, with their sophisticated erotic concetti, were introduced by a young Leiden Latinist, Daniel Heinsius, in 1601. The most successful specimen of this genre was Silenus Alcibiadis, sive Proteus (1618) by Jacob Cats (1577-1660). In each of his emblems a scene taken from daily life or the animal world contained a hidden meaning in erotic, moral, and religious matters respectively. It was explained in Dutch, Latin, and French epigrams and a prose commentary. Still more popular was Cats's Houwelick (Marriage), a compendium of family life for the Dutch Calvinist burgher. It was published in 1625, and 50,000 copies were sold by 1655. An interesting development of the amatory emblems was the amoris divini emblemata in which the omnipresent Cupid was transformed into a personification of divine love. Such emblem books were particularly popular in the Catholic southern Netherlands. Pia desideria

(1624) by Herman Hugo became a European bestseller; during the seventeenth century Jesuits in Flanders and Brabant produced almost 250 religious emblem books.

In Holland the talented engraver and poet Jan Luyken (1649-1712) composed several fine emblem books pervaded with pietistic mysticism around 1700. He was one of the multitude of religious poets, Calvinist preachers, and dissenters who flocked to the Dutch book market in the seventeenth century. Many were simple rhymers for a nondiscerning public, but there were also outstanding poets, among them Dirck Rafaelszoon Camphuysen (1586-1627), Jacobus Revius (1586–1658), Stalpart van der Wiele (1579–1630), Jeremias De Decker (1609-1666), Heiman Dullaert (1636-1684), and Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620-1677). The minor poet Jacob Steendam (1616-c. 1672/73) was rescued from total oblivion by being one of the first European poets on American soil.

LEADING FIGURES

Holland, the wealthiest and most powerful of the seven United Provinces constituting the Dutch Republic, was the breeding ground for the new poetry. Hooft, Bredero, and Vondel in Amsterdam, Heinsius in Leiden, and Huygens in The Hague set the standard. Hundreds of minor authors followed, stimulated by the demand of the most prosperous and most literate community of that age.

Pieter Hooft (1581–1647), son of an Amsterdam burgomaster, began his literary career as a member of the chamber of rhetoric called "De Eglentier" but soon outshone his fellow rhetoricians with his brilliant lyrics and "modern" tragedies. His love emblems, charming songs, and perfect sonnets, first published in 1611, played with variations on Petrarchan motifs; in his serious dramas, *Geeraert van Velsen* and *Baeto*, based on themes from Dutch legendary history, he tackled current political issues. In the last decades of his life Hooft turned to historiography, writing a voluminous history of the Dutch Revolt in the mode of Tacitus.

In the span of his short life, Gerbrand Bredero (1585–1618) was a prolific writer of popular lyrics and dramas. Best known for his farces and comedies, Bredero had a perfect ear for everyday language and

promoted its use in literature. His masterpiece is *Spaanschen Brabander* (The Spanish Brabanter) of 1617, based on the story of Lazarillo de Tormes but set amid the bustling city life of Amsterdam.

Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) used a classical disguise in his Palamedes (1625) to condemn the execution of Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, who had been the leading statesman of Holland for more than thirty years. Vondel wrote a number of satirical poems and songs around that time. It was, however, his poetic output in later years that earned him the reputation as one of the greatest poets of the European baroque. A lasting success on the stage was Gysbreght van Aemstel (1637), which was performed yearly in the Amsterdam theater until 1969! His immense oeuvre comprises twenty-four original dramas, translations of Ovid's Metamorphoses, the complete works of Virgil, and several classical tragedies, poetic reactions to all of the major events of his lifetime, long panegyrics on Amsterdam trade and building activities, a religious epic, didactic poems in defense of Roman Catholic orthodoxy (the Mennonite Vondel converted to Catholicism around 1639), and thousands of occasional and devotional poems—in short, all poetic genres except love songs. Vondel's mastery of language is astonishing on all levels, from light verse to the most sublime poetry; the profoundness of his handling of religious and ethical dilemmas in his tragedies has challenged successive generations of critics to new interpretations. Vondel's biblical dramas such as his trilogy Lucifer, Adam in Ballingschap (Adam in exile), and *Noah* deal with the great themes of Christianity. Other plays have Joseph, David, and Jephthah as their protagonists.

Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), secretary to three successive princes of Orange, accomplished courtier, virtuoso on the lute and the clavichord, amateur scientist, polyglot (writing poems in Dutch, Latin, French, Italian, and English), a strict Calvinist, and father of the mathematician and astronomer Christiaan Huygens, presented his literary activities as modest "cornflowers" betwixt the wheat of his professional duties. He must have made the most of his free moments, for he left us thousands of epigrams and a collection of longer poems. An admirer and translator of John Donne, he strove in his poetry for density and a certain obscurity of expression despite the conversational tone in most

of them. His most important poem is "Hofwijck" (1651), an idealized description of his estate near The Hague. Its design mirrored the harmony of macrocosm and microcosm and led the poet to reflections on human life and death. This *hofdicht* ('country-house poem') had a lot of followers, especially in the eighteenth century. As a devotional poet Huygens wrote a string of sonnets on Christian holy days in which he expressed his deep sense of sinfulness. However, he also wrote a bawdy farce, *Trijntje Cornelis*—not meant for public performance.

WOMEN WRITERS

In the elite circles of Huygens and his friend Hooft, women played a prominent role but were regarded more as an adornment of refined society than as poets in their own right. Anna (1584–1651) and Maria (1594-1649) Tesselschade Visscher, daughters of Pieter Roemer Visscher, a respected poet of an earlier generation, received much admiration. Nevertheless, although several of their poems were published during their lifetimes, their names never appeared on any frontispiece. Anna, the better poet, put the learned eulogies of her masculine fellow poets in perspective with some self-mockery. Huygens and Cats also showered Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) with compliments. One of the most learned women of her time and a scholar of Oriental languages, she at least got the chance to publish a dissertation (in Latin) about the capacity of the female mind for science and letters (1641; English translation 1659). In Flanders and Brabant, writings of religious women were published by Catholic priests for devotional purposes. Most remarkable is the autobiography (pub. 1681) of Maria Petyt (1623–1677), in which she gave a mercilessly honest account of her spiritual development. In the eighteenth century, women obtained a place on the Dutch Parnassus in their own right. Recent research has saved from oblivion more than 150 female writers of the years between 1550 and 1850, gleaning specimens of their work into an extensive anthology edited by Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen.

NOVELS

A lot of prose, for instance the extremely popular travel literature, appeared during the seventeenth century. However, almost no original novels were written, although many foreign novels were read in Dutch translations. A minor but curious exception is a group of ten "libertine" novels from the last quarter of the century that occupy a special place in the international history of pornography. Several were translated into French, German, or English, among them The London Jilt, or Politick Whore (London, 1684), after D'openhertige juffrouw, of d'Ontdeckte geveinsdheid (The candid damsel, or hypocrisy revealed). The Dutch title is more explicit about the philosophy of the book, which focuses on plain truth and fighting hypocrisy. Recently, these novels have been associated with the early "Radical Enlightenment" of the Dutch Republic. They may be regarded as well as a reaction against the prudery and the pursuit of virtuousness of the classicist movement of those years.

CLASSICISM

In 1667 a group of Amsterdam intellectuals, with the Spinozist Lodewijk Meyer as one of their spokesmen, founded a literary society under the name "Nil Volentibus Arduum." Their ambition was to raise the level of Dutch poetry, particularly in drama, by conforming it to international standards, which they found in French classicism as put forward by Pierre Corneille. They also shunned all kinds of indecency on the stage (which was a characteristic of the popular farces by Bredero and his followers) as well as any matter that could lead to political or religious controversy. They were not successful in every respect, but a spirit of regulation and pedantry gradually replaced the more exuberant, varied, and popular aspects of seventeenth-century poetry. It is, however, chiefly the lack of outstanding talents that is responsible for the mediocrity of the huge poetic and dramatic production between 1670 and 1770. Of course, there were some exceptions, such as the comédies de moeurs by Pieter Langendijk (1683-1756) and the elegant poetry of Hubert Poot (1689-1733).

For something new and fresh we must turn to prose. An interesting example is Hendrik Smeeks's *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koningryk Krinke Kesmes* (Description of the mighty kingdom Krinke Kesmes; 1708) about an imaginary continent where people discuss Cartesianism and religious tolerance. More important is nonfiction prose, especially in periodicals. Here we meet an animated climate of discussion on philosophical, political, religious,

moral, and aesthetic matters. Following the example of The Tatler and The Spectator of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in England, Justus van Effen (1684–1735) founded the first journal of this kind on the European continent, Le misantrope (in French), in 1711. More important is his De Holland sche Spectator (1731–1735), in its time the talk of the town. It generated more than forty imitations before 1800. Others tried to find a market for more satirical or scandalous papers, such as those of Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747), who ended his life in prison. A lot of experimentation was taking place in fictional prose, but the novel was still not regarded as something worthy of serious attention. In the second part of the century, a change occurred when the novels of Samuel Richardson became better known in Holland. In the revolutionary 1780s political and literary discussions reached their peak. The main issue was the miserable condition of the once so successful Dutch Republic, including that of its literature. Hieronymus van Alphen and Rijklof Michael van Goens suggested remedies, pleading for originality and a new anticlassicist aesthetics, whereas the works of two collaborating female authors, Betje Wolff (1738-1804) and Aagje Deken (1741–1804), contributed effectively to recovery. In 1782 they published their epistolary novel Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart, a lively account, drawn with empathy and humor, of the coming of age of a young woman in an Amsterdam merchants' milieu.

See also Amsterdam; Anabaptism; Antwerp; Calvinism; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Huygens Family; Netherlands, Art in the; Netherlands, Southern; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van; Patriot Revolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

A good selection of literary texts in Dutch is available on the Internet at www.dbnl.org. Some translations:

Aercke, Kristiaan, ed. *Women Writing in Dutch.* New York, 1994. See especially the sections on Anna Bijns, pp. 93–146; Anna and Maria Visscher, pp. 147–184; Anna Maria van Schurman, pp. 185–230; Maria Petyt, pp. 231–272; and Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, pp. 273–296.

Bredero, G. A. The Spanish Brabanter. A Seventeenth-Century Dutch Social Satire in Five Acts. Translated by H. David Brumble III. Binghamton, N.Y., 1982.

- Elizabeth's Manly Courage. Testimonials and Songs of Martyred Anabaptist Women in the Low Countries. Translated and edited by Hermina Joldersma and Louis Grijp. Milwaukee, 2001.
- Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz. *The Tragedy of Gerard van Velsen*. Translated with notes and an introduction by Theo Hermans and Paul Vincent. In: *Dutch Crossing* 45 (1991): 105–183. The journal *Dutch Crossing* regularly publishes translations of Dutch literature.
- Huygens, Constantijn. A Selection of the Poems of Sir Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687). A parallel text translated, with an introduction and appendices by Peter Davidson and Adriaan van der Weel. Amsterdam, 1996.
- Mariken van Nieumeghen. A Bilingual Edition. Edited, translated, and with an introduction by Therese Decker and Martin W. Walsh. Columbia, S.C., 1994.
- Smeeks, Hendrik. *The Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes* (1708). Presented by David Fausset, with a translation of the Dutch text by Robert H. Leek. Amsterdam, 1995.
- Vondel, Joost van den. Gijsbrecht van Amstel. Translated, with an introduction and notes, by Kristiaan P.G. Aercke. Ottawa, 1991.
- ------. *Lucifer*. Translated and adapted by Noel Clark. Bath, U.K., 1990.

Secondary Sources

- Donaldson, B. C. Dutch. A Linguistic History of Holland and Belgium. Leiden, 1983.
- France, Peter, ed. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, pp. 563–566. Oxford, 2000.
- Leemans, Inger. Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans 1670–1700. Nijmegen, 2002.
- Manning, John. *The Emblem*. London, 2002. Discusses Dutch love emblems.
- Meijer, Reinder P. Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium. 2nd ed. The Hague and Boston, 1978. Outdated, but at present the only comprehensive survey in English.
- Parente, James A. Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in The Netherlands 1580–1680. Leiden 1987. See especially Chapter 3, "The Biblical Tragedies of Joost van den Vondel."
- Pleij, Herman. Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life. Translated by Diane Webb. New York, 2001.

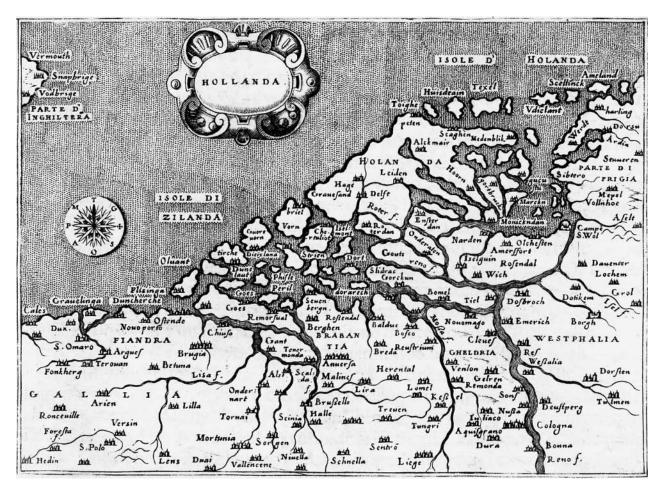
- Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, Maria A., ed. Met en zonder lauwerkrans: Schrijvende vrouwen uit de vroegmoderne tijd 1550–1850: van Anna Bijns tot Elise van Calcar. Amsterdam, 1997.
- Schenkeveld, Maria A. Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas. Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1991.
- Spies, Marijke. Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poets: Studies in Renaissance Poetry and Poetics. Amsterdam, 1999.
- Stouten, Hanna, Jaap Goedegebuure, and Frits van Oostrom, eds. *Histoire de la littérature néerlandaise* (*Pays-Bas et Flandre*). Paris, 1999. A version in English of this handbook, edited by Ton Anbeek and Theo Hermans, is forthcoming.

EDDY K. GROOTES

DUTCH REPUBLIC. Sir William Temple, English ambassador to The Hague, famously described the Dutch Republic in 1673 as "the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours." How such a small country—"this undigested vomit of the sea," as one of Sir William's less charitable compatriots put it—a country that had not even existed a century earlier, could develop in such spectacular fashion is one of the marvels of the early modern era.

THE DUTCH REVOLT (1566-1648)

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Low Countries, occupying roughly the territory of present Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, had first gained prominence as the northern counterparts of Renaissance Italy. As in Italy, more or less autonomous towns, like Bruges and Ghent, later also Antwerp, attracted droves of international merchants. Like Italy, the Low Countries were politically divided, into as many as seventeen quasiindependent territories. During the fourteenth century, the dukes of Burgundy first started to bring some of these territories under their rule, and this process continued and intensified under the Habsburgs when they inherited the Burgundy legacy in 1477. It took until 1543, however, before all seventeen territories of the Netherlands were united for the first time under the same ruler, the Habsburg emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). By this time, the Reformation was already having an impact. In the heavily urbanized Low Countries, the new religious ideas spread quickly. Efforts to repress



Dutch Republic. This small map from Thomaso Porcacchi's *L'isole piu famose del mundo* ("The Most Famous Islands of the World") focuses on the historic province of Hollanda in the northwest part of the modern Netherlands. Hollanda was the center of the Dutch Revolt and along with six other northern provinces declared independence from Spanish rule in 1579. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

religious dissent soon followed, and this repression clashed with the regions' traditions of independence. In 1566 a revolt of the nobles coincided with mass protests against Catholic authority. Attempts to repress the rebellion came close to success at several points but failed every time, mainly because of competing commitments of the Spanish Habsburg crown elsewhere in Europe. In 1579 the rebel provinces formalized their collaboration against Spain in the Union of Utrecht, which later came to be seen as the founding document of the Dutch Republic. During the 1590s, while Spain was preoccupied with the Wars of Religion in France, the rebels consolidated their positions, and when the Spanish crown went bankrupt in 1607, the independence of the northern provinces was confirmed in a Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Most other European

states now formally recognized the Republic of the Seven Netherlands, the Dutch Republic, as an independent state. In 1621 the war was resumed because neither the Spanish nor the Dutch could as yet face up to the implications of peace. The war, however, effectively ended halfway through the 1630s, when the lines of demarcation began to harden into proper borders. The Treaty of Münster, part of the 1648 pan-European Peace of Westphalia, which also ended the Thirty Years' War, brought the Dutch Revolt formally to an end. By then, all the characteristics of the Dutch Golden Age were in place.

THE DUTCH ECONOMY

The Golden Age was built on firm economic foundations. As a result of the unsuitability of its soils for

the growing of grain, the staple of late medieval agriculture, farmers in the western areas, notably the counties of Holland and Zeeland, had already turned to cash crops, such as flax and madder, as well as the cattle that were to determine the Dutch image abroad. Butter and hard cheeses, as well as beer and salted fish, were early export products of the northern Netherlands. The food deficit was made up by imports from France and especially from the Baltic region. To sustain this substantial trade in bulk products, the Dutch built a large merchant navy consisting of highly efficient, and constantly improving, vessels that were designed to reduce transport costs. This helped make the Dutch into the carriers of Europe. By 1530 Holland's merchant navy was larger than those of the French and the British combined.

During the sixteenth century, Dutch harbors, mainly in the provinces of Zeeland and Holland, had acted as satellites of a trade system dominated by Antwerp. Initially, Antwerp had been on the rebel side, but in 1585 it was conquered by Spanish troops. Meanwhile, the Dutch closed off the River Scheldt to prevent oceangoing vessels from reaching Antwerp's harbor. Merchants from Antwerp dispersed all over western Europe, but around 1590 a majority converged on Amsterdam, and, together with native merchants, they took new initiatives. Dutch ships sailed to the Mediterranean for the first time in 1589 to supply famine-stricken Italy with grain. They went to Venezuela in 1599 to fetch salt, necessary for curing herring. And most spectacularly, in 1594 a first group of ships left the republic for the East Indies. With Antwerp severely handicapped, Dutch towns, but especially Amsterdam, took over as the main middlemen of international trade. Throughout the world the Dutch guilder became accepted as currency.

Dutch European trade centered on the exchange of raw materials from northern Europe, such as wood, tar, and grain, for necessities such as salt, luxuries such as French wines, and the inevitable spices. Around 1600 Dutch merchants gained direct access to the Asian spice markets. They fetched salt from Venezuela, coffee and sugar from Brazil, and silk from the Middle East. Amsterdam became the center of European trade, the city where everything was supposed to be for sale. Financial institutions were created: the Amsterdam Exchange was

built in 1608–1611, and the Exchange Bank was founded in 1609. The availability of exotic products helped create new industries such as sugar refineries, tobacco factories, and silk weaving, all of which had been unknown in Holland before 1600. The number of guilds in the Dutch Republic almost doubled during the seventeenth century, from about 650 to more than 1,100, again testifying to the expansion of urban industries. Although guilds were later reckoned to be bad for the economy, they oversaw production in such highly successful industries as painting.

It has been claimed that Dutch economic success was predicated on its experience in bulk trade, but that underestimates the role of the so-called rich trades in wine, spices, and other valuables. It would, however, likewise be a mistake to see Amsterdam as a mere successor to Antwerp, from which many of these rich trades came to the north. The really innovative aspect of the Dutch economy was its level of integration between the agricultural, industrial, and service sectors. Numerous forward and backward linkages, for instance between trade, shipbuilding, and the cultivation of hemp, ensured that economic growth touched a wide area and cut deeply into Dutch society. It has been suggested that this must have made the Dutch economy "modern" at least a century before the industrial revolution. There is a substantial truth in this, but one has to keep in mind that in quantitative terms at least, Dutch growth figures, though impressive by the standards of the time, were very modest when compared to those of the industrial era.

THE OVERSEAS EMPIRE

One of the most remarkable results of Dutch commercial expansion was the establishment of Dutch culture across the globe. During the first stage of the "great discoveries," the European world system had been dominated by the Mediterranean powers. In the late sixteenth century, northern Europe started to join in, and the Dutch were initially the most successful of these new competitors for the non-European riches. The first companies, established during the 1590s, were merged in 1602 into the Dutch East India Company, or Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC). Its prime target was the Indonesian spice islands, where the VOC established exclusive contracts with local princes. When

these proved impossible to enforce, the VOC started to police the islands, and in some places, notably in the Moluccas, displaced the whole population, converting the farms into plantations worked with slave labor. In 1618 Batavia (now Jakarta) was established as the VOC's headquarters in the Indonesian archipelago. The VOC was, however, much more than a regional trading company. Its monopoly charter, granted by the Dutch States General, extended from the Cape of Good Hope eastward, and to a remarkable degree, the VOC managed to implant itself in that vast area. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Dutch trading posts had been established on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, while Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) had become an almost exclusive Dutch preserve. In China the VOC lost its initial foothold on the mainland but managed to hold out in Taiwan. From 1641 the VOC was the only foreign trader allowed to do business with Japan, albeit under severely restricted conditions. Between these various outposts a lively trade was conducted, and the VOC became as much an intra-Asian business as an export firm. During the 1680s it employed 11,500 Europeans in Asia, more than half of them soldiers, as well as 6,000 people recruited locally, including 2,400 slaves. Nonetheless, twenty to twenty-five ships sailed annually to the East Indies from Holland, and half of those made the return trip. But the deficit again underlines the importance of the trade within Asia itself. All those ships called at the Cape of Good Hope, where Cape Town was officially established in 1652 as a victualing station.

The VOC was a hugely successful enterprise, reputedly the largest firm of its times. By comparison, the Dutch West India Company, or West Indische Compagnie (WIC), was a sorry affair. It was created in 1621 after protracted protests from the Spanish, who considered the Americas their private fief. Because they and the Portuguese, who were also under Spanish rule at the time, were so well entrenched, the WIC found it much more difficult to establish a profitable business. In 1630 the WIC managed to conquer the northeastern corner of Brazil from the Portuguese, but the original European settlers started a guerrilla war and in the end managed to oust the company again in 1654. In 1634 several Caribbean islands were occupied, which are still part of the modern Kingdom of the



Netherlands. But they proved to be profitable mainly as trading posts, from which African slaves were forwarded to the French and English sugar islands and the Spanish colonies on the mainland. From the second half of the seventeenth century, Dutch planters in what was to become Surinam also bought slaves. To maintain its supply of slaves, the WIC had several forts on the West African coast. It has been estimated that Dutch traders handled no more than about 5 percent of the slave trade, but that still means an estimated three thousand individuals shipped year after year for about two centuries by Dutch merchants alone.

Compared to these activities in Central and South America, Dutch involvement in the European settlement of North America was modest. However, in 1609 Henry Hudson, in the service of the VOC, sailed up what is now known as the Hudson River while trying to find the Northwest Passage to Asia. In 1614 the first colonists arrived and in 1624 Fort Nassau was established on the site of present-day Albany in upstate New York. In 1626 the Dutch bought what later became known as

Manhattan, for the equivalent of sixty guilders in goods, and established New Amsterdam. Many place names in New York City, like Staten Island, the Bowery, Wall Street, Brooklyn, Flatbush, and Flushing, still testify to the Dutch presence, though the last Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, had to hand over the colony to the English in 1664.

DUTCH SOCIETY

The "Dutch" colonies were by no means exclusively Dutch. There simply were not enough Dutch natives to conquer the whole world. Therefore, the WIC and VOC employed numerous immigrants. In this respect they were a mirror of Dutch society as a whole. During the seventeenth century, Dutch population increased from an estimated 1.5 million to a little under 2 million. During the eighteenth century, the increase was a mere 10 percent. Although we will never know the precise figure, there is no doubt that this population growth was mainly due to immigration. Around 1600 the majority of immigrants were refugees from the Southern Netherlands, people who for religious or economic reasons, or a combination, no longer wanted to live under Habsburg rule. In those same years a small group of Portuguese Jews also settled in the Dutch Republic, for a similar combination of reasons. From the 1620s onward, new groups of immigrants started to arrive. They came from all over Europe, but mainly from Scandinavia and the German territories, which had been ravaged by the Thirty Years' War. Germans made up by far the most numerous group of foreigners in the republic during the seventeenth century, and this would continue into the eighteenth and indeed nineteenth centuries. Around 1685 another wave of refugees, thirty-five to fifty thousand strong, arrived from France, expelled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The second half of the seventeenth century also saw the arrival of a substantial number of eastern European Jews, who began to outnumber those from the Iberian Peninsula.

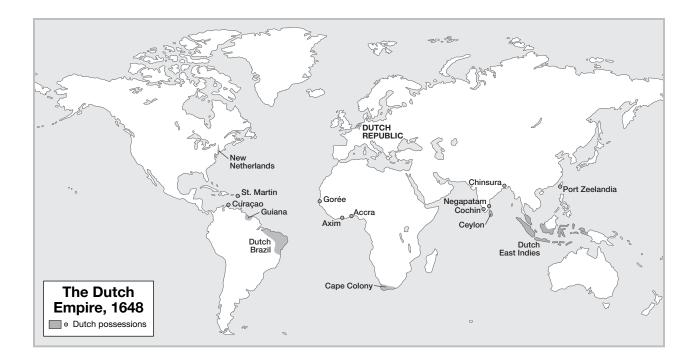
Immigrants who settled permanently in the republic did so overwhelmingly in the towns. In seventeenth-century Amsterdam, only one-third of those married (their places of origin are known) were natives of the city. Another third came from elsewhere in the republic, but the remaining third were immigrants from abroad. These figures almost

exactly match those of the late twentieth century. Amsterdam was particularly welcoming to foreigners, even granting citizenship rights to Jews. As a result, the city grew more than fourfold during the first half of the seventeenth century. But other towns received their fair share, too. The influx reinforced an already prominent feature of Dutch society, its remarkable degree of urbanization. Before the Dutch Revolt, the Low Countries had been, together with Italy, the most urbanized region of Europe. In the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic outstripped all other countries in this respect. In 1700 a third of the population lived in towns of ten thousand and over. There were no fewer than twenty towns of that size in the republic; in England, by comparison, there were only eleven. Thus the republic was not only urbanized to an unusual degree, but its urban population was also dispersed across a great many urban centers. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a network of special canals was dug, interconnecting most of these towns with regular towboat services which, in their day, were considered to be the pinnacle of public transport.

With the towns in the forefront, it was almost inevitable that the urban elite had a large impact on society as a whole. The mercantile community and the councillors of the enfranchised towns, who were known as "regents," were the richest and most influential class in a society that has therefore often been described as "bourgeois." Their homes lined the canals in Amsterdam and other towns of Holland. In the eastern part of the country, however, the old economy was still very much alive, as were the old social structures. Noble families dominated not only the countryside, but many towns as well. When not taking up office, they often served in the Dutch army, which was one of the largest in Europe.

A "STATE MONSTROSITY"

That is how the famous Dutch historian Johan Huizinga described the republic's political structures in 1941. His verdict stood in a long line of condemnations, and it is true that the political legacy of the Dutch Revolt seemed at first glance less than straightforward. The 1579 Union of Utrecht had attempted to compromise between two conflicting principles. On the one hand, the struggle was supposed to restore the traditional autonomy of the provinces and cities that supported it. The result



of this was that the individual provinces gained quasi-independence; they spoke of each other as "allies." Within the provinces, towns and nobles, the latter representing the countryside, shared power, albeit in varying degrees. In most provinces their votes were balanced, but in Holland the nobles held one vote against eighteen for the towns. Taxation was for the provinces to decide, and most provinces had their own university and their own legal system as well as their own currency. In many areas, regulation was left to individual communities. As a result, local authorities wielded wide-ranging powers.

The Union of Utrecht also stated that to continue the struggle, it was necessary to coordinate the defense of the country. The participants pledged to act in this respect "as if they were one province." To that end, they cooperated in the States General, where each province held one vote, and decisions could be vetoed by any single province. The presidency of the States General rotated among the provinces, each holding the chair for one week at a time. Proposals in the States General were referred back to the provinces, which in turn referred them to the nobles and the towns. Thus, issues of war and peace were discussed in the town halls of both Amsterdam, representing its 200,000 inhabitants, and tiny Sloten, in Friesland, with 450 inhabitants. In

all, an estimated 2,000 individuals participated in the decisions of the States General.

The most important counterweight to the autonomy of local institutions was the stadtholder from the House of Orange. Under Habsburg rule the stadtholders were provincial governors, and William I of Orange, known as "William the Silent" (1533-1584) had been one of them. When he emerged as leader of the Dutch Revolt, it proved impossible to abandon the office, even after the abjuration of the king in whose name he had held it. After William's death, the office was retained and coupled with the command of the navy and army of the young republic. The two northern provinces of Friesland and Groningen, however, continued to elect distant relatives of the Oranges as their stadtholder. Nonetheless, the Orange stadtholders, both because they served in several provinces at the same time and because their military offices gave them a special responsibility for national defense— William's sons Maurice (1567–1625) and Frederick Henry (1584-1647), who both served as stadtholders, proved extremely capable generals—the stadtholders emerged as informal heads of state. During the minority of William III of Orange (1650–1702), however, Johan de Witt (1625– 1672), the political leader of the province of Holland, emerged as a national leader.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

The Dutch Revolt had been a struggle for political autonomy and against the religious policies of the Habsburgs. As with the political structures, the religious outcome was deeply ambivalent. In the Union of Utrecht, freedom of conscience was promised to individual Dutchmen and -women, a highly significant step at a time when many Europeans were prepared to kill over religious issues. But at the same time, it was laid down that each province was entitled to create its own religious order, implying that the exercise of such freedoms might be seriously limited. This was indeed what happened. In the course of the revolt, the Calvinist church, well suited to the small-scale resistance and clandestine operations that typified the struggle, had emerged as the church of the revolt's leadership. Even William I of Orange, who had been a Lutheran and a Catholic before, and was a politique (one who favored a political solution to the religious conflicts) at heart, joined the Calvinists. During the 1580s, the activities of the Catholic Church were outlawed. Its buildings were handed over to the Calvinists, who were the only religious group allowed to practice their rites in public. Freedom of conscience had clearly become the liberty to believe, but certainly not the liberty to practice. The Calvinist church became the public church, and support of Calvinism became a precondition for political office. Nonetheless, only a small minority of the population initially joined the ranks of the Calvinists. In 1600 probably no more than 15 percent of the population were full members, with an unknown additional number coming to services without, however, joining the church. In part the Calvinists themselves were to blame for their lack of popular support. They set very high moral standards for their members and made it clear that only those who were willing to live by those standards would be made welcome. The authorities were halfhearted in their support of Calvinism, regularly accusing its ministers of religious extremism. They were also unwilling to risk a confrontation with the numerous non-Calvinists. And they persuaded themselves that tolerance was good for business.

Given the fierce competition between the towns of the Dutch Republic, this may well have been true. The Portuguese Jews, for example, who started to arrive around 1600, cleverly managed to

extract maximum concessions from local authorities by playing them off against each other. This strategy ultimately won them unprecedented freedom, notably in Amsterdam where they could even obtain citizenship rights, albeit under somewhat restricted conditions. Amsterdam was notoriously relaxed in its attitudes towards the "tolerated churches," even allowing the building of two Lutheran churches and two synagogues in the course of the seventeenth century. The Catholics, on the other hand, remained tarred as the church of the Spanish enemy. In the first half of the seventeenth century, much of the Catholic church organization had to be rebuilt clandestinely. Those efforts met with remarkable success, given Catholicism's illegal status. Catholics had to celebrate mass in so-called hidden churches and reckon with regular police raids. Nonetheless, by the end of the century, as much as a third of the Dutch population professed the Roman Catholic faith, not many fewer than the state-sponsored Calvinists who made up almost half the population. Equally remarkable perhaps was that, despite strong language from ministers and priests about their pernicious opponents, individual Dutchmen and -women were quite able to live in peace with neighbors and colleagues of a different persuasion.

It would be wrong, nonetheless, to think of the Dutch as a nation of innate tolerance. Zeeland and the northern provinces were almost completely Calvinist. In the eastern part of the country, the non-Calvinists had a hard time. In the course of the seventeenth century, Roman Catholics were excluded there from urban citizenship rights and therefore prohibited from joining a guild. Tolerance, in other words, was first and foremost a characteristic of the mercantile towns of the west.

THE "HOLLAND" SCHOOL OF PAINTING

The introduction of the Reformation, and the Dutch Revolt more generally, had led to a collapse of the traditional markets for the visual arts in the northern Netherlands. Nonetheless, many artists from the south were seeking refuge in the north. Desperate for work, they started to develop new subjects, hoping to please the newly rich middle classes. This led to the creation of what was later to become known as genre painting, scenes from everyday life, often enlivened with a pun or hidden moral. Painting became an exceedingly popular art.

Foreign visitors commented on the numbers of paintings in the homes of even modest Dutch families. It has been estimated that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as many as five million paintings must have been produced in the Dutch Republic, perhaps even double that number.

As the new market expanded, Dutch artists specialized in a variety of subjects. One painted little else but landscapes (Jacob van Ruysdael, 1628/29-1682), another confined himself to winter scenes (Hendrik Avercamp, 1585-1634), or kitchen interiors (Gerard Dou, 1613-1675), or naval engagements (Willem van de Velde de Jonge 1633-1707). The great majority of the paintings produced during the Golden Age were cheap and fairly worthless from an aesthetic point of view, decoration rather than art. But some artists produced a stunning quality, taking the depiction of their modest subject matter to entirely new levels of craftsmanship. It was not just the still famous Frans Hals (1581/85-1666) of Haarlem or Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675) of Delft who excelled, but in fact a crowd of painters who still impress. Even in traditional subject matter such as scenes from ancient history and the Bible, Dutch painters, notably Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), excelled.

After 1672, however, the domestic market for paintings collapsed. This was partly due to the great crisis of that year, when the Dutch Republic was attacked from various sides. The crisis seems to have precipitated a shift in taste, especially among well-to-do buyers, from contemporary masters to the established names from the first half of the century. But there was also the underlying problem of the secondhand market. The production of the previous half-century had been so abundant that the market was already awash with paintings of good quality, leaving little room for new work.

THE REPUBLIC IN DECLINE

After the Treaty of Münster in 1648, the future had looked very bright for the Dutch Republic. Its huge army could be reduced in size, promising a substantial peace dividend. The republic's neighbors, meanwhile, were in disarray. Germany was exhausted by the Thirty Years' War; the Civil War in England was in full swing, and in France the Fronde had revealed the precariousness of the monarchy during Louis XIV's minority. The twenty years of Johan De Witt's

leadership as grand pensionary of Holland (1653-1672) were generally prosperous and peaceful, even though punctuated by two naval wars with England (1652-1654 and 1665-1667) and several smaller skirmishes. But trouble was brewing. After Louis had taken power personally in 1662, he set his sights on the Spanish Netherlands. A division was proposed that would give the French and the Dutch both a share of the spoils. The Dutch, however, were weary of having France as a neighbor and declined the invitation. In 1670 France and England concluded a secret alliance and in 1672 they attacked the Dutch Republic, along with the bishops of Münster and Cologne. Even though the Dutch navy under Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter (1607–1676) succeeded in preventing an English invasion, the French armies occupied a substantial part of the country. William III (1650-1702) became stadtholder and had to save the situation. Peace with England was concluded in 1674, but not with France until 1678 (Treaty of Nijmegen). The war proved to be the first in a series. To avert the danger of French hegemony, William invaded England, where he and his wife, Mary, who was the daughter of King James II, had claims to the throne. This resulted in the Glorious Revolution of 1689, which gave parliament ascendancy over the monarchy (now William and Mary), but gave William his Anglo-Dutch alliance. It also led to renewed war with France: the War of the League of Augsburg, which ended with the 1697 Peace of Rijswick. In 1703 another war broke out, this time over the future of Spain. In this War of the Spanish Succession, the English and the Dutch fought together under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The allies won the war, but the Dutch lost the peace. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was a grave disappointment, and the republic was financially exhausted. Henceforth, it had to abstain from involvement in warfare.

Other European countries, meanwhile, were recovering from prolonged instability and imposing high tariffs on Dutch imports. The huge financial efforts of the forty years of war with France had eroded the competitive edge of the republic's merchants. Loss of great-power status meant the republic could no longer protect its overseas trade routes. By 1715, when the republic was temporarily unable to pay the interest on its national debt, it had become clear that the golden days were over. What

was left was an agonizing memory of those wonderful times. Throughout the eighteenth century proposals were launched, serious as well as fantastic, to bring them back, all to little avail. With the death of William III in 1702, the Orange dynasty became extinct. William left his inheritance, including the French principality of Orange, long occupied by Louis XIV, to his distant relatives, the Frisian stadtholders. But it was only when a new French invasion threatened in 1747 that the majority of the provinces actually accepted the Frisian stadtholder as their new leader under the name of William IV (1711–1751). The crisis also tempted them to give William unprecedented powers to interfere with local and provincial government. Under William IV and especially under his son William V (1748-1806), an elaborate network of political patronage, centered on the court in The Hague, was created, unifying the country, albeit it in an informal way.

THE END OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In December 1782 as many as a third of the adult men in the city of Deventer in the eastern Netherlands signed a petition clamoring for reform, especially the restoration of the town's former autonomy. It was an action clearly aimed against the overwhelming control by the Orange court, and it mobilized not just the middle classes, but also disaffected sections of the ruling elite. The idea caught on, and for the next five years the Dutch Republic became deeply divided by this so-called Patriot movement that hoped to restore the country's former greatness by going back to the roots of the "ancient constitution" of 1579. In 1785 the stadtholder had to flee The Hague, becoming an exile in his own country. He ultimately had to be saved by his brother-in-law Frederick William II of Prussia from ignominious defeat by the Patriots in the fall of 1787. Thus the Prussians prevented the Dutch from upstaging the French Revolution of 1789. Many Patriots fled the country and went into refuge in France, where they witnessed the French Revolution firsthand. When they returned to their homeland in the winter of 1794–1795, to bring the revolution at long last, they had completely new ideas about the reforms that were needed. Instead of the federalism of the old republic, the newly created revolutionary Batavian Republic needed a unified government. A national assembly was created in 1795, but it took until 1798—and a radical coup

d'état with French backing—before a unitarist constitution could be forced upon a doubting (thoroughly purged) electorate. After that, the Dutch underwent several more regime changes before Napoléon's brother Louis (1778–1846) was appointed king in 1806. The Netherlands has been a monarchy ever since.

See also Amsterdam; Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Antwerp; Capitalism; Dutch Colonies; Dutch Literature and Language; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Dutch War (1672–1678); Habsburg Dynasty; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Netherlands, Art in the; Netherlands, Southern; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van; Patriot Revolution; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Trading Companies; Tulips; William and Mary; William of Orange; Witt, Johan and Cornelis de.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Rowen, Herbert H., ed. *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times.* New York, 1972.

Temple, Sir William. *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*. Edited by Sir George Clark. Oxford, 1972. Originally published 1673.

Secondary Sources

- Bodian, Miriam. Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam. Bloomington, Ind. 1997.
- Bruijn, J. R. The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Columbia, S.C., 1993.
- Bruijn, J. R., F. S. Gaastra, and I. Schöffer. *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries.* Vol I, *Introduction*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie, vol. 165. The Hague, 1987.
- Davids, Karel, and Jan Lucassen, eds. A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1995.
- Deursen, A. T. van. Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland.
 Translated by Maarten Ultee. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1991.
- Haak, Bob. The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century. Translated and edited by Elizabeth Willems-Treeman. New York, 1984.
- Hsia, R. Po-chia, and H. F. K. van Nierop, eds. *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge, U.K., 2002.
- Israel, Jonathan I. Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740. Oxford, 1989.
- ——. The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806. Oxford, 1995.

- ——. The Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750. Oxford, 2001.
- Jacob, Margaret C., and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, eds. *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1992.
- Kaplan, Benjamin J. Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620. Oxford and New York, 1995.
- Montias, J. Michael. Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century. Princeton, 1982.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *The Dutch Revolt*. Harmondsworth, U.K., 1979.
- Price, J. L. Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism. Oxford and New York, 1994.
- Schama, Simon. Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands. New York, 1977.
- Slive, Seymour. *Dutch Painting*, 1600–1800. New Haven and London, 1995.
- 't Hart, M. C. The Making of a Bourgeois State: War, Politics and Finance during the Dutch Revolt. Manchester, U.K., 1993.
- Vries, Jan de. The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700. New Haven, 1974.
- Vries, Jan de, and Ad van der Woude. The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815. Cambridge, U.K., 1996.
- Zanden, Jan Luiten van. The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy: Merchant Capitalism and the Labour Market. Manchester, U.K., 1993.

Maarten Prak

DUTCH REVOLT (1568–1648). The revolt of the Netherlands against Spanish rule, also known as the Eighty Years' War, is traditionally said to have begun in June 1568, when the Spanish executed Counts Egmont and Horne in Brussels. The tensions that led to open revolt, however, had much earlier origins. The revolt itself is best viewed as a series of related uprisings and wars that, taken together, constitute the Dutch Revolt. The eventual outcome of the revolt was decided for the most part by 1609, when the combatants agreed to the Twelve Years' Truce, but the war between the United Provinces of the Netherlands (Dutch Republic) and the Kingdom of Spain did not officially come to an end until both parties agreed to the

Peace of Münster, which was part of the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

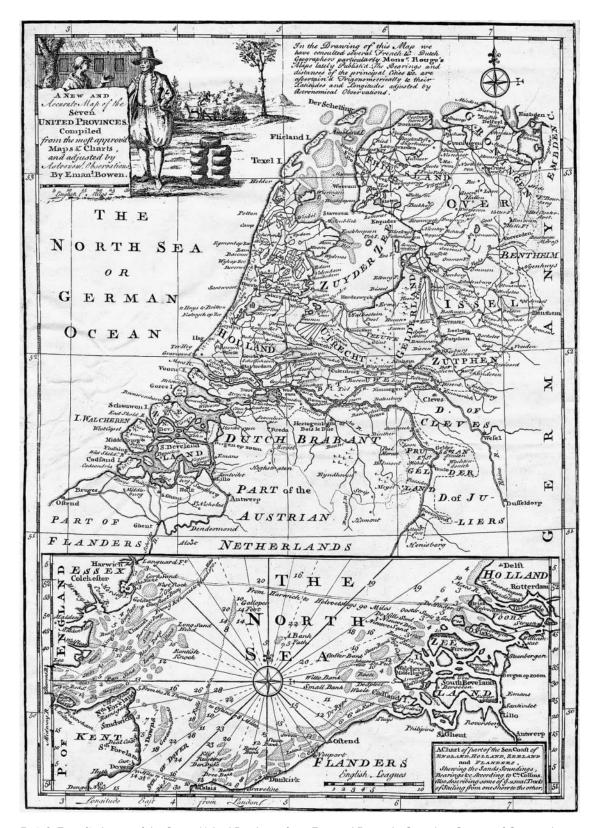
PRELUDE TO REVOLT: THE DISUNITY OF THE NETHERLANDS

The various provinces of the Low Countries (Netherlands) were never really united into a distinct country prior to the late sixteenth century. They were slowly and loosely brought under the control of the dukes of Burgundy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but were never more than a collection of counties and duchies. These territories each retained their customary laws and traditions, their so-called ancient liberties. In many respects this disunity of the provinces of the Low Countries ensured that particularist agendas would stand in the way of attempts by the rulers to create a centralized administration and unified country.

Whereas the Burgundian dukes did not move too quickly in the direction of expansion and centralization, their Habsburg successors certainly did. Probably the most important move toward centralization prior to the revolt was taken by Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) when he succeeded in having his "seventeen provinces" of the Netherlands united as a single entity by agreement of the States-General (parliament) to his Pragmatic Sanction in 1549. The Pragmatic Sanction outlined the way the succession would be regulated and provided that the seventeen provinces must always have the same ruler. It is not clear, however, if this meant that their liberties would be compromised.

THE FIRST REVOLT (1566–1568): THE SLIGHTED NOBILITY AND RELIGIOUS TENSIONS

Charles V's son Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) continued his father's policies, in particular suppressing heresy, but whereas the Ghent-born Charles V was a fairly popular figure, the Netherlanders always viewed the Spanish-born Philip as a foreigner. The great nobles of the Low Countries and delegates to the States-General disapproved of his reliance on officials sent from Spain. Soon the nobles, including William of Orange (1533–1584), Lamoraal, count of Egmont (1522–1568), and the count of Hoorne, Filips van Montmorency (1518–1568), became disenchanted with Philip's increasingly absolutist-tilting government in Brussels,



Dutch Revolt. A map of the Seven United Provinces from Emanuel Bowen's *Complete System of Geography*, published in London in 1747, includes a view of the English channel and part of the coast of England. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

210

which was led by the unpopular Antoine Perrenot (1517–1586), the future Cardinal Granvelle.

The nobles' main argument was a constitutional one. They thought that government should be administered jointly by the prince (usually through his officials), the nobility, and the States-General. Thus the nobility had an important role to play in government. As Philip's chief official in the Netherlands and the champion of royal prerogative, Perrenot received the brunt of the nobility's ire. But rather than seek any kind of compromise, Philip's government insisted that the nobles swear an oath of allegiance (1567) to the king in which they would essentially be renouncing their traditional liberties. While many of the nobles accepted the change (with considerable grumbling), William of Orange and a few others refused.

These constitutional issues were being raised at a time of increasing religious tensions, due mostly to the ecclesiastical reforms—Philip II proposed to institute new bishoprics in the Low Countries—and also to an increase in the prosecution of "heretics." With papal approval, Philip's plan called for the creation of several new bishoprics with a primate of the Netherlands in the person of the archbishop of Mechelen; to fill this position Perrenot was installed as Cardinal Granvelle. But it was the Habsburg obsession with rooting out heresy that is often associated with the uprising that occurred in 1566. Late in 1565 Philip's Council of State directed Inquisition officials to enforce anti-heresy laws.

For the nobility, this was one more affront to their authority. The great nobles considered resisting the government's religious policies, but it was the lower nobility that took action. The lower nobles, led mostly by Protestants or those with Protestant leanings, came together at Culemborch to form the Compromise of the Nobility, with the express intention of forcing Philip's regent (and half-sister), Margaret of Parma (1522–1586), to change the heresy law. By April 1566 as many as four hundred lesser nobles, all supporters of the Compromise, assembled at Brussels to present their petition to Margaret. One minister referred to these nobles not as petitioners, but as *les gueux*, 'the Beggars', a name that became a badge of honor.

The Beggars promised violence if Margaret failed to take action against the heresy laws. Al-

though she issued a decree of "moderation," the damage had been done; Calvinists had already begun flouting the laws, and preaching in the Netherlands had reached a fever pitch by late spring 1566. The nobles soon lost control as Calvinist preachers urged their listeners to destroy the numerous religious images found in the churches of the Low Countries. This iconoclasm of the summer of 1566 was widespread, hitting Antwerp on 20 August, and Ghent, Amsterdam, Leiden, and Utrecht a few days later. A terrified Margaret acquiesced to the repeated demands of the Beggars and agreed to an "Accord" permitting Protestant worship in the parts of the Low Countries where it was already being practiced. Unfortunately the Compromise of the Nobility soon collapsed, leaving no one really in control. The iconoclasm continued, and Margaret had no choice but to raise an army to bring order to the provinces.

While Margaret was hard at work bringing the towns of the provinces to heel, Philip II weighed his options. By November 1566 he had decided to send an army to the Netherlands. But the Beggars had been raising troops in opposition to the government, so Margaret had to take action. This split the nobility, many of whom sided with the government. Margaret's troops had been successfully besieging Calvinist strongholds and on 13 March 1567 defeated the rebel troops at the Battle of Oosterweel. By May 1567 the Netherlands were back under the control of the regent. The next month Philip sent his Spanish army, under the leadership of the duke of Alba, to the Netherlands.

Once in the Netherlands, the Duke of Alba— Ferdinand Álvarez de Toledo (1508-1583)—set about rooting out heresy and, through the Council of Troubles, prosecuting individuals branded as traitors to the Spanish king. Of the almost nine thousand people found guilty of participating in the troubles of 1566-1567, including some wellknown nobles, at least one thousand were executed, including Counts Egmont and Hoorne. Only the nobles who remained loyal to Philip survived unscathed. William of Orange emerged as the de facto leader of the opposition. His attempt to invade the Netherlands from his ancestral home in Germany with a force of some 30,000 men in October 1568 was no match for the Spanish forces. William's brother, Count Louis of Nassau (1538-1574), sent ships out to get aid from exiled Calvinist communities in England, but it was too late and Louis's "Sea Beggars" (*Watergeuzen*) eventually turned to privateering. At the time William had no choice but to retreat. He spent the next year fighting for the Huguenots in France.

THE SECOND REVOLT (1568–1576): WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND THE DUKE OF ALBA

By 1569, it seemed that revolt in the Netherlands had been snuffed out and had little chance of reigniting. Alba set about instituting Philip's plans and policies for the Netherlands, including the ecclesiastical reforms. William of Orange and his supporters had been continuing to plan for an eventual invasion, but, perhaps because of the harshness of Alba's regime, he found few willing to rise up in the Netherlands. Help had to come from the outside. France was one obvious source of aid; the other was England. William thought he had support from both places. His plans for an invasion in 1572 included a thrust from the east with his German army and from the south by a Huguenot army with a naval assault from England by the unruly Sea Beggars. Coordination failed, and the Sea Beggars, who had been expelled from their English bases, moved too soon. They attacked Brill (Den Briel) on 1 April 1572, taking the port city without difficulty. By the end of April, Flushing was also in Beggar hands. Over the next few months the Beggars, usually aided by defectors in the towns, were able to take Gouda (21) June) and Dordrecht (25 June). By July, Haarlem (15 July), Leiden (23 July), and Rotterdam (25 July) also went over to the rebel side.

Most of the land-based forces could not take the field until July. A rebel army under Louis of Nassau managed to take Mons (Bergen) and other rebels took a few other towns, but the French force from the south was roundly defeated at St. Ghislain, and the French crown's changing attitudes toward the Huguenots meant that no more forces would be sent. William's own force stalled in the northeast. Alba succeeded in retaking the towns held by rebels, but the thought of a protracted war in Holland and Zeeland, places where William had many supporters, split the Spanish leadership, so in November 1573 Philip II replaced Alba with Don Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga (1528–1576).

William of Orange wasted no time in taking advantage of Spanish indecision by currying the support of the States of Holland and Zeeland. While not all of Holland and Zeeland could accept William's position (Amsterdam remained loyal to Philip), the two provinces united in the summer of 1575 with William of Orange as their leader. Meanwhile, Requesens had heeded Alba's advice and pressed into Holland and Zeeland. The Spanish successfully captured rebel cities such as Haarlem and Brill in 1573. The rebels were only able to hold out by flooding large areas in advance of the Spanish army. The floods kept the Spanish at bay, foiling their siege of Leiden in 1574.

The costs of this protracted war in the Netherlands were astronomical. It has been estimated that the war cost Spain more than the combined income from Castile and Spain's New World possessions. Due to lack of pay, the Spanish army mutinied several times, abandoning their garrisons and leaving them open to rebel forces. Philip was on the brink of bankruptcy. He ordered Requesens to open negotiations with the rebels. Requesens met with William at Breda in March 1575. The talks ended in failure, however, as neither side would back down on the religious issue. Within the year the financial crisis had become acute, Requesens had died, and despite a Spanish victory over Zierikzee in Zeeland, the Spanish could not make their payroll and the troops mutinied once again.

THE THIRD REVOLT (1576–1584): THE NETHERLANDS UNITED AND DIVIDED

The Spanish troop mutinies of 1576, more than anything else, brought the various provinces of the Low Countries together in common cause. When mutinous troops sacked the royalist town of Aalst, even Catholics loyal to Philip looked for some kind of common defensive arrangement. Talks between William's supporters and Catholic loyalists began at Ghent in October 1576. The participants in the Ghent meeting agreed to set aside their own religious differences by suspending the heresy laws and uniting to expel the Spanish. This agreement, called the "Pacification of Ghent," was quickly ratified by the various Provincial States in reaction to the "Spanish Fury," the violent mutiny of the Spanish troops at Antwerp on 4 November 1576, in which about eight thousand people were killed. The Pacification of Ghent did not, however, resolve the problem of disunity in the Netherlands. What appeared to be unity of action was only temporary.

Philip appointed his half-brother, Don Juan of Austria (1547–1578), to replace Requesens as governor-general of the Netherlands. His charge was to find a temporary settlement with the rebels. Indeed the States-General was happy to recognize him as governor, provided he agreed to the provisions of the Pacification of Ghent. William of Orange remained mistrustful of Don Juan and urged the States-General to act cautiously. The States-General installed Don Juan as governor-general on 1 May 1577, over William's objections. William was right to be concerned about Don Juan's intentions. Don Juan attempted to neutralize the States-General and impose his own authority as soon as July 1577, when he captured Namur, unsuccessfully attacked Antwerp, and recalled the Spanish troops to the Low Countries. Because of this duplicity, the Catholic nobles from the southern Low Countries arranged for the Austrian Archduke Matthias (1557-1619) to replace Don Juan as governor-general, but this arrangement was never recognized by Philip II.

During all of this, Philip II had been preoccupied with the threat of the Ottoman Empire in the east. Once peace with the Turks was achieved after the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, Philip reacted decisively to the developments in the Netherlands. He sent his Spanish army back to the Low Countries under the leadership of Alexander Farnese (1555–1592), the prince and eventual duke of Parma. As soon as Parma and his army landed, they began a successful campaign, taking Gembloux on 31 January 1578, and Leuven on 13 February. Don Juan died of the plague in October, and Philip appointed Parma as governor of the Netherlands.

Despite military assistance from both France and England, infighting among the provinces precluded the possibility of united action. The division between the largely royalist Catholic provinces of the south and the independent-minded Calvinist provinces of the north tore the States-General apart. In January 1579 the northern provinces (Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Gelderland, and Ommelanden) concluded the Union of Utrecht, effectively establishing the United Provinces. The southern provinces of Hainault and Artois created the Union of Arras (later joined by Walloon Flanders),

which reconciled itself to the rule of Philip II on 6 April 1579. The provinces of the Union of Arras, together with the provinces already under Spanish control (Namur, Limburg, and Luxembourg), formed the basis for continued Spanish rule.

Continuing their move toward independence, the provinces of the Union of Utrecht deposed Philip II as sovereign of the Netherlands in the Act of Abjuration (26 July 1581). Who should replace him became the problem that the States-General would need to solve. In the end they turned to François de Valois (1556–1584), duke of Anjou, a French prince of the blood and a Catholic. He was never particularly popular and never received the dignities he expected, so he returned to France in the summer of 1583. When a royalist assassinated William of Orange in Delft on 10 July 1584, the United Provinces were left without a strong leader.

SURVIVAL: THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS AND THE TWELVE YEARS' TRUCE (1584–1609)

With William of Orange out of the picture, Parma began his campaign to reconquer the Netherlands. Ghent surrendered to Parma's army on 17 September 1584 and Brussels capitulated on 10 March 1585. The search for foreign help in the face of what was amounting to a Spanish reconquest brought the States-General's gaze, once again, to focus on England. An agreement, formalized in the Treaty of Nonsuch on 20 August 1585, was forged between the English and the States-General, allowing Elizabeth I to appoint a governor-general for the Netherlands and to send a large army to halt the Spanish advance. But Antwerp—Parma's greatest prize—had already fallen to the Spanish on 17 August.

Elizabeth I appointed Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester (1532/33–1588), as governor-general, but she could not eliminate the disunity that plagued the Netherlands, and Leicester's attempts to impose his own ideas of centralized government were doomed to failure. In the end, Leicester had no choice but to return to England with his army. The Dutch then turned to one of their own to lead the revolt: Count Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), the second son of William of Orange.

For Philip II the English involvement in the revolt could only be viewed as an act of war. In order to counter the English, and in part as a reac-



Dutch Revolt. Feast on the Occasion of the Armistice of 1609, painting by Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne, 1616, Louvre Museum, Paris. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

tion to English "piracy" against Spanish commerce with the New World, Philip dispatched an armada of over 100 ships to invade England in 1588. The fate of the Spanish Armada is well-known, but this naval defeat did not hamper Spanish abilities on land. Nevertheless, Spanish attention to the English problem and Spanish involvement in French wars gave the Dutch some breathing space. Maurice succeeded in recapturing many of the northern towns lost to Spain at just the time that Philip II ordered Parma's army to intervene in the civil war in France, where Parma died in 1592.

Now the Spanish were left without a leader in the Netherlands. Eventually, Philip II appointed his nephew (and eventual son-in-law) Archduke Albert of Austria as governor-general in 1596. Albert had little success in consolidating Spanish power in the Netherlands, however, because of Spanish bankruptcy, troop mutinies, and desertions. The next several years witnessed an intense period of warfare that largely resulted in stalemate. By then Philip II

had died and his successor Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) saw no way to continue financing a war that had been draining the Spanish treasury for decades. The time had come for the peace process suggested by Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610): both sides agreed to a Twelve Years' Truce in Antwerp on 9 April 1609.

ACCOMMODATION: THE LAST GASP OF WARFARE

The Twelve Years' Truce worked more to the advantage of the Dutch than to that of the Spanish. The Dutch, freed of the need to fight an expensive war with Spain, were able to build up a powerful economy. Politically, however, the shape the Dutch Republic would ultimately take was still a matter of much debate, particularly the role the Reformed (Calvinist) Church would play. The fortunes of the Spanish Netherlands were flagging by the end of the truce. The commerce of Spain herself met with stiff competition from the Dutch, and the Dutch and the Spanish found each other drawn to differing

sides of the political developments of early-seventeenth-century Europe. The Dutch Revolt had merged into the greater European conflict of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

By the time the Twelve Years' Truce finally expired in 1621, Philip III was dead, and pro-war factions on both sides called for renewed hostilities. But by then neither side expected to triumph over the other. Both sides were involved in the Thirty Years' War, and the Spanish in particular found it impossible to devote much attention to warfare in the Netherlands. The best course of action was to sue for peace. Negotiations were drawn out for several years, with the two combatants only slowly making concessions. Finally, on 30 January 1648, the Peace of Münster (later incorporated into the Peace of Westphalia of October 1648) ended the war between Spain and the United Provinces, making permanent the division of the Low Countries and guaranteeing the independence of the Dutch Republic.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Dutch Republic; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Juan de Austria, Don; Netherlands, Southern; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip II (Spain); Thirty Years' War (1618– 1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); William of Orange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Darby, Graham, ed. The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt. London, 2001.

Gelderen, Martin van. *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 1555–1590. Cambridge, U.K., 1992.

Geyl, Pieter. *The Revolt of the Netherlands (1555–1609)*. 2nd ed. New York, 1958. Reprint, 1980.

Griffiths, Gordon. "The Revolutionary Character of the Revolt of the Netherlands." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1960): 452–472.

Israel, Jonathan. The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806. Oxford, 1995.

Limm, Peter. The Dutch Revolt, 1559–1648. London, 1989.

Parker, Geoffrey. The Dutch Revolt. London, 1977.

Price, J. L. Dutch Society, 1588-1713. London, 2000.

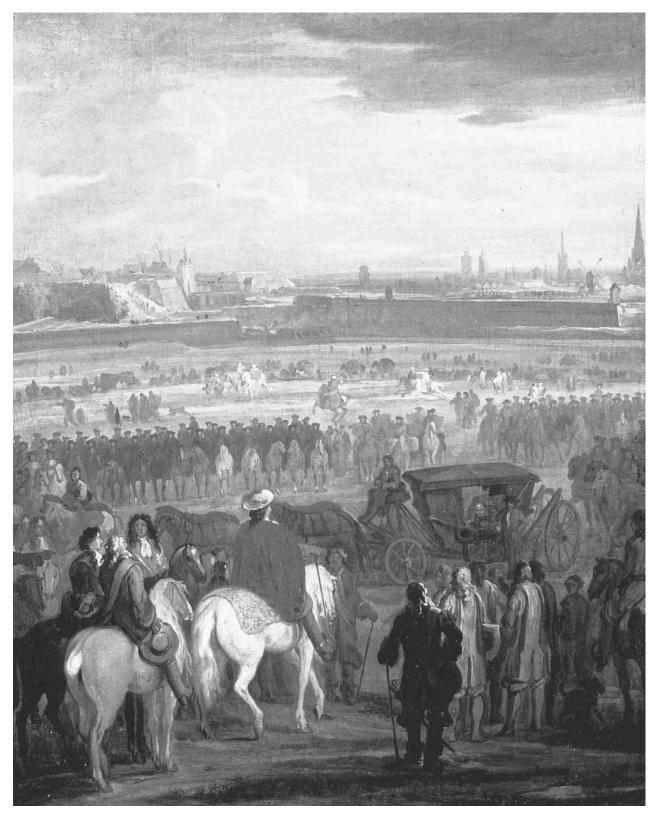
Rowan, Herbert H. "The Dutch Revolt: What Kind of Revolution?" *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 570–590.

't Hart, Marjolein C. The Making of a Bourgeois State: War, Politics and Finance during the Dutch Revolt. Manchester, U.K., 1993.

DONALD J. HARRELD

DUTCH WAR (1672–1678). The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 1668) ended the short Franco-Spanish war over territory in the Spanish Netherlands. Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and his advisers had been concerned at the prospect of a coalition (the Triple Alliance) opposed to further French gains and had anticipated the enforcement of the secret partition treaty for the division of all the Spanish territories on the death of the young king, Charles II. But as Charles demonstrated unexpected vitality, and Louis was assured by his generals that a second campaign in 1668 would have conquered the whole of the Spanish Netherlands, Aixla-Chapelle seemed an exasperating mistake. By 1669 Louis wanted another war, but his ministers were sharply divided as to whether this aggression should be directed once again at the Spanish Netherlands or toward powers likely to oppose this French expansion, most notably the Dutch Republic. Neither the secretary for foreign affairs, Hughes de Lionne (1611–1671), nor the finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), favored war in the early 1670s, but both recognized that obstructing the king's will on this matter would play into the hands of their rivals. Lionne regarded further belligerence against the Spanish Netherlands as the option most likely to forge a coalition against France; Colbert reluctantly considered that a war against the Dutch would at least serve some of his mercantilist goals of acquiring a larger share of European trade for French merchants. Playing on Louis's resentment of Dutch "presumption" and "ingratitude," the ministers turned Louis away from the Spanish Netherlands, and constructed an apparently effective system of alliances to isolate the Dutch Republic.

Careful military planning ensured a rapid sweep across the Rhine and into the Dutch Republic in May 1672. The Dutch forces were ill-prepared and under strength; a frantic population lynched Johan and Cornelis de Witt, the principal directors of the States of Holland, and acclaimed William III of the House of Orange (1650–1702) as military leader



Dutch War. Capture of the Citadel of Cambrai, 18 April 1677, painting by Adam Frans van der Meulen. Held by the Spanish crown since 1595, Cambrai was part of the territory lost to the French during the campaigns of 1674–1678. The ART ARCHIVE/ MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

216 EUROPE 1450 TO 1789

and stadtholder. During the campaign of 1672 the French armies appeared unstoppable: Utrecht fell on 30 June, Nijmegen on 9 July. The Dutch offered generous terms for peace that would have abandoned any opposition to a French conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. But Louis now sought to destroy Dutch political autonomy and strip the Dutch of a swathe of landward territory extending northward to Utrecht. When the Dutch responded by flooding the land around Amsterdam and blocking the French advance, the rejection of the earlier Dutch peace proposals made both settlement and outright victory equally unattainable.

European alarm increased through the summer and autumn of 1672. Troops from Brandenburg intervened on behalf of the Dutch, but French forces drove them back in the last months of the year. More serious was the confrontational mood in Vienna, among many other princes in the Empire, and within Spain. In 1673, despite Louis's capture of the prestigious fortress of Maastricht, allied troops in Germany outmaneuvered the French and forced them onto the defensive. With supply lines to the Dutch Republic disrupted, Louis was obliged to evacuate all his troops from Dutch territory. Although French armies subsequently enjoyed piecemeal success and overran Franche-Comté for the second time in 1674, the war was now being fought in campaign theaters and for aims unconnected with original French war plans. Tax revolts at home and the worsening plight of the French economy indicated that the conflict was spiraling out of control. France was sustaining an unprecedented military burden of around 250,000 soldiers against a coalition that remained united in the face of military setbacks. Successive French campaigns alternated between years of military stagnation such as 1675, when the death of marshal Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne while leading his army led to the collapse of military activity in Germany, and years of impressive French military success such as 1678. Peace negotiations began at the Dutch city of Nijmegen as early as 1676, but they dragged on as the various powers surveyed the shifting balance of military advantage. When a series of agreements were finally reached between August 1678 and February 1679, it was clear that French victories late in the war had helped gain considerable advantages for Louis XIV. But Spain, not the Dutch Republic, paid the price of the settlement with the loss of Franche-Comté and further territory in the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch profited, gaining the abolition of punitive French trade tariffs imposed in 1667, and economic recovery from the war years followed rapidly in the 1680s. The political and military turnaround since 1672 had entrenched William in the republic, and until his death in 1702, Dutch foreign policy was shaped by William's implacable hostility to Louis XIV.

See also Dutch Republic; Louis XIV (France); Netherlands, Southern; William and Mary; Witt, Johan and Cornelis de.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Actes et Mémoires des Négociations de la Paix de Nimègue. Reprint. 4 vols. Graz, 1974. First edition, Amsterdam, 1679.

Louis XIV. Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin. Translated and edited by Paul Sonnino. London, 1970.

Secondary Sources

Bély, Lucien. Espions et Ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV. Paris, 1990.

Ekberg, Carl J. The Failure of Louis XIV's Dutch War. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979.

Israel, Jonathan I. The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806. Oxford, 1995.

Rowen, Herbert H. The Ambassador Prepares for War: The Dutch Embassy of Arnauld de Pomponne, 1669–1672. The Hague, 1957.

——. John de Witt: Grand Pensionary of Holland 1625–1672. Cambridge, U.K., 1978.

Sonnino, Paul M. "Louis XIV and the Dutch War." In *Louis XIV and Europe*, edited by Ragnhild Hatton, pp. 153–178. London, 1976.

-----. Louis XIV and the Origins of the Dutch War. Cambridge, U.K., 1988.

Wolf, John B. Louis XIV. New York, 1968.

DAVID PARROTT



EARLY MODERN PERIOD. See Introduction, Volume 1.

EARLY MODERN PERIOD: ART HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS.

The practice of critical evaluation in early modern art rests upon the foundations of biography, rhetoric, and poetics. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), Italian writer and artist, launched Renaissance art history with his Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects (first edition, 1550), a compendium of biographical sketches. The language of rhetoric and poetics established the terms for writing about literature and the visual arts with the appearance of Cicero's De oratore (On speaking), the first book published in Italy, and Aristotle's Poetics, translated into Italian with extensive commentaries in 1576 by the critic Lodovico Castelvetro. While promoting an evolutionary model of generations of artists perfecting mimesis and approaching an ideal, Vasari wrote about individual genius, remarkable accomplishments, and Tuscan excellence and eloquence. The language of rhetoric and literature gave authors a vocabulary for appraising invention, composition, narrative, and style in the visual arts.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INTERPRETATIONS

By the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, a reaction arose against both the poetic and rhetorical traditions, especially as they were used by the Italians, while the biographical tradition retained its hold on readers' expectations if not imaginations. The Franco-Italian debate that flared between the French writers Dominique Bouhours and Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux on the one hand, and Gian Gioseffo Orsi, the Italian intellectual and member of the Arcadian Academy, on the other, signaled both an attack on the Italians, their emphasis on conceits and baroque language, and an attempt on the part of the French to seize the leadership in culture, language, literature, and the visual arts from the Italians, whose hegemony in these areas had been unquestioned and untested for centuries. The result of this quarrel was to give greater currency to a new term in artistic evaluation—taste.

Good taste (buon gusto, bon goût) carried much of the weight that rhetorical terms had borne in the previous several centuries. The touting of buon gusto by the leading Italian intellectuals of the early eighteenth century had the effect of anathematizing the baroque and the Jesuit emphasis on the emotive image. Suddenly, the posthumous reputations of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona were discounted, and the baroque style lost its prestige and luster. Spanish painters of the seventeenth century suffered a similar fate.

The birth of the word "baroque" (perhaps deriving from the Portuguese *barroco* 'an irregularly shaped pearl' and the so-called *ragione baroco*, a tendentious syllogistic form), describing a style in the visual arts, occurred at about the time that the

baroque was banished. The third edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'académie* (1740) condemned the baroque style as ill-proportioned, bizarre, and irregular. The wide currency of the word "taste" in the eighteenth century generally conveyed values that were supportive of Renaissance art, but that depreciated "excess" fancy and invention. The short *Essay on Taste* by Voltaire (1694–1778) articulated this position (and by implication a dismissal of the Jesuit baroque style) when explaining how artists avoid the simplicity of nature and choose "uncommon paths."

Johann Joachim Winckelmann's original and innovative Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke (1755; Reflections on the imitation of Greek works) and his Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums (1764; History of ancient art) caused a radical shift in the concept of good taste. He wrote that good taste had its origins under a "Greek sky." The German art historian accomplished several things with this statement: One was to redirect his contemporaries' attention away from the art of Rome to that of Greece, which had been largely inaccessible to Europeans in the eighteenth century; the second "paradigm shift" that he prompted was to situate the visual arts within a culture. Winckelmann felt that it was only in Greece during the golden age that artists enjoyed the Freiheit, 'freedom', to create ideal art based on mythological subjects. In short, he made the first move in what is now called historicism. In this same text, he also initiated what was, in effect, a call to arms against the baroque (which he despised) and in favor of classicism, a concept that just then was in the process of formulation. He peddled the memorable phrase edel Einfalt und stille Grösse, 'noble simplicity and quiet grandeur', which meant, of course, that the Renaissance style would soon wear the mantle of classicism, whereas the baroque, nearly dead anyhow, was to receive another nail in its coffin. Because of Winckelmann's text on ancient art, his position as commissioner of antiquities in Rome, and the development of archaeological techniques in the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, neoclassicism became the primary artistic style of the second half of the eighteenth century.

NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY INTERPRETATIONS

The German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) inherited from Winckelmann a love for the classical style and a philosophical penchant for historicism. He also devised a historical scheme that gave to early modern painting both a place in history and a distinctive capacity to convey the spirit of an age. Although Hegel's aesthetics are notoriously complex, one can make a few observations that are pertinent to the reception and interpretation of early modern art. First of all, Hegel (like Vasari before him) enunciated a teleological scheme (one in which history is working toward a goal), although his did not cover just a few generations; rather, he believed that the "worldspirit" found its beginning in the earliest stages of Mediterranean history and spiraled through millennia, revealing itself with ever greater clarity. Works of art, which are symptoms of their times, follow inevitably the progress of the "spirit." The prototype for Hegel's first stage is architecture (symbolic), followed by sculpture (classic), and culminating in painting and music as phenomena of the Romantic stage. Hegel owed much to Winckelmann in his appreciation of classical beauty, which expressed itself best in sculpture. But painting, because of its reduced materiality, allowed the "spirit" to shine through with greater brilliance. Although Hegel did not single out either Renaissance or baroque painting, one can assume by implication that baroque religious painting, because of its shadows and search for the ineffable, fits his scheme perfectly. Hegel also validated painting of every period because of its necessary historical role. One may love the classical style, but owing to the dictates of history, one must accept every style as appropriate to its time and place.

The Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) fell under the sway of Hegel's periodization but abandoned his assertion of historical progress. His *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860; Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy) treated Italian art of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century as part and parcel of Italian culture and values, the unique product of individual creativity married to cultural norms, with visual schemes inherited from antiquity. For all his love of the classical style, now firmly identified and associated with Italian Early and High Renaissance painting, sculpture,

and architecture, Burckhardt understood and valued the energies of the baroque. Although he interpreted visual art as a function or product of culture (for Burckhardt, art could have no existence outside of history), he nonetheless had such esteem for beauty in all its manifestations that he felt the history of art could be studied and taught on its own terms, as its own discipline. He also saw that artistic styles had certain quintessential qualities, calling Renaissance the "organic style" and baroque the "spatial style." It remained for Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945), his student and successor as professor of history at the University of Basel, to describe and elaborate upon the organic and spatial as the "linear" and "painterly."

Wölfflin created a huge stir in the discipline of art history with his publication in 1915 of the Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe (Principles of art history), which addressed both the psychology of style and the ways in which it gives expression to the individual artist as well as the nation and the age. But his main concern was with the deeply rooted visual schemes and modes of perception that he found distinguished sixteenth- from seventeenthcentury European art. Baroque artists created masses and patches of color and form, whereas High Renaissance artists were more like draftsmen in their concern with surfaces, outlines, linear perspective, and the careful parallels in a sequence of planes. Vision has its own history, as he asserted, and the archetypes that undergird that particular history he called the linear and the painterly. Primarily because he wanted to see Renaissance and baroque styles as part of a Zeitgeist, 'spirit of an age', Wölfflin generally avoided the recognition that there is something original, general, and universal about these forms. And yet it soon became apparent to other art historians and critics that one could find these forms in many historical periods, from the Shang dynasty and its bronzes, to the Hellenistic period and its sculpture, and as Wölfflin himself pointed out, the late Gothic style in architecture.

Svetlana Alpers's article "Describe or Narrate: A Problem in Pictorial Representation" proposes another prototype for seventeenth-century Italian and Dutch painting (the analysis of "description" developed in this article led to her *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* [1983]). Alpers writes about a method of description that

figures prominently in Dutch baroque painting (and in Caravaggio's work) and that is at odds with the methods used to create energy, movement, and narration typical of the *istoria* (history painting) in Italian painting. The Dutch, she argues, did not inherit the Albertian tradition of narrative painting, and therefore tended to show scenes of suspended action, ones that do not suggest events leading up to the moment depicted, nor that which succeeds it. As a demonstration of its archetypal nature, Alpers also detects the descriptive approach operating in nineteenth-century French realism.

The literary critic and art historian Norman Bryson's use of the terms "discourse" and "figure" provides us with yet another gambit in what at first glance may appear to be an archetypal analysis of early modern art. He takes as his point of departure a distinction similar to Alpers's; that is, using semiotics, he differentiates between a textual meaning on the one hand and a tendency toward pure imagery on the other (which is fairly similar to narration versus description). Because of the strong tradition of history painting in the early modern period, one's attention is necessarily drawn to texts that subtend the images. There are visual elements, just the same, in Renaissance and baroque painting that exceed the requirements of the stories and biblical passages on which these images are based. Unlike medieval art, Bryson argues, early modern imagery owes allegiance to both the text (discourse) and its own autonomy (figure). The sign is split, and it is linear perspective that, first of all, divides the signifier from the signified, the figural from the discursive. But Bryson also argues that early modern painting uses the figural to create the effect of a putative (although not true) realism, and this effect of realism has a tendency to hide the ideological element in visual representation.

Bryson takes his literary education and training in semiotics into the halls of art history and asserts that the only way to make sense of eighteenth-century French art (and he may as well have included Italian art of the same period) is to forget about archetypes of style and to concentrate instead on how the discursive and figural do battle with one another. And at the same time, they help, in their various permutations and combinations, give evidence to the artistic and ideological concerns of their times.

The tendency in the study of early modern art history (and indeed much of art history, for that matter) to associate styles with periods has led to sometimes unfortunate results, as in the naming of such categories as high baroque, high baroque classicism, baroque classicism, archaizing classicism, crypto-Romanticism, and so forth. And perhaps the other approach of focusing on genres and media of art—landscape, portrait, still life, painting, sculpture, architecture—tends to fracture the ages and ignore some of their unifying elements.

Similarly, the traditional reliance upon monographic studies—Vasari's biographical approach—has lost favor with scholars and, perhaps more important, publishers. Museum exhibitions that are thematically organized and somewhat eclectic in the kinds of objects that they bring together nonetheless have had a powerful impact (museum catalogues often sell better than more theoretically oriented texts) on the study of early modern art history in recent years. Bryson's call for greater attention to the semiotics of art (and especially early modern art) has not been heeded by art history's rank and file.

See also Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Vasari, Giorgio; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alpers, Svetlana. The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century. Chicago, 1983.

Bryson, Norman. Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime. Cambridge, U.K., 1981.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*. Translated by S. G. C. Middlemore. London, 1892.

Hegel, Georg. *The Philosophy of Fine Art*. Translated by F. P. B. Osmaston. London, 1920.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*. Translated by Joseph J. S. Peake. Columbia, S.C., 1968.

Vasari, Giorgio. Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects. Translated by G. du C. de Vere. 10 vols. London, 1996.

Voltaire. "Essay on Taste." Supplement to Alexander Gerard, *Essay on Taste*. Edinburgh and London, 1759.

Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. *History of Ancient Art*. Translated by G. Henry Lodge. 4 vols., 1849–1872. New York, 1968.

. Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture. Translated by Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton. La Salle, Ill., 1987.

Wölfflin, Heinrich. Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art. Translated by M. D. Hottinger. New York, 1950.

VERNON HYDE MINOR

EARTH, THEORIES OF THE.

Hundreds of works in search of "the theory of the Earth" were published for the general reader during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the major countries and languages of Europe. Various writers attempted to construct an integrated and comprehensive vision of Earth's past (and often of its future), bringing to bear evidence drawn from diverse intellectual fields. Many were notable for other accomplishments as well, including René Descartes (1596–1650), Robert Hooke (1635–1702), Edmond Halley (c. 1656–1743), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), Carl Linnaeus (1707– 1778), Jean-Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck (1744– 1829), and Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707– 1788). Histories of science sometimes portray early modern theories of the Earth as a sort of speculative prelude to geology. But as historian Jacques Roger argued in a classic analysis, such theories constituted a distinct genre, intelligible on its own terms. Notoriously evident incompatibilities among the multitudes of theories were symptomatic not so much of a failure to regulate scientific thinking as of the vitality of an ongoing dialogue aimed generally at integrating the resources widely considered most authoritative for a reliable account of the Earth. One outcome of this exchange was a significant contribution toward establishing historical ways of thinking about nature.

THE BURNET CONTROVERSY

Theories of the Earth draw this name from the ambitious and erudite work of the English scholar Thomas Burnet (c. 1635–1715). Published first in 1681 as *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, and subsequently in English and German as well as revised Latin editions, it gave an account of Earth's past, present, and future in terms of cosmic history interpreted through a framework of apocalyptic millennialism, fused with a version of Cartesian natural philosophy. Burnet sought to reconcile the physical mechanisms (cosmogony and crustal collapse) of Descartes's *Principia Philosophiae* (1644) with biblical chronol-

ogy and prophecy of the future conflagration of the world and the millennium, aided by corroborating evidence from classical texts. Although he adapted the phrase "theory of the Earth" from Descartes, Burnet's work effectively established the interdisciplinary character of the tradition and provided a convenient and popular label for debate about the Earth. The large number of writers over the next century who singled him out (often referring to him as "the Theorist") as a foil for airing their own views confirms the importance of the Burnet controversy.

Burnet came under attack for dismissing the first chapter of Genesis, which depicted a primitive earth complete with mountains and oceans. Against the hexameral commentary tradition, Burnet held that Earth's present topographic features were not original, but rather derived from Noah's Flood. Other critics faulted Burnet's scheme as incompatible with natural philosophy or practical experience. In his Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth (1695), John Woodward (1665-1728) criticized Burnet on the basis of fossil evidence. William Whiston (1667-1752), in New Theory of the Earth (1696), used Newtonian cosmology to refute certain Cartesian aspects of Burnet's theory. Theories such as The Anatomy of the Earth (1694) by Thomas Robinson (d. 1719) took both Burnet and Woodward to task on the basis of contemporary mining experience. John Keill (1671-1721) refuted Burnet and Whiston using Newtonian mathematics. Other writers invoked evidence from chemistry and medicine.

Along with many of his contemporaries, Burnet thought that a sound theory of the Earth must incorporate ancient learning recovered through scholarship. Dispute over the testimony of antiquity was practically guaranteed by apparently conflicting statements about the Earth in passages related to chronology, physical geography, natural philosophy, and even mythology. Theorists as diverse as Burnet and Whiston, and as late as John Whitehurst (1713-1788) in his An Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth (1778), regarded pronouncements in antique texts as obscure (although authoritative) remnants of an ancient code of wisdom—prisca sapientia—that new theories might successfully decipher. In an example of prevalent contention over textual interpretation, the Newtonian Keill launched a devastating critique of Burnet's *Theory* at the height of the "Battle of the Books" controversy in England in the late seventeenth century, and was hailed as a champion of the ancients for quelling the presumption of moderns like Burnet.

The tenacity of Burnet's Theory as a target for dispute illustrates important features of the evolving theory of the Earth enterprise. Most parties to the controversy were in general agreement about Burnet's trust in "Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity." Many considered it essential to deploy one or another of the new natural philosophies, whether of the mechanical or chemical type. They took part in a learned culture steeped in biblical idiom, convinced of the centrality of a directional narrative to make sense of our Earth. Apocalyptic interests were common, although not universal. Similarly, the processes of the Creation and Flood, and their roles in explaining the present-day world, were frequently discussed, but with widely varying interpretation and emphasis. The critical attacks and responses were part of a public spectacle reflecting disparate motivations and standards of evidence.

CONCEPTUAL TYPES OF THE THEORY OF THE EARTH

During the controversies over Burnet, writers set contributions toward the theory of the Earth within a variety of analytical traditions, including works by Descartes, Athanasius Kircher (c. 1601–1680), Nicolaus Steno (1638–1686), and others going back much further. In his *Mémoire sur la théorie de la terre* (1729), the Swiss Huguenot Louis Bourguet (1678–1742) enlarged the pedigree of theories of the Earth, sketching the tradition's origins by classifying theories into three major conceptual models: Platonic, Aristotelian, and Mosaic.

Platonic theories of the Earth posited a collapse of the world's ancient surface, generating catastrophic earthquakes and floods as embodied in the Atlantis myth. Ignoring Leonardo da Vinci (whose theory of crustal collapse remained unknown) and Descartes (whose account of crustal collapse inspired Burnet), Bourguet pointed to the Renaissance Neoplatonist Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529–1597) as the founder of Platonic theories. Indeed, Patrizi was quoted by other theorists in the Burnet controversy, such as Bernardino Ramazzini (1633–1714) and Robert St. Clair (fl. 1697).

Aristotelian theories of the Earth emphasized the displacement of land and sea. Early modern theorists frequently drew upon Aristotle's Meteorology as a main point of departure. According to Bourguet, Aristotelian theories proposed that the ocean gradually displaces the land. This theory readily explains why one finds seashells far from their element. Since at least the fourteenth century, many Scholastics had explained the transposition of land and sea by shifts in the Earth's center of gravity. However, Bourguet attributed the founding of Aristotelian theories of the Earth to the Discours admirables (1580) of Bernard Palissy (c. 1510c. 1589). Bourguet reported that in his own time, Aristotelian theories were taken up by Leibniz, Antonio Vallisnieri (1661-1730), and various French savants. One might note that because Aristotelian theories depict cyclic revolutions of an enduring terrestrial surface, they should not be described as cosmogonic. Rather, they were often perceived as tending toward eternalism, as in the case of the clandestinely circulated Telliamed of Benoît de Maillet (1656-1738). The Aristotelian sort of theory, Bourguet wrote, could be joined to the Platonic by combining gradual marine deposition with crustal collapse—a move that added a directional component to Earth history and allowed a more compressed timescale. Bourguet's examples included Steno, Whiston, Halley, and Henri Gautier (1660-1737).

Mosaic theories of the Earth envisioned a radical dissolution of the antediluvian world. Such a theory explains the watery Deluge as the unmaking of the world in a return to Chaos, as in the first days of Creation. Bourguet cited Woodward as an exemplar. Ancient authorities for such "dissolutions of the world" include Seneca's Natural Questions, one of the most-cited meteorological works in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and patristic expositors of Genesis such as Basil and Augustine. In these Stoic and hexameral traditions the world's dissolution back into the primordial Chaos might be accomplished through any combination of elemental transformations: loss of earthy cohesion, fiery conflagration, rarefaction into air, or condensation into a watery deluge. This vision could link Creation and Deluge with the eschatological end of the world.

Bourguet's simple three-fold taxonomy, which was reproduced almost unchanged by his countryman Élie Bertrand (1712–1790) in *Mémoires sur la structure intérieure de la terre* (1752), illustrates how theories of the Earth were not regarded as a conceptually homogenous genre. In addition to Bourguet's three types, Baron Georges Cuvier (1769–1832) cited Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) as a founder of animistic theories of the Earth. Additional categories include chemical theories of the Earth from Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1579–1644), Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682), and Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734), and magnetic theories of the Earth such as that of Halley.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THEORIES OF THE EARTH

The character and reputation of theories of the Earth passed into a new phase during the second half of the eighteenth century. To many observers the pivotal figure was Buffon, who opened the first volume (1749) of his magisterial Histoire naturelle with a theory of the Earth intended to frame the grandiose project of describing and explaining all living things, including mankind. In Buffon's work, the somewhat precarious balance between providential and mechanistic conceptions of the world was shifted to the distinct advantage of a system of matter and motion. Scandalized Sorbonne theologians quickly condemned Buffon's scheme, but his formal retractions were rightly understood as pro forma, and indeed he enjoyed something close to intellectual immunity as superintendent of the royal collections and garden. Buffon's discussion criticized many earlier theories as inadequately founded on experience, yet his invocation of a cometary collision with the Sun to account for Earth's origins was, unsurprisingly, seen by many as highly hypothetical. His 1749 theory, however, involved little effort to construct a directional account of Earth's history, dwelling instead on the ways that present-day ("actual") processes are capable of explaining the order discernible in the Earth's visible features. Three decades later, Buffon placed in one of Histoire naturelle's supplementary volumes a second and far more historical-minded theory of the Earth (Époques de la nature, 1778), in which he teased out the implications of an Earth born out of cooling solar material and changing through an irreversible series of stages. Both of Buffon's theories enjoyed wide readership, not least because of his popularity as a literary artist. While Buffon, like Burnet before him, was the object of much criticism, his influence tended to favor empirical consideration of the Earth as a temporal production of natural processes.

In the year Buffon's *Époques* appeared, the Genevese naturalist Jean André Deluc (1727-1817), in Lettres physiques et morales, suggested using the word géologie to distinguish efforts to establish an empirically grounded science of the Earth from the necessarily more conjectural attempts to ascertain its origin. He did not think this meant abandoning the objective of attaining a true theory of the Earth, but it implied more stringently empirical criteria for judging success in the effort. Deluc's compatriot, the mountain traveler Horace Bénédict de Saussure (1740–1799), seconded this view in the "Agenda" published in his Voyages dans les Alpes (1779-1796), a widely respected summation of the kinds of observations needed to achieve an enduring theory of the Earth. Contemporary theories of the Earth written in much the same spirit include those of Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), Abraham Gottlob Werner (1749-1817), Robert Jameson (1774–1854), Richard Kirwan (c. 1733–1812), Lamarck, and Cuvier.

An ultimately influential (but in certain ways anomalous) theory of the Earth was produced near the end of the eighteenth century by the Scottish philosopher James Hutton (1726-1797). During the nineteenth century, major parts of this theory's ingenious geological elements were detached from the deistic and teleological framework in which they were embedded, and Hutton became enshrined as a founder of British geology. Hutton's system, which appeared in Edinburgh as an abstract in 1785, an essay in 1788, and a much-enlarged two-volume treatise in 1795, examined terrestrial processes by which continental surfaces are cyclically renovated through erosion, sedimentary consolidation, and elevation. Hutton viewed the tenability of this lifesustaining set of processes in equilibrium as a test successful, in his estimation—of the divine ordination of a benevolent physical order. That he was able to offer crucial field evidence in favor of key aspects of the scheme lent support to his vision of cyclic repetitions of geological processes operating over unimaginably long periods.

Hutton's advocacy of an enormously expanded timescale (he commented that from an empirical viewpoint the Earth showed "no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end") is often heralded as the launching of nineteenth-century theories of geology, leading in turn to evolutionary concepts. But Hutton and his contemporaries may also be understood as representing a last stand of the more inclusive inquiry of theories of the Earth. Hutton defined the theory of the Earth as research focused on how nature perpetuates a habitable world, thus ruling out Burnet- or Buffon-style cosmogenesis. Holding Hutton harmless, but with a baleful eye on Buffon, the geologist Charles Lyell (1797-1875) stipulated polemically that theories of the Earth were defined by their essentially cosmogonical character. In a different but equally misleading characterization, Cuvier stated that all theorists prior to himself had devoted themselves to explaining the totality of Earth history by reference to just two events, the Creation and Flood. Contradictory delineations such as these make clear that theories of the Earth were marked by conceptual disunity, were contested on many levels, and were a broader tradition than many of the participants wished to acknowledge. There was no abrupt cessation of the tradition, but during the generations of Cuvier and Lyell use of the phrase gradually subsided as parts of its objectives were differentiated into disciplines such as geology and cosmology and others were, at least temporarily, marginalized.

See also Astronomy; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Cosmology; Descartes, René; Geology; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Nature; Steno, Nicolaus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Modern reprints of various English-language theories of the Earth from Burnet to Hutton are widely available. Many appeared in the Arno Press collection for the History of Geology.

Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de. *Les Époques de la nature*. Edited by Jacques Roger. Édition critique, with introduction and notes. Mémoires du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, série C, no. 10. Paris, 1962; reissued 1988.

Burnet, Thomas. The Theory of the Earth: Containing an Account of the Original of the Earth, and of All the General Changes Which it Hath Already Undergone, or Is to Undergo, Till the Consummation of All Things. The Two First Books, Concerning the Deluge, and Concerning

Paradise. The Two Last Books, Concerning the Burning of the World, and Concerning the New Heavens and New Earth. London, 1690. Reprinted as Burnet, Thomas. The Sacred Theory of the Earth. Carbondale, Ill., 1965.

Descartes, René. *Principles of Philosophy*. Translated by Valentine Rodger Miller and Reese P. Miller. Synthese Historical Library, 24. Dordrecht, Holland, Boston, and Hingham, Mass., 1991. Complete English translation; see Part IV, "On the Earth."

Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm. Protogaea: De l'aspect primitif de la terre et des traces d'une histoire très ancienne que renferment les monuments mêmes de la nature. Translated by Bertrand de Saint-Germain. Edited by Jean-Marie Barrande. Latin text with facing French translation. Toulouse, 1993. An English edition by Claudine Cohen and André Wakefield is in preparation.

Secondary Sources

Collier, Katharine Brownell. Cosmogonies of Our Fathers: Some Theories of the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Centuries. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 402. New York, 1934; reprinted New York, 1968. Classic survey describing numerous cosmogonical theories from Robert Fludd to Deluc.

Gayon, Jean, ed. Buffon 88: Actes du colloque international pour le bicentenaire de la mort de Buffon (Paris, Montbard, Dijon, 14–22 juin 1988). Paris, 1992. Contains articles on Buffon's theories by François Ellenberger, Gabriel Gohau, Kenneth L. Taylor, and others, some in English.

Greene, John C. *The Death of Adam: Evolution and Its Impact on Western Thought*. Ames, Iowa, 1959; reissued 1996. Perhaps the most readable overview of major theories of the Earth, arguing for their significance in the development of a sense of the history of nature.

Kelly, Mary Suzanne, Sister. "Theories of the Earth in Renaissance Cosmologies." In *Toward a History of Geology*, edited by Cecil J. Schneer, pp. 214–225. Cambridge, Mass., 1969. One of many relevant articles in this essential volume.

Kubrin, David Charles. "Providence and the Mechanical Philosophy: The Creation and Dissolution of the World in Newtonian Thought. A Study of the Relations of Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1968. Attributes the Burnet controversy and the rise of theories of the Earth to the advance of the mechanical philosophy in the Scientific Revolution.

Magruder, Kerry V. "Theories of the Earth from Descartes to Cuvier: Natural Order and Historical Contingency in a Contested Textual Tradition." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2000.

Nicolson, Marjorie Hope. Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite. Ithaca, N.Y., 1959; reissued 1997. Scholarly treatment

recognizing the literary as well as scientific qualities of theories of the Earth.

Porter, Roy S. "Creation and Credence: The Career of Theories of the Earth in Britain, 1660–1820." In *Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture*, edited by Barry Barnes and Steven Shapin, pp. 97–124. Beverly Hills, Calif., 1979. Emphasizes the concern of British theorists with scriptural interpretation; argues that theories of the Earth were an unsuccessful tradition

Roger, Jacques. "La théorie de la terre au XVIIe siècle." Revue d'histoire des sciences 26 (1973): 23–48. Republished in Roger, Pour une histoire des sciences à part entière (Paris, 1995), pp. 129–154. Classic argument that theories of the Earth must be interpreted as a genre in their own right, distinct from proto-geology, yet essential to the development of a sense of the history of nature.

KERRY V. MAGRUDER, KENNETH L. TAYLOR

ÉBOLI, RUY GÓMEZ DE SILVA, **PRINCE OF** (c. 1516–1573), Iberian courtier and statesman. Ruy Gómez, the second son of middling Portuguese nobility, came to Castile in 1526 in the entourage of the princess Isabella, bride of Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519– 1556). He was assigned a place in the household of the infant Prince Philip (the future Philip II), serving as a page and becoming the prince's friend and confidant. His close relationship with Philip would form the basis of his political and personal rise. As regent of Spain from 1543, the prince entrusted a variety of diplomatic tasks to Ruy Gómez, who attained the office of *sumiller de corps* (privy steward) in the household reorganization of 1548. He accompanied Philip on his grand tour of central Europe and the Low Countries from 1548 to 1551 and was rewarded with an encomienda (commandery) in the military order of Calatrava. The prince's favor was instrumental as well in Ruy Gómez's 1553 marriage to Doña Ana de Mendoza y de la Cerda, the heiress of the counts of Mélito. This marriage established Ruy Gómez as a figure of substance among the Castilian aristocracy, particularly the wealthy and many-branched house of Mendoza.

When Philip went to England in 1554 to marry Mary Tudor, Ruy Gómez once again accompanied him. Along with Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the

duke of Alba, he was one of Philip's principal advisers in England. He formed a close alliance with Francisco de Eraso, Charles V's secretary in Brussels, and the two men played key roles in the negotiations and plans leading up to the emperor's abdication. Philip became king in 1556, with Ruy Gómez predominant in the court as his privado (favorite) and Eraso acting as principal secretary to the councils. In the opening years of the reign, important assignments fell to Philip's privado: in 1557 Ruy Gómez returned to Castile to raise money and men and supervise their dispatch to the Low Countries for the campaigns leading to victory at St. Quentin and Gravelines; then, in 1558-1559, he served among Philip's commissioners in negotiations for the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. These services earned him the reward of a Neapolitan title, prince of Éboli. Observers remarked on his extraordinary place in Philip's regime: "[T]he main title everyone gives him is that of rey [king] Gómez, in place of Ruy Gómez, since it seems that no one has ever been so privy with a prince of such great power."

While Éboli continued ascendant—especially in financial and patronage affairs—after the court's return to Castile in 1559, his position soon began to erode. Ruy Gómez's favor and influence with the king excited the rancorous jealousy of the duke of Alba, and all the court was polarized by the conflict between the Castilian grandee and the Portuguese upstart. Despite Éboli's higher standing in Philip's affections, Alba was the eventual victor. Ruy Gómez began to withdraw from public governmental prominence to his privy position in the household, and he was further weakened by the fall from grace of his ally Eraso, convicted of corruption in 1566. From 1564, he was also given the unenviable task of supervising Don Carlos, Philip's addled and erratic heir. Meanwhile, as the monarchy faced crises in the Mediterranean and the Low Countries, Éboli's great strengths of courtly subtlety and amiability were outmatched in Philip's estimation by Alba's military experience and the superior bureaucratic talents of Cardinal Diego de Espinosa.

Although he never withdrew his favor from Éboli, Philip II may also have come to see his *privado* as too self-serving in his counsel and his personal dealings. Certainly Ruy Gómez traded upon his privileged connections with the king's bankers in the process of acquiring the properties

and jurisdictions that became a hereditary duchy when Philip elevated Ruy Gómez to grandee status as duke of Pastrana in 1572. Thus when he died in July 1573, Ruy Gómez had succeeded in converting the ephemeral glory of courtly favor into a lasting Castilian patrimony of aristocratic wealth and status. Such an astounding rise through the grace of a king known more for fickleness than generosity accounts for Éboli's lasting reputation as a peerless courtier, lauded by his protégé, the secretary Antonio Pérez, as the "master of Favorites, and of the understanding of Kings," and allegedly earning even from his bitter rival Alba the admission that he was "so great a master of affairs herein [in the privy chamber], and of the temper and disposition of Kings, that all the rest of us who pass through here have our heads where we think we are carrying our feet."

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Dutch Revolt (1568– 1648); Philip II (Spain).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Albèri, Eugenio, ed. *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo decimosesto*. Ser. I, vol. III. Florence, 1853.

Pérez, Antonio. Cartas de Antonio Perez, Secretario de Estado que fue del Rey Catholico Don Phelippe II. de este nombre: Para diversas personas despues de su salida de España. Paris, 1600?

Secondary Source

Boyden, James M. The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain. Berkeley, 1995.

James M. Boyden

ECONOMIC CRISES. Historians have identified many types of economic crises in the early modern or preindustrial period: financial, general long-term crises, regional, the permanent crises of lower-class poverty, and short-term crises of famine or of famine combined with temporary unemployment. The financial crises, often set off by governmental bankruptcies, destroyed banking houses but rarely caused generalized distress unless they coincided with other troubles. The Spanish bankruptcy of 1559 ruined the Fuggers of Augsburg, and the bankruptcy of 1575 destroyed Genoese bankers, while the Spanish bankruptcies during the Thirty

Years' War (1618–1648) amplified the economic dislocations that flowed from the war itself, the 1630 plague, and so on.

Historians once argued that preindustrial western Europe experienced at least two general economic crises, the first in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the era of the Black Death, and the second in the seventeenth century. These periods of economic dislocation, stagnation, and even contraction alternated, so it seemed, with eras of rapid and generalized demographic and economic growth in the thirteenth, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth centuries. Thomas Malthus, in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), expressed a common view when he stated that population tended to outstrip the available food supply and was brought back into balance only by war, famine, and disease.

It now seems clear that rather than alternating between periods of growth and periods of crisis in the centuries from 1300 to 1800, the economy of western Europe as a whole experienced a self-reinforcing process of growth in agricultural and industrial production, in commerce, in transportation, in banking, and in capital accumulation. There were significant technological improvements in shipping and in textile production, cost savings through division of labor in all sectors of the economy, very significant growth in total agricultural production, and so forth. The results were certainly not uniformly distributed across all of Europe, nor even within individual countries. There were marked regional contrasts. The cities of the densely urbanized and economically advanced Netherlands imported grain from less economically advanced and diversified regions such as northern France, Prussia, and



Economic Crises. The Works of the Misericordia: Distribution of Bread, by Pieter Breughel the Younger. Established in Florence in the thirteenth century, the Misericordia remained one of the most important charitable organizations in the early modern period. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DE ARTE ANTIGA LISBON/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Poland. The cities of northern Italy imported grain from southern Italy, Sicily, and North Africa. Wine flowed to northern Europe from the Mediterranean, while grain and salted fish flowed to southern Europe from the Baltic and the North Sea. For centuries, England supplied the more advanced textile cities of the Netherlands with wool, just as Spain supplied the textile cities of northern Italy. But there were also very backward areas in virtually every region of Europe that had at most modest local trade. Peasant villages in much of the French Massif Central often lived in virtual economic isolation even in the eighteenth century.

International trade linked together not only areas with different agricultural capacities, but also areas with significant differences in technology, wages, labor productivity, and general levels of development. Changes in textile production and commercial leadership in international trade shifted quite suddenly and produced dramatic regional crises of economic dislocation and adjustment. The prosperous cities of Flanders that produced luxury textiles collapsed in the early fourteenth century. A more diversified textile industry developed farther east, near Antwerp. Antwerp and Brabant developed into a powerhouse of international trade and finance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but collapsed during the Dutch Revolt in the 1580s. Antwerp fell from the foremost city of trade and finance in northern Europe to a virtual ghost town overnight in 1585. Leadership passed to Amsterdam. Likewise, the implosion of the economy of the cities of northern Italy during the Thirty Years' War led to massive deindustrialization and even refeudalization. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Amsterdam and the Dutch provinces lost ground to England. In every instance there were multiple causes for these economic crises: warfare, rigid guild restrictions, technological changes in textile production, wage differences, the costs of transportation, changes in the makeup of the market, and others. The collapse of areas that had long enjoyed prosperity ushered in times of painful change. It was these extremely difficult phases of regional economic adjustment that historians once mistook for generalized crises in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Whether a given country or region was at the forefront of economic performance, toward the

bottom, or somewhere in between, all experienced to a greater or lesser degree the intractable problems of unemployment, underemployment, periodic famines, and food riots. Preindustrial Europe lived in a state of permanent economic crisis that was rooted in generalized and massive lower-class poverty. There was no necessary correlation in Europe in the centuries from 1300 to 1800 between increases and decreases in population, in agricultural production, and in employment opportunities at living wages. Although progressive and self-reinforcing trends stimulated economic growth and development, these progressive forces were not sufficient to guarantee all a comfortable existence.

Those who lived in preindustrial Europe were well aware that something was amiss, and not just in the times of major economic crisis. Population, food, and jobs never seemed to be in balance even when times were good. The cities of northern Italy, most notably Florence, Milan, Venice, and Genoa, took on the financially and administratively onerous task of public food supply in the full flush of prosperity between 1280 and 1340 because markets left to themselves did not provide sufficient food at affordable prices. Public municipal granaries with the full array of price controls, public purchase, and stocking of grain were permanent features of urban life in northern Italy between 1300 and 1800, in good times and in bad. Cologne, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, and Frankfurt am Main established their municipal granaries in the fifteenth century and maintained them thereafter. The municipalities of Castile expanded and consolidated their elaborate food supply systems in Spain's Golden Age, the sixteenth century. The kingdom of Prussia established its public granaries in the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, municipal governments in Catholic and Protestant states, driven by fear, compassion, and the supreme necessity of maintaining order, aggressively organized charitable institutions to care for the poor and the hungry. In England, Queen Elizabeth regularized a national system of welfare at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century that made each parish responsible for its own poor and authorized a system of local taxes, the poor rates, to finance charity. In the wake of a particularly wrenching era of famine, disease, and unemployment that coincided with the Fronde (1648–1653), the mon-

archy in France established general hospitals to incarcerate the incorrigible poor. A little more than a century later, in the 1760s and 1770s, in far better economic times, the French monarchy established charity workshops for the able-bodied unemployed and poorhouses for the incorrigibles. Even a country as economically dynamic as England in the century before the industrial revolution, 1650–1750, still had at least a quarter of its total population mired in irremediable poverty.

To ensure public order, something had to be done to provide jobs and to secure food at affordable prices. The debates grew shrill, and governments became desperate. No matter what they did between 1300 and 1800, the problems would not go away. From the middle of the seventeenth century, mercantilist writers in England and cameralists in Germany encouraged governments to intervene in the economy with state-owned factories, subsidies, monopolies, and other mechanisms to increase national wealth and to provide work for the poor. Everywhere governments regulated the supply and the sale of basic grains and bread. After a century of experimenting with controls of all sorts to no avail, learned opinion swung in the opposite direction. From the mid-eighteenth century, the Physiocrats in France lashed out against mercantilist controls and coined the phrase "laissez faire." In the British Isles, Adam Smith launched a full-scale attack on mercantilism in his free-trade classic, Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776). But the experiment in free trade failed to solve the food supply problem, just as it failed to provide adequate jobs for the poor. Grain riots broke out all over Europe in the 1760s and 1770s. In 1788–1789, the collapse of the monarchy in France coincided with a famine and a general depression in employment in the textile industry. The French Revolution began with the most extensive wave of municipal bread riots and rural uprisings in French history. From the 1790s, most governments returned to food supply controls and employment schemes.

The most wrenching and volatile economic crises of the preindustrial period were famines, and especially the famines that occurred in the midst of commercial and industrial depressions. Famines came in the wake of bad weather that significantly reduced crops. They occurred at every level of pop-

ulation and agricultural development, in economically advanced as well as economically backward areas, in regions that regularly exported grain as well as in areas that regularly imported it. The crises of the 1340s, 1360s, and 1430s, as well as the crises of the 1590s, 1648–1652, the 1690s, the 1760s, and the 1770s revealed permanent, structural imbalances in preindustrial economies and societies, not just weaknesses in agriculture.

The fundamental problems were those of widespread poverty and economic underdevelopment, compounded by insufficiently advanced governments. Labor productivity among the semiskilled and unskilled workers was very low because of low levels of technology in the jobs the masses performed. Low labor productivity meant low wages. The numbers of landless, working poor increased dramatically between 1500 and 1800, and the sheer numbers of available workers depressed wages further. The entire preindustrial economy depended on the low-wage labor of the working poor. In good times, the working poor spent 60 percent or more of their incomes on basic foodstuffs, typically cheap bread, beans, peas, maize, buckwheat, and, increasingly, potatoes. Average or effective demand for these basic foodstuffs moved up and down with long-term trends in population and income but changed little in the short term. In the event of a significant crop failure, prices rose dramatically, less in the eighteenth century than earlier, thanks to improvements in administration and transportation, but still enough to make food unaffordable for the working poor. If the famine coincided with a downturn in the textile industry, additional millions had no income at all. Municipal governments did a better job than central governments in securing adequate supplies at affordable prices. Often rural areas were stripped of food supplies, and their inhabitants were left to riot and starve.

Governments did not understand fully the economic mechanisms at work. They addressed the immediate problems by attempting to secure adequate supplies at subsidized prices and by moving vigorously to restore order. More generally, they encouraged agricultural improvement and did what they could to promote employment and discourage idleness. The results were invariably disappointing.

The only way out was through generalized economic development. Across-the-board technological innovations raised labor productivity and eventually raised wages for the lower classes. With higher wages, the working poor improved their diet. The consequent changes in effective demand transformed agricultural production. Cheap breads grew to be less important in lower-class diets, and food expenditures bulked less large in budgets. Eventually, a significant shortfall in grain production caused only minor inconveniences. In short, the way out of famine and poverty was the industrial revolution.

See also Agriculture; Banking and Credit; Bankruptcy; Charity and Poor Relief; Commerce and Markets; Food Riots; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Poverty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cipolla, Carlo M. Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700. 3rd ed. New York, 1994.

Cipolla, Carlo M., ed. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, vols. 1–3. Hassocks, U.K., 1976–.

De Vries, Jan. *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, 1600–1750. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1976.

Hufton, Olwen. The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France: 1750-1789. Oxford, 1974.

James L. Goldsmith

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM. See

Liberalism, Economic.

EDINBURGH. "Edinburgh, sir, is the metropolis of this ancient kingdom, the seat of law, the rendezvous of taste, and winter quarters of all our nobility who cannot afford to live in London." In these terms a newspaper correspondent of 1767 summarized Scotland's capital. To this list could be added the best educational facilities in Scotland—perhaps in Britain—including a fine university (founded in 1582) and a flourishing printing industry. Edinburgh had long been central to Scottish life. It had been the seat of the royal court until James VI (James I of England) moved to London in 1603, and the Scottish Parliament sat there until the

Union of 1707 saw it subsumed into that of Westminster. The popular (as distinct from the political) Reformation in Scotland began with Edinburgh merchants and professionals in the 1560s. Other Scottish revolutions (1637–1638 and 1689–1690) were made in the capital. Scotland's cultural life concentrated there and much intellectual change originated there. Eighteenth-century Edinburgh was the cradle of the Scottish Enlightenment, a true "hotbed of genius" and a cultural hub of European significance.

Given a charter in the twelfth century, Edinburgh was a "royal burgh" with its own constitution or "set" and extensive trading privileges. At the time of the Reformation, Edinburgh and its suburbs or satellites had roughly 15-18,000 inhabitants; by the 1660s it contained 25-30,000 people and perhaps 45,000 by 1700: easily Scotland's largest city and the second largest in Britain after London at these dates. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Edinburgh was a compact settlement, perched on a narrow ridge leading east from the rock on which stood Edinburgh's medieval castle. One main street ran for approximately 1,300 meters down this ridge from the castle to the royal palace of Holyrood. Nearly 300 steep and narrow "closes" and "wynds" (alleys) issued off this street, now known as the "Royal Mile." Growing steadily from the fifteenth century, Edinburgh expanded rapidly in area and population from the mid-eighteenth century. Starting on the south side of the city, new neoclassical housing developments began in the 1750s, reaching their apogee in the celebrated northern "New Town" streets of the 1760s and beyond. By 1800 the expanded conurbation contained more than 80,000 people.

Edinburgh was easily the richest town in Scotland, and far more prosperous than its relative size would suggest. It was already Scotland's first town in economic terms by the early sixteenth century, a position it consolidated in the following 200 years. Edinburgh paid a third of the taxation raised from all the royal burghs of Scotland in the later seventeenth century and an equal share of total excise revenue in the 1720s—this from a city with a 4 to 5 percent share of the population. Through its port at Leith, Edinburgh conducted an extensive coastal and foreign trade with the rest of Britain and the North Sea, Baltic, and Atlantic coastlines. Its occu-

pational structure was characterized by unusually large proportions of professionals (principally lawyers, but also medical men and educators) and of servants, testifying to its wealth and economic orientation. Among the rest of the seventeenth-century population, more than half were engaged in making textiles, clothes, or leather goods, about a quarter in building trades, and a sixth in food and drink. Edinburgh's less well documented suburbs may have been more concerned with manufacturing, but the capital was Scotland's principal service center. It was Scotland's undeniable economic leader until the late eighteenth century, when Glasgow outstripped it in both size and commercial dynamism, if not in social and cultural eminence.

See also James I and VI (England and Scotland); Knox, John; Scotland; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Houston, R. A. Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660–1760. Oxford and New York, 1994. The only comprehensive study of the city for the early modern period.

Lynch, Michael. *Edinburgh and the Reformation*. Edinburgh, 1979. Deals with more than just religion.

Youngson, A. J. *The Making of Classical Edinburgh 1750–1840.* Edinburgh, 1966. Reprinted many times, this is a classic study of the development of the "New Town."

R. A. Houston

EDUCATION. European preuniversity education from 1500 to 1789 underwent three major developments. First, Renaissance humanists created the classical Latin curriculum, which dominated schools throughout these centuries. Second, church institutions, both Catholic and Protestant, took leading roles in organizing schools and providing teachers for the vast majority of schools from the late sixteenth century onward. Third, Enlightenment school reformers of the eighteenth century attacked the church's role in education and proposed state schools as an alternative. Their proposals did not win acceptance until after 1789.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLING IN 1500

Renaissance Europe inherited from the Middle Ages an uncoordinated and diverse structure of schools. Different kinds of schools competed with or complemented each other. One way to understand them is to note their sponsors—that is, the institution, entity, or person that governed or paid the expenses for a school. A single schoolmaster created an independent school, the equivalent of a "private school" in the twenty-first century. He typically opened a one-room school in his home or rented quarters. There he taught neighborhood pupils whose parents paid him fees to teach their sons. His only qualifications were his teaching skill and his ability to persuade parents to send their children. The teacher might possess a university degree, which meant facility in Latin and acquaintance with higher learning in rhetoric, philosophy, law, or theology. Or he might be only slightly better educated than his pupils.

The tutor was another independent schoolmaster. He lived and taught in the home of a noble or wealthy merchant or visited the household daily. In both cases he taught only the children of the household or two adjacent households. A few tutors were the constant guides and companions, at home or in travel, to single boys or youths of considerable wealth and social standing.

Other independent masters presided over their own boarding schools that housed, fed, and instructed children sent to them. This independent master became a substitute father to his charges. He taught boys in the classroom, chided their manners at table, and improved their morals throughout. At least parents hoped this happened. Some of the most famous humanistic schools of the Italian Renaissance operated by such famous pedagogues as Vittorino Ramboldoni da Feltre (1373/78–1446/47) and Guarino Guarini of Verona (1374–1460) were independent boarding schools.

The endowed school was an independent school that endured beyond the lifetime of a single teacher or founder. A wealthy individual left a sum of money for a school. Endowment income paid the master's salary and rent for a schoolroom or building where boys learned for free. In England before the Protestant Reformation, the master of an endowed school often had to be a priest so that he could celebrate daily a mass for the repose of the donor's soul. Schoolboys learned reading, Latin, and sometimes chant. A large endowment could

create a boarding school in which boys both studied and lived. An inadequate endowment might mean that boys had to pay supplementary fees. Sometimes endowed schools became municipal schools when the town council paid additional expenses and took over direction.

One group of endowed schools, the English public schools, occupied a unique place in the life of England. Despite the name, they were expensive private schools. The Renaissance and Reformation era saw the foundation of the most prestigious: seven boarding schools-Winchester (founded 1382), Eton (1440), Westminster (late sixteenth century), Shrewsbury (1552), Harrow (1571), Rugby (1576), and Charterhouse (1611)—and two day schools, St. Paul's, founded by the English humanist John Colet (1467-1519) in 1508, and Merchant Taylors (1561). But England added many more public schools over the centuries. The public schools educated boys from the highest ranks of society, many of whom went on to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The public schools of England produced a large number of clergymen, army officers, and members of government and became even more important in English life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The local civil authority, such as the town council, might sponsor a school. The town government chose and paid the master, sometimes imposed curricular directives, and sent a visitor to see that teacher and pupils performed satisfactorily. Sometimes municipal schools were free. But they never enrolled all the school-age boys of the town, and they seldom taught girls. The town government typically supported only one or two municipal teachers, who taught perhaps 50 or 60 percent of the town's school-age boys. Often the town permitted the municipal teacher to collect fees from the students to augment his modest salary. Universal public education, with or without fees, did not exist and only gradually won acceptance in the nineteenth century.

A third kind of school was the church school. An ecclesiastical authority or institution, such as a bishop, a cathedral chapter of canons, a monastery, or even the parish priest, opened a school. They were not numerous until the Protestant and Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century created church schools, which dominated the educational

landscape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Regardless of its sponsorship, the actual school was usually modest. It normally consisted of a single teacher instructing a group of boys of varying ages and abilities, anywhere from a half dozen to thirty, in a single room. If the teacher had forty pupils or more, he might have an assistant who drilled the younger boys in their lessons, such as Latin conjugations and declensions. The schoolroom might be in the teacher's home or a rented room outside it. It is unlikely that the school had an outdoor area for play or physical exercises. Drinking water and food had to be brought in. If the schoolroom had a stove, each pupil might be required to bring a stick of wood on cold days.

Only a minority of boys and a tiny minority of girls aged six to fifteen attended school. Probably about 28 percent of boys attended formal schools in Florence, Italy, in 1480, and 26 percent of boys attended formal schools in Venice in 1587. The girls' percentage was low, probably less than 1 percent. About 20 to 25 percent of boys and less than 5 percent of girls attended school in sixteenth-century England. About 40 percent of boys received enough schooling to become literate in the town of Cuenca (in Castile, Spain) in the sixteenth century. And perhaps 12 percent of Polish males attended school in the 1560s.

School attendance closely followed the hierarchies of wealth, occupation, and social status. Sons of nobles, wealthy merchants, and professionals, such as lawyers, physicians, notaries, high civil servants, university professors, and preuniversity teachers, were much more likely to attend school than sons of craftsmen, artisans, small shop-keepers, wool workers, laborers, and servants. The primary reason for the different schooling rates was that schooling almost always cost money. The social and occupational expectations of parents offered additional reasons.

Boys were far more likely than girls to attend school. They needed schooling, especially Latin schooling, to qualify for leadership positions in society. But such positions and all the learned professions were barred to women. Hence few parents believed that daughters needed formal education. Some girls received informal teaching at home, but the number is impossible to estimate.

Urban dwellers were more likely to attend school than those who lived in the countryside or in farming villages, because more teachers were available in towns and cities. Rural areas had few resources to dedicate to schooling and few available teachers. The distances that students might have to walk to get to school and the exposure of the schoolroom to the elements, a serious consideration in northern Europe, also helped explain the lower schooling rate of rural children. In theory, schools taught all year. Of course numerous saints' days and civic holidays, long vacations at Christmas and Easter, and Carnival before Lent broke up the schedule. So did the need to work in the fields during harvest. And extremes of summer heat and winter cold shut down schools or kept children home.

THE CLASSICAL CURRICULUM OF THE RENAISSANCE

The most significant event in European schooling in these centuries was the adoption of a classical curriculum for the Latin schools in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Medieval Latin schools taught a mixture of manufactured verse texts of pious sentiments, grammar manuals and glossaries, and limited material from ancient classical texts. Renaissance humanists discarded the medieval curriculum in favor of the works of Virgil (70-19 B.C.E.), Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), Terence (186/185?–159 B.C.E.), Julius Caesar (100-44 B.C.E.), and other ancient authors. These authors taught grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy, the famous humanistic studies that imparted virtue and eloquence to the free person, or so the Renaissance believed. Students learned to write Latin in the ornate and highly rhetorical style of Cicero's Epistolae ad familiares (Familiar letters), which was very different from the clear, functional, and sometimes graceless medieval Latin. They studied Virgil and Terence for poetry and Caesar and Valerius Maximus (fl. c. 30-40 c.E.) for history. Humanist pedagogues sought guidance on Latin rhetoric and ancient pedagogy generally from the Institutio oratoria (Institutes of oratory) of the ancient Roman teacher of rhetoric Quintilian (c. 35-c. 100). Italy adopted the classical Latin curriculum in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the rest of Europe followed in the early sixteenth century.

Attending a Latin school to learn classical Latin was the prerequisite for every professional career because Latin was the language of law, medicine, science, and theology into the eighteenth century and sometimes beyond. To mention one example among many, Isaac Newton (1642-1727) wrote his masterpiece, Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica (1687; Mathematical principles of natural philosophy) in Latin. All students who wished to go to the university had to learn Latin because the lectures, texts, disputations, and examinations were conducted in Latin. And even after Latin ceased to be the universal language for learning, pedagogues and parents believed the study of Latin and Greek grammar prepared the mind for any intellectual endeavor. Latin and Greek literature also conveyed high purpose and lofty moral sentiments that society and parents wanted leaders to emulate.

Social and intellectual consequences of the classical curriculum. The adoption of a classical humanistic curriculum had profound consequences. The division of European education into a classical Latin curriculum for the leaders of society and professionals and a vernacular education for the rest (see below) made schooling the key to social hierarchy. Certainly social divisions existed before the adoption of the classical curriculum and would have continued without it. But now a Latin classical education was crucial for anyone wishing to obtain or hold a certain position in society. Even a bright child could not learn Latin without long and difficult study. And only parents possessing a certain amount of income could afford the fees to send a son and occasionally a daughter to Latin schools for many years and to forgo the assistance and income that a working child brought to the family. From the Renaissance through the eighteenth century and beyond, the classical curriculum defined the academic secondary school, which divided the upper and middle classes from the working class. At the same time, using a classical education as the gateway to advancement also meant that boys, and later girls, of poor and humble origins might advance through merit if they could obtain a Latin education. Free Latin schools eventually became available to some children.

The adoption of a curriculum based on reading the ancient works was a remarkable but strange decision with far-reaching consequences. The ancient world, culturally Greek, spiritually pagan, and politically united under a militaristic Rome, differed greatly from modern European civilization, which was Christian and politically divided into numerous states. Yet Europe's intellectuals and political leaders decided that future leaders of society should study the classics of ancient Rome and Greece in order to become eloquent and morally upright. They did not change their minds until the twentieth century.

The classical curriculum also imparted a secular spirit to European schooling. Even though western European civilization was profoundly otherworldly in its ultimate goal, the Latin classical curriculum emphasized education for this life. Neither Cicero, Virgil, nor any other ancient pagan text urged men and women to do what was morally right in order to enjoy union with the Christian God in the next world. Of course Renaissance educators were convinced that Christianity and the classics taught an identical morality of honesty, self-sacrifice for the common good, and perseverance. But the classics did not teach one to love either enemy or neighbor. Even though Catholic religious orders and Protestant divines added considerable religious content to the classical curriculum, the secular spirit of the classical curriculum remained a significant part of European education far beyond the Renaissance.

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS

Vernacular schools also existed in every region of Europe. Indeed all of Europe had two school systems, classical Latin and vernacular, throughout these centuries. For example, in the major commercial city of Venice, half the boys in school attended vernacular schools in 1587 and 1588. They taught reading and writing in the vernacular and often commercial mathematics to boys (and a small number of girls) destined for the world of work. This curriculum emerged from the practical experience and lay culture of the merchant community. Vernacular schools probably underwent little change during the Renaissance and beyond. Since church and state authorities did not hand down directives for vernacular schools, the teachers, who were almost always modest independent masters, taught what they pleased. Hence the children learned to read from the same adult books of popular culture

that their parents enjoyed. Indeed Venetian boys sometimes brought from home popular vernacular texts that parents wanted them to learn to read. The vernacular textbooks were a diverse lot, ranging from medieval saints' lives to Renaissance chivalric romances. Obviously they imparted conflicting moral values. Students would read about heroic saints who endured martyrdom for Christ, then read about knights who killed for revenge and ladies who committed adultery for love. Italian vernacular schools also taught advanced commercial mathematical skills and elementary bookkeeping. Vernacular schools in other parts of Renaissance Europe taught arithmetic but not the rest of the commercial curriculum of Italian vernacular schools.

German vernacular schools were called Winkelschulen ('backstreet' or 'corner schools') because they were located in out-of-the-way places, such as the back room of a shop or the attic of a crowded home, in larger towns or cities. There male and female teachers of modest backgrounds taught boys and some girls basic literacy and elementary arithmetic for small fees. The name also indicates the attitude of authorities, who saw them as unsupervised schools teaching questionable doctrines. A Prussian government evaluation of 1768 saw Winkelschulen as lacking method and discipline and as potential sources of depravity. The selfappointed teachers varied widely: members of dissident religious sects, unemployed preachers, wouldbe clergymen, artisans, injured soldiers, and women. Despite official disapproval, they continued through the eighteenth century and beyond in German states because they offered a service to a segment of the population that had little or no other access to schooling. Other European countries also had modest vernacular schools but on a more regular basis and enjoying better reputations.

PRINTING AND THE EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

Printing aided education by making available multiple copies of textbooks. The use of movable type began about 1450, and by the 1480s and 1490s publishers were producing significant numbers of reading primers and manuals of Latin syntax (the construction of sentences according to the rules governing the use of words) and morphology (the inflected forms of words). No longer would students have to rely on handwritten manuscripts avail-

able only to the teacher or to wealthy students. As the cost of printed books declined drastically in the sixteenth century, it is possible that most pupils had the resources to own a grammar manual and primer. Whether they did or not is impossible to determine.

Historians sometimes believe that more and cheaper printed books stimulated an increase in education and literacy. Rather, four factors working together probably increased the amount of schooling by 1600 and beyond: (1) inexpensive printed books, (2) greater availability of free or inexpensive schooling, (3) the desire of students and parents for more education, and (4) society's willingness to reward those who took the trouble to learn.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND EDUCATION

Martin Luther (1483–1546) argued for universal compulsory education, at least at the elementary level. And when German princes embraced the Reformation, Lutheran clergymen drafted new arrangements for the church and state that almost always included a Schulordnung ('school order'). Protestant school orders firmly placed the state (prince or city council) in charge of the schools. By the 1560s and 1570s Protestant school orders created a relatively integrated set of schools, beginning with an elementary school to teach reading and writing. Abler students advanced to a higher school, which taught Latin, and the most gifted and socially privileged to an advanced secondary school, which led to university. The goals were twofold: (1) to train future clergymen and administrators of the state; and (2) to impart to a larger fraction of the male population enough reading and writing to function at an appropriate station in life. The students studied the same classical curriculum taught in Catholic lands along with a great deal of catechetical instruction in Lutheran Christianity. Protestant Germany and nearby border regions, such as Strasbourg, had some excellent secondary-level Latin schools.

It appears that the number and possibly the quality of schools increased during the age of the Protestant Reformation in Germany. But the Protestant Reformation did not mark the beginning of modern schooling. The goals were high, the results often modest. The level of instruction was not always elevated. The schools still often charged fees,

which poor parents could not afford. Sometimes parents could not even provide the stick of wood that a child was expected to bring for the school fire in winter. A school seldom enrolled all the boys in the village, and enrollments waxed and waned according to the work seasons. Even though the state was supposed to organize and direct schools, the *Winkelschulen* continued.

Nevertheless, the Reformation did provide some interesting developments. In 1560 the Scottish Calvinist leader John Knox (1513–1572) called for a system of parish schools in Scotland that developed over the next two hundred years. Legislation required landowners to appoint a schoolmaster for each parish, to pay him a small salary, and to build a schoolhouse. Parish schools enrolled both boys and girls, although girls' education emphasized reading and sewing rather than the broader range of academic skills imparted to boys. All children had to pay small fees, but the church or community paid the fees of poor children. Although parish schools were less numerous in remote and poorer regions of Scotland than in the affluent lowlands, it was a rudimentary national system of elementary education. By the eighteenth century Scotland had one of the highest schooling rates, especially for girls, in Europe.

Despite such local successes as Scotland, it seems unlikely that the Protestant Reformation made education more available than did Catholic Europe. Indeed because Protestantism abolished religious orders, it did not enjoy the access to the extensive networks of new schools that the religious orders of the Catholic Reformation provided. Nor can the thesis that Protestantism created a permanent expansion of schooling and literacy so that every individual could read the Bible be supported on the basis of current research. The only example in which the Protestant Reformation achieved almost total reading literacy occurred in Sweden in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There the state Reformed (Lutheran) Church undertook to teach the entire population, male and female, how to read. Thanks to great effort and governmental threats (such as refusing permission to marry to those who failed to learn to read), the effort succeeded. It was an impressive achievement but unique. Nothing comparable occurred anywhere else in Protestant or Catholic Europe.

RELIGIOUS ORDER EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC EUROPE

The new Catholic Reformation religious orders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries altered the educational landscape of Catholic Europe. The Society of Jesus (founded in 1540) and other religious orders that followed its pedagogical example created new schools and sometimes took control of existing municipal schools. Because they did not charge fees, the new schools of the Jesuits, Piarists, and other orders expanded educational opportunity and dominated education in Catholic countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Jesuit schools. The Jesuits had not intended to become educators. But in December 1547 the city government of Messina, firmly nudged by the Spanish viceroy who ruled Sicily for Spain, petitioned Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) to send ten Jesuits to Messina, five to teach and the rest to undertake spiritual and charitable activities. The city government promised food, clothing, and a building. Recognizing this as an intriguing opportunity and knowing that one did not refuse a viceroy, Loyola managed to send seven Jesuits, including some of the ablest scholars of the young order. According to the agreement with the city, the Jesuit fathers would teach nine classes. In effect they created a classical Latin elementary and secondary school along with higher studies in philosophy. The city would erect a building, the people of Messina would support the Jesuits through freewill offerings, and the viceroy would also help. The school formally opened in October 1548. It was an immediate success, as two hundred boys enrolled by December. The school averaged an enrollment of about three hundred boys in the next two decades.

Free instruction largely explained the instant success of the Messina school. The Jesuits inaugurated the first systematic effort to provide free education for several hundred boys in a town, something entirely new for Italy and Europe. The opportunity must have seemed heaven-sent to boys and their parents. In addition the Jesuit fathers were learned scholars and teachers. Many other Jesuit schools followed.

The Jesuit schools offered the same Latin curriculum that the Italian humanists of the fifteenth century had created and that Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) and other northern humanists pro-

moted. But they made several additions: prayers, religious training, and insistence that the boys attend mass, confess, and communicate; better pedagogical organization, including imaginative teaching techniques; and higher subjects, like philosophy, logic, mathematics, and theology.

The Jesuit schools soon refined their goals. Beginning in 1551 they phased out the introductory class that taught beginning reading and writing and the rudiments of Latin grammar. A boy had to learn these before entering a Jesuit school. And the Jesuits decided to concentrate their energies on those likely to stay in school for many years. With this decision, partly provoked by a shortage of teachers, the Jesuits narrowed their educational mission chronologically and socially: they taught the Latin humanities to upper- and middle-class boys aged ten to sixteen. Since the Jesuits followed the policy of free education until the nineteenth century, they sought and received financial support from wealthy lay or ecclesiastical leaders of the community and sometimes from the town government. The growth in the number of Jesuit schools was extraordinary. There were about 35 schools worldwide in 1556, 121 in 1575, 245 in 1599, 293 in 1607, 444 in 1626, 578 in 1679, 612 in 1710, and 669 in 1749. All but a few were in Europe, with the largest number in France and Italy.

A handful of Jesuit schools in large Italian cities, such as Rome and Milan, taught several hundred boys between the ages of ten and sixteen and a few older students. Jesuit schools in France, Germany, and Portugal often taught five hundred to fifteen hundred students. The largest and best-known Jesuit schools taught university-level philosophy, mathematics, and physics to the older and brighter students. At the same time the vast majority of Jesuit schools enrolled only one hundred to two hundred students who studied, under four or five teachers, the Latin humanities curriculum and religious instruction.

The Jesuit schools appealed to the community at large with their public programs. Students at Jesuit schools in Spain and Portugal began to give public performances with scenery, stagecraft, and music of Latin tragedies, both sacred and secular. They also presented what might be called achievement days, in which students orated, recited, and

debated before parents and dignitaries of the city. The schools of other Catholic Reformation teaching orders, such as the Barnabites (Clerics Regular of St. Paul) and Somaschans (Clerics Regular of Somascha), did the same.

Schools for nobles. Boarding schools limited to boys of verified noble lineage were a feature of the stratified society of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Princes and others founded boarding schools for noble boys who mixed with their peers from different parts of Europe. They entered between the ages of eleven and fourteen and might stay until the age of twenty. The schools for nobles supplemented the standard Latin curriculum with lessons in singing, dancing, designing fortifications, French, and above all, horsemanship. These schools cost a great deal. Ranuccio I Farnese (1569-1622, ruled 1592-1622), duke of Parma and Piacenza, founded a famous school for nobles in 1601 in Parma and gave the Jesuits direction of the school in 1604. It had a peak enrollment of 550 to 600 boys between 1670 and 1700, then began to decline. The Jesuits were the teachers in many noble schools and boarding schools with upper-class boys. Other religious orders followed their lead but to a lesser extent. Some schools for nobles also developed in Protestant lands.

France. In the early sixteenth century many French towns established Latin classical schools open to the boys of the town and staffed by teachers who had imbibed the Renaissance humanistic curriculum at Paris. Then the crown in the early seventeenth century encouraged the Jesuits and other orders to establish schools in the kingdom. Through financial subsidies or royal command, King Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) persuaded the religious orders to take direction of the town schools. Sometimes the towns agreed because the schools were going poorly. The town could not provide enough funding, teachers were in short supply, enrollments were declining, academic standards were falling, and the students were disorderly. Under the protection of the crown, the new religious orders of the Catholic Reformation became the schoolmasters of France.

Numerous towns across France replaced their secular schoolmasters with the Jesuits, the French Congregation of the Oratory, and the Doctrinaires (Secular Priests of the Christian Doctrine). They

established some remarkable schools. In 1603 Henry IV gave the Jesuits a château in the town of La Flèche in the Loire Valley. Le Collège Henry IV at La Flèche (usually just called La Flèche) began with that gift. The king provided additional financial support in the following years and strongly encouraged members of his court to send their sons there. The school was an instant success, boasting an enrollment of twelve hundred to fourteen hundred students, of whom three hundred were boarders, in a few years. La Flèche's most famous pupil was René Descartes (1596-1650). Entering in 1606, Descartes spent nine years there, the first six studying Latin grammar, humanities, and rhetoric, the last three studying philosophy, which included mathematics, physics, and Galileo's telescope discoveries. Although he eventually rejected the philosophy learned there, Descartes in 1641 strongly endorsed La Flèche for the excellence of its instruction, its lively students from all over France, and the spirit of student equality the Jesuits fostered.

The Collège de Clermont (1560–1762), renamed the Collège Louis le Grand in 1682, was the Jesuit school in Paris. It enrolled boys aged twelve to twenty. The number of students steadily rose from fifteen hundred (including three hundred boarders) in 1619 to twenty-five hundred to three thousand students (including five hundred to six hundred boarders) in the late seventeenth century.

Students in the Jesuit schools and probably in most Latin schools in both Catholic and Protestant Europe were placed and promoted according to their achievement, not their ages. This meant that boys of many ages might be in a single class. For example, the rhetoric class at the Collège de Clermont in Paris had 160 pupils (obviously taught by more than one teacher) in 1677. One pupil was ten years old, three were eleven, eight were twelve, fifteen were thirteen, thirty-five were fourteen, thirty-seven were fifteen, twenty-five were sixteen, twenty-eight were seventeen, six were eighteen, two were nineteen, and one was twenty. While the rhetoric class normally took two years to complete, some pupils may have required more time.

Jesuit schools in Europe, Asia, and the Americas followed the program of studies minutely organized in the society's *Ratio Studiorum* (Plan of studies) of 1599. It prescribed texts, classroom procedures,

rules, and discipline. The *Ratio Studiorum* frowned on corporal punishment; if unavoidable, a non-Jesuit should administer it. Other Catholic religious order schools offering Latin education often copied Jesuit educational procedures to greater or lesser degree.

Piarist schools. Not all schools of the religious orders taught a Latin curriculum to middle- and upper-class boys. The Basque priest José Calasanz (c. 1557-1648) had the revolutionary idea of offering comprehensive free schooling to poor boys when he opened his first "pious school" in the working-class area of Trastevere, Rome, in 1597. The first pious school accepted only pupils presenting certificates of poverty issued by parish priests. It aimed to educate poor and working-class boys so they might earn a living in this life and attain salvation in the next. The school offered free instruction in vernacular reading, writing, and arithmetic plus some Latin to bright boys, an early attempt to combine the vernacular and Latin curricula. It also furnished books, paper, pens, ink, and on occasion food to needy pupils. Calasanz established a religious order, the Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools (usually called the Piarists) in 1621 to carry on his work. In time the Piarists dropped the certificate of poverty as a prerequisite for enrollment and accepted students from the middle and upper classes. But they continued to see the poor as their primary student constituency. Their schools enabled poor boys to move up the social ladder, those who learned Latin into professional positions. The Piarists had over two hundred schools, the majority in Italy and Spain and a smaller number in central Europe, in 1784.

EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Boys and girls almost always attended separate schools in both Catholic and Protestant Europe. A large number of female religious convents educated Catholic girls as long-term boarders. Parents sent a girl to a convent for several years to be educated and to learn sewing and manners. She emerged educated, virtuous, and ready to marry. Some girls decided to remain as nuns. Indeed professed nuns living in convents had a higher literacy rate and were consistently better educated than laywomen.

Church organizations also offered charity schools for poor girls. For example, in 1655 the

papacy contributed funding to hire numerous female teachers to staff free neighborhood schools for girls in Rome. Each schoolmistress taught vernacular reading and writing to any number, from a handful to more than seventy girls. These schools lasted until the Kingdom of Italy seized Rome in 1870. Catholic Europe also had an abundance of catechism schools (called Schools of Christian Doctrine), which taught the rudiments of Catholicism and a limited amount of reading, on Sundays and numerous religious holidays, to boys and girls in separate classes. Protestant Europe also had catechism classes or Sunday schools, about which less is known. And numerous clergymen lacking benefices, livings, or parishes in both Protestant and Catholic Europe supported themselves as schoolmasters.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Until the eighteenth century, central governments played no direct role in schooling, with the partial exception of state-church collaboration in some small German Protestant states. In the middle of the eighteenth century, educational reformers, strongly influenced by Enlightenment views, began to argue that church schools should be eliminated and the state should become the directing force in education.

State education and attacks on church schools.

Enlightenment reformers, who always came from the upper ranks of society, believed that the absolutist state could and should improve men and women through reform from above. They accepted the psychology of John Locke (1632-1704), educated at the public school of Westminster and at Oxford University, who published two influential works on education, An Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690) and Some Thoughts concerning Education (1693). He held that the child was a tabula rasa ('blank slate') on which anything could be written. Thus the right early education would impart useful skills and would form the child with proper values, which included good manners and deference to authority. Children so formed would become useful and loyal citizens; if wrongly educated, they would not. Hence the central government, rather than the church or local authorities, should control schools and choose the teachers. Numerous Enlightenment figures echoed or expanded Locke's views.

The attack on church education began in Catholic countries just as the ruling classes in Catholic Europe began to find fault with the most famous of the church schools, those of the Jesuits. For example, enrollment at La Flèche dropped to four hundred, of whom two hundred were boarders, by 1760. The reformers launched a general attack on the Society of Jesus for many reasons, of which their domination in education was one. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, and from Spain in 1767. Their schools (105) in France) were closed or assigned to other religious congregations. Bowing to pressure from governments, the papacy suppressed the society in 1773. But needing to maintain educational institutions for their Catholic subjects, Frederick the Great (1712– 1786) of Prussia and Catherine the Great (1729-1796) of Russia, neither of whom was Catholic, rejected the papal bull and welcomed the Jesuits in their realms.

State authorities across Europe also confiscated numerous church buildings and properties during the last years of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century, further weakening the capacity of church groups to support schools. Governments seldom succeeded in eliminating church schools in either Catholic or Protestant lands. But they seriously weakened churches as rivals to the central state governments as the chief force in schooling.

Numerous eighteenth-century school reformers filled with Enlightenment views fanned across Europe, offering schemes to replace church schools and to change preuniversity education. They offered advice to any ruler who showed an interest, however fleeting, in school reform. Their plans had many similarities, because they came from a common stock of Enlightenment principles and because the reformers borrowed from each other, helped by the fact that Europe's educated classes all read and spoke French.

The educational reform plan of Louis-René de Caradeuc de la Chalotais (1701–1785) attracted the most attention. As royal attorney for the parlement of his native Rennes, La Chalotais published an influential work against the Jesuits and their schools, Comptes rendus des constitutions des jésuites

(Report on the Constitution of the Jesuits) in 1761–1762. In 1763 he published his *Essai d'éducation nationale*, *ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse* (Essay on national education; or, a plan of studies for youth). Much of the treatise reiterated views held by others, but he added something new, the idea of national education.

La Chalotais's plan had several parts. He advocated the teaching of French while not eliminating Latin. He wanted children to learn national history, another difference from the classical schools. The state should ensure that children were taught good morals based on fundamental ethical truths, because good morals were essential for the well-being of society. La Chalotais allowed that churches might teach religion, but outside of the school. He also believed that girls should be educated, albeit with the substitution of needlework and like skills appropriate to their gender for some of the studies of boys. The most important part of the treatise was his belief that schools were a national concern, and therefore the state should organize schools, regulate studies, appoint teachers, and provide school buildings. This was revolutionary at a time when governments left the regulation of schools to local authorities and church institutions. But he did not advocate universal education; he thought there already were too many collèges, that is, secondary schools. Too many would entice working-class parents to send their children, who would become secretaries, thus depriving society of men for the manual trades, recruits for the navy, and other useful workers. Most Enlightenment reformers agreed; Voltaire (1694– 1778), for example, congratulated La Chalotais for proposing to limit the number of collèges. La Chalotais even thought elementary education should not be too extensive: it was enough that some people learned how to use tools, he wrote.

Enlightenment school reformers held a hierarchical view of society that limited their commitment to universal education. Most other Enlightenment educational reformers agreed with La Chalotais on his major points. State schooling should be free for lower-class boys but limited to elementary education, ending at the ages of ten to twelve. Otherwise they would aspire to rise above their station, thus depriving society of their labor and upsetting the right order of things. By contrast, the sons of the ruling classes should avoid state

elementary schools and continue to study with tutors or attend elite schools. They should go on to secondary schools, including boarding schools, with their classical Latin and Greek curriculum.

Rulers in France, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Russia, Spain, Piedmont, Sweden, and elsewhere showed interest in reforming schools. Numerous reformers gave them advice; for example, Denis Diderot (1713–1784) advised Catherine the Great of Russia, and Étienne Bonnet de Condillac (1715–1780) advised the duke of Parma. They all agreed that the state, not the church, should control education and that education should aim to produce good citizens by teaching good morals. They wanted limited universal education, a contradiction in terms.

The results were negligible. Rulers promulgated sweeping school reform proposals but failed to support their proposals by providing more lay teachers, teacher training, school buildings, or even textbooks. Nor did they change the religious orientation of schools. Rulers offered halfhearted support for educational change because they feared that universal education would upset the social order. Most education remained in the hands of church institutions, except for the banished Society of Jesus.

Frederick the Great, king of Prussia from 1740 until his death in 1786, was typical. Declaring that uneducated citizens were like animals, he promulgated sweeping new school regulations for Prussia in 1763 and then forgot about them. Part of the reason was his fear that, if rural children learned more than reading and writing, they would run off to the city for higher occupations. The state needed peasants, laborers, and soldiers.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), in his novel Émile ou de l'éducation (Emile, or about education) of 1762 offered the most radical educational approach. Totally opposed to Locke's views that basic ideas could be implanted in a boy and that he should be raised for a specific role or occupation in society, Rousseau believed the child should be allowed to develop his or her unique nature. Rousseau saw the child not as a small adult but as a developing person. He would postpone moral training until later and raise the child independently of religious doctrine or the influences of civilization. Rousseau's book stimulated great discussion but

had no discernible influence on contemporary education. Not until the French Revolution, the Napoleonic era (1789–1815), and the nineteenth century as a whole did some of the proposals from the school reforms of the eighteenth century come to fruition, and then only slowly.

CONCLUSION

Education was an integral part of the intellectual life and social fabric of Europe. Education divided the population into an educated elite, a middle group who received vernacular educations, and an unschooled or little-schooled third group. From their first days in the classroom children received different educations according to the social and economic position of a child's parent, usually the father, a child's intended position in society, and a child's gender. Education enabled some academically gifted individuals to rise.

From the Renaissance onward the classical secondary school was the center of European elite education. Educational leaders and probably the majority of society believed that learning ancient languages and literatures developed mental discipline and offered examples of the highest human culture in the original language. Skills learned in Latin classes shaped rhetorical patterns, moral attitudes, habits of thought, and even vernacular speech and writing. The study of Latin and Greek grammar developed mental discipline, while ancient Latin and Greek literature offered examples of the highest human culture in the original language. The classical curriculum also offered practical skills, since university education, law, the church, and government service required a knowledge of Latin. Children not destined for leadership roles attended vernacular schools. Despite the limitations, the organization and curricula of the schools of these centuries was surprisingly rich and varied.

See also Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Jesuits; Latin; Religious Orders; Universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Kallendorf, Craig W., ed. and trans. *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Cambridge, Mass., 2002. Translations of four influential fifteenth-century treatises.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. Émile; or, On Education. Introduction, translation, and notes by Allan Bloom. New York, 1979.

Secondary Sources

- Brizzi, Gian Paolo. La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento: I seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale. Bologna, 1976. Study of Jesuit boarding schools for nobles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- Charlton, Kenneth. Education in Renaissance England. London, 1965.
- Chartier, Roger, Dominique Julia, and Marie-Madeleine Compère. L'éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle. Paris, 1976. Much statistical information.
- Chisick, Harvey. The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment: Attitudes toward the Education of the Lower Classes in Eighteenth-Century France. Princeton, 1981.
- Cruz, Jo Ann Hoeppner Moran. "Education in the Renaissance." In *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, edited by Paul F. Grendler et al. Vol. 2, pp. 242–254. New York, 1999. Good pan-European survey.
- Delattre, Pierre, ed. Les établissements des jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles. 5 vols. Enghien and Wetteren, Belgium, 1949–1957. Articles on all the Jesuit schools in France.
- Farrell, Alan P. The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the "Ratio Studiorum." Milwaukee, 1938.
- Friedrichs, Christopher R. "Whose House of Learning? Some Thoughts on German Schools in Post-Reformation Germany." *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (1982): 371–377.
- Gawthorp, Richard L., and Gerald Strauss. "Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany." *Past and Present* 104 (1984): 31–55.
- Grendler, Paul F. Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600. Baltimore and London, 1989. Comprehensive study of all forms of preuniversity education in Italy.
- Grendler, Paul F., ed. "Education in the Renaissance and Reformation." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 774–824. European coverage with extensive bibliography.
- Hans, Nicholas A. *The Russian Tradition in Education*. London, 1963. Russian pedagogical thought for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
- Houston, R. A. Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500–1800. 2nd ed. rev. Harlow, U.K., and London, 2002.
- Huppert, George. Public Schools in Renaissance France. Urbana, Ill., and Chicago, 1984. Latin secondary schools in France.
- Jewell, Helen M. Education in Early Modern England. Basingstoke, U.K., and New York, 1998.
- Leith, James A., ed. Facets of Education in the Eighteenth Century. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Cen-

- tury, vol. 167. Oxford, 1977. Rich collection of articles on education in Europe and North America.
- Maynes, Mary Jo. Schooling in Western Europe: A Social History. Albany, N.Y., 1985. Survey for 1750 to 1850.
- Melton, James Van Horn. Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1988.
- Pelliccia, Guerrino. La scuola primaria a Roma dal secolo XVI al XIX. Rome, 1985. Comprehensive account of Roman elementary education from 1513 to 1829.
- Roggero, Marina. *Insegnar lettere: Ricerche di storia dell'istruzione in età moderna*. Alessandria, Italy, 1992. Italian education 1500 to 1800.
- Spitz, Lewis W., and Barbara Sher Tinsley. Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning. St. Louis, 1995.
- Strauss, Gerald. Enacting the Reformation in Germany: Essays on Institution and Reception. Aldershot, U.K., and Brookfield, Vt., 1993. Includes several essays on schools in the German Reformation.
- . Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation. Baltimore and London, 1978. Critical assessment of the aims and results of education in the Lutheran Reformation.
- Toscani, Xenio. Scuole e alfabetismo nello Stato di Milano da Carlo Borromeo alla Rivoluzione. Brescia, Italy, 1993. Model study of schooling and literacy in Milan, 1560 to 1800.
- Tuer, Andrew White. *History of the Horn Book*. New York, 1979. Study of the primer used throughout Europe with many illustrations; first published in 1897.

PAUL F. GRENDLER

EDWARD VI (ENGLAND) (1537–1553; ruled 1547-1553), king of England. Edward was nine years old when he inherited the English throne in 1547. Though troubled by factional politics and provincial rebellion, his brief reign did much to determine England's future history as a Protestant nation. Edward was born on 12 October 1537, the only child of Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547) and his third queen, Jane Seymour (c. 1509–1537), who died twelve days later. Catholic propagandists claimed, probably falsely, that he was cut out of his mother's womb. Here was the male heir for whom his father had yearned, and bells rang all over England in celebration. Far from the sickly boy of popular memory, Edward was robust and merry, delighting in music and archery. He was tutored in

Latin, Greek, and Scripture by the Cambridge humanists Richard Cox and John Cheke. But his upbringing was that of an aristocrat, not the Protestant saint of later legend. He studied French and geography and military engineering in company with other young nobles. From early 1547 he kept a chronicle of the political and military events of his reign, evidence of his academic ability and ordered thinking.

POLITICS AND RELIGION

Edward became king on 28 January 1547, on the death of his father. There was no regency; he ruled in person, at least in theory. But considerable power rested in the Privy Council, which swiftly contravened Henry VIII's wishes by electing Edward's maternal uncle, Edward Seymour (c. 1500–1552), to be lord protector during the king's minority. As duke of Somerset, Seymour effectively governed England until his downfall as the result of a coup in October 1549. Seymour's military priorities matched the young king's enthusiasm for fortifications and naval battles. In summer 1547 an army was sent into Scotland to enforce a marriage treaty between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587); England won the Battle of Pinkie, but lost the war when Mary was conveyed to France to wed the dauphin, who became Francis II. In Edward's other kingdom of Ireland, garrisons were established in Leix and Offaly in an attempt to enforce English rule. Following Seymour's ejection from power, Edward's closest adviser was another soldier, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland and lord president of the council. By filling the privy chamber with his own adherents, Dudley achieved a powerful hold over the king, greater even than Seymour had enjoyed. A peace treaty in March 1550 restored Anglo-French relations, and in April 1551 Edward was elected to the French chivalric order of St. Michael, to his tremendous gratification. But the festivities could not conceal a growing crisis in the royal finances, aggravated by coinage debasement and embezzlement by crown officials.

Nothing is more controversial about Edward VI than the Protestant reforms carried forward in his name by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1489–1556). In 1549 the Latin mass was replaced by matins, evensong, and Holy Communion in English. Confession was abandoned, purga-



Edward VI. Engraving after a portrait by Hans Holbein.
©BETTMANN/CORBIS

tory denied, and chantries shut down. Priests were permitted to marry. The Catholic devotional world of the English parishes was fatally damaged as sacred images, wall paintings, and stained glass were defaced or destroyed; in their place came pulpits and preaching. Edward's own role in all this is not clear, but judging from a French treatise in which he denounced papal supremacy and from his avid patronage of sermons, he was a fervent Protestant. The alteration in religion sparked a major rebellion in Devon and Cornwall in summer 1549, which called for the restoration of the mass and traditional parish culture. The crown suppressed it with uncommon brutality by means of mercenaries. But Edward's reforms also laid the foundations for the 1559 church settlement of his sister Queen Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603). The 1549 Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by Cranmer and authorized by the Act of Uniformity, has influenced centuries of English poetry and prose and remains the finest achievement of Edward's reign.

COURT AND KINGSHIP

Edward's youth was offset by the splendor of his court ceremonial. The king ranged between Whitehall, Greenwich, and Hampton Court, according to the season. He was a keen hunter and frequently played his part in masques and tilts. In 1552 Edward made a grand summer progress of England's southern counties. In the Chapel Royal, meanwhile, Thomas Tallis (c. 1505-1585) set the new English liturgy to music. Magnificence had strategic value, and foreign ambassadors were deeply impressed. Yet Edward also had a social conscience, pricked by the harvest failures and economic slump that afflicted his reign from 1549. Pressure on land provoked rural riots and, in July 1549, a popular uprising in East Anglia under Robert Kett. Though achievements lagged behind the rhetoric, Edward's concern for the commonwealth was a marked feature of his kingship. Enclosure commissions and grain surveys were supplemented by weekly church collections for the poor from 1552. Edward himself wrote a detailed memorandum to the council, advocating an English cloth "mart" to rival Antwerp. The king was drawing close to assuming independent rule of his dominions.

In February 1553 Edward caught a feverish cold that progressed into a pulmonary infection. Realizing that he was dying, he began his last great initiative, to deny the throne to his Catholic sister Mary. His "devise for the succession" declared his heir to be Jane Grey (1537–1554), the grand-daughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary and a Protestant. John Dudley, whose son Guildford had recently married Jane, was a prime mover in this dubious scheme, but Edward also backed it with the last of his strength. When Edward died on 6 July 1553, Jane was duly proclaimed queen, although a pro-Mary uprising meant that she ruled for only nine days before being imprisoned and then executed for high treason.

Several outstanding portraits of Edward VI survive. The earliest, painted by Hans Holbein around 1538 (Mellon Collection, Washington, D.C.), portrays a sturdy and imperious young prince, sporting a scarlet hat; his golden rattle is held like a royal scepter. Surely the strangest is the 1546 painting by William Scrots, in which Edward appears in distorted perspective (anamorphosis) that is re-

solved only with the aid of a special viewing device. The Elizabethan picture known as *King Edward VI and the Pope* (c. 1570, National Portrait Gallery, London), in which the dying Henry VIII hands power to his son and the pope is crushed by "The Worde of the Lord," illustrates how Edward became a prized asset in Protestant propaganda after his death.

See also Church of England; Elizabeth I (England); England; Henry VIII (England); Mary I (England); Tudor Dynasty (England).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Edward VI, King of England. *Chronicle and Political Papers* of King Edward VI. Edited by W. K. Jordan. Ithaca, N.Y., 1966.

Secondary Sources

Jordan, W. K. Edward VI: The Threshold of Power, The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland. London, 1970.

— Edward VI: The Young King, The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset. London, 1968.

Loach, Jennifer. *Edward VI*. Edited by George Bernard and Penry Williams. New Haven and London, 1999.

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation. London, 1999.

J. P. D. COOPER

EL GRECO (Doménikos Theotokópoulos; 1541–1614), painter, sculptor, and architect. El Greco is usually classified as a Spanish artist, although he was born in Candia, Crete. He had one of the most unconventional career paths of any artist of his era. Initially active in Crete as an icon painter, he transformed his art in Italy through the independent study of works by leading Renaissance artists. Unsuccessful in Italy, he finally settled in Toledo, where his career was fostered by influential ecclesiastics. There, he developed a unique pictorial style, which synthesized aspects of Byzantine and Renaissance artistic traditions.

El Greco was first recorded as a "master painter" in 1563. The recently discovered *Dormition of the Virgin* (Church of the Dormition, Syros, before 1567) provides the most reliable indication of his early manner. Like other Cretan artists



El Greco. The Burial of the Count of Orgaz. ©ART RESOURCE

of the late sixteenth century, he introduced a few minor Italian decorative details into a composition, which otherwise adheres to traditional formulas. Characteristic features of the late Byzantine style include the gold background, the vertical organization of pictorial elements, and the simplified modeling of figures.

In late 1567 El Greco was recorded in Venice, the capital of the maritime empire that included Crete. Although many Cretan artists sought work in Venice, El Greco is the only one who substantially altered his style and working methods there. The bright, scintillating colors and the freely applied, roughly textured oil paint of The Purification of the Temple (before 1570, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) reveal his mastery of the distinctive techniques of Titian (1487-1576) and Tintoretto (1518–1594). Most of the figures in this painting were "quoted" from famous Renaissance and ancient classical artworks. Before the end of 1570 he had arrived in Rome, where he lived in the palace of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), a strong advocate of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. In 1572 El Greco was admitted to the Academy of Saint Luke as a miniature painter. The paintings of his Roman period, such as the Christ Cleansing the Temple (c. 1575, Minneapolis Institute of Arts), have a monumental force that belies their small size.

Unable to obtain significant commissions in Italy, in 1577 El Greco traveled to Spain, in the hope of procuring employment in the extensive royal decorative projects. Before the end of 1577, Don Diego de Castilla (1510–1584), dean of Toledo Cathedral, entrusted him with his first major project: an ensemble of nine altarpieces, five statues, and architectural frames for the convent church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo. The main altarpiece, The Assumption of the Virgin (1577, Art Institute of Chicago), one of the largest pictures of his career, helped to establish his reputation as the leading artist in Toledo. He resolved to settle permanently in that city after the extreme dissatisfaction of Philip II with The Martyrdom of Saint Maurice (1580/2, El Escorial, Chapter House) forced him to abandon his aspiration to become a royal painter.

By the mid-1580s El Greco had established a profitable artistic practice, which produced statues and paintings for religious institutions throughout Spain. In 1586 he undertook *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (Santo Tomé, Toledo), his most famous painting, representing a miracle that occurred in 1323. In the lower section, he included naturalistic portraits of several contemporary Toledans among the mourners who witness Saints Augustine and Stephen lowering the count into his tomb. In the upper section, he depicted Christ and saints in a bold, expressionistic style, which anticipates his late work.

Between 1597 to 1607 (the most successful period of his career), he completed several major commissions for prominent religious institutions. In The Crucifixion of Christ (1597-1599, Museo del Prado, Madrid) and other altarpieces of this period, he utilized a style of great expressive power. Among the features contributing to the impact of these works are the elongated figures; stylized, but intense, facial expressions and gestures; vivid colors; strong illumination of limited areas against a dark background; and the exceptionally bold application of paint. His notes for an unpublished treatise reveal his unconventional ideas about architecture, but his works in that medium were limited to frames for altarpieces and temporary festival structures. In the monumental high altar of the church of the Hospital of Charity of Illescas (1603-1605), he utilized classical architectural elements in very novel ways. In addition to large-scale commissions, his workshop produced numerous images of Saint Francis and other popular religious subjects.

Between 1607 and 1608 he squandered his financial resources in a series of legal suits concerning payment for his work at the Hospital of Charity, Illescas. These suits left him impoverished, but they helped to inspire later Spanish artists to defend their interests vigorously. Although the extent of his production declined in his later years due to poor health, his creative powers were not diminished. Between 1607 and 1614 he produced some of his boldest paintings, including *The Laocoön* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and *The Apocalyptic Vision* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Best known as a religious painter, he also depicted most of the leading ecclesiastics and intellectuals of Toledo. Although enlivened by bold brushwork, his portraits are more naturalistic in conception and more sober in coloring than his religious works. The directness of such portraits as *Antonio de Covarrubias* (c. 1600, Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino* (1609, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) evokes his close friendships with these individuals. His few portraits of women, including *Woman in a Fur Wrap* (c. 1580, Pollock House, Glasgow), express the dignity, intelligence, and beauty of the subjects.

By the time of his death, his distinctive style had fallen out of favor. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several avant-garde artists, including Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) and Franz Marc (1880–1916), helped to promote international interest in his work. He remains one of the most popular of all old master painters. Throughout the twentieth century, numerous explanations—including astigmatism, psychological disorders, and mystical ecstasy—were devised to account for his individual style. In recent decades, scholars have recognized that his distinctive work eloquently fulfilled the requirements of the Counter-Reformation Church in Spain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Álvarez Lopera, José, ed. *El Greco, Identity and Transformation: Crete, Italy, Spain.* Milan, 1999. This catalogue of an important exhibition, held (1999–2000) in Madrid, Rome, and Athens, includes discussion of important works from all phases of the artist's career.

Mann, Richard G. *El Greco and His Patrons: Three Major Projects*. Cambridge, U.K., 1986. A comprehensive study of the artist's interactions with his most important patrons.

Wethey, Harold. *El Greco and His School*. 2 vols. Princeton, 1962. Still regarded as the most reliable catalogue of the works produced by the artist in Italy and Spain.

RICHARD G. MANN

ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM.

See Gilbert, William; Physics.

ELIZABETH I (ENGLAND) (1533-1603; ruled 1558-1603), queen of England and Ireland. The daughter of Henry VIII by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was rendered a bastard by Henry's repudiation and execution of Anne in 1536. She was, however, reared as a princess and received the same education in the classical curriculum as her half-brother, Edward VI. In her father's will Elizabeth was placed third in succession to the throne after her two siblings, Mary and Edward. In her Catholic half-sister Mary's reign, Elizabeth fell under suspicion for her supposed Protestant sympathies and, in the wake of the 1554 revolt led by Sir Thomas Wyatt (in which she had refused to participate), she was imprisoned in the Tower of London. However, Philip II of Spain, Mary's husband, protected her. Freed from the tower and then confined at Woodstock House in Oxfordshire, she was finally released.

ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Elizabeth acceded to the throne on 17 November 1558. In her first Parliament she restored the Edwardian religious settlement reestablishing Protestant worship and doctrine, which the nation at large accepted, although many looked nostalgically to the past. Elizabeth, unwilling to force consciences, demanded only outward obedience, counting on the operation of time to dissolve old loyalties. This easygoing attitude continued until the Papal Bull of deposition (1570), the subsequent Jesuit missionary campaign, and plots against the queen's life led to harsh legislation, crushing fines on the Catholic laity, and prison or the scaffold for clerics. By 1603 all but a small percentage of the populace had accepted Protestantism, some with enthusiasm but many out of obedience to the regime.

For zealous Protestant reformers the queen's ecclesiastical policy was disappointing. For them the Edwardian program had been only half complete at the king's death. They looked in vain for further measures of change under his sister, but Elizabeth's prime concern was not for purity of doctrine or practice but public order, a goal that demanded religious uniformity. Continuing change in the religious establishment would unsettle the political order. The queen's opposition to further change led to (unavailing) Parliamentary agitation and ulti-



Elizabeth I (England). Portrait by an unknown sixteenthcentury painter. Superstock

mately to the formed opposition of the Puritan movement.

ELIZABETH THE POLITICIAN

Elizabeth's greatest problem was, of course, male disbelief in the very possibility of a female sovereign. It was assumed she must find a husband to relieve her of an impossible burden by taking on the active exercise of rulership. For a while it looked as though she would respond to this call by marrying her favorite courtier, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (by her creation). This was unpopular in many circles. (Repeated Parliamentary appeals that she marry were skillfully evaded by the queen, and the match did not transpire.)

In the conduct of government Elizabeth showed her talent both in her choice of ministers and in their performance and the trust she reposed in them. Virtually all were to die in office, witness of her confidence and their ability. Although all of them felt the rough side of her tongue at times and wrung their hands at what they thought were wrong

decisions (or lack of them), the underlying respect on both sides was not shaken.

The lively court world—with its endless succession of masques, balls, plays, and jousting, all centered on a highly accessible royal presence—focused the social and political life of the English aristocracy, noble and gentle; but Elizabeth cultivated a wider public still. She reached out to the country at large in "progresses," her annual visits to a succession of aristocratic country houses, displaying herself en route to the country and townsfolk of much of southern England. By 1570 there had grown up spontaneously local celebrations on 17 November, her accession day, with bonfires, fireworks, and general jollity—celebrations that would continue long after 1603.

This was the regime that shaped itself in the first ten years of the reign. It was at the end of the decade that a testing time came. Various causes contributed to a crisis—jealousy within the court of the dominant role of Sir William Cecil, the secretary of state, the alienation of the great northern earls, the Percies of Northumberland and the Nevilles of Westmoreland with their Catholic sympathies, but above all by the presence of the refugee queen of Scots, Mary Stuart, from May 1568.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Mary, then gueen of France as the wife of Francis II, had asserted a claim to the English succession (if not to the throne itself), backed by a substantial French force in Scotland. Mary was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Margaret Tudor, her descent untainted by the bastardy that her adherents claimed disqualified Elizabeth. That bid had been crushed by English arms. The widowed Mary's return to her homeland in 1562 had inaugurated a phase of uneasy but civil intercourse between the queens in which Elizabeth offered her favorite, Leicester, as a husband for Mary. When Mary's match to Henry, Lord Darnley, ended in bloody melodrama, she fled to England, hopefully seeking support for her restoration, but Elizabeth, faced with the dilemma of backing either Mary or the rebel regime in Edinburgh, chose the latter, retaining her unwanted guest in genteel confinement. Mary would spend the remaining nineteen years of her life in England. In 1572, she unwisely linked herself with the English malcontents, lending

herself to a scheme for marrying the premier noble, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth scotched this plot, but Norfolk foolishly engaged himself in a replay of the same plan, thereby losing his head while Mary became the target of an enraged Parliament that was clamoring for hers. Previous to these events the two northern earls organized a rising in 1569 that appealed to Catholic sentiment. They got no response to their appeal and fled without striking a blow; their followers were duly punished. The event had proved the strength of the Elizabethan regime and the acceptance of the new religious order. There followed a long epoch of domestic peace.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

At the opening of the reign it was France that gave concern to the new government. In the 1540s Henry VIII had sought to match his son Edward with the infant queen of Scots. His "rough wooing"—successive invasions of Scotland—threw the Scots into the arms of the French; the young queen, spirited off to France, was married to the Dauphin, who succeeded his father as Francis II in 1559. As we saw above, the French then asserted Mary's rights in the English succession, backed by a French army; it was imperative it be expelled. The opportunity arose when a consortium of Protestant Scottish lords took up arms and sought English aid. Elizabeth, reluctant to support rebels against a fellow sovereign, grudgingly agreed to send an army in 1560. The action was successful; the traditional Scottish alliance with France was broken, and a Protestant regime dependent on English support was established at Edinburgh.

The next encounter with France came in 1562 in response to a French Huguenot plea for aid. Elizabeth sent money and an army that occupied Le Havre, the latter to be held as a security, for the return of Calais, lost by England in Mary Tudor's reign. The expedition was a failure. The Huguenots pocketed the English cash, reconciled themselves to the French crown and joined in expelling the English from Le Havre. This disaster confirmed the queen's distaste for aid to Protestant rebels in her neighbors' kingdoms. Henceforth she repelled emphatically all pleas to act as continental Protestantism's protector.

From the 1560s France, embroiled in religious civil war, ceased to be a threat. Attention gradually shifted to Spain. Here the religious difference counted since Philip II, wholly committed to the Catholic faith, regarded the English regime with intolerance and looked for opportunities to overthrow it. In addition there were clashes of interest in two theaters—the Low Countries and the Spanish West Indies. The former area, already stirring with religious discontent, was the main center of English trade. The latter was the scene of unwelcome English expeditions, half slave trade, half piracy. When in 1572 Dutch rebels under William of Orange organized large-scale, sustained revolt, Elizabeth resolutely opposed open assistance to them but turned a blind eye to English volunteers and encouraged Sir Francis Drake and Sir William Hawkins in their exploits in the Spanish New World.

Matters came to a head when French intervention in the Low Countries, headed by François, duke of Alençon/Anjou, the French king's brother, threatened. Elizabeth responded by encouraging the duke's courtship, hoping to tie him to her leading strings. The proposal aroused opposition; Elizabeth yielded to popular opinion, abandoning the match. Then in 1585 the plight of the Dutch rebels became so desperate that she reluctantly agreed to a military alliance with them. Philip in turn began to prepare an invasion fleet, the Great Armada.

The invasion threat and conspiracies against the queen's life brought patriotism to a pitch. Mary Stuart unwisely allowed herself to become involved in a plot against the queen. Its discovery led to a clamor for her death that Elizabeth found hard to resist. She sought to avoid signing Mary's death warrant by vainly encouraging private assassination. Her desperate ministers seized a momentary yielding to their pleas and beheaded Mary before Elizabeth's inevitable change of mind. All she could do was wither them with her impotent wrath.

In July 1588 the armada approached English shores; Elizabeth characteristically pushed herself to the fore, visiting her army stationed at Tilbury in Essex. Riding among her troops she addressed them, declaring herself to have the stomach of a king, "aye, and of a king of England."

The English victory of 1588 was in many ways the climax of the reign. A burdensome war contin-

ued to be fought to its end, in the Low Countries, in France (assisting the beleaguered Henry IV) and in Ireland, where a major rebellion was crushed with difficulty. Taxes were at record heights; Parliament had to be coaxed into new levies while the Commons complained vigorously about fiscal practices, and the queen, in an adroit speech, politely acceded to some of their demands. Her own generation of familiars, the trusted councillors on whom she had relied for decades, was dying off. Finally there was the Essex affair. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the favorite of her declining years, betrayed her doting indulgence and ended on the headsman's block in 1601, an event that darkened the last phase of her life. It was also, however, in these last decades of her life that the flowering of English literature, dramatic and poetic, began, thanks in part to the patronage of the queen and her court.

Elizabeth, against the odds posed by her gender and by the formidable problems facing her kingdom in 1558, had reigned for almost half a century, triumphantly surmounting one challenge after another. Well aware of the liabilities posed by her gender, she fashioned a complex personality that at once awed and charmed her subjects and impressed on the English historical memory an image that is still vital after four centuries.

See also Cecil Family; Church of England; England; English Literature and Language; Henry VIII (England); Mary I (England); Puritanism; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Tudor Dynasty (England).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Camden, William. History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England. London, 1630, 1635, 1675, 1688. Selections from the work are edited by W. T. MacCaffrey. Chicago, 1970.
- Elizabeth I. *Collected Works.* Edited by Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose. Chicago, 2000. Contains poems, letters, and speeches.
- The Letters of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by G. B. Harrison. London, 1968.
- Strong, Roy C. The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth. Oxford, 1963.

Secondary Sources

Brigden, Susan. New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485–1603. London, 2000. Best recent study of sixteenth-century England.

- Doran, Susan. Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I. London and New York, 1996.
- Dunlop, Ian. Palaces and Progresses of Elizabeth I. London, 1962.
- Guy, John, ed. *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Phase*. Cambridge, U.K., 1995. A study of Elizabeth's declining years.
- MacCaffrey, W. T. *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime*, 1558–1572. Princeton, 1968. An account of the first phase of the reign.
- Neale, J. E. *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*. 2 vols. London, 1957.
- ——. *Queen Elizabeth.* London, 1934; reprinted 1967, 1971. Best modern biography.
- Read, Conyers. Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth. London, 1960.
- -----. Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth. London, 1955.
- . Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth. 3 vols. Oxford, 1925. Detailed accounts of politics and foreign relations.
- Starkey, David. *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship*. London, 2000. Elizabeth's career up to her accession.
- Wernham, R. B. *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy*, 1558–1603. Berkeley, 1980.

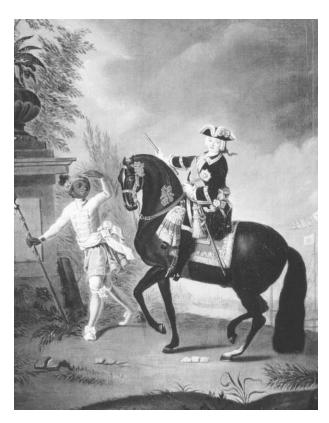
WALLACE MACCAFFREY

ELIZABETH (RUSSIA) (1709–1762; ruled 1741-1762), empress of Russia. Elizabeth Petrovna, the daughter of Peter the Great and his second wife, Catherine, reigned as empress for over twenty years. She came to power on the back of a coup by guards' regiments after a decade of unpopular rule, comprising first, the period of Anna Ivanovna and then the year and a half reign of the infant Ivan VI. She benefited greatly from the direct association with her father and was able to proclaim herself to be ruling in his image and extending his legacy. Less celebrated, but nevertheless noteworthy, was the link to her mother, Catherine I, Russia's first crowned female ruler. Court panegyrists repeatedly used the formulation "the daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I" when situating her lineage, and it is perhaps more than coincidence that the coup bringing her to power took place, as scheduled, on November 24, her mother's name day.

Like all of Russia's female rulers, Elizabeth ruled without an official spouse (although she may well have been married), and in her case as an official virgin queen (even though she had a series of lovers and almost certainly gave birth to a daughter). At the level of court and statecraft, the Elizabethan period was marked by several activities of note: the opening of Russia's first university, in Moscow (1755), and of several new or remodeled Cadet Academies and religious seminaries; the flourishing of theater and the appearance of Russia's first literary magazines; successful participation in the Seven Years' War that at one point brought Russian forces to the gates of Berlin; and the convening of a legislative commission that tried—and failed—to draft an updated body of fundamental law.

Under Elizabeth, Russia's export economy blossomed, which, beginning in the early 1740s, systematically expanded the sale of agricultural goods abroad. She also took steps to facilitate a unified domestic market by eliminating—albeit temporarily—several categories of excise tax and by establishing the first noble land bank (1753). This latter step reflected what might be termed the pronobility bias of her social and economic policies. Landlords could borrow money from the bank at below market rates, and, although it was hoped that they would plow the cash into their estates, they had no obligation to do so. Instead, many nobles, perpetually strapped for cash by the high expense of serving in the capital, used the loans to defray their expenses or to purchase luxury goods from abroad. Thus began a long-term pattern of de facto state subsidies to Russia's most prosperous elites, providing them easy money through loans, corruption, and inflation, a pattern that ultimately resulted in growing noble indebtedness, and, in the nineteenth century, bankruptcy. Her reign also saw the first tepid decrees against the corporal punishment of nobles. This spirit of humaneness toward the individual did not extend down the social ladder, however, and a series of laws tightened the bonds of serfdom, at least on paper, and further tied peasants specifically to noble landlords.

What did not change was the continued monopolization of high office by important families, notwithstanding the growing number of positions in state service and the hypothetical meritocracy of the Table of Ranks. As before, a handful of powerful



Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Equestrian portrait of the princess before her accession to the throne, by Georg-Christoph Grooth. THE ART ARCHIVE/RUSSIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM MOSCOW/DAGLI ORTI (A)

clans continued to place their people in important positions and to close off access to parvenus.

See also Anna (Russia); Banking and Credit; Catherine II (Russia); Peter I (Russia); Russia; Russian Literature and Language; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Universities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anisimov, E. V. *Empress Elizabeth: Her Reign and Her Russia*, 1741–1761. Translated by John T. Alexander. Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1995.

Kaplan, Herbert H. Russia and the Outbreak of the Seven Years' War. Berkeley, 1968.

GARY MARKER

EMPIRES. See Colonialism.

EMPIRICISM. In broad terms, empiricism is the view that experience is the most important or even the only source of knowledge or sound belief. The term itself is of nineteenth-century origin, but the history of empiricism can be traced at least as far back as the ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus (341-270 B.C.E.). With the emergence of Christian civilization, however, belief in the cognitive importance of the senses was no more encouraged than was the pursuit of their pleasures. The Greek philosopher who seemed most consistent with religious belief was Plato, who thought that we needed to escape from the senses in order to achieve true knowledge or, for that matter, happiness. Though it was Aristotle who became "the Philosopher" in the medieval universities and monastic institutions, the empiricist strands in Aristotle's thought were not taken up in any systematic way. One of the best known empiricist maxims, Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu ('There is nothing in the mind that was not previously in the senses') seems to have been first stated by the great medieval Aristotelian and theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224/1225-1274). But empiricism formed no part of his enterprise of reconciling revealed religion with an Aristotelian philosophy.

At the beginning of the early modern period empiricism was not generally regarded as an intellectually defensible position. The word *empiric*, indeed, was used as a term of abuse, one that referred particularly to quack doctors who rejected the medical orthodoxies of their day, preferring remedies that they claimed worked in experience. While it was acknowledged that everyone has to rely, to some extent, on their sense experiences, many philosophers believed that humans have a faculty of reason that enables them to avoid the errors of the senses. Well into the early modern period the prevalent theories of knowledge and the sciences were ones that have appropriately been called "rationalist" to reflect their stress on reason and abstract argument.

These "rationalist" philosophers were sometimes important figures in the history of the mathematical sciences. This was true of the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650), whose view that the essence of matter consists of its geometrical properties was highly influential in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The German

philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), co-inventor of the differential calculus, could also be counted among the "rationalists." Leibniz accepted that animals learn from experience but thought that the "simple empiric" was no better than they were, insofar as he did not use his reason. For Leibniz, as for many "rationalist" philosophers, reason was the "divine spark" in humankind that set it apart from the rest of creation as capable of knowing the truths not only of mathematics but of morality and religion.

Empiricism was not an organized philosophical point of view at the beginning of the early modern period. It seems remarkable indeed that it developed at all, given the religiously motivated bias and the intellectual contempt felt for it. Yet not only did it develop, but by the eighteenth century it had become and was to remain the most widely accepted philosophy of the sciences.

FRANCIS BACON AND HIS INFLUENCE

The first early modern defender of what would now be called an organized "empiricism" was the English statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Bacon maintained that the true philosopher should be neither an empiricist nor a rationalist. The empiricist, he complained, is like an ant that collects much of value but does not put it into a coherent system. The rationalist, on the other hand, was like a spider, who spun wonderful constructions from within itself but whose thoughts did not connect with external reality. The true philosopher, Bacon wrote, should be like the bee that both collects much of value and puts it into an organized system.

What Bacon proposed were empirical methods of "induction," the process of arguing from a collection of instances of a phenomenon to a general conclusion. In his *Novum Organum* of 1620, Bacon already went beyond the method Leibniz was to dismiss as that of the "simple empiric," who notices resemblances between sequences of events (for instance, thunder repeatedly followed by rain) and arrives at a general conclusion on that basis (for instance, that thunder causes rain). Bacon stressed the importance of observing differences as well as similarities between sequences of events.

Bacon's view of science was in many ways ahead of his time, for his critical empiricism was combined with the view that knowledge would gradually increase and that its pursuit should be cooperative and free of sectarianism. His ideas were taken up by some of the founders of the Royal Society in England, such as Robert Boyle (1627–1691), who is sometimes called "the founder of modern chemistry," and Robert Hooke (1635–1703). Indeed the very aims of the Royal Society as articulated by its first secretary, Henry Oldenburg, sound highly Baconian, especially in their opposition to mere speculation and commitment to exact observations and experiments. The achievements of the great English physicist Isaac Newton (1642–1727) added to the prestige not only of the Royal Society but also of the new "experimental philosophy" with which he was associated.

Bacon had an immense influence on the self-perception of British scientists well into the nine-teenth century, and he was also held in wide esteem elsewhere in Europe, for instance by the editors of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1765). In his *Discours pré-liminaire* (1751; Preliminary discourse) to the *Encyclopédie*, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), an editor and leading contributor of scientific articles, referred to Bacon as the virtual founder of an experimental natural philosophy, and the *Encyclopédie* as a whole followed Bacon's tripartite scheme of knowledge.

Empiricism was revived, to some extent independently, by Bacon's younger French contemporary, Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655). Like Bacon, Gassendi was dissatisfied with the philosophical systems of his day, but he sought to avoid the extreme skepticism to which others were driven. Gassendi was inspired to a constructive philosophy by his study of Epicurus, whose philosophy he modified to cut out the points of conflict with Christianity (Gassendi was a priest). Gassendi insisted that our knowledge of the world comes only from experience, and he put forward a form of atomism as a hypothesis for explaining the world. This atomism was taken up by Robert Boyle, among others, and it was important in the development of seventeenthcentury science.

JOHN LOCKE AND HIS INFLUENCE

Gassendi's empiricism also influenced the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke provided a sustained defense of the empiricist prin-

ciple that all our ideas come from experience. Prior to Locke it was widely assumed that humans were born with an innate knowledge of certain principles, for instance of right and wrong. His critique of such innate principles was particularly valued as a corrective to the kind of dogmatism that had tended to prevail in moral and religious matters.

The empiricism of Locke was criticized from two different quarters, from followers who thought he had not gone far enough and from critics who thought he had gone too far. To some of his followers the Essay, although it seemed to point in the right direction, was not empirical enough. Locke had included a "rationalist" defense of moral truths and of the existence of God, for instance, claiming for them the kind of knowledge reserved for mathematics. He also, against empiricist principles, allowed that the mind was capable of forming abstract general ideas. To some of his empiricist successors this seemed to reinstate some of the metaphysical abstractions Locke's method and principles had managed to exclude. The Irish freethinker John Toland (1670-1722), for instance, attacked those mathematicians who turned to metaphysics in proposing such concepts as absolute space and time. For Toland the concept of a soul as an immaterial substance was another such untenable abstraction. Toland's radical interpretation of Locke brought out the natural association of empiricism with materialism. Locke sought to dissociate himself from Toland, but he was not entirely able to do so.

Locke was by some measures the most influential philosopher of the eighteenth century, at any rate in Britain and France. There was some controversy between those who supported an empiricism like Locke's and those who favored the more rationalist philosophies of Leibniz or the French priest Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715). But for many the decision was not whether to be for or against Locke, but whether to support a more radical or a more conservative interpretation of his empiricism.

The more radical reading of Locke became very influential in France, where skepticism and materialism were attractive to a number of intellectuals or philosophes, as they were called. These included the aristocratic Voltaire (1694–1778), who was noted for his hostility to the ecclesiastical establishment and for his slogan *Écrasez l'infâme!* ('Crush

the infamous thing!'). In his Lettres philosophiques (1734; Letters on the English) Voltaire praised the new experimental method of Bacon, Locke, and Newton. This English trio was also adulated by many of those involved in the Encyclopédie project. The chief editor, Denis Diderot (1713–1784), was a freethinking empiricist and materialist.

Most British philosophers who followed Locke sought to interpret or modify his philosophy so that it would be compatible with religious belief. This was true of the Irish clergyman George Berkeley (1685-1753), who argued, in effect, that a more consistent empiricism than Locke's would undermine materialism. Berkeley argued that there were no "abstract general ideas," as Locke had allowed, but that the ideas we have are always particular. The concept of "matter" was a scholastic abstraction that was not needed in order to make sense of our experience. Berkeley's conclusion that the only substances in the world were God and spirits like ourselves was generally thought to be unbelievable. His analysis of the mathematical sciences foreshadows the "instrumentalism" common in twentieth century philosophies of physics. He allowed abstractions like "force" and "gravity" into theoretical formulae that were useful for making predictions, even though he did not think it should be supposed that anything answering to these abstractions exists in reality.

Berkeley's philosophy of the mathematical sciences was hardly acknowledged in the eighteenth century. This is surprising in view of the complaint, commonly made against empiricism, that it fails to do justice to the mathematical sciences. On an empiricist account, mathematical truths are only truths about the necessary relations between our ideas and not substantial truths about the world. Empiricism seemed for this reason an unsuccessful philosophy. The great German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) accepted that our ideas arise in experience and that most of our knowledge is based on our senses. In his Kritik der reinen Vernunft (1781; Critique of pure reason), however, he argued that the truths of arithmetic and geometry were both necessary and substantial truths about the world, although empiricism cannot strictly allow them. Kant left a highly influential legacy of criticism of empiricism to subsequent philosophy.

THE EXTREME EMPIRICISM OF DAVID HUME

The empiricist philosopher to whom Kant was responding in his first Critique was the Scottish skeptic David Hume (1711-1776). Hume is generally regarded as the most thoroughgoing defender of empiricism and critic of abstract metaphysics of the early modern period. He accepted Berkeley's argument that we have no reason to believe in "material substances" that exist independently of our senses. But similar arguments, he thought, also brought into question the spiritual substances to which Berkeley gave pride of place. All we actually experience, according to Hume, are fleeting impressions. We are not strictly aware of the self. Hume's empiricism thus led him even further than Berkeley had gone from a commonsense position, though he sought to save the situation by arguing that we are bound to hold beliefs that are not strictly warranted by experience.

Hume claimed that he was extending the same experimental method to the sciences of human nature that Newton had shown to be so fruitful in natural philosophy. There is some dispute about how to interpret his deeply probing arguments. On the one hand, his empiricism seemed to lead him to undermine the fundamental principles of scientific inquiry. For instance, it is fundamental to empirical science to be able to assume that the future will be like the past—that we learn things from experience (such as that food nourishes us) and thus gain knowledge of the future or at least very strong grounds for belief about it. But what is the rational basis for such an assumption? An empiricist has to say that it is based on experience. But this simply begs the question. For it does not follow that, just because past experience has been a good guide to the future, it will continue to be reliable. Thus a rigorous empiricism, far from underpinning a scientific philosophy, appears to actually undermine it. Put another way, a rigorous empiricism appears to lead to skepticism. And this was an important part of Hume's legacy. At the same time Hume himself offered a way of avoiding a skeptical conclusion, maintaining that we are so constituted that we are bound to expect the future to be like the past. He even suggested, though perhaps not seriously, that nature was guiding us to the truth.

During the early modern period empiricism, despite the difficulties it entailed, gradually became the dominant theory of scientific rationality. The increased status of empirical science meant that philosophers began to frame their arguments in new ways. For instance, philosophers in the seventeenth century did not generally base their arguments for the existence of God or the immortality of the soul on experience. This was partly because they wished their conclusions to be demonstrated and not merely accepted as hypotheses. In the eighteenth century it became commonplace to accept that the existence of God was at best probable. The arguments for it were based on experience—in particular the experience of order in the universe, from which it was widely thought to be possible to infer the existence of an intelligent designer. These empirical arguments were increasingly favored by theologians. Hume himself took them seriously and examined them critically in his Dialogues concerning Natural Religion (1779). He suggested, however, that there were other, less obvious but equally plausible hypotheses that could be advanced to explain the evidence of order than the hypothesis of an intelligent creator.

A common commitment to empiricism did not lead everyone to the same conclusions, but it did settle the terms of debate, at least for many. One of the most widely read works of fiction of the eighteenth century was Voltaire's Candide (1759), whose hero perseveres in his "optimistic" belief that God has created the best of all possible worlds despite all the terrible misfortunes that befall him and those around him. In the book, Candide has been taught some theoretical basis (which he has forgotten) for his optimism by the German rationalist Pangloss. To those whose sympathies were on the side of Pangloss and who believed in a perfect providence, Candide would have been regarded as in very poor taste. It succeeded as a satire partly because the sympathies of enough readers were on the side of the author with regard to the existence, as an empirical fact, of massive unjustifiable evil in the world.

See also Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; Encyclopédie; Epistemology; Hume, David; Idealism; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Mathematics; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Reason; Scientific Revolution; Voltaire. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'. *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia of Diderot*. Translated by Richard N. Schwab. Indianapolis, 1963. Translation of the *Discours préliminaire*.
- Bacon, Francis. *The New Organon*. Edited by Lisa Jardine and Michael Silverthorne. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000. Translation of *Novum Organum*.
- Brush, Craig B., ed. and trans. Selected Works of Pierre Gassendi. New York, 1972.
- Diderot, Denis, and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, eds. *Encyclopedia: Selections*. Translated by Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer. New York, 1965. Translation of selections from the *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers*.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason*. Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood, eds. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1998. Translation of *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*.
- Taylor, Richard, ed. The Empiricists. Garden City, N.Y., 1961. Includes an abridged version of John Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, George Berkeley's Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge, and David Hume's Enquiry concerning Human Understanding and Dialogues concerning Natural Religion.
- Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet). Candide, or, Optimism: A Fresh Translation, Backgrounds, Criticism. Edited by Robert M. Adams. 2nd ed. New York, 1991. Translation of Candide, ou, Optimisme.
- —. Letters Concerning the English Nation. Edited by Nicholas Cronk. Oxford and New York, 1994. Translation of part of his Lettres philosophiques.

Secondary Sources

- Brown, Stuart, ed. *British Philosophy and the Age of Enlight*enment. Routledge History of Philosophy, vol. 5. London and New York, 1996. Provides chapters on most of the empiricist philosophers of the early modern period.
- Cottingham, John. *Rationalism*. Edited by Justin Wintle. London, 1984. Puts empiricism in the context of the rationalist philosophers, their criticisms, and alternatives.
- Garrett, Don, and Edward Barnabell, eds. *Encyclopedia of Empiricism*. Westport, Conn., 1997. The definitive reference work on this topic.

STUART BROWN

EMPRESSES. See Queens and Empresses.

ENCLOSURE. Common land was a key component of agriculture in many parts of early modern Europe. Those who enjoyed "common rights" could use specified resources from often extensive areas of permanently or temporarily uncultivated land, much of which was open country, such as the rough pasture or heathland associated with the modern expression "the common." However, these rights were also exercised over much of the land that was normally cultivated in individual private plots. Common rights, most prominently the right to grazing, could be exercised when these areas lay fallow. Thus there were, broadly speaking, two forms of common land.

The uncultivated land provided pasture, building timber, and fuel, such as wood, turf, and peat. The ownership of the soil belonged either to the lord of the manor (as in England and northwestern France), the village commune (as was frequently found in southern Germany), or, in some cases, the state (as in Sweden and parts of Spain and Italy). However, the local commoners who regulated access to and exploitation of the commons enjoyed rights to the resources therein. The commoners only rarely comprised all of the population. More often than not they were manorial tenants (where the lords owned the commons) or those enjoying full citizenship rights in village communes. The collective management of the common was controlled by a village or lord's court. These "waste" lands are referred to as "commons" in all European historiography.

The practice of pasturing livestock on fallow land outside of the period of cultivation is usually considered part of the system of "common land" only by English historians. However, throughout Europe this practice was usually managed by the same authorities that regulated the "common waste." This system of fallow grazing could require communal regulation in districts of open fields where peasants held many scattered individual plots that were not fenced off from each other. To prevent trespassing and to facilitate the grazing herds, village authorities regulated when fields or meadows should be open, thus limiting the types of crops that could be grown and especially the cultivation of the fallow. This form of common rights was already prevalent in medieval times in midland England,

much of northern France, southern and central Germany, southern Sweden, parts of Italy, and, by 1600, the interior of Spain.

"Enclosure" is the English term for the dissolution of these common rights. It was often accompanied by the physical division of the land by walls or hedgerows, hence the term. However, this was not necessarily the case, and some districts of open fields (such as Kent in England) had never been subject to common rights. In continental historiography this process is often referred to as the dissolution or division of the common lands and the abolition of communal forms of land ownership. Previously common waste was allotted to new owners (often with a large share for the previous owner of the soil), and the scattered strips of the common fields were usually consolidated into blocks of discrete farms.

The colonization of the waste and its cultivation tended to reduce the amount of common land available from the medieval period onward. Conversion of arable land to pasture in eras of low grain prices could also remove communal grazing rights. Technically this constituted enclosure and could be found all over Europe, especially in periods of agricultural expansion during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The most famous process of enclosure, and one that came to serve as a model for other parts of Europe, occurred in England. By 1500, some 45 percent of England was enclosed or had never been subject to common rights. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw some enclosure of arable land by lords for conversion to pasture, taking advantage of high wool prices. This was perceived to cause settlement desertion and jeopardize food supplies and became a major cause of rural unrest. Changed economic circumstances and official disapproval prevented most further enclosure movements in the sixteenth century. However, a more prosperous farming class, along with improved demand for pastoral products and new farming techniques, led to rapid expansion of enclosure in the seventeenth century, largely achieved in a piecemeal fashion at a local level by agreement among landlords and tenants. Finally, between 1760 and 1820s, "Parliamentary enclosure" was carried out. Where the owners of 80 percent of the land involved approved of each proposed enclosure, an act

of Parliament could be passed requiring its implementation under the supervision of parliamentary commissioners. This allowed landowners to bypass the objections of more numerous smallholders who only, however, owned a small part of the proposed enclosure. By these means a final wave of enclosure completed the destruction of the common open fields of midland England. It was argued both by some contemporaries and by subsequent historians, among them Karl Marx, that the loss of common rights caused the destruction of a class of smallholders who had relied on the commons for cheap access to grazing and fuel. Although those with legally established rights were compensated for their loss, they often lacked the capital to make the newly enclosed lands allotted to them cultivable at competitive prices. As a result, it was frequently believed that Parliamentary enclosures contributed to a proletarianization of a workforce that was primed for work in the factories of the industrial revolution. Although local effects could be severe, it is now generally thought that the bulk of England's smallholdings had disappeared long before the period of Parliamentary enclosure.

In many parts of Europe, fallow land and common grazing were slow to disappear, persisting until the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth. However, the use of new fodder crops, such as turnips or clover, and stall-feeding of animals on their higher yields removed the need for pasture in the fields and prompted a decrease in the area of fallow. This in turn led to a gradual abandonment of common grazing on arable land in parts of northern and central Italy, France, the Low Countries, Denmark, and Germany during the late seventeenth, or, for the most part, the eighteenth century. On the northern coast of Spain, the abandonment of fallow was permitted by the introduction of maize during the seventeenth century.

Increasingly, and in part taking England as an example, agronomists and government came to see common property as an impediment to investment and innovation. This was not universally the case, as some were of the opinion (articulated most clearly in several small German states) that access to cheap resources on the commons encouraged population growth and thus taxable labor for domestic industry. During the eighteenth century, however, numerous governments attempted to force the disso-

lution of common rights and partition of the commons through national legislation. Such privatizations were not new on the European landscape. Claiming ownership of the wastes (baldios), the Castilian government had, in a process peaking in the 1580s, sought to sell them off for fiscal reasons, with the land often passing into private ownership. These efforts were more pronounced toward the end of the ancien régime, especially under the influence of the Physiocrats. Laws encouraged or required the partition of common land in Sweden from 1749, Spain from 1768/1770, Austrian Brabant in 1772, Denmark in 1781, Baden in 1768, and in Prussian territories from the 1760s. French authorities encouraged partitions from the 1760s onward, though there was already a long tradition of lords usurping sections of the commons, especially where they could assert ownership of the soil.

However, responses were mixed. They depended on which groups could legally claim common rights and thus a right to compensation with an allotment of newly privatized land, and whether there was a realistic prospect of being able to farm the land profitably. Poorer groups welcomed the chance to obtain landholdings in some places, while they feared the loss of common resources in others. Similarly, some richer farmers desired the removal of encumbrances of communal management, while others valued common rights as a source of additional income for their workforce. Nearly everywhere change came slowly and was only systematically carried out in the Napoleonic period. In some regions common rights persisted until the twentieth century.

See also Agriculture; Feudalism; Forests and Woodlands; Gardens and Parks; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Peasantry.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brakensiek, Stefan, ed. Gemeinheitsteilungen in Europa: Die Privatisierung der kollektiven Nutzung des Bodens im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte Beiheft 2. Berlin, 2000. Collection of articles on enclosure in northern Europe, in German and English.

Demelas, Marie-Danielle, and Nadine Vivier, eds. *Les pro*priétés collectives (1750–1920). Rennes, 2003. Collection of chapters on common lands and enclosure covering southern and western Europe. Moor, Martina de, Leigh Shaw-Taylor, and Paul Warde, eds. The Management of Common Land in North West Europe, c. 1500–1850. Turnhout, 2002. Collection of chapters on the operation of common rights.

PAUL WARDE

ENCYCLOPEDIAS. See Dictionaries and Encyclopedias.

ENCYCLOPÉDIE. Beginning as a modest business venture, the *Encyclopédie* was planned to be simply a French translation of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*, published in England in 1728. Entrusted to Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783) and Denis Diderot (1713–1784), the project quickly took on far vaster proportions, becoming ultimately one of the greatest commercial and intellectual enterprises of early modern French culture.

The encyclopedists' goal was to make available to the greatest number of readers the most complete account possible of all current knowledge. The first volume of the work appeared in Paris in 1751. When the project was completed two decades later, in 1772, the encyclopedists had produced the most massive single reference work in Europe to date. The Encyclopédie ran to seventeen folio volumes containing 71,818 articles, eleven folio volumes of 2,885 plates, and five supplemental volumes, published in 1776 and 1777 under editors other than Diderot. Sold by subscription to a readership in France and throughout Europe that totaled at least 4,500 individuals, the *Encyclopédie* was the product of more than 150 collaborators who worked under the sole editorship of Diderot after d'Alembert withdrew from the project in 1758. The Encyclopédie met with significant opposition, primarily from the Jesuit order and the antiphilosophe movement. It was placed on the Catholic Church's *Index* librorum prohibitorum (Index of forbidden books), and on two occasions the crown revoked (but soon restored) the work's privilège or royal authorization to publish. Five subsequent editions, either reprints or revisions, were produced in Switzerland and Italy prior to the French Revolution of 1789, and roughly half of these 25,000 copies went to readers in France.

In philosophical terms, the Encyclopédie reflected the most powerful tenet of the European Enlightenment, the belief in human reason as an individual and innate critical faculty. The world the encyclopedists represented was thoroughly subjected to the rule of reason. It was knowable, able to be ordered and mastered by the rational mind. The Encyclopédie thus contributed to consolidating the reformist values of the Enlightenment by testifying to the belief in the progressive and beneficial results of rational inquiry into all sectors of human activity. In the area of technology, the articles and plates devoted to the "mechanical arts"—including the crafts and trades, anatomy and surgery, the exact, natural, and military sciences—provided a remarkably complete account of eighteenth-century French technology, in a style aimed at a relatively broad readership. In this way the Encyclopédie spurred the development of French industry, which was lagging behind that of Britain.

The work's full title was Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts, des sciences et des métiers. As an analytic or descriptive dictionary, it was designed to compile and transmit as complete a version as possible of all existing human knowledge; as an encyclopedia, it was to reveal how that knowledge could be rationally ordered and the interrelations of its various parts displayed. Articles were arranged in alphabetical order, and each article was classified according to the category of knowledge to which it belonged. An extensive cross-reference system made explicit the linkages between articles. These cross-references were often employed to produce a subversive critique of established positions through the ironic juxtaposition of apparently unrelated articles, such as religion and mythology. The article "Aius Locutius," for instance, which deals with a minor Roman god of speech, is referred to in another article on casuistry, which itself is linked to articles on certainty (certitude) and moral judgment (cas de conscience). This critique was part of the encyclopedists' overarching aim to have their readers think freely, to become "undeceived," as Diderot put it. For him, this critical thinking involved resisting any authority, whether divine or human. Thus, in the area of religion the encyclopedists tirelessly denounced fanaticism in the name of religious tolerance, attacked Christian doctrine and the Catholic Church and its institutions, and presented other



Encyclopédie. An engraving by B.-L. Prevost after a drawing by Claude-Nicolas Cochin II served as the frontispiece. The draped figure represents Truth; she is surrounded by figures representing various academic disciplines.

259

beliefs more favorably. The encyclopedists reorganized the cognitive universe, rejecting the authority of all systems and institutions that claim to deliver up any absolute order of knowledge, and setting in their place more secular, empirical, and arbitrary ones, judged according to the values of technological productivity and social utility.

The best-known major contributors to the project were Diderot himself (with 10,000 articles), Louis de Jaucourt (17,395), d'Alembert (1,600), and Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723-1789) (425). Other significant contributors included Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton (1716–1800), Charles-Marie de La Condamine (1701–1774), Charles-Pinot Duclos (1704–1772), François Quesnay (1694–1774), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), and Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727–1781). Parisians, provincials, and foreigners, the encyclopedists were a heterogeneous group. They were not members of a revolutionary Third Estate, one of the three orders or "estates" that, along with that of the nobility and the clergy, reflected the political division of pre-Revolutionary France. Most were bourgeois, if not by source of income, then by lifestyle and by their conception of property and work. Jurists, doctors, professors, engineers, merchants, manufacturers, specialized technicians, upper civil servants, military officers, and philosophes, the encyclopedists played important roles in economic, cultural, and political institutions, from which they derived material benefits and prestige. This situation also allowed them a certain independence, both economic and intellectual, making it possible for them to imagine and promote other ways of thinking. Although the encyclopedists criticized arbitrary state power, they did not question the monarchical system.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Diderot, Denis; Dissemination of Knowledge; Enlightenment; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Index of Prohibited Books; Philosophes; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts, des sciences, et des métiers. Edited by Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. Paris, 1751–1772.

Secondary Sources

Darnton, Robert. *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the* Encyclopédie, 1775–1800. Cambridge, Mass., 1979.

Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry. Edited by Charles Coulston Gillispie. 2 vols. New York, 1959.

Diderot, Denis. Encyclopedia: Selections by Diderot, D'Alembert, and a Society of Men of Letters. Translated by Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer. Indianapolis, 1965.

Kafker, Frank A. The Encyclopedists as a Group: A Collective Biography of the Authors of the Encyclopédie. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 345. Oxford, 1996.

Kafker, Frank A., and Serena Kafker. The Encyclopedists as Individuals: A Biographical Dictionary of the Authors of the Encyclopédie. Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 257. Oxford, 1988.

Lough, John. The Encyclopédie. New York, 1971.

Wilson, Arthur M. Diderot. New York, 1972.

Daniel Brewer

ENGINEERING

This entry contains two subentries:
CIVIL
MILITARY

CIVIL

Civil engineering, like military engineering, emerged in large part from the employments of Renaissance architects. Many Renaissance cities and regional princes engaged an architect-engineer to oversee the construction of all public works, including defensive structures, bridges, and maintenance of roads and waterways. Well into the eighteenth century, a number of engineers maintained versatile skills in both military and civil engineering, although men of more specialized backgrounds, such as surveyors, millwrights, and drainage engineers, always added expertise in the construction of public works and often fashioned themselves more broadly as engineers. Mathematicians, too, consulted on engineering works and helped develop the relationship between engineering and the emerging sciences of mechanics and hydrology. The rise of absolutism combined with growing capital interests to fund a broad range of city-planning, communication, and, above all, water-management programs. Civil engineers were those experts who rose to the challenges and the perquisites these projects offered.

CITIES AND VILLAS

The vision of the Renaissance city developed out of new conceptions of the role cities played and an idealized notion of classical urbanism. Building programs to reshape major capitals or plan new military strongholds created cityscapes that demonstrated the power of the rulers, but also served pedestrian traffic, the easy transport of goods (or munitions), water-supply needs, and public theaters and hospitals. The work of Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) for Sixtus V is emblematic: Fontana not only designed new, more convenient, traffic patterns for Rome, but he was involved in the vaulting of St. Peter's cupola and is best known for his direction of the removal of a giant Egyptian obelisk from the site of the Circus Maximus and its reerection in the center of St. Peter's piazza. The latter was itself a theatrical technological feat that involved massive scaffolding and numerous windlasses, tackles, and pulleys. It drew a huge audience of spectators, reportedly hushed under threat of death so that workers could hear the bell prompts.

STRUCTURAL ENGINEERING

Expertise with materials was largely a tacit knowledge among Renaissance architects and engineers. The astounding heights achieved by the domes and basilicas of the period tested artisanal acumen in the analysis of tensional stress and outward thrust. Filippo Brunelleschi's (1377-1446) pioneering octagonal duomo atop Santa Maria dei Fiori in Florence featured a double-shelled dome, tapered walls that distributed stress to the thicker walls at the base, and a wooden chain that fortified the structure precisely at the point where tensional strain was greatest. A number of engineers consulted on the challenges posed by the even larger and higher circular dome of St. Peter's in Rome, finally completed under Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564). In designing St. Paul's Cathedral in London, Christopher Wren (1632-1723) drew on structural ideas provided by the Royal Society's curator, Robert Hooke (1635-1703). By the beginning of the eighteenth century, rules for the proportioning of a masonry dome were available through the Swiss architect Carlo Fontana (1634–1714), and an easy geometrical construction for determining the thickness of abutments known as "Blondel's Rule" widely applied. The French mathematician Philippe de la Hire (1640–1718) investigated dome equilibrium from the point of view of theoretical statics. Three mathematicians, hired to analyze the cracks in St. Peter's dome in 1742–1743, partially employed de la Hire's work, but it seems to have been little utilized by practicing engineers.

Arched bridges were also a favorite form for experimentation by early modern engineers. Their construction was detailed by technical experts from Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) to Jean Rodolphe Perronet (1708–1794). Some of the most acclaimed examples of early modern engineering are bridges, such as the Rialto Bridge in Venice (Antonio da Ponte, begun 1588), Santa Trinità in Florence (Bartolomeo Ammannati, begun 1567), and the Pont Neuf in Paris (Jacques Androuet and Guillaume Marchand, begun 1578).

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), himself trained as a military engineer, attempted to address some of the problems posed by structural engineering mathematically in the first half of his Discourses on Two New Sciences, devoted to material strength. The "new" science presented ways of determining the tensile strength of beams and ways of proportioning machines in larger scales. Galileo also discussed the subject of centers of gravity, a subject that had been developed by mathematicians Luca Valerio (1552– 1618) and Federico Commandino (1509-1575), as a key to determining the equilibrium of rigid systems. This approach, rooted both in engineering practice and the Archimedean revival so influential to Renaissance engineers, contrasted dramatically with the prevalent Aristotelian approach to materials.

Water supply and fountains. Water was supplied to city residents through aqueducts or pipes. Raising enough water from nearby river sources with pumps was a constant occupation of engineers. One of the most ingenious pumping stations was constructed in 1602 by the Flemish hydraulic engineer Jean Lintlaer, whose water-wheel-driven pump, constructed under the Pont Neuf, could rise and fall with the level of the river.

Lintlaer had been hired by Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610) not only on behalf of Paris, but because the king wanted to improve his gardens. The baroque fountains that engineers designed for the gardens of very wealthy houses across Europe were largely inspired by the work of the ancient engineer Hero of Alexandria. Hero had used the natural flow of water, the effects of air pressure and steam, and the creation of a vacuum to achieve delightful effects, such as the playing of music or operation of mechanical birds. Hero's Pneumatica was translated numerous times between 1575 and 1700, many vernacular editions brought out by engineers. The book not only inspired technological marvels, but set out a newly revived matter theory. Hero maintained that the air was elastic, and was composed of tiny bits of matter separated by vacua, a theory discounted by traditional Aristotelians.

WATER MANAGEMENT

The professions of water management assumed ever greater attention in the early modern period. Hydraulic engineering was necessary not only to raise water for drinking and fountains, but to drain and reclaim wetlands, dredge ports and harbors, build canals, and turn mills for industry. In Venice, a seaempire into which several rivers flowed, nine out of ten patents were requested by inventors of machines that could control or utilize water. The various demands on waterways could also conflict. Too many mills constructed on a river would hinder commercial traffic, or even drinking water delivery. A river diverted to serve the needs of one town might render another town's waterways unnavigable.

The leaders in hydraulic engineering were the Dutch, who had developed their expertise through long experience maintaining their below-sea-level landscape with dykes, dredging machines, and canals. Regarding the interrelation of hydraulic works and Dutch government, the English poet Andrew Marvel quipped, "To make a bank, was a great plot of state/Invent a shov'l and be a Magistrate." Indeed, administrative skills were often an indispensable requisite for engineers who directed the huge labor force that large water management schemes demanded.

Land reclamation. Europeans began to drain the wetlands of alluvial plains beginning at least in the twelfth century. In the sixteenth century, the desire

to create productive land from the swampy river valleys was translated into capital investment. Olivier de Serres (1539–1619) gave full attention to the conversion of marshlands into arable rents in his *Théâtre d'Agriculture*. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century land improvement schemes were carried out from Andalusia through Italy, the Languedoc, the lower Rhône, and the fens of England. The latter was a favorite project of James I (ruled 1603–1625) for which he hired the Dutch engineer Cornelius Vermuyden (1595?–1683). The reclaimed land fell to the control of regional noblemen and investors, and head engineers were sometimes given grants from them.

Ports, rivers, and canals. Rivers and tidal ports prone to silting required periodic dredging. This was usually accomplished with bucket or scraper dredgers. Ports often needed seawalls or the installation of locks. Salvage operations were also a matter of import to the state and to entrepreneurs, as wrecked ships blocked harbors. Sometimes, inventive but ultimately inefficacious schemes were conducted, such as the attempt of Bartolomeo Campi (1525–1573) to raise a sunken ship in the Venetian lagoon with a machine built on two caissons, on Archimedean hydrostatic principles suggested by the mathematician Niccolò Tartaglia (1500–1557). However, the use of diving bells and diving suits, such as those developed by the mathematicians Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608-1679) and Edmond Halley (1656-1742), were the more promising means of removing wreckage.

Rivers and their tributaries were constantly diverted, channeled, or dammed in order to irrigate land, avoid flood, or improve navigation. Engineers reinforced banks with piers and the planting of trees and straightened and deepened numerous tributaries. The greatest boon to intracontinental navigation was the development of canal locks.

The invention of the lock was of signal importance to commerce and communication. The construction of intercity turnpikes and well-drained roads did not accelerate until the second half of the eighteenth century. Systems of canals, however, greatly extended alluvial navigation beyond the paths of naturally navigable rivers, and made possible commercial transport between many more cit-

ies. Canal waters were also employed to turn the water wheels that powered numerous mills.

While single gates had been employed in regulating water flow, the first lock, with gates at either end of a short section of the canal, appears to have been constructed by Bertola da Novate in the mid 1450s. Bertola, commissioned by the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza (ruled 1450-1466), to enlarge the Berguardo Canal, devised the scheme by which boats could ascend or descend the elevation of the waterway in a step-wise way by lifting one gate to fill or empty to the level of the subsequent section of canal. In seventeenth-century Netherlands, where canals had defined the landscape since the Middle Ages, new intercity canals were dug that carried passenger traffic on horse-drawn boats. England almost doubled its river navigation in the second half of the century, from 685 miles to 1160 miles. In France, the ambitious project to connect the Mediterranean with the Atlantic by canal, originally promoted by Leonardo da Vinci in the service of Francis I, was half completed with the Canal du Midi in 1681. Beginning in 1642, the foodstuffs of the Loire Valley could be carried to Paris via a canal that included thirty-five locks, and featured a sevenrise staircase of consecutive locks. The fortifications chief, Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707), extended the canal system through Belgium.

Hydraulics and mathematicians. Attempts to systematize the artisanal knowledge of hydraulic engineering within a more learned framework were available by the seventeenth centuries in the work of Alvise Cornaro (1484-1566) and Simon Stevin (1548-1620). Although Stevin was a preeminent mathematician, his hydraulics did not significantly depart from contemporary engineering practices. The work of Galileo's pupil Benedetto Castelli (1577-1644), in response to Papal plans to (re)divert the Reno into the Po flowing past Ferrara, extended the geometrical study of motion to waters. While Renaissance engineers like Leonardo had grappled with questions of water velocity, Castelli carved out new territory in his 1628 On the Measurement of Running Waters (Della misura dell'acque correnti). Castelli articulated the law of constant flow, that a river discharges equal quantities of water in equal times, regardless of the size of the cross-section. While this work had little direct effect on practice, the science of fluids was studied

intensively over the next century. Fluid mechanics was developed experimentally by the French physicist Edme Mariotte (1620–1684), and the mathematician Daniel Bernoulli (1700–1782) formulated the relationship between the density of fluid in a pipe, its speed and pressure. By the eighteenth century, figures such as the mathematical professor and hydraulic engineer/government administrator Giovanni Poleni (1683–1761) were not rare.

INDUSTRIAL MACHINES

Early modern engineers constantly designed and redesigned the wheeled machines that lifted stones for building; pumps that drained mines and swamps and raised water for drinking or ornamental fountains; and a vast array of machines that milled wheat, crushed minerals, lifted hammers, beat cloth, and operated the bellows of the new iron blast furnaces. Until the employment of the steam engine in the eighteenth century, the power of these machines was either a water wheel, a human-turned treadmill, winch, capstan, or crank, or an animal-turned device such as the horse whim. The cam, which translated rotational motion into vertical motion, was greatly developed by sixteenth-century engineers and was of huge industrial import. Printed machine books produced by Agostino Ramelli (1531-c. 1600), Jacques Besson (1540-1576), and Vittorio Zonca (b. c. 1580) demonstrate how combinations of toothed wheels, worm gears, crown gears, and lanterns might redirect motion in various ways. The treadmill that powered a sixteenth-century crane employed several men running on the inside of a huge wheel; due to gearing and other improvements, eighteenth-century cranes were smaller and could be turned externally with a crank.

With the mutually reinforcing developments of mining, metallurgy, and steam engines, the mechanical engineer had, literally, to retool. The new steam engines were first used in the drainage of mines; the new product of cast iron found one of its premier uses in the cylinders used on the steam engine. While engineers had increasingly employed metal in eighteenth-century machines, its wide adoption in the final years of the eighteenth century not only added strength, but also made precision, industrial tooling possible. The circle around the steam-engine moguls James Watt (1736–1819) and Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) procured

watchmakers and other artisans skilled in machining gears. With the invention of the industrial lathe in 1716 by Christopher Polhem (1661–1751) of Sweden, its development by Jacques de Vaucanson (1709–1782) and others, and the 1776 cylinderboring machine of the ironmaster John Wilkinson (1728–1808), it became possible to produce machines that produced machines.

ENGINEERS, SCIENCE, AND PROFESSIONALISM

Throughout the early modern period, civil engineers were artisans of more and less learning, or mathematicians of more and less experience. The relationship between the practices of engineering and the new mathematical sciences of mechanics and hydraulics, however, was never unidirectional or static, nor was it easy to generalize. The engineer and machine book author Agostino Ramelli wrote an elaborate preface insisting on the necessity of mathematics as the foundation for machine design. On the other hand, practicing engineers often resisted the advice of mathematicians employed as consultants and sneered at theoreticians. In both cases, the relationship seems rhetorically constructed. Only in the eighteenth century did a more stable professional identity for engineers emerge, as technical education was formally organized and the social role of the technical expert more clearly defined. By that time, the sciences of rational mechanics and hydrology had developed within the framework of engineering problems.

John Smeaton (1724–1792) was the first Englishman to adopt the title "civil engineer." Although he was trained, as were many engineers, as a millwright, Smeaton performed systematic experimentation on the superior efficiency of overshot waterwheels, engaged in investigations regarding Leibnizian and Newtonian mechanics, and advocated a more rigorous technical education. The leaders in the establishment of the latter were the French.

In keeping with the rational systematization of absolutist, Enlightenment France, the Corps de Ponts et Chaussées was founded in 1719 to organize the network of roads and waterways throughout the country. Members of the corps tested the bending of various materials and invented machines for compression tests on stone and mortar; Henri de

Pitot (1695-1771) invented the Pitot tube, by which the velocity of a current could be taken. The corps also founded a school. Cadets would have available to them the textbooks of Bernard Forest de Belidor (1697–1761), books reprinted so often that the copper plates wore out and had to be reengraved in the early nineteenth century. There was nothing new or cutting-edge in these handbooks, but they offered both traditional guidelines of practice and the possibility of applying static and dynamic theorems to practical problems. The French engineering organizations were the apotheosis and production line for engineers who could combine knowledge, machines, and the organization of human labor in order to fulfill corporate demands for huge undertakings.

See also Architecture; Cities and Urban Life; City Planning; Communication and Transportation; Galileo Galilei; Henry IV (France); Hooke, Robert; James I and VI (England and Scotland); Leonardo da Vinci; Mathematics; Mechanism; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Newton, Isaac; Technology; Wren, Christopher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Argan, Giulio. The Renaissance City. New York, 1969.

Ferguson, Eugene S., ed. and Martha Teach Gnudi, ed. and trans. The Various and Ingenious Machines of Agostino Ramelli: A Classic Sixteenth-Century Illustrated Treatise on Technology. New York, 1976.

Long, Pamela O. Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Baltimore, 2001.

Maccagni, Carlo, "Mechanics and Hydrostatics in the late Renaissance: Relations between Italy and the Low Countries," in Cesare S. Maffioli and L. C. Palm, eds. Italian Scientists in the Low Countries in the XVII and XVIIIth Centuries. Amsterdam, 1989.

Maffioli, Cesare S. Out of Galileo: The Science of Waters, 1628–1718. Rotterdam, 1994.

McNeil, Ian, ed. An Encyclopaedia of the History of Technology. London, 1990.

Parsons, William Barclay. Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance. Cambridge, Mass., 1976.

Picon, Antoine. Architectes et ingénieurs au siècle des lumières. Marseilles, 1988.

Straub, Hans. *A History of Civil Engineering*. Translated by E. Rockwell. London, 1952.

Vèrin, Hélène. La gloire des ingénieurs: L'intelligence technique au XVIe au XVII siècle. Paris, 1993. Wise, M. Norton, ed. *Values of Precision*. Princeton, 1995.

MARY HENNINGER-VOSS

MILITARY

Early modern military engineering co-evolved with the siege tactics that characterized European warfare from the late fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. By 1530 the assimilation of heavy gunpowder weapons was matched by the development of fortifications that could withstand cannonball bombardment. Campaigns usually focused on the taking of a city, although an aggressor's single most potent tactic was often to starve the inhabitants. Early modern siege warfare, precisely because of its relatively static, game-like quality, offered a broad stage for the activities of the engineer. Opportunities abounded for engineers who could maximize the capabilities of machines and gunpowder, effectively organize the immense workforce of trench diggers, ease the enormous burden of siege train baggage on campaign, or design an "impregnable" fortress in peacetime. As military engineers sought to define a science at the core of their new profession, the sphere of military engineering opened up an avenue of advancement both for men and for ideas about how the world of resisting walls and projectiles—matter and motion—worked.

THE NEW WEAPONS

Gunpowder weapons were known to Europe by the 1320s. The earliest "cannons" were usually large barrel- or pot-like receptacles made of forged metal, mounted on a cumbersome cart and charged with irregular balls or projectiles. By 1500 most of the innovations that were to determine the form of muzzle-loaded cannons had been introduced. Cannons were cast of bronze (and, shortly thereafter, iron) to specific lengths and calibers. These ranged from the very smallest falconet, at a barrel length of six feet and a caliber of just over two inches, to long slender culverins, to heavy four-ton cannons. (Mortars and, later, howitzers were also cast.) They were then mounted on specialized carriages on pivots (trunnions) that were placed at standardized distances from the rear of the cannon. Indeed, the invention of standardized trunnions, with the increased ease of aim and accuracy they allowed, has been credited as the secret behind the terrifying reputation of Charles VIII's artillery when in 1494

the French monarch swept through Italy from the Alpine border to Naples.

Even given the impressive advances of the sixteenth-century cannon over its precursors, cannons still presented numerous difficulties that added to the inherent unpredictability of warfare. Each cannon was unique, owing to inconsistencies in metallurgy, boring, and other factors of its production. Cannons shot differently, depending on the gunpowder and how hot they became. They might crack in battle or, worse, explode prematurely if they were handled improperly. The heaviest bombards required dozens of draft animals to haul them; legions of men, employed to maneuver and plant cannons, attended the artillery train.

Innovations in the design of ordnance that might ameliorate these conditions were usually owed to gun makers. Members of the Alberghetti family, for example, requested numerous patents over the generations in which they headed the foundry at the Venetian arsenal. The single greatest improvement to the cannon was effected by the boring machine invented by Jean Maritz (1680-1743) in the mid-eighteenth century. The cannon barrel was rotated by a machine powered by horses, while a bit was advanced into the front of the piece. Before this time, cannons were each cast in a unique mold with an earthen core to make the hollow. The hollow tube was then smoothed on a vertical reaming machine. The boring machine allowed many cannons to be cast from the same mold, thereby helping to standardize shots among cannons. Moreover, because the bore could more precisely fit the size of the cannonball, it nearly halved the space between the inside wall of the barrel and the cannonball moving through it (windage). This greatly increased accuracy and power.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

While a number of gunfounders, or their sons, became military engineers, the profession was much more rooted to the tasks of the Renaissance city architect. Architects had traditionally acted as the designers of fortifications and military machinery. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) had to take time off from the construction of the Duomo in Florence in order to follow troops at war with the nearby city of Lucca. Architect, engineer, painter, and sculptor Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1501) is credited with

the development of one of the most important innovations in defensive architecture, the angled bastion on which effective defensive fire could be mounted; Michelangelo (1475–1564) further developed its offensive capacity. Among the most active workshops in fortifications design were those of Antonio da San Gallo the Younger (1485–1546) and Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559).

In the context of the decades-long Italian wars (1494–1559), in which huge armies and their siege trains battered Italy, the style of fortification that would dominate continental European warfare for the next two centuries emerged. Italian architects developed the main features of the trace Italienne, a polygonal circuit of walls with spade-like bastions built at each angle, by the early sixteenth century. The tall, crenellated walls of medieval fortifications had offered little resistance to cannon. Lower, thicker walls, reinforced by piling dirt against them (the "scarp," which was sometimes faced with masonry) better deflected and absorbed cannonballs and permitted the use of defensive cannon fire. Bastions provided a platform for cannons that allowed defenders to rake the curtain walls with fire (enfilade) and cover neighboring bastions. By the middle of the century, platforms in the curtain walls ("cavaliers") were added so that defenders could enfilade bastion walls, or fire into the bastion should it be taken by the enemy; a low flat wall outside the surrounding ditch, but fitted with parapets ("covered way"), enabled defenders to reconnoiter the activities of attackers and served as a staging area from which to conduct sorties.

In the course of the following 150 years, the depth of defensive works was developed enormously. Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange (1567–1625), under the tutelage of the mathematician Simon Stevin (1548–1620), developed further outworks, particularly the ravelin, a fortified point that offered more angles for defensive fire outside the main walls. Fortification designs increasingly resembled star patterns, with a series of ditches, berms, and angled ravelins radiating from the polygonal perimeter of the city walls. The concern for depth of defensive works continued in the French corps of engineers and was brought to a baroque height by the followers of the great military engineer Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707).

Early modern fortifications systems were meant to act as a machine, each part interacting with another. By the onset of the seventeenth century, especially as the focus of European war was then centered on the struggles in the Netherlands, where broad flat land offered an empty canvas for the geometrical designs of engineers, the fortress was designed to take advantage of every possible angle from which any conceivable weapon could be employed. Built into the construction of a town wall and its outworks were plans for every foreseeable method of approach and point of breach by an enemy. Fortifications were tactics, but tactics that operated through a knowledge of mathematics, construction, and gunnery.

ON CAMPAIGNS

If, ideally, the role of the engineer in fortifications was to build into his design a retort to any plan of attack, the role of the engineer in the field was to alter the methods of attack in an unexpected and more efficacious way. It is for this reason that Vauban's most significant contribution to the warfare of his age was not his fortification design, but his novel system of trenches, dug in a zigzag or parallel way so that assailants could reach within range of rampart walls while remaining under cover, and his use of the ricochet fire of mortars to scatter defenders within their own walls. Techniques for driving forward a sap were in themselves a sort of exercise in earthwork construction: trench diggers moved forward, placing baskets filled with earth or rocks (gabions) before them and building up earthen walls along their sides, so that attacking troops could be moved toward the walls, or mines could be laid at the fortification's base. Ingenuity in this regard was considered so valuable that military men sometimes debated whether the shovel was not a more important instrument than the gun.

Management of guns and gunpowder devices was another of the main concerns of the military engineer. Engineers were usually attached to the artillery corps. Their skills in maneuvering machines that weighed anywhere from four hundred to eight thousand pounds were paramount. At the highest levels, engineers were artillery generals, although this rank was usually achieved by noble commanders trained in the engineers' arts and sciences so that, at

least, they could command their forces and supervise the engineers under them.

THE SCIENCE OF MILITARY ENGINEERS

Military engineering was transformed into a new profession around the relatively new arts of gunpowder warfare, and many of its practitioners insisted that it was a practice founded on science. By the end of the sixteenth century, an extensive literature on the various practical and intellectual demands of artillery warfare had rolled off the presses. Mathematics and measure were central to the new science of military engineering. In part, this was so because of the mathematical practices traditionally used by architects in their surveying, reconnaissance, and design activities. Military engineers and those who served them were among the most prolific producers of mathematical instruments and practical mathematical knowledge in the early modern period.

Ratio and measure, in fact, appeared to govern most of the new technical tasks, from the recipes for gunpowder (saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal), to the charge of the cannon (from one-half to two-thirds the weight of the ball), to the measure of range, to proportioning of fortifications. The book knowledge at new academies for the training of cadets, such as the Accademia Delia in Padua, centered around mathematics. Mathematicians began to intervene in the sphere of military engineering as teachers of foundational (and elementary) mathematical skills and as inventors of new mechanical and ballistic knowledge.

Nicolò Tartaglia (1500-1557) was the first mathematician to seek to regularize the unpredictable art of gunnery through mathematics. Galileo Galilei (1546-1642), a student and a sometime teacher of military engineers, also tackled questions that originated in gunnery, even if his solutions were universalized and reframed to address phenomena far outside it. Galileo's "geometrical and military compass" was inspired by the "problem of caliber" (by which one could figure out the proper ratios among weight of gunpowder charge, weight of ball, and bore size), but it could carry out a great number of computational tasks. His years-long study of projectile motion and materials strength culminated in the publication of his last work, Discourses on Two New Sciences (1638), and contained

his breakthrough formulations of kinematic motion. Ironically, the mathematical study of projectiles had yielded the philosophical marvel of a terrestrial physics compatible with Copernicanism, but, as Galileo recognized, it was not a useful guide to cannon shot since tables based on his work could not account for air resistance and other technical factors. One of Galileo's disciples, Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647), did produce tables and instruments for mortar fire. Theoretically derived values are relatively accurate for these short-barreled, upward-shooting artillery pieces.

The problems of air resistance were taken up by Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Using Newton's work, Benjamin Robins (1707–1751) thoroughly investigated musket fire, both theoretically and experimentally. Robins's ballistic pendulum allowed him to demonstrate the dramatic effect of air resistance on the trajectory of a musket bullet and show that muzzle velocity is the most important parameter of artillery performance. However, although his work was translated by Leonard Euler (1707–1783) into German, with commentary, and into French, even engineers who knew Robins's work continued to use range as the significant parameter for another generation.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND REFORM

In the eighteenth century, technical schools were established for the development of national corps of military engineers. The French led, with formal engineering schools established by the artillery in 1720. These schools offered both practical and theoretical training, the latter again fashioned around a curriculum of mathematics. Graduates from the engineering schools in France became some of the country's leading scientists and political (or, at least, bureaucratic) leaders.

Meanwhile, European warfare began to move away from ponderous siegecraft. Armies had grown larger and more disciplined, and open battle, including more extensive use of field cannon, increased the mobility of warfare. While lighter field cannons had been experimented with since the sixteenth century, the effectiveness of light cannon in battle was dramatically demonstrated through the success of the Prussian army under Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786). Following the successes of Frederick against the Habsburgs, Prince Joseph

Wenzel of Liechtenstein (1696–1772) commissioned a mathematics professor and captain in his artillery corps to redesign a system of guns that included cannons with shorter barrels and thinner walls on redesigned carriages. After the humiliating defeat of the French in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), they looked to the experience of one of their engineers who had been in Austrian service, Jean Baptiste Vaquette de Gribeauval (1715–1789).

Gribeauval, eventually to become the first inspector-general of the artillery, instituted a number of reforms against the traditions of a much more developed system of military organization, artisanal production, and technical training than existed anywhere else in Europe. In the 1760s Gribeauval advocated similar technological reforms to those adopted in Austria. He also tried to establish the manufacture of gunlocks made with interchangeable parts and oversaw a revamping of the technical schools. The curriculum in engineering schools would teach algebraic analysis, Newtonian science, and the descriptive geometry of technical drawing. The values and mathematical emphasis of this education was foundational to the later establishment of the high écoles, models of technical education from the start and a source of French leaders to this day.

See also Architecture; Charles VIII (France); Firearms; Frederick II (Prussia); Galileo Galilei; Leonardo da Vinci; Mathematics; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Miltary; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Technology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alder, Ken. Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763–1815. Princeton, 1997.

Architettura militare veneta del Cinquecento (Centro Internazionale di Studie di Architettura "Andrea Palladio" di Vicenza). Milan, 1988.

Hale, J. R. Renaissance War Studies. London, 1983.

Hall, Bert S. Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe. Baltimore, 1997.

Hogg, Ian. The History of Fortification. New York, 1981.

MacLennan, Ken. "Liechtenstein and Gribauval: 'Artillery Revolution' in Political and Cultural Context." War in *History* 10, no. 3 (2003): 249–264.

Parent, Michel, and Jacques Verroust. Vauban. Paris, 1971.

Parker, Geoffrey. The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800. Cambridge, U.K., 1988.

Pepper, Simon, and Nicholas Adams. Firearms and Fortifications. Chicago, 1986. Steele, Brett D. "Muskets and Pendulums: Benjamin Robins, Leonard Euler, and the Ballistics Revolution." *Technology and Culture* 35 (1994): 348–382.

Mary Henninger-Voss

ENGLAND. At the level of world history, England between 1485 and 1789 is most important for the developments that helped usher in aspects of the modern world. Three, in particular, are worthy of note. First, the expansion of English power was such that, by 1700, England was the world's leading maritime power and the most important colonial power in North America; by the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, England was the strongest state in the world. Second, the religious and political changes within England transformed the nature of its political culture and therefore ensured the character of the state that was to become the most important in the world, and, to a certain extent, contributed to that development. The most significant of these changes within England were the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and the overthrow of Stuart authoritarianism in the seventeenth century and its replacement by a political system in which Parliament played a leading role. Third, the period saw the development of the English language. The vocabulary expanded, English replaced Latin and Norman French as the language of the Bible and the law respectively, and, with the plays of William Shakespeare (1564-1616), it reached new cultural heights.

CHRISTIANITY AND WITCHCRAFT

It is also important to draw attention to other aspects of the period that do not so readily accord with this account of modernization. In many profound ways, both the facts and details of life and the attitudes of the period were totally different from those today. This was a realm that was shadowed by a world of spirits, good and bad, and these spirits were seen and believed to intervene frequently in the life of humans. This belief brought together both Christian notions—in particular providentialism, a conviction of God's direct intervention in the life of individuals, the intercessory role of saints, sacraments, prayer and belief, the existence of heaven, purgatory, hell, and the devil, and a related and overlapping group of ideas, beliefs, and cus-

toms—that were partially Christianized but also testified to a mental world that was not explicable in terms of Christian theology. This was a world of good and evil, knowledge and magic, of fatalism, of the occult, and of astrology and alchemy. Such beliefs were widely held.

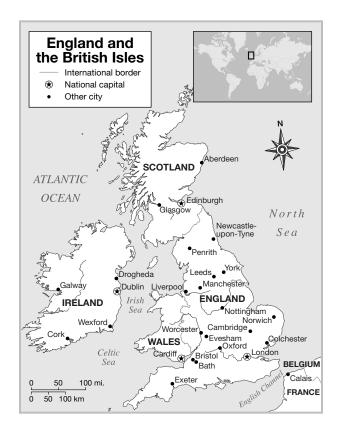
This fearful world could be only partially countered by Christianity, but the very sense of menace and danger helps to account for the energy devoted to religious issues in the sixteenth century and the fears encouraged by changes in church belief and practice, for example, the despoliation of shrines and the ending of pilgrimages. The true path of Christian virtue and salvation was challenged not only by false prophets laying claim to the word of Jesus, but also by a malevolent world presided over by the devil. Witches were prominent among the devil's followers, and concern about witches gained a new prominence in the sixteenth century. James I (reigned 1603–1625), for whose court Shakespeare wrote Macbeth, wrote against witches and was believed to be the target of their diabolical schemes, although he later recanted his opinions and, if anything, became a force for moderation in their treatment.

Witchcraft was not swept away by the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the supposed onset of the modern age. Indeed, belief in prediction, astrology, alchemy, and the occult was especially strong in the early seventeenth century. The last recorded witch trial in England occurred in 1717, and the Witchcraft Act of 1736 banned accusations of witchcraft and sorcery.

LIVING CONDITIONS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation with its emphasis on a vernacular Bible ensured that good and evil became more literary and less oral and visual than hitherto, but that did not diminish the need for people to understand their world in terms of the struggle between the two. Evil, malevolence, and the inscrutable workings of the divine will seemed the only way to explain the sudden pitfalls of the human condition.

The average experience of life for the people of the period necessarily came at a younger age than for the average person today, and was shaped within a context of the ever-present threat of death, dis-



ease, injury, and pain. There was still joy and pleasure, exultation and exhilaration, but the demographics were chilling. Alongside individuals who lived to old age, there were lives quickly cut short in the case of women, especially in childbirth. Child mortality figures continued to be high. Thirty-eight percent of the children born in Penrith in the northwest of England between 1650 and 1700 died before reaching the age of six. Defenses against disease remained flimsy, not least because of the limited nature of medical knowledge. Treatments such as blistering and mercury were often painful, dangerous, or enervating. Surgery was primitive and was performed without anesthesia. There was nothing akin to the modern expectation that there should be a medical cure for everything; people were forced to resort to quack medicines, folk remedies, and prayer. Typhus, typhoid, influenza, dysentery, chicken pox, measles, scarlet fever, and syphilis were all serious threats. Other conditions that can now be cured or held at bay were debilitating.

Living conditions contributed to the problem. Crowded housing, especially the sharing of beds, helped spread diseases, particularly respiratory infections. Most dwellings were neither warm nor dry,

and sanitary practices were a problem. There were few baths, washing in clean water was limited, and louse infestation was serious. Although outer clothes were worn for long periods and were not washable, those who could afford it wore linen or cotton shifts next to their skin, and these shifts could be regularly laundered. However, most people wore the same clothes for as long as they could. Bedbugs and rats were real horrors and, by modern standards, breath and skin must have been repellent. It is difficult to recreate an impression of the smell and dirt of the period. Ventilation was limited. Humans lived close to animals and dunghills, and this damaged health. Manure stored near buildings was hazardous and could contaminate the water supply, while effluent from undrained privies and animal pens came into houses through generally porous walls. Privies with open soil pits lay directly alongside dwellings and under bedrooms.

Poor nutrition lowered resistance to disease. Fruit and vegetables were expensive and played only a minor role in the diet of the urban poor, who were also generally ill clad. The poor ate less meat. Plant stocks had not been scientifically improved to resist disease and adverse weather conditions and to increase yields.

Agricultural labor was arduous, generally daylight to dusk in winter, and 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. in summer. Industrial employment was also hard—up to sixteen hours daily in the Yorkshire alum houses—and often dangerous. Each occupation had its own hazards. Millers worked in dusty and noisy circumstances, frequently suffered from lice, and often developed asthma, hernias, and chronic back problems. Disorders could result from the strain of unusual physical demands or postures, such as those required of tailors and weavers. Many places of work were damp, badly ventilated, and poorly lit. Work frequently involved exposure to dangerous substances such as arsenic, lead, and mercury or was dangerous in itself, particularly construction, fishing, and mining. Many industrial processes were dangerous to others besides the workers: dressing and tanning leather polluted water supplies.

At a more mundane level, uncertainty was a matter not only of demographics but also an aspect of the contemporary world of space, not least of transport. This uncertainty, in comparison with modern life, was captured most vividly by the abrupt shift from light to darkness. The modern world can overcome the latter with electric lighting and, as far as travel and distance are concerned, navigation systems, but, in the early modern world, the dark was a world of uncertainty, danger, and menace. This was especially true for the traveler literally unable to see his routes.

TRANSPORTATION

In addition to the problems presented by the darkness, road surfaces were unreliable. They were greatly affected by rain, especially on clay soils. Travel through the heavily forested Weald in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, in the southeast, posed particular problems, but heavy clays, for example in south Essex and the Vale of Berkeley (Gloucestershire), also created difficulties. Furthermore, standards of road maintenance were low. Upkeep was largely the responsibility of the local parish, and the resources for a speedy and effective response to deficiencies were lacking.

The situation did not improve greatly through the early modern period. Travel was not much easier in 1700 than it had been in 1500. Horses were the same, ships were still wooden and wind-powered, most roads were still dirt tracks, and the impact of the weather had not changed. The slowness of land travel, the difficulty of moving bulk goods on land, other than by river, and Britain's island character ensured that trade and travel by sea were more important than they are today. On land, a network of regular and reliable long-distance wagon services did not develop until the seventeenth century. The situation was worse at sea. Shipwreck and the problems of storm-tossed or, in contrast, becalmed journeys engaged the imagination of the age, as can be seen from the role of storms and shipwrecks in such Shakespeare plays as The Tempest, The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, Pericles, A Winter's Tale, and The Comedy of Errors.

PLAGUE, POPULATION, AND URBAN EXPANSION

There were still virulent outbreaks of the plague, as in 1499–1500, 1518, 1538, 1563, and 1665, the last the Great Plague in which between seventy and one hundred thousand people died. Nevertheless, there was also a major rise in population. Prior to

the first national census in 1801, all figures are approximate, but the population of England and Wales seems to have increased from under 2.5 million in 1500 to over 4 million by 1603 and about 5 million by 1651. The impact of this change was accentuated because it followed a period of stagnation after the Black Death (1348–1350) and preceded another that lasted until the 1740s. The increase in population was due largely to a fall in mortality, but a rise in fertility stemming from a small decrease in the average age of women at marriage was probably also important.

The rise in population affected the structure of society by leading to overpopulation as far as the distribution of resources was concerned, certainly in comparison with the fifteenth century. This encouraged a persistent rise in prices in the sixteenth century. The demand for food caused the rents of agricultural land to rise proportionately more rapidly than wages. This hit both tenants and those with little or no land. In the volatile and tense situation, agrarian capitalism became more intense. Landlords tried to increase the yield of their customary estates and to destroy the system of customary tenure. Much of the peasantry lost status and became little different from poorly paid wage laborers. The growing number of paupers and vagrants greatly concerned successive governments, although more for reasons of law and order than because of concern about the poor.

Urban expansion was a product of the role of towns as centers of manufacturing, trade, government, and leisure. Yet all four were also pursued in the countryside, just as there was much market gardening within town walls, as well as orchards and pastures, the latter particularly for milk, which could not be refrigerated, treated, or preserved. With the exception of London, cities were small and the countryside was always nearby. In 1523, Worcester ranked sixteenth among England's towns by population, which was only about 4,000, and only about 6,000 in 1646. Evesham, the next biggest town in Worcestershire, had only about 1,400 people—the size of a modern village—in the mid-sixteenth century.

Rural fairs remained important to trade, their episodic character a reminder of the rhythm of seasonal activity that framed life. Much industry was also located in the countryside, in part because of the importance of waterpower provided by fastflowing rivers and tapped by the water wheels in mills.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

Alongside any emphasis on elements of continuity, it is necessary to draw attention to signs of economic change. This was both quantitative (increased production) and qualitative (new methods and routes). Both were important. A more integrated economy reflected the demands of a growing population and urban markets and the absence of internal tariffs. Trade increasingly linked distant areas. Northeastern coal was shipped from Newcastle to London. As national markets developed, the importance of transport links and capital availability increased. The processing of rural products grain, meat, wool, wood, hides, hops—was central to industry throughout Britain. The cost and difficulty of transport encouraged the production of goods near the markets for which they were destined. Thus, rural Britain was dotted with breweries and mills.

Building reflected affluence and expenditure, as with the insertion of chimney stacks in many houses. The world of "things" increased over the early modern period. More artifacts survive from the sixteenth century than from the fifteenth, and other evidence, such as probate inventories, legal records, and literary references, also suggest a marked trend toward possessing more. Increasing material consumption also invited denunciation by moralists and was seen as the cause of what was regarded as a major rise in crime. The world of things had important cultural consequence. Craftsmanship flourished in the manufacture of many goods. The increase in the number of musical instruments, such as lutes, probably ensured that instrumental music came to play a prominent role, especially in genteel society. Songs were set to music, which it must be assumed people could readily play.

Books were an important part of this new world. Early beginnings in printing were less important than sustained growth in the production and consumption of books and other printed material in the sixteenth and later centuries. The availability of books helped to encourage literacy. It was important for its collective functions, especially the use of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in church and the energizing of cultural production. But it also offered the possibility of a more private and individual culture than that provided by the conspicuous consumption and display of public ceremonial.

The publication of the vernacular Bible helped to validate both books and the use of English rather than Latin. Printing made writing more available in a standard form, creating a shared and repeatable culture that manuscripts could not generate. Print thus lent itself to the demands of a state that from the 1530s was legislating actively in lay and ecclesiastical matters.

As yet, however, the impact of popular literacy and the print revolution upon oral culture was limited. Most people could neither read nor afford books. Furthermore, most people lacked formal education. Thus, printing exacerbated social divisions and gave an extra dimension to the flow of orders, ideas, and models down the social hierarchy. The inability of the poor to express themselves was accentuated. Conversely, education, the world of print, the impact of government, and the role of London all encouraged the gentry increasingly to view politics and society in national terms.

The poverty of the majority was counterpointed by the growing comfort that characterized the wealthy. This contrast was also seen in political and religious change, with the bulk of the population neither consulted nor considered other than as objects of control. The absence of consultation was more disruptive than it had been ever since the Norman Conquest of 1066 because change was not simply a matter of monarchs and aristocratic factions competing for the spoils of power and privilege, but, with the Reformation, also a deep-seated and divisive change in the nation's ideology and culture. The extent of this has been largely overlooked because, from the reign of Elizabeth (1558– 1603), the Reformation was seen as the national destiny and central to national identity. English became the language of God's work and the monarch was now head of the church. The assertion by the English Church that purgatory did not exist and the consequent abolition of prayers for the dead destroyed links between the communities of the living and the dead. The loss of the monasteries in

the 1530s brought much disruption, including, in many localities, the breakdown of poor and medical relief. Although in the short term monastic charity was ended, before long Protestant-influenced patterns of charitable giving developed. Instead of bequests going to masses for the dead and to chantry priests, they were now more frequently left for parish charities, educational provision, and almshouses.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Henry VIII's use of Parliament in the 1530s and 1540s to legitimate his objectives increased its frequency and role. Nevertheless, the idea that there was a revolution in government in the 1530s is questionable: Henry's preference for direct control remained the dominant theme throughout his reign. He kept his grip on the domestic situation, helped by his clear right to the throne, his unwillingness to turn obviously to either religious option, and the selective use of terror. Henry retained control of the government, as well as of the aristocracy through their attendance at court, through the travels of the court itself, through shared participation in military activities and the hunt, and through patronage.

Under Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553), politics at the center and control of the localities were greatly complicated by religious disputes. They made it harder to ensure cooperation and consensus. During his reign, Edward was opened to the influence of Protestantism from the Continent, and there was a surge of state-supported and purposeful Protestant activity. Hostility to religious change played a major role in the widespread uprisings in the southwest in 1549, although the rising in Norfolk that year focused on opposition to landlords, especially the enclosure of common lands and their high rents, and to oppressive local governments. Although crushed, the risings in 1549 indicated the extent to which developments in the 1530s through the 1560s encouraged a degree of hostile popular response that menaced the political system and thus required the development of a new language and practice of apparent consultation within the political nation.

Similarly, under Mary (ruled 1553–1558), the failure of Wyatt's rising indicated the precarious nature of the regime, but also the problems affect-

ing rebellions. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragón, was a devout Catholic who was determined to return England to the Catholic fold. A parliamentary statute declared her power identical to that of a male ruler. She persuaded Parliament to repeal Edward's religious legislation and her father's Act of Supremacy. She restored papal authority and Catholic practice, although a papal dispensation from Julius III allowed the retention of the former church lands by those who now held them. The reign of the sickly Mary was brief, and her chance of success in re-Catholicizing England and Wales was further victim of her failure to produce an heir, in spite of two phantom pregnancies. Mary is chiefly remembered as a persecutor ("Bloody Mary"). Nearly three hundred Protestants were burned at the stake, including many leaders. Her reign was also important because in 1558 the French retook Calais, the last English possession in mainland France: only the Channel Islands were left.

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

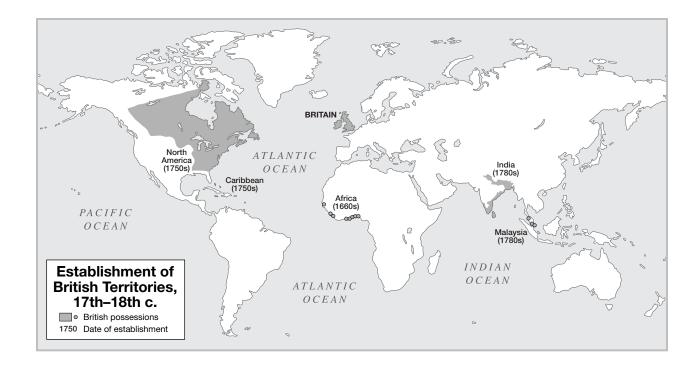
Parliamentary management became more important during the long reign of Elizabeth (ruled 1558-1603). This was an aspect of a shift in the politics of the country away from a focus on relations between crown and aristocracy and, instead, toward relations between crown and gentry. At the center, although the royal court remained the major focus of politics, this led to a greater role for Parliament and a stress on ideas of representation, and in the localities to the growing importance of the gentry as justices of the peace. The rise of a numerous and independent gentry with a sense and obligation of public duty was linked to the failure of the peerage to be the prime beneficiary of the sociopolitical changes of the period. The creation of stronger links between crown and gentry was fundamental to the achievement of the Elizabethan period. Elizabeth was the most experienced politician in her kingdom, anxious to preserve the royal prerogative, but knowing when to yield without appearing weak. She had favorites but did not give them power, and she never married. Claiming that she was an exceptional woman because she was chosen by God as his instrument, Elizabeth was pragmatic and generally more successful in coping with, indeed exploiting, divisions among her advisers than Mary had been. She presented herself as "mere English."

Elizabeth's lengthy reign permitted the consolidation of a relatively conservative Protestant church settlement, and also contrasted both with the chaos of the preceding two reigns and with the disturbed situation in contemporary France, where the lengthy civil Wars of Religion (1552-1598) were soon to begin. Like her grandfather, Henry VII (ruled 1485–1509), Elizabeth was a skillful manipulator, not a zealot. In religion, she sought to avoid extremes and would have preferred a settlement closer to that of her father, Henry VIII: Catholicism without pope or monks. She was, nevertheless, a Protestant in the last analysis. Mary's ministers and favorites were mostly dismissed, and the domestic political situation led Elizabeth in a more Protestant direction, but the Protestant settlement she introduced was more conservative than that of the last years of Edward VI. Elizabeth also sought to prevent further change, and this led to disputes with the more radical Protestants, the Puritans.

Elizabeth's Protestant settlement aroused Catholic concern, and the situation became volatile in 1568 when her cousin, the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587), fled to England, where she was next in line in the succession. Mary's presence acted as a focus for conspiracy, helping trigger the unsuccessful Northern Rising of 1569. Its failure was one of the major stages in the political unification of England, for it marked the end of any viable prospect of regional autonomy centered on a different political and/or religious agenda. This was important because the north was more religiously conservative than the south. Even in 1569, the rebellion had been intended to ensure a change in the policy of the central government. Thereafter, politics centered far more on nationwide attempts to influence the center, rather than local efforts to defy it.

The Northern Rising was followed by an escalation in tension between Elizabeth's government and Catholic Europe. In 1570, Pope Pius V excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth. This eased the path for a number of unsuccessful conspiracies designed to replace Elizabeth with Mary, Queen of Scots, which led in turn to the execution of the latter in 1587.

Two years earlier, English military support for Dutch Protestant rebels against Philip II of Spain, and English raids on Spanish trade and colonies,



especially those by Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596), had led to war between the two powers. This conflict was most famous for the Armada of 1588, a Spanish attempt to send a major fleet up the English Channel in order to cover an invasion of England from the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium) by the effective Spanish army of Flanders under the duke of Parma. This was thwarted by a combination of poor planning, a skillful English naval response, and the weather. The latter fueled the development of belief in a providential sanction for English Protestantism. To contemporaries, the unassailable nature of divine approval was clear.

Despite the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth I's reign did not end on a triumphant note. Inflation and a lack of crown revenue created a difficult situation. Elizabeth preferred to cut public expenditure rather than reform the revenue system. Demands for additional taxation and attempts to raise funds by unpopular expedients—especially forced loans, ship money, and the sale of monopolies to manufacture or sell certain goods—led to bitter criticism in the Parliaments of 1597 and 1601. Tax demands were especially unwelcome because of harvest failures and related social tensions. There were problems—political, social, and economic—aplenty, the government had a stopgap feel to it, and Elizabeth

was less adept and tolerant in her last years than she had been earlier in the reign.

THE STUART SUCCESSION AND CIVIL WAR

Yet there was no civil war comparable to that in France, and the Stuart succession was inaugurated in 1603 without such a war. The increasing widespread politicization that was a feature of sixteenth-century England did not present insuperable problems. Instead, it contributed to a stronger national consciousness.

Thus, Parliament was a national body, whereas the nearest equivalent in France, the Estates-General, had less impact (and was not summoned between 1614 and 1789) than the regional Estates. As a unitary state, England could not be divided to suit the views of a ruler.

However, in the civil war that began in 1642, the country did split. The Royalists and the Parliamentarians had backing in every region and social group. Parliamentary support was strongest in the most economically advanced regions—in the south, the east, and the large towns—but in each of these regions there were also many Royalists, and the relationship between socioeconomic groups and religious and political beliefs were complex. The latter were important. Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) received much support as the focus for strong feelings

of honor, loyalty, and duty. There was also wide-spread disquiet about possible changes to church government. In contrast, Puritans were his firm opponents. As a consequence, much rivalry was within, rather than between, social and economic groups. The English Civil War was a terrible crisis. Britons fought against and killed other Britons as never before. More than half the total number of battles ever fought on English soil involving more than 5,000 men were fought between 1642 and 1651. Out of an English male population of about 1.5 million, over 80,000 died in combat and another 100,000 of other causes arising from the war, principally disease.

Charles's defeat and his execution led eventually to a republic in 1649, and, in 1653-1658, to a military regime under Oliver Cromwell that suppressed domestic opposition and projected its power abroad with considerable success. However, the Puritan cultural revolution failed. There was widespread anxiety about the overthrow of order in politics, religion, society, and the household. This anxiety was the background to the restoration, in 1660, of the Stuart monarchy in the person of Charles II (ruled 1660-1685). Despite uncertainty and opposition, Charles's reign was more stable than the previous quarter-century. This was important not only for recovery from the mid-century conflicts, but also for economic growth and development. Foreign trade rose during Charles's reign. Economic growth was modest, and the stagnant population was a damper on demand, but there was development in both agricultural and industrial production.

Monarchy, Parliament, the Church of England, and the position of the social elite were all seen as mutually reinforcing, but the Catholicism of Charles's brother and heir, James II (ruled 1685–1688), made this an elusive harmony. James inherited his father's worst characteristics—inflexibility and dogmatism—and pressed forward unpopular authoritarian changes designed to further his goals of greater royal authority and paving the way for re-Catholicization. The political culture of the age assumed deference in return for good kingship, expectations of political behavior that involved a measure of contractualism. James spurned these boundaries.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

James's base of support was narrow, and it collapsed in 1688 as a result of challenge from without by his nephew William III (ruled 1689-1702), stadtholder of the Dutch Republic and the husband of James's daughter Mary (ruled 1689-1694). William's invasion of England was quickly successful, in large part because he ably exploited James's failure of nerve. James was encouraged to flee and Parliament declared that James had abdicated, rather than adopting the more radical notion that he had been deposed. Parliament debarred Catholics from the succession and placed restrictions on royal power. The financial settlement left William with an ordinary revenue that was too small for his peacetime needs, obliging him to turn to Parliament for support. A standing army was prohibited unless permitted by Parliament. In other words, Parliament was by this time stronger than the monarchy.

As with the Tudor triumph in 1485, England had been successfully invaded. But in 1688 the political situation was very different for a number of reasons, not least the validating role of Parliament, and the need to ensure that Scotland and Ireland were brought in line. Nevertheless, there was also a fundamental continuity. Political issues were settled by conflict. Furthermore, the dynastic position was crucial: political legitimacy could not be divorced from the sovereign and the succession. Both these factors ensure that the elements of modernity suggested by the constitutional products of the 1688 invasion have to be qualified by reminders of more traditional features of the political structure.

What was to be termed by its supporters the Glorious Revolution was to play a central role in the Whiggish, heroic, self-congratulatory account of English development. It was clearly important in the growth of an effective parliamentary monarchy in which the constitutional role of Parliament served as the anchor of cooperation between the crown and the sociopolitical elite. Yet a less benign account is also possible, and not only from the perspective of the exiled James and his Jacobite supporters. The instability of the ministries of the period 1689-1721 suggests that the political environment necessary for an effective parliamentary monarchy had in some ways been hindered by the events of 1688-1689. A parliamentary monarchy could not simply be legislated into existence. It required the develop-

ment of conventions and patterns of political behavior that would permit a constructive resolution of contrary opinions. This took time and was not helped by the burdens of the lengthy and difficult wars with France—from 1689 to 1697 and 1702 to 1713—that followed the Glorious Revolution. William's seizure of power did not assist this process of resolution for other reasons: alongside praise for him as a Protestant and a providential blessing, there was criticism of him as a usurper. This criticism was marginalized because the circumstances of William's reign permitted him a political and polemical victory over his opponents. As a result, the Protestant and Whiggish vision associated with the victors eventually came to seem natural to the English. However, a tenuous link can be drawn between the willingness to conceive of new political structures and governmental arrangements—seen, for example, with the parliamentary Union of England and Scotland in 1707 and the foundation of the Bank of England in 1694—and the increased interest in taking an active role in first understanding the world and then seeking to profit from this understanding, which flowered with the scientific revolution.

See also Agriculture; Anne (England); Armada, Spanish; Bible: Translations and Editions; Capitalism; Charles I (England); Charles II (England); Church of England; Communication and Transportation; Cromwell, Oliver; Drama: English; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); Enclosure; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Literature and Language; Feudalism; George II (Great Britain); George III (Great Britain); Glorious Revolution; Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Henry VIII (England); Jacobitism; James I and VI (England and Scotland); James II (England); Laborers; Mary I (England); Printing and Publishing; Puritanism; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Tudor Dynasty (England); William and Mary; Witchcraft.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Black, Jeremy. *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 1688–1783. Basingstoke, U.K., 2001.
- ——. Historical Atlas of Britain: The End of the Middle Ages to the Georgian Era. Thrupp, U.K., 2000.
- . A History of the British Isles. London, 1996.
- ----. A New History of England. Stroud, U.K., 2000.
- Burgess, Glenn. The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought, 1603–1642. Basingstoke, U.K., 1992.
- Doran, Susan. England and Europe in the Sixteenth Century. Basingstoke, U.K., 1998.

- Fraser, Antonia, ed. The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England: William I to Elizabeth II. London, 1998.
- Gunn, Steven. Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558. Basingstoke, U.K., 1995.
- Hughes, Ann. *The Causes of the English Civil War*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke, U.K., 1998.
- Hutton, Ronald. The British Republic, 1649–1660. Basingstoke, U.K., 1990.
- Jack, Sybil. Towns in Tudor and Stuart Britain. Basingstoke, U.K., 1996.
- Jewell, Helen M. Education in Early Modern England. Basingstoke, U.K., 1998.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *The Later Reformation in England*, 1547–1603. 2nd ed. New York, 2001.
- Marsh, Christopher. Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding Their Peace. Basingstoke, U.K., 1998.
- Rex, Richard. Henry VIII and the English Reformation. Basingstoke, U.K., 1993.
- Schama, Simon. A History of Britain: The British Wars 1603-1776. London, 2001.
- Spurr, John. English Puritanism, 1603-1689. New York, 1998.

Young, Michael. Charles I. Basingstoke, U.K., 1997.

JEREMY BLACK

ENGLAND, CHURCH OF. See Church of England.

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND INTER-**REGNUM.** There was nothing inevitable about the armed conflict that broke out between King Charles I (ruled 1625-1649) and Parliament in 1642. That conflict was made possible in the first instance by the long-term weakness of the English monarchy. Lacking a standing army or a paid bureaucracy, the monarch was powerless to coerce his or her subjects. Without adequate income from legal sources, including parliamentary taxation, he or she lacked also financial power. The early Stuarts had attempted to augment their incomes by levying impositions (surcharges on existing customs duties), exacting forced loans, exploiting feudal fiscal privileges, and inventing a new form of nonparliamentary taxation known as ship money. These high-handed fiscal practices, combined with in-

creasing resort to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and other absolutist practices, provoked resentment among large segments of the nobility, gentry, lawyers, and merchants who comprised the political nation.

Charles I found parliaments as exasperating as they found him. When in 1629 he dissolved his third Parliament, he promised himself that he would never call another. He might well have succeeded in his ambition to govern as an absolute king had it not been for the problem of multiple kingdoms. As well as being king of England, he was lord of Ireland and king of Scotland as well. During the ensuing decade he decided to bring Scottish religious practice into line with English by substituting an Anglican order of service for the Presbyterian directory of worship. In 1638 the Scots rose up and threw out the new service book. Charles's two attempts to subdue them by military force in the Bishops' Wars of 1639 and 1640 were abject failures. Revenues from the collection of ship money dried up, and his English soldiers deserted in droves. At the insistence of the nobility and with nowhere else to turn, he summoned Parliament. Once convened, the Commons refused him the taxes he desperately needed, voting instead what they termed a "brotherly assistance" to the Scots. Parliament then set about dismantling the apparatus of prerogative government by abolishing ship money and the prerogative courts of Star Chamber, High Commission and Wards, and the Council of the North. They also passed the Triennial Act requiring a new Parliament every three years (the present Parliament excepted), deprived the church courts of their punitive powers, and attainted Charles's chief minister, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford (1593–1641), of treason. Charles ratified all these changes, including the beheading of Strafford, but with such ill grace that many doubted that he would keep his word.

Trust became a critical issue with the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland in the fall of 1641. As lord-lieutenant, Strafford had governed that realm with a heavy hand. When he departed for England in 1640 to advise Charles on his crisis with Scotland and Parliament, Strafford left behind a political vacuum. That combined with resentment over Charles's failure to guarantee the Catholic inhabitants security of tenure on their estates and fear of the resurgent strength of political Puritanism in England to set off



English Civil War and Interregnum. Cartoon Concerning the Execution of Charles I. An engraving from the 1660s pays homage to the king in verse and depicts the royal "tree" that has been felled with his execution sprouting anew with the help of Divine Providence. ©CORBIS

an explosion in the northern province of Ulster, which rapidly spread to the rest of Ireland. Wildly exaggerated reports of appalling atrocities and a Protestant death toll of 150,000 or more (in reality deaths were somewhere between 3,000 and 12,000) inflamed English opinion. There was universal agreement that an army should be mustered at once to put down the rebellion and exact vengeance, but there was no agreement about who should be entrusted with the command of that army—a general nominated by the king or by Parliament? Charles's attempt on 5 January 1642 to arrest five of the parliamentary ringleaders, whom he suspected of plotting to impeach the queen, together with the rumor that he had actually autho-

rized the Ulster Catholics to rise in rebellion only deepened parliamentary distrust toward him. Preparations for armed conflict had already begun when Parliament issued its ultimatum known as the Nineteen Propositions in June 1642. The demands included parliamentary control over appointments to the privy council and all other great offices of state, parliamentary control over the education and marriages of the king's children, denial of the right to vote for "popish Lords" in the House of Peers, no creation of peers without parliamentary consent, parliamentary direction of foreign policy, and parliamentary control of the army. It was nothing less than a demand for sovereignty and the reduction of Charles's status to that of constitutional monarch. His rejection of the Nineteen Propositions led directly to civil war in the fall of 1642.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1642-1646

Things had come to this pass largely because of the fear that the king could not be counted on to defend his kingdom against the military and political menace of international Catholicism. This menace was exemplified in English Protestant minds by the expulsion of the king's daughter and son-in-law from Bohemia (29 October 1620), and from the Palatinate Electorate (13 February 1623) and by the military pressure of a resurgent Counter-Reformation Catholicism on the United Provinces. Far from being the Protestant champion that the political classes expected, Charles was regarded by many as a cryptopapist. Legal and constitutional arguments about sovereignty therefore were inflamed by religious passion. Religion more than any other single factor brought thousands of men to rally to the standard of king or Parliament; to write, debate, and risk their lives; and to kill one another by the tens of thousands over the next decade.

If the civil wars were in one sense the last of Europe's wars of religion, they were also in their early phase a baronial conflict, a renewal under different emblems of the fifteenth-century Wars of the Roses. The earls of Essex, Warwick, Bedford, and Manchester, viscount Saye and Sele, and barons Wharton and Brooke all had their personal grievances against Charles and their reasons for striving to reduce his power as well as the power of the nobility who surrounded and sustained him. Until 1645 the parliamentary armies and navy were led by

aristocrats, and it was at all times the king's view that the nobility, in particular "the chief rebel" Robert Devereux, earl of Essex (1591–1646), had instigated the civil war.

THE NAVY AND LONDON: FACTORS IN PARLIAMENT'S VICTORY

Parliament got off to a quick start in preparing for war with the king. First it maneuvered him into accepting Robert Rich, earl of Warwick (1587–1658), instead of his own nominee for lord high admiral. Tough and popular with the seamen, Warwick acted decisively to take control of the navy for Parliament. As Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon (1609–1674), later lamented, "This loss of the whole navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the king's affairs" (The History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England).

In addition, Parliament browbeat Charles into accepting its nominee for lieutenant of the Tower of London, the nation's chief fortress, arsenal, mint, and treasury. The City was also the scene of impassioned political activity from 1640 onward. In December of that year Londoners spearheaded the Root and Branch Petition demanding the radical reform of the church. Frequently between 1640 and 1642 urban crowds demonstrated outside the House of Lords, attempting to prevent bishops and moderate or royalist peers from sitting, denouncing the earl of Strafford, and intimidating others into passing legislation such as the bill on church reform. At the same time Charles's careless disregard of the economic interests of the City during the previous decade led to a victory for radical Parliamentarians in the municipal elections of December 1641. They gave sanctuary to the Five Members (John Pym, William Strode, Denzil Holles, John Hampden, and Sir Arthur Hesilrige) the following month and created a Committee of Safety to shield the City from royalist attack. Through their friends in Parliament they got Philip Skippon (d. 1660), a trusty commander with continental experience, commissioned as commander of the City Trained Bands. Through these measures London was won for Parliament before civil war broke out. Over the next several months London was an enthusiastic source of recruits. Before the first battle at Edgehill in October 1642, eight thousand citizens and apprentices enlisted in the earl of Essex's army.

London was the nation's leading port and an inexhaustible source of manpower. It was also an economic powerhouse, a "shop of war" as John Milton (1608-1674) termed it in Areopagitica (1644). London tradespeople and their employees manufactured tens of thousands of swords, muskets, pikes, shirts, shoes, socks, coats, and helmets for the parliamentary war effort. Thanks to the banking facilities of the great merchants, Parliament was able to reach into some deep pockets to finance these purchases. It was also able to take out vast loans, tap into the bulk of the customs revenue, and raise large sums from the excise and income taxes known as the assessments from the metropolis. As Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) pithily observed in his Behemoth, "But for the city the Parliament never could have made the war" (p. 202).

BATTLE OF EDGEHILL, 23 OCTOBER 1642

By the time the two armies clashed in their first major battle, the king's strength was almost up to that of Parliament (fourteen thousand to about fifteen thousand respectively). In one respect the battle can be considered a draw since the armies fought each other to a standstill. More significant was Essex's withdrawal in the direction of Warwick, leaving the road to London open to the king. The royalist army pressed toward the capital, but the citizens, inspired by the personal recruiting of the earl of Essex, turned out en masse at Turnham Green, a few miles west of the capital, to stop its advance in November 1642.

The first taste of the horrors of war prompted many in the City and in Parliament to become advocates of peace. The alarming prospect of continuing bloodshed, rising unemployment, and a shivering winter owing to the cutting off of coal supplies from Newcastle helped to bring about the peace negotiations at Oxford in early 1643. The war party under John Pym (1584–1643) and William Fiennes, viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662), was strong enough, however, to undermine these negotiations, and the war resumed.

For most of the war's second year, 1643, the royalists' armies fared better than Parliament's. Although Essex captured Reading in April, he failed to follow up his victory by besieging Oxford. In the north William Cavendish, marquis of Newcastle (1592–1676), mopped up much of Yorkshire and

North Lincolnshire. On 29 June 1643 he won a big victory at Adwalton Moor, Yorkshire, against the army of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax (1584-1648) and his son Thomas Fairfax (1612-1671). In the Southwest, Sir Ralph Hopton (1596-1652), later Lord Hopton, chalked up impressive territorial gains for the king while conducting a series of running engagements with Sir William Waller (c. 1597–1668), the emerging darling of the war party at Westminster. Finally, at Roundway Down near Devizes on 14 July 1643, Waller's army was completely routed, and the king had complete control of the West. The yielding of Bristol, the second port in the kingdom, by Lord Saye's son Nathaniel Fiennes (1608?-1669) completed the catalog of setbacks and threw the parliamentary war party into disarray. On the one hand they had become increasingly restive under Essex's lackluster leadership; on the other they were intensely embarrassed by the dismal showing of their own mascots, Waller and Fiennes. Moreover, in July the attempt to mobilize the London populace into a volunteer army under the banner of a "general rising" against the royalists was a flop. It took all the organizing genius of Pym and the war party to resist the mounting demands for peace in August and to secure support for new taxes and conscription to rehabilitate the parliamentary war effort.

THE SCOTTISH CONTRIBUTION: BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR, 2 JULY 1644

What finally turned the tide for Parliament was Pym's supreme accomplishment: an alliance with Scotland. In return for a promise to introduce the Presbyterian form of church government into England, the Scots came to Parliament's aid with an army of 21,500 well-trained troops. The bargain was sealed in the Solemn League and Covenant in the fall of 1643, and the Scots army entered England early in 1644.

The king meanwhile gained no comparable benefit from the treaty he signed with the Irish confederates in September 1643. Several thousand Irish troops streamed across the Irish Sea in small contingents, but the only significant body was destroyed and dispersed by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich, Cheshire, in January 1644. From then on the royalists were constantly trying to shore up crumbling positions.

The decisive turning point of the first civil war was the Battle of Marston Moor, just outside York, on 2 July 1644. The Scots, having overrun the city of Newcastle, laid siege to the royalist garrison at York. The Fairfaxes were also there with their northern army, five thousand strong. They were joined by Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester (1602-1671), and Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), who brought eight thousand men of the Eastern Association Army. These three armies made up a coalition force numbering about twenty-seven thousand soldiers. They were challenged by a royalist army of fourteen thousand under Prince Rupert (1619-1682) and four thousand under the marquis of Newcastle. The battle was an overwhelming Parliamentarian-Scottish victory. The cream of the royalist infantry, Newcastle's Whitecoats, were wiped out, York surrendered within a fortnight, and the North was lost.

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE AND THE NEW MODEL ARMY

Parliament, however, did not preserve the momentum of this great victory. A peculiar lethargy settled on the aristocratic generals. Manchester, appalled by the carnage of the battlefield, brooded that "if we fight [the king] 100 times and beat him 99 he will be King still, but if he beat us but once . . . we shall be hanged . . . and our posterities be undone" (The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell, vol. 12, p. 93). Parliament's advantage was almost frittered away by Essex when he allowed his army to become trapped by Charles at Lostwithiel, Cornwall (September 1644). In the capital there were bitter recriminations and much political infighting in the wake of Essex's defeat. The shame of Lostwithiel extinguished almost all the political influence that remained to the earl. Waller's disgrace was almost as great on account of his sluggishness in coming to Essex's rescue. When at Newbury the combined forces of Essex, Waller, and Manchester failed again to deliver a knockout blow to the main royalist army, the war party's patience finally wore out. The voices became louder demanding a purge of Parliament's military leadership and the unification of its armies under a new, centralized command.

The Self-Denying Ordinance was introduced in Parliament by Zouch Tate, a Presbyterian supporter of the war party and member of the Committee for the Army, in December 1644 but was not passed until the following April. Under its terms the members of both houses were required to surrender all commissions, military and civil. While its passage was stalled in the Lords, the war party in the Commons set about to pull the rug from under the old commanders by depriving their armies of funding and constructing a new army on the ruins of the old. The new army's commander in chief was Sir Thomas Fairfax, barely thirty-three years old but without the political baggage of his counterparts in the other armies.

Against the backdrop of these military preparations, the futility of the peace negotiations at Uxbridge was starkly exposed. Parliament demanded that the king should take the covenant, assent to the abolition of bishops and the Book of Common Prayer, and establish Presbyterianism in England. Parliament further demanded that the militia and the navy should be permanently under its control. Regarding Ireland, the treaty with the Irish Confederates was to be abrogated, and the war against the Irish was to be fought by Parliament alone. Parliament knew these demands were impossible for the king to accept. Not only had he promised his wife not to yield on the first two, he was at that very moment in secret talks with the insurgents to send him troops, promising in return to repeal the laws against Catholics. The Uxbridge negotiations wound up on 22 February, having achieved nothing.

Both sides continued to arm themselves for the new fighting season. Three months after the houses had approved his officer list, Fairfax also asked them to exempt Oliver Cromwell from the Self-Denying Ordinance so that he could fill the vacant post of lieutenant general of the cavalry. Cromwell rode into the camp of the New Model Army (so-called because it was "newly modeled" out of the three previous armies of Manchester, Essex, and Waller, although it was referred to in official documents as the Army of Sir Thomas Fairfax) the day before the Battle of Naseby (14 June 1645). In spite of the low opinion among royalists of the New Model Army, Rupert advised against giving battle, largely on account of the failure of George Goring (1608–1657) to obey orders to bring his five thousand cavalry from Taunton. Charles overruled Rupert in the belief that a battle could not be avoided. On Naseby

Field a royalist army of barely nine thousand faced a parliamentary force of fifteen thousand. In a little more than two hours the battle's outcome was decided. The royalist cavalry was routed, and most of its infantry surrendered.

More damaging to the king than the loss of his main army was the capture of his secret correspondence. Its contents were a time bomb that was detonated less than a month later with the publication of excerpts under the title The Kings Cabinet Opened. Charles's letters, many of them to or from his wife Henrietta Maria (1609-1669), filled readers with a thrill of horror as they read of his doubledealing and his pathetic desire to please his wife. The letters also brought into the full light of day Charles's tireless efforts to secure outside aid, including that of the Irish Catholic Confederation. Equally they exposed the king's deep distrust of his own people and documented his willingness to take away all penal laws against Catholics in order to recruit more soldiers for his cause. No longer would Protestants in England give credence to his assertions that he was the stout defender of their faith.

After Naseby the New Model Army mopped up the West, destroying Goring's cavalry at Langport in July and taking Bristol from Rupert in September. In Scotland, James Graham, marquis of Montrose (1612-1650), after winning five brilliant victories for the king, was decisively defeated at Philiphaugh. Over the succeeding months dozens of towns and garrisons fell like bowling pins before Fairfax's inexorable advance until, in June 1646, Oxford, the royalist headquarters, surrendered. Before that happened Charles disguised himself and rode to Newark, where he gave himself up to the Scots. He then embarked on a long policy of divide and rule among his victorious foes, which bore fruit in a secret engagement with the Scots in December 1647. Simultaneously the charade of peace negotiations was repeated, this time at Newcastle, where the Scots housed Charles. The parliamentary commissioners presented him with a long list of councillors, field officers, and bishops who were to be denied pardon and others who were to be barred from public office for life. Worse still, Parliament would have divided the nation into sheep and goats and created a resentful and embittered royalist faction that might have perpetuated itself indefinitely. Now that the king's capacity to do harm was gone, he

actually rose in public esteem, while at the same time the unprecedented weight of Parliament's taxation, the all-encompassing tyranny of its county committees, and the impact of its huge armies on the civil population across the breadth of England rendered it increasingly unpopular after six years of uninterrupted sitting.

As the barren talks at Newcastle wound to their foreordained conclusion, Parliament attempted to address the domestic problems that had made it so bitterly resented. The bishops' lands were put up for sale in the hope of paying off the Scots and replenishing the exhausted treasury. Denzil Holles (1599?–1680?) and Sir Philip Stapleton (1603–1647), the political heirs of Essex, who had died in September 1646, moved to disband the New Model Army with only a fraction of its arrears. Their goal was twofold—to relieve the tax burden and to eliminate the chief pillar of support for the war party, now called the Independents.

In the face of the New Model Army's imminent extinction, radical Independents in the metropolis, soon to be known as Levellers, tried to rally support for it. The peace party, or Presbyterians, however, remained intransigent, going so far as to declare any soldiers who petitioned for their arrears and against disbandment "enemies to the state." By their hostility the Presbyterians provoked the army to revolt, seize the king, and invade London. All the while the senior officers struggled to moderate the revolutionary temper that had seized the army, but the Levellers sought to inflame it, egging on the rank and file to question their leaders' reluctance to force radical reform on Parliament. At Putney in October and November they succeeded in forcing a debate on their Agreement of the People, a draft constitution that would have established a republic, enlarged the franchise, enshrined freedom of conscience, and banned conscription for military service. With considerable difficulty, the Leveller challenge was put down.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR, REVOLUTION, AND REGICIDE, 1648–1649

But this was not achieved before the king had dragged the country through a second harrowing experience of fire and the sword. In November 1647, while the army was thrashing out its internal differences and carrying on its argument with Parliament,

Charles escaped from custody and took refuge on the Isle of Wight, where Colonel Robert Hammond (1621–1654) placed him under a polite form of house arrest. It was there that Charles negotiated an Engagement (26 December 1647) with a segment of the Scottish nobility for military intervention to restore him to his throne in return for a three-year embrace of Presbyterianism. Once the Engagement was sealed, the signal was sent out to prepare supporting uprisings throughout England. There was enough resentment against "parliamentary tyranny" to make the ground fertile for the insemination of such conspiracies. The uprisings did occur in Kent, Essex, East Anglia, Yorkshire, and Wales but they were ill-coordinated and occurred several weeks and months before James, Duke of Hamilton (1606–1649), in the teeth of much clerical opposition, could bring his poorly equipped army across the border. Cromwell and Fairfax quickly doused the royalist brushfires in England and Wales, while Cromwell dealt a devastating blow to the combined English and Scottish royalist armies at Preston (17) August 1648).

To the army's dismay, Parliament, rather than dictate terms to the twice-defeated monarch, reopened peace talks with him at Newport. Many of the officers had already made up their minds that Charles Stuart was a "man of blood" who should be put on trial for his crimes against the English people. At army headquarters Henry Ireton (1611-1651) drafted the Remonstrance of the Army, calling for the king's trial, the abolition of the monarchy, and the adoption of the Leveller program. Parliament brushed aside the Remonstrance and carried on negotiations with the king. The army then occupied London, and on 6 December Colonel Thomas Pride (d. 1658) was sent with a company of soldiers to exclude those members of the Commons who had supported the drafted Newport Treaty. The purged house, soon to be known as the Rump, now set up the High Court of Justice to try the king. Charles refused either to plead or to acknowledge the court's jurisdiction; had he done so he might have saved his head. Recalcitrant to the end, he was sentenced to die as "a tyrant, traitor and murderer" (A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason, vol. 1, p. 1041). His beheading took place in the early afternoon of 30 January 1649 in front of his Whitehall Banqueting House. A deep, involuntary groan rose from the packed crowd at the moment when the executioner's axe severed his head from his body.

THE CONQUESTS OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND, 1649–1651

A republic or "commonwealth" was now instituted, and the monarchy and House of Lords were abolished. The Council of State was created in place of the royal privy council. No member of Parliament (M.P.) who would not sign an Engagement to support the new regime was allowed to sit. Gradually those who had boycotted the Commons after Pride's purge trickled back. The properties of crown and church as well as leading royalist "delinquents" were put up for sale. The crown lands went mostly to the army, the bishops' lands to London merchants, and the other properties mostly to local landowners. By the time of the Restoration, the royalists had recovered most of their lands.

With its house now in order, the republic turned its attention outward. High on its agenda was the conquest of Ireland, not least because the king's servant James Butler, marquis of Ormonde (1610-1688), had recently signed a treaty of mutual aid with the Catholic Confederation. Under the treaty Ireland would have enjoyed national autonomy, with full rights for Catholics, under English kingship. Had the treaty not been shattered by the Cromwellian conquest, it might have paved the way for an Ireland at peace with itself and with the rest of the world. The view from Westminster was different. Ireland was assumed to be a dependent kingdom and was viewed greedily as a field for colonization, while its popish religion was seen as nothing less than idolatry. Cromwell was given an army of twelve thousand troops and a handsome treasury with which to effect the conquest. When he landed near Dublin in mid-August, the commander of Dublin, Colonel Michael Jones (d. 1649), had already prepared the way for him by a great victory over Ormonde's forces at Rathmines, just outside the city.

With Dublin secure, Cromwell moved against the garrison at Drogheda on the River Boyne. When the garrison refused to surrender, Cromwell ordered it to be stormed. In the heat of battle he ordered all who were in arms in the town put to the sword. The resulting massacre totaled over three thousand soldiers, friars, and priests. He next moved south to Wexford, a base for privateering against English shipping. Owing to faulty communications, the city was stormed while negotiations for surrender were underway. The Irish death toll was about two thousand. Cromwell tried to assuage his guilty conscience for the massacres by expressing the hope that ruthlessness at the beginning would minimize bloodshed in the future. After an initial period of shock, however, the Irish kept on fighting. The country was devastated, with a death toll from hunger and disease reducing the population by about 20 percent. Ireland was not militarily subdued until the fall of 1652.

Cromwell was not there to witness Ireland's final surrender, for he had been recalled to England in May 1650. Because the Scots had hailed Charles II (ruled 1660-1685) as king of Scotland and England, the Council of State took the offensive by ordering an invasion of Scotland in order to forestall an invasion of England. Cromwell was given charge of the invasion force, numbering sixteen thousand men. Plagued by disease and desertion, his task was not easy. His sweeping victory at Dunbar (3 September 1650) was won against an army twice as large as his own. Between then and the summer of 1651 he extended his control over Scotland, which prompted Charles II to risk all on a desperate invasion of England. Cromwell caught up with him at Worcester and scattered his forces. The hapless king was lucky to escape with his life, spending a night in an oak tree before being led to the safety of a continental exile, where he spent the next nine years.

FROM COMMONWEALTH TO PROTECTORATE, 1652–1659

During all the time they had been away fighting the Commonwealth's wars, the army officers had not forgotten their expectations of religious and political reform. Victories had convinced them that they were the instruments of some tremendous divine destiny for which England had been singled out. The euphoria of the battlefield soon evaporated, however, as the army collided with the stubborn conservatism of the Rump Parliament. Interested less in reform than in waging a naval war against the Dutch, the Rump tried to balance its books by steadily whittling away the army's troop strength. As conditions worsened in London during the win-

ter of 1652–1653 thanks to the Dutch naval blockade, the army took steps to protect itself by forcing a dissolution of Parliament and new elections. The Rump attempted to head off this threat by preparing its own Bill of Dissolution, stipulating that no army officer could be elected to the next Parliament but omitting sufficient safeguards against the election of royalists. Foreseeing the army's destruction if this bill were passed, Cromwell took a party of musketeers and dissolved the house.

The dilemma of Cromwell and his officers was that while they did not wish to impose a military dictatorship they knew that even relatively free elections would result in the return of a royalist Parliament. There followed, over the next six years, a series of constitutional experiments designed to prevent the latter eventuality while seeking a measure of parliamentary government. First was the Nominated or "Bare-bones" Parliament, which sat from July to December 1653. It consisted of 140 representatives of the three kingdoms, handpicked by the officers for their commitment to "godly reformation"—the moral reform that, it was believed, would produce a truly godly society in which the Sabbath would be observed, all forms of debauchery, such as drunkenness, adultery, cock fighting, and bear baiting, would be suppressed, education would be promoted, and the poor looked after. When this body threatened property rights by moving to abolish tithes, its dissolution was quietly engineered.

Next came the Instrument of Government (1653), England's only written constitution, devised by General John Lambert (1619-1683) and the Council of Officers. It restored the concept of balance in the constitution with a lord protector, council, and Parliament. Executive power was vested in the first two, but the protector was bound, as kings had not been, to follow his council's advice. Appointed by Parliament, the council could not be dismissed by the protector. Far from being a military dictator, Cromwell, the first lord protector, was obliged to summon Parliament at least every three years and was allowed only limited veto power over parliamentary legislation. In one important area the instrument did give him greater power than it had given previous monarchs: he was endowed with a navy and a standing army of thirty thousand men. The franchise was broadened, and constituencies were redistributed to reflect more accurately the population and wealth of the three kingdoms. Although Christianity was privileged as the public faith, there were no rigid doctrinal tests, and a large measure of de facto toleration prevailed. Cromwell's own toleration extended to the Jews, whom he readmitted to England in 1656 despite parliamentary opposition.

HOLLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN

This experiment in limited constitutional democracy ultimately failed, but not before England's military and diplomatic power had been projected as never before. Between 1652 and 1654 war was successfully waged against the United Provinces, the world's leading commercial power. The issue with Holland was the Navigation Act requiring that all goods shipped to or from English ports be carried either in English ships or those of the country where the goods originated. A triumphant English navy next proceeded to open up the Mediterranean to English commerce by clearing out the Barbary pirates. Dunkirk was then recaptured from France. Next it was Spain's turn. That country's hegemony in the New World was challenged with the invasion of Hispaniola. Repulsed there, Cromwell had to be content with Jamaica as a consolation prize.

In 1657 a group of influential citizens urged Cromwell to accept the crown and establish an Oliverian dynasty. Mindful of his officers' entrenched republicanism, he turned aside the offer, but in 1658 he did name his firstborn son Richard Cromwell (1626–1712) as his successor. When Oliver Cromwell died in September 1658, England's prestige was higher among the powers of Europe than at any time since the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). Yet the regime of his son was soon to unravel. Within months Richard Cromwell, who lacked military experience, faced a coalition of army officers and republicans demanding the abolition of the protectorate and the recall of the Rump Parliament. Bowing to the inevitable, Richard resigned his protectorship, and "the Good Old Parliament" returned (Humble Remonstrance of 21 April 1659, cited in Woolrych, p. 723). But when the Rump tried to curb the power of the army grandees (the higher officers of the army), they struck back, dissolving the Rump a second time.

Confused and divided among themselves, the grandees did not know what to do next until the commander in Scotland, General George Monck (1608–1670), announced that enough was enough. The military should be subordinate to civilian authority, he proclaimed, and to enforce this principle he marched his army into England. All along the way to London he was besieged with petitions for a full and free Parliament, which everyone knew meant the restoration of the king. He kept his own counsel, first restoring the Rump, then bringing back the unpurged Long Parliament, and then encouraging it to dissolve itself in favor of fresh elections for a Convention Parliament. Carefully guiding events, he extracted from the exiled king at Breda in Holland a four-point declaration promising a general amnesty, payment of army arrears, religious toleration, and the confirmation of confiscated land sales. No one was to know that the king, driven by the Cavalier Parliament, would soon renege on all these promises except for the payment of the army. Charles II was proclaimed king on 8 May 1660 amid general jubilation.

CONCLUSION

How does one explain the bloodless Restoration of monarchy after eighteen years of civil war, revolution, and interregnum? Like other revolutionary regimes the Commonwealth collapsed from within. Revenue never kept up with expenditure, and by the end of the 1650s the state was bankrupt. For all its military exploits in Scotland, Ireland, and abroad, it had failed to win the respect of the people of the landed classes, who increasingly yearned for the rule of law under the old constitution of king, Lords, and Commons. Distrust of standing armies combined with fear of religious radicalism and social anarchy, which appeared to be united in the phenomena of Quakerism, Anabaptism, and Fifth Monarchism. (Adherents of Fifth Monarchism believed that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent because the overthrow of the fifth monarchy, of which Charles I was thought to be the last representative, had been prophesied in Scripture as the precursor of the return of the Messiah.) Republican rigidity in Parliament, when set beside the internal division and intellectual exhaustion of the army grandees, furnished a recipe for the revolution's self-destruction. By the spring of 1660 only the

monarchy could fill the political vacuum left by the Good Old Cause.

There was, however, a revolutionary legacy that was not extinguished at the Restoration. The constitutional changes of 1641 were preserved, the monarch's feudal and prerogative rights were not brought back, while the "divinity that doth hedge a king" had largely drained away (*Hamlet*). The legacy of radical thought, religious liberty, and parliamentary direction of the state was to reemerge in the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689.

See also Charles I (England); Charles II (England); Cromwell, Oliver; English Civil War Radicalism; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Ireland; Parliament; Scotland; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); William and Mary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aylmer, G. E., ed. The Levellers in the English Revolution. London, 1975.
- Capp, Bernard. Cromwell's Navy. Oxford, 1989.
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of. *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*. Edited by William Dunn Macray. Oxford, 1888.
- A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason. Edited by Francis Hargrave. 4th ed. Edinburgh and London, 1930.
- Fletcher, Anthony. The Outbreak of the English Civil War. New York, 1981.
- Gardiner, Samuel R. History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1656. 4 vols. London, 1903.
- ——. History of the Great Civil War, 1642–1649. 4 vols. London, 1893.
- Gentles, Ian. The New Model Army in England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1645–1653. Oxford, 1992.
- Hill, Christopher. The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution. London, 1972.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Behemoth; or, the Long Parliament*. Edited by Ferdinand Tönies. London, 1899.
- Hughes, Ann. *The Causes of the English Civil War*. Basingstoke, U.K., and New York, 1991.
- Hutton, Ronald. The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales, 1658–1667. Oxford, 1985.
- Kenyon, John, and Jane Ohlmeyer, eds. *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1638–1660.* Oxford, 1998.
- Kishlansky, Mark. "The Case of the Army Truly Stated: The Creation of the New Model Army." *Past & Present* 81 (1978): 51–74.

- Mendle, Michael, ed. *The Putney Debates of 1647*. Cambridge, U.K., 2001.
- Morrill, John. The Nature of the English Revolution. London and New York, 1993.
- ——. Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630–1648. London and New York, 1999.
- Pincus, Steven C. A. Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668. Cambridge, U.K., 1996.
- The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell. Edited by David Masson. London, 1875.
- Russell, Conrad. The Causes of the English Civil War. Oxford, 1990.
- -----. The Fall of the British Monarchies, 1637-1642. Oxford, 1991.
- Scott, David. *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms*, 1637–1649. Basingstoke, 2003.
- Woolrych, Austin. Britain in Revolution, 1625-1660. Oxford, 2002.
- Wootton, David, ed. Republicanism, Liberty, and Commercial Society, 1649–1776. Stanford, 1994.
- Worden, Blair. The Rump Parliament, 1648-1653. Cambridge, U.K., 1974.

IAN GENTLES

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR RADI-

CALISM. Radicalism in the 1640s and 1650s was a fluid and dynamic phenomenon in which religious and secular ideas were often impossible to separate. Individuals frequently transferred their allegiance upon encountering a new and charismatic leader, while others broke away to forge their own individual paths. But from within this flux several more coherent movements emerged, and it is their stories we trace here.

BAPTISTS

The first of these movements to appear was that of the Baptists, a group whose origins can be traced back to a group of Puritan separatists who had fled to the Netherlands in 1608. Under the influence of Dutch Anabaptists, some of them quickly adopted the principle of adult (or believer's) baptism, and the principle of general redemption, which held that saving grace was available to all who accepted it through faith. Returning to England in 1612, they

founded the first General Baptist church in London. Some of the other refugees, still Calvinist, returned later to establish a semi-separatist church in the capital, and by 1638 some of its members had broken away to form a Particular (or Calvinist) Baptist congregation. The Baptists were thus divided from the beginning into two distinct movements, the General and Particular Baptists, each deeply suspicious of the other.

The religious freedom of the 1640s allowed both movements to expand rapidly, and in 1644 the Particular Baptists issued a Confession of Faith signed by representatives of seven London churches. By 1660 there were about 250 congregations, roughly 60 percent of them Particular Baptist, with perhaps 25,000 members in all. Particular and General Baptists agreed that baptism was only a valid sacrament for adult believers and should be administered by immersion in a river, following biblical precedent. They also agreed that each congregation should enjoy total independence. Both found recruits among artisans and small farmers, both attacked tithes and university learning, both found support in the New Model Army, and both nurtured millenarian dreams. But their fundamental division over the means of salvation outweighed these similarities.

The Particular Baptists, closer in spirit to the Independents, or Congregationalists, were always anxious to stress their respectability. The General Baptists, by contrast, more distant from the Puritan mainstream, were more anticlerical and more evangelical. Leaders such as Thomas Lambe (d. 1686), a soap boiler, preached to large crowds in London and toured southern England on missionary campaigns, often challenging the clergy to public debate in a manner that foreshadowed the Quaker movement of the 1650s. The Presbyterian polemicist Thomas Edwards (1599–1647) denounced Lambe and his kind as blasphemous anarchists. In reality, both Baptist movements were primarily concerned to secure religious toleration. While many individuals were drawn away by more radical groups, leaders such as William Kiffin (1616-1671), a Particular Baptist merchant, persuaded the majority to cooperate with the parliamentary regimes of the period.

LEVELLERS

The Leveller movement, which emerged toward the end of the civil war, was primarily political in spirit, but most of its leaders had roots in radical Puritanism, and the gathered churches provided a key recruiting ground. This movement developed from fears that a postwar settlement would bring few rewards for the common people. In particular, Leveller leaders such as "Freeborn John" Lilburne (c. 1614–1657), Richard Overton (c. 1625–1664), and William Walwyn (1600-1681) recoiled at the prospect of a rigid new uniformity under a national Presbyterian church. Using pamphlets and mass petitions, the Levellers pressed for both religious freedom and a range of social and economic reforms, including sweeping changes to the law, economic freedom for small tradesmen, and the removal of tithes and taxes. Their central demand, however, was a radically new political order to make government accountable for its actions. The Levellers saw authority flowing upward from the people, not downward from a divinely appointed king. Monarchy and a House of Lords had no place in their vision, and they demanded reforms to make popular sovereignty meaningful in practice as well as theory: a wide franchise (to include most male householders), annual elections, decentralization, elected local magistrates and judges, and a written constitution to guarantee basic human rights, especially religious freedom.

Parliament ignored their demands, and in 1647 the Levellers turned instead to the New Model Army, under Thomas Fairfax (1612-1671) and then Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). The soldiers had mutinied in spring 1647, exasperated by Parliament's attempt to disband them without meeting legitimate grievances over pay and indemnity. The Levellers secured considerable influence among them and believed that a "citizen army" could act as agents of the sovereign people to overthrow Parliament and establish the new political order. The soldiers' representatives, or "Agitators," presented the first "Agreement of the People," an outline draft constitution, to the Army Council at Putney in October 1647. But as the country slid back toward a second civil war, the officers regained control and the Levellers found themselves outmaneuvered. Parliament took steps to meet many of the soldiers' grievances, while the military coup of December 1648 (Pride's Purge), which led to the abolition of the monarchy and House of Lords, cut much of the ground from beneath their feet. Moreover, in March 1649 the Commons guaranteed religious freedom to the Baptists and other separatists, which prompted them henceforth to distance themselves from the Levellers. Though the Levellers railed at the "tyranny" of the new republican regime, they had run out of options and their program provided far too narrow a base to stand any real chance of success.

THE DIGGERS

Despite their nickname, the Levellers always protested their support for private property. By contrast, the Diggers, or "True Levellers," fully accepted the principle of economic equality and placed it at the very heart of their ideology. The Diggers had little impact on political events, and most of our information about them comes from the prolific writings of their leading theorist, Gerrard Winstanley (1609-1676). A failed tradesman, Winstanley experienced a religious conversion that convinced him that a new age was dawning in which the inner spirit would restore men and women to Adam's perfection before the Fall. Winstanley saw the overthrow of Charles I (ruled 1625-1649) as proof that the new age was at hand, and on 1 April 1649, inspired by a vision, he persuaded a small band of disciples to establish a communist settlement at St. George's Hill, near Walton-on-Thames in Surrey.

To the Diggers, all freedoms depended on economic freedom, by which they meant freedom from want. Winstanley dreamed of a society in which there was neither money nor private property, with everyone working to produce food and goods freely available to all, as needed, from communal stores. Moreover, human nature would be transformed as the inner spirit drove out sin in each individual. In such a perfect moral commonwealth there would be little need for laws or coercion. Winstanley repudiated the use of force, insisting that the communes were to be voluntary, and the Diggers planted only on common or "waste" land, leaving private landowners free to enjoy their own properties. Communist and propertied societies could thus coexist in peace, he explained, though he clearly hoped and expected that mass migration to the new communes would trigger the speedy collapse of private estates. At least nine other Digger communes sprang up across southern England and the midlands within the next few months, though little is known of their fate.

Winstanley's own settlement soon encountered problems. The Diggers had expected hostility from local gentlemen and clergy, but they were also viewed with deep suspicion by many ordinary folk who regarded the commons as a valuable asset for rough grazing and firewood. The settlement also prompted fears that an army of squatters would bring crime and violence in their wake. Repeated attacks forced the Diggers to shift to Cobham, a few miles away, by August 1649, and the settlement collapsed entirely in April 1650. That spelled the end of the movement. But Winstanley later published a defiant manifesto, The True Law of Freedom (1652), in which he revised and developed his utopian dream. Despite the recent disappointments, he stood by his faith in a classless, communist, agrarian society. He had lost his earlier millennial fervor, and he no longer looked for the sudden transformation of human nature. His text spelled out the laws and government that he now recognized as necessary bulwarks against tyranny and popular disorder alike. Winstanley dedicated the tract to Cromwell, with little expectation of any response, and the despairing verse that closes the work leaves little doubt that he was now writing for future generations rather than his own.

RANTERS

At one point the Digger commune had been interrupted by a group of Ranters, whom Winstanley condemned out of hand. The Ranters are the most difficult of all radicals to categorize; historian J. C. Davis has denied that any such "movement" ever existed. Contemporaries disagreed; radicals and conservatives alike described encountering Ranters over several years, and Parliament responded in 1650 with an act outlining and condemning their beliefs. Neither a sect nor a party, the Ranters are best described as a loose cluster of individual cells that held similar if not quite identical ideas and attitudes. Like many radicals, they anticipated an imminent millennial future. Abiezer Coppe (1619-1672), their most interesting pamphleteer, claimed that the overthrow of king and lords foreshadowed

a far greater revolution that would sweep away all hierarchy, privilege, and property. The Ranters, convinced (like Winstanley) that God's spirit was to be found within, proclaimed that to the pure, all things were pure. Such a principle could easily open the way to immorality of every kind, and Ranters were repeatedly condemned as promiscuous and blasphemous atheists. Some individuals did pursue the libertine implications of their creed. Others, especially Coppe, proclaimed a social gospel that echoed Christ's Sermon on the Mount, defining true religion as caring for the sick and destitute, and condemning the traditional Puritan preoccupations with sex, blasphemy, and "correct" forms of worship as mere hypocrisy. The real sins, Coppe insisted, were the pride and greed that sustained a social order both oppressive and unjust.

Most contemporaries reacted with horror to what they knew or heard of the Ranters. Their alleged "atheism," their rejection of heaven and hell, of all churches, and of traditional moral values, and their violent language and extreme behavior ensured that "Ranter" became a general term of opprobrium. With the Act of 1650, Ranter pamphlets were banned, but it is clear from Quaker and other radical writings that their ideas lived on throughout the 1650s.

FIFTH MONARCHISTS

The Fifth Monarchists, the most politicized of the religious movements of the period, took shape in 1651 in response to still unfulfilled millenarian expectations raised by the king's execution in 1649. Taking their name from the vision of four beasts or world empires from the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, they looked for an imminent fifth: the reign of Christ. Their first target was the "Rump" Parliament, which they blamed for blocking Christ's kingdom; they were delighted when Oliver Cromwell dissolved it in April 1653, under pressure from army officers and religious radicals. They also welcomed his decision to summon a nominated assembly of the godly ("Barebones Parliament"), instead of calling fresh elections. The assembly, which contained a dozen Fifth Monarchists and many other religious radicals, pushed for sweeping reforms, whereupon Cromwell took fright and assumed power himself, as lord protector, in December 1653. Viewing him no longer as a second Moses but as the agent of the Antichrist, the Fifth Monarchists became his implacable enemies. They continued to demand a range of social reforms, which in many respects resembled those of other radical groups, including law reform, the abolition of taxes and tithes, and the relief of the poor. But taking the Old Testament as their model for the government, law, and society of the coming kingdom, the Fifth Monarchists looked for rule by a godly elite, "the visible saints," and they rejected outright the democratic values of the Levellers and Diggers. At the same time they insisted that biblical Israel had been a just society, and they guaranteed a better life to everyone willing to live quietly under the new order.

The Fifth Monarchists insisted on their right to take up arms against Cromwell, but in the event most proved reluctant to convert their violent rhetoric into open resistance. They were too weak to challenge the regime alone, and their attempts to subvert the army and build alliances with radical Baptists and republicans proved abortive. A bid by Thomas Venner (d. 1661), a cooper, and the congregation he led at Swan Alley, Coleman Street, to launch an uprising in London in April 1657 failed dismally. The collapse of the Protectorate in 1659 revived their hopes briefly, only to be dashed once more by the Stuart Restoration in 1660. Another attempted uprising by Venner's followers in 1661 was easily crushed, bloodily this time, and the movement gradually faded away as it became obvious that its millenarian expectations had been ill founded. Most Fifth Monarchists drifted back to the Independent or Baptist churches from which they had come.

QUAKERS

The Quakers, the last movement to arise, emerged in 1652–1653 in the north of England, a region largely untouched by religious radicalism. Spreading south in 1654–1655, they grew rapidly to number some 40,000 by 1660. Their leaders and evangelists, such as George Fox (1624–1691) and James Nayler (1618–1660), were mainly small farmers and tradesmen. Women played a far more prominent role in the Quakers than in any other radical movement. Quaker belief centered on the inner light, which they insisted was capable of transforming each individual in this life and securing salvation in the next. Their religion stressed personal experi-

ence and repudiated outward forms; they insisted that the "church" was a gathering of believers, not a building or institution. Quaker worship was spontaneous and emotional (hence their nickname), and they rejected all professional ministers and sacraments. They laid equal stress on the practical consequences of conversion; Quakers rejected all worldly vanities and pleasures and applied a strict ethical code to their daily lives. But only in 1661 did they adopt pacifism as a general principle; the early Quakers' violent rhetoric prompted fears that they were subversive and dangerous, a suspicion reinforced by their refusal to observe conventional gestures of deference, such as doffing their hats. Their aggressive evangelism brought them enemies as well as converts; Quaker preachers, many women among them, often harangued crowds in the marketplace and interrupted church services. Moreover, their stress on the "Christ within" appeared blasphemous, and when James Nayler rode into Bristol on a donkey in 1656, imitating Christ's entry into Jerusalem, a horrified Parliament sentenced him to be branded, bored through the tongue, and flogged a sentence that was duly carried out. New laws on vagrancy and Sabbath observance in 1657 were aimed at the Quakers, and their outright refusal to pay tithes (rather then simply attacking them) led to numerous prosecutions. Roughly two thousand Quakers had been imprisoned by 1660.

Of all these groups, only the Baptists and Quakers (or Society of Friends) have survived. The radicals' dreams failed to materialize, and fear of their extremism helped pave the way for the Restoration. Nevertheless they had a lasting significance, inspiring later generations and forming part of the Nonconformist bloc that successfully thwarted all attempts to reimpose a monolithic state church. The radicals thus helped to shape the pluralist values of individual freedom that define Western culture today.

See also Anabaptism; Calvinism; Cromwell, Oliver; Dissenters; England; English Civil War and Interregnum; Parliament; Puritanism; Quakers; Utopia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barbour, Hugh. *The Quakers in Puritan England*. New Haven, 1964. Sensitive account from a Quaker perspective.

- Bradstock, Andrew, ed. *Winstanley and the Diggers 1649–1999*. London and Portland, Oreg., 2000. Valuable essays on Winstanley's life and his settlement.
- Capp, Bernard. The Fifth Monarchy Men: a Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism. London, 1972. Still the standard work.
- Davis, J. C. Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians. Cambridge, U.K., 1986. A spirited but controversial argument that the "Ranters" were largely invented by conservatives to discredit their opponents. For a debate between Davis and his critics see Past and Present, 129 (Nov. 1990) and 140 (August 1993).
- Hill, Christopher. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*. Harmondsworth, U.K., and Baltimore, 1975. A magisterial survey of radical ideas and movements.
- Manning, Brian. The English People and the English Revolution. Harmondsworth, U.K., and New York, 1978. Two important chapters on the Levellers, and early chapters on the popular street politics in 1640–1642.
- McGregor, Frank, and Barry Reay, eds. Radical Religion in the English Revolution. Oxford and New York, 1984. Very useful essays on all the groups covered in this article
- Reay, Barry. *The Quakers and the English Revolution*. London, 1985. The best short introduction, from a non-Quaker perspective.
- Sanderson, John. 'But the People's Creatures': The Philosophical Basis of the English Civil War. Manchester, U.K., and New York, 1989. Chapter 2, "Levellers and anti-Levellers" (pp. 102–127) gives a good account of the concept of popular sovereignty.
- Shaw, Howard. *The Levellers*. London, 1968. A clear, short introduction
- Tolmie, Murray. *The Triumph of the Saints: the Separate Churches of London 1616–1649*. Cambridge, U.K., 1977. On the Baptists and Independents and their Leveller links.

BERNARD CAPP

ENGLISH DISSENTERS. See Dissenters, English.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND LAN-

GUAGE. The nature and status of the English language underwent a profound transformation during the early modern period, and literature in English was also subject to many changes in its style and content. One of the most important develop-

ments, that of English drama, is covered separately in the article of that title; other literature is covered here, with separate sections on fictional prose, nonfictional prose, and poetry.

LANGUAGE

At the beginning of the period covered in this encyclopedia, English was a parochial and marginal tongue, eschewed as a literary medium by many of its own speakers and used by few outside the British Isles. In his First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge (written c. 1542, printed 1547), Andrew Boorde declared that it was "a base speche to other noble speeches." By the end of the eighteenth century, however, most literary works in Britain were produced in English, the first major extraterritorial "English" outside of the British Isles was established in the Americas, and English was being spoken as far south as Australasia and the Cape of Good Hope. But, even as late as 1755, Samuel Johnson could lament the "perplexity," "confusion," "boundless variety," and "adulteration" exhibited by English.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, individual English literary traditions existed in England and in Scotland: writing about "English" is therefore inevitably problematic. There existed around 1500 two standard forms of literary English, one centered on London and the other, referred to by the Scottish writer Gavin Douglas (c. 1475–1522) as "Scottis," on lowland Scotland. By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the Scots tradition had fallen into neglect; it was later to be revived in another form by poets such as Allan Ramsey and Robert Burns. Throughout the early modern period, writing in English had an uneasy relationship with other literatures, notably pan-European Latin humanist culture and vernacular traditions in Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish Gaelic. Tensions were exacerbated by political conditions: successive English and British governments advocated linguistic colonization in Ireland, and in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, schools were founded in the Scottish Highlands in which teachers were forbidden to use Gaelic.

Political and religious tensions associated with the Reformation contributed to a debate over the place of English. Latin began to lose its preeminence, and writers in many parts of the British Isles turned increasingly to the vernacular. In the early sixteenth century Sir Thomas More wrote his "literary" works—such as his *Epigrams* and *Utopia*—in Latin, and his polemical works in English; around the same time, however, Douglas was writing exclusively in Scots. By the turn of the seventeenth century many writers were writing solely in English, and English was even being used for prestigious literary genres such as the epic. A literary tradition of Neo-Latin works persisted—John Barclay's popular Latin romance *Argenis*, for instance, was printed in 1621, and John Milton wrote many of his sonnets in Latin—but by the end of the seventeenth century, writers tended to use Latin only in certain circumstances.

Translations of the Bible—including William Tyndale's New Testament (1525), the popular "Geneva" Bible (1560), and the "Authorized [or King James] Version" of 1611—helped to raise the status of English as a literary language. Religious translations were particularly important for female writers in the early part of the period, offering them a space for literary expression that was less contested than the writing of secular poetry or prose. Examples of women's religious translations include the translation from Greek of a sermon by St. Basil by Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh (1526-1589), and translations from Italian and Latin of Bernardo Ochino's sermons and John Jewel's Apology for the Church of England by her sister Anne Bacon (c. 1528–1610); Anne Lok (c. 1535–after 1590) translated John Calvin's sermons on the Song of Hezekiah from Latin, and her metrical paraphrase of the fifty-first Psalm, A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner, was published in 1560.

Translations of literature from other languages were, meanwhile, substantial literary works in their own right and exercised a shaping influence on original works in English. The works of classical authors such as Ovid, Homer, and Virgil were translated in successive editions: particularly notable are Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1567), the Homeric translations of George Chapman (*The Iliad*, 1598, 1611; *The Odyssey*, 1616) and later Alexander Pope (*The Iliad*, 1715–1720; *The Odyssey*, 1725–1726), and translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* by Douglas (before 1522, printed 1553), Surrey (1557), Richard Stanyhurst (1582), and John Dryden (1697). Modern works were also

translated, including Thomas Hoby's translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1561), John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591), John Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1603), Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais (1653, 1693), and Tobias Smollett's translation of the works of Voltaire (1761). Translators of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* included Thomas Shelton (1612, 1620), Peter Motteaux (1700), Charles Jervas (1742), and Smollett (1755).

The early modern period also saw an increasing interest in the codification of language. Bilingual dictionaries, published in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were followed by English hard-word dictionaries, including Edmund Coote's The English Schoolmaster (1596), Robert Cawdry's A Table Alphabetical (1604), Thomas Blount's Glossographia (1656), and Elisha Coles's English Dictionary (1676). The largest and most famous of these early modern dictionaries was Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language (1755).

Related to this process of codification was a desire to regulate and standardize English. At the beginning of the period, there was a wide degree of variation in spelling and grammar, and a widespread uncertainty about vocabulary. Despite the efforts of sixteenth-century reformers such as John Cheke, Thomas Smith, and John Hart, Simon Daines could still lament in his *Orthoepia Anglicana* (1640) the "want of one uniforme and certain method" of speaking and writing English. However, the language did become gradually more standardized, at least in printed books, notwithstanding failed attempts to set up an academy to regulate English, which were supported by John Dryden and later by Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift.

The lexicon expanded a great deal during the early modern period, taking new material from a variety of sources: loan words from classical languages, especially from Latin, loan words from modern languages, and the revival of obsolete or archaic English words. These introductions often caused controversy. In *The Apology for Poetry* (written c. 1579–1580; printed 1595), Philip Sidney worried about the "old rustic language" of Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* (1579); Ben Jonson was more forthright, commenting in his "conversations" with William Drummond (1619)

that "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language." Jonson was not, however, any more enamored with Latin coinages: in *The Poetaster*, first performed in 1601, he satirized the neologisms of fellow playwright John Marston by having Marston's dramatic surrogate vomit out the outrageous words he had used throughout the play. The incorporation of words into English was still controversial in the 1660s, when Dryden wrote of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, "I am apt to believe the English language in them arrived to its highest perfection: what words have since been taken in, are rather superfluous than necessary" (Of Dramatick Poesie [1668]).

PROSE

Like the language itself, English prose changed massively in the period from 1450 to 1789. The beginning of the period saw the publication of one of the quintessential late-medieval prose romances, Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485); at the end we find the novel well established with works such as Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), Laurence Sterne's *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767), and Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778). The period was also notable for the breadth and ambition of its nonfictional prose.

Prose fiction. In the earlier centuries the most important mode of prose fiction was romance, which often carried political and social material under a veil of fantasy. Malory's Morte d'Arthur was followed by George Gascoigne's The Adventures of Master F. J. (1573), Sidney's Arcadia (written c. 1581 and c. 1583-1584, printed 1590), Robert Greene's Pandosto (1588) and Menaphon (1589), Thomas Lodge's Rosalyne (1590), Mary Wroth's Urania (1621), Richard Brathwait's Panthalia; or, the Royal Romance (1659), Percy Herbert's Princess Cloria (1661), and Roger Boyle's Parthenissa (1651–1656, 1669). The last three are all examples of political romance, written by royalist sympathizers during the Commonwealth and Restoration. In the same period, Margaret Cavendish, duchess of Newcastle's Utopian romance The Description of a New World Called the Blazing World (1666) addressed the oppression of women. An earlier political work, William Baldwin's Beware the Cat (c. 1554, printed 1570), features talking cats who witness the continued practice of forbidden Catholic rituals; it is sometimes termed the first English novel and was one of the earliest pieces of original prose fiction. A social function can even be found in texts such as John Lyly's witty and stylized *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580), which shaped the prose style of a generation.

From the end of the seventeenth century, romance began to be supplanted by the emergent novel, which combined the romance's narrative drive, exotic settings, and interest in sexuality with developing biographical and epistolary modes. Notable examples include Aphra Behn's Love-Letters Between a Noble-Man and his Sister (1684) and Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave (1688), William Congreve's *Incognita* (1691), and Defoe's Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (1719). Both Oroonoko and Robinson Crusoe are additionally indebted to travel writing, another important early modern prose genre, which also influenced Swift's satirical Gulliver's Travels (1726). The influence of religious autobiography on the novel can be seen in works such as John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684). The epistolary novel itself became an important mode in the early eighteenth century: notable examples include Samuel Richardson's Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded (1740-1741) and Clarissa (1747-1749), Burney's Evelina (1778), and Smollett's The Expedition of Humphry Clinker (1771).

A related genre, the picaresque, focusing on the careers of likeable rogues in realistic or quasirealistic settings, developed in Spanish narratives such as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's Lazarillo de Tormes (1553) and Miguel Cervantes' Don Quixote; it is adapted in English in Thomas Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller; or, the Life of Jack Wilton (1594). A related genre of rogue literature includes Thomas Harman's A Caveat for Common Cursitors (1566), Robert Greene's "cony catching" pamphlets (1592), and Thomas Dekker's Lantern and Candlelight (1608); Defoe's accounts of the careers of criminals such as Jack Sheppard and Jonathan Wild are later examples. A civic variation, focusing on the rise of hardworking tradesmen, can be found in Thomas Deloney's highly popular narratives: *Jack* of Newberry (1596), The Gentle Craft (1597), and Thomas of Reading (1598). From the early eighteenth century the picaresque eventually merged

with the novel, resulting in texts such as Defoe's Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders (1722), Smollett's Adventures of Roderick Random (1748), John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure, also known as Fanny Hill (1748–1749), and Charlotte Lennox's The Female Quixote (1752).

Nonfiction prose. Probably the most important nonfictional prose genre was the sermon, of which notable examples include the works of John Fisher, Hugh Latimer, and Henry Smith in the sixteenth century, of Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne in the early seventeenth century, and of John Tillotson, Francis Atterbury, and John Wesley in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Reformation polemic and controversial literature includes William Tyndale's exchange of pamphlets with Sir Thomas More (1529-1532), the Examinations of Anne Askew (1546-1547), and John Foxe's Protestant hagiography, Acts and Monuments of the English Martyrs (1559, 1563). Other important religious and political prose works of the sixteenth century include Tyndale's The Obediance of a Christian Man (1529), John Knox's misjudged First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, published not long before the death of Mary I and offensive to her successor Elizabeth I due to its criticism of female rule, Richard Hooker's Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (1593, 1597) and the treatise on kingship, Basilikon Doron (1599), of James VI of Scotland (later James I of England).

The Civil War and Commonwealth period also saw an outpouring of various kinds of religious and political writing. Important texts range from Milton's attack on censorship, Areopagitica (1644), to Gerrard Winstanley's The New Law of Righteousness (1649) and the Diggers' manifesto, The True Levellers Standard Advanced (1649), to Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan (1651). Also noteworthy are accounts of religious experience and persecution, including Anna Trapnel's A Legacy for the Saints and Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea, Or a Narrative of Her Journey from London into Cornwall (both 1654), and the Quakers Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers's Short Relation of Cruel Sufferings (1662).

Significant political texts of the Restoration include William Penn's The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience (1671), Andrew Marvell's The Rehearsal Transposed (1672), John Locke's Treatises of Goverment (1690), and Mary Astell's A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, For the Advancement of Their True and *Greatest Interest* (1696). In the eighteenth century, Defoe's The Shortest Way with Dissenters (1702), Swift's A Modest Proposal (1729), David Hume's Essays Moral and Political (1741–1742) were landmarks in political prose; Thomas Paine's Common Sense (1776) and The American Crisis (1777) preceded The Rights of Man (1791) and The Age of Reason (1793). Debate about national identity is also reflected in the prominence of historical writing, from Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles (1577) to Edward Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776–1788).

Another important nonfiction genre, the biography and autobiography, also developed during the early modern period. The earliest examples of life writing are diaries and spiritual biographies, such as William Roper's Life of Thomas More (written c. 1535, published 1626), and the diaries of Grace Mildmay (1570-1619), Margaret Hoby (1599–1605), and Anne Clifford (1616–1619) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Later biographical texts became more secular in focus. Important works include the diaries of Samuel Pepys (1660-1669) and John Evelyn (1620-1706), Thomas Fuller's History of the Worthies of England (1662), Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (a biography of her husband, John Hutchinson, a prominent parliamentarian, written c. 1664), Izaak Walton's lives of John Donne (1640), Henry Wotton (1651), Richard Hooker (1665), and George Herbert (1670) and John Aubrey's gossipy and anecdotal Lives (completed c. 1693).

Outstanding eighteenth-century biographies include Johnson's *Life of Richard Savage* (1774) and *The Lives of the English Poets* (1779–1781); Johnson was himself the focus of biographies, with Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson* (1786) and John Hawkins's *Life* (1787) preceding James Boswell's masterpiece *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791). Letters also began to be published in large numbers: particularly interesting are the letters of Mary Wortley Montagu

(printed 1763), Philip Stanhope, earl of Chester-field's letters to his son (printed 1774), and *The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho* (1782), one of the earliest examples of black British writing.

Related to biographical genres was travel writing. Important early examples of travel writing include the compilations published by Richard Hakluyt (The Principal Navigations of 1589 and 1598-1600) and Samuel Purchas (notably Hakluytus Posthumous; or, Purchas His Pilgrims of 1625). The genre became increasingly important in the eighteenth century and increasingly biographical in nature; it also began to encompass accounts written by colonized subjects about their experiences. Notable examples include Piozzi's Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany (1789) and Olaudah Equiano's Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, published in the same year. Travel writing also focused on "home" tours within the British Isles, reflecting contemporary interest in the nature of "Britain," for instance, Boswell and Johnson's accounts of their travels in Scotland (printed in 1777 and 1775 respectively).

The early modern period also saw the rise of periodical literature. The first English newsbooks were published by Nicholas Butter and Thomas Archer (1621–1641), followed by Civil War publications such as John Berkenhead's *Mercurius Aulicus* (1643–1645), and its Parliamentarian rival, Thomas Audley and Marchamont Needham's *Mercurius Britanicus* (1643–1646). The *Oxford Gazette*, often described as the first newspaper, was founded by Henry Muddiman in 1665. The eighteenth century saw the growth of periodical literature, including Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *Tatler* (1709–1711), *Spectator* (1711–1712, revived 1714), and *Guardian* (1713), and Johnson's *Rambler* (1750–1752).

POETRY

Early modern poetry also demonstrates a huge variety of forms and subjects, from the range and ambition of politico-religious epics such as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596) or Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) to the compact brevity of lyric and epigram.

The earliest works of the period demonstrate their descent from medieval works: Robert

Henryson's Scots poem *The Testament of Cresseid* (late fifteenth century), for example, picks up where Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1385–1390) left off; Henryson and his contemporaries, such as Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar, are often dubbed the "Scottish Chaucerians." A similar derivation can be seen in probably the most important poetic publication of the mid-sixteenth century, the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559, 1563), originally planned by George Ferrers and William Baldwin as a continuation of John Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes*, itself a translation of a French version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*. Of the *Mirror's* first-person narratives, Thomas Sackville's "Complaint of Buckingham" is the most famous.

Devotional poetry was, unsurprisingly, a major mode; the best-known religious poets of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include John Donne, George Herbert, Thomas Traherne, and Henry Vaughan. The writing of these poets on religious and secular subjects is often characterized as "metaphysical," a term first used by Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*, picking up Dryden's complaint in "A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1693) that Donne "affects the metaphysics." Metaphysical poetry is usually thought to be characterized by tough wit and complexity of syntax, and by a tendency to use obscure or abstruse imagery to express abstract ideas and emotions.

Religious poetry also, however, provided a means of expression for poets who were otherwise marginalized within the sphere of literary production. These included sixteenth-century recusant poets (Roman Catholics who refused to attend Communion in the Church of England) such as Chidiock Tichborne and Robert Southwell; Ben Jonson reportedly commented to William Drummond that if he had written Southwell's "The Burning Babe," "he would have been content to destroy many of his." It also provided a place for female poets, ranging from Mary Sidney's versification of the Psalms (composed from c. 1585), Aemilia Lanyer's Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum (1611), and the witty metaphysical lyrics of Anne Southwell (written c. 1610-1630). Particularly notable is Lucy Hutchinson's epic poem Order and Disorder (written c. 1679), which bears comparison with Milton's Paradise Lost.

Other early modern poetry was closely related to public religious affairs. John Skelton's "Speak, Parrot" (c. 1521) and "Colin Clout" (c. 1521) were significant political poems, attacking the excesses of Henry VIII's chancellor Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, while John Heywood's The Spider and the Fly (1556), saw the Protestant spider eventually die at the hands of a divine housemaid, Mary I. The deliberate roughness of Skelton's political satire influenced generations of writers, notably George Wither (Abuses Stript and Whipt, 1613), Samuel Butler (Hudibras, 1663), and Jonathan Swift. Another "rough" form of satire can be seen in popular poems, ballads, and libels, circulated orally or in manuscript throughout the period. The earliest formal satires include those of Thomas Wyatt in the early sixteenth century; the mode was taken up by Donne, Everard Guilpin, Joseph Hall, Thomas Lodge, and John Marston. Some of the satires of these writers provoked the anger of the authorities and were ordered to be burned in 1599. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are often thought to have been a golden age for satire: the most famous examples include Dryden's Mac-Flecknoe (1682) and Absalom and Achitophel (1682) and Pope's The Dunciad (1728, 1742). The reverse side of the satiric coin is the panegyric, or poem of praise, exemplified by Jonson's *Epigrams*, which combined satiric and panegyric modes (1616), Milton's Sonnet 16, "To the Lord General Cromwell, May 1652" (1652), Marvell's "Horation Ode Upon Cromwell's Return" (written 1650), and the political verse of Restoration poets such as Aphra Behn.

A political edge can also be found in other early modern poetic modes. The love poetry of Wyatt is inescapably entwined with court politics under Henry VIII; similarly, the poems of Walter Raleigh and other courtier-poets in the 1580s and 1590s depicted ardent lovers confronting chilly and remote mistresses, with disquieting echoes of their own political relationships with Elizabeth I. This model, drawn in part from the verse of the fourteenth-century Italian poet Francesco Petrarch, also influenced the development of the English sonnet cycle, notably Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (written c. 1582, printed 1591), Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592) and Michael Drayton's *Idea's Mirror* (1593). Shakespeare's Sonnet 130, "My mistress'

eyes are nothing like the sun" (printed 1609) satirizes this tradition, while Mary Wroth's "Pamphilia to Amphilanthus" (1621) turns the model on its head by having a female poet address a male love-object.

Other late-sixteenth-century poetry is far more explicit about sexual issues than is Petrarchan verse; examples are the outburst of Ovidian erotic narratives, including Lodge's Scillae's Metamorphosis (1589), Marlowe's Hero and Leander (c. 1593, printed 1598), Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis (1593), and Marston's Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image (1598). Erotica edges closer to pornography in some manuscript poems, of which the most famous include Donne's elegy "To His Mistress Going to Bed" (written c. 1593-1596) and Nashe's A Choice of Valentines (written c. 1593-1597). The erotic mode moves briefly into the mainstream during the Restoration, most notably in Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" (printed 1681) or the witty and cheerfully obscene poetry of John Wilmot, earl of Rochester. Rochester himself drew on a tradition of erotic and political verse exemplified by the "Cavalier" poets of the mid-seventeenth century, notably Thomas Carew, Richard Lovelace, John Suckling, Robert Herrick, and Edmund Waller: exemplary poems include Lovelace's "To Lucasta, Going to the Wars" (1649). Also indebted to this tradition was the poetry of Katherine Philips, "the Matchless Orinda," who drew on Donne's poetry in her heavily romanticized addresses to male and female friends, written in the 1650s and early 1660s.

Even genres such as pastoral, which at first look to be apolitical, could be used for political and polemical purposes. Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar and Colin Clout's Come Home Again (printed 1595) were the model for a generation of "Spenserian" poets, who used pastoral forms to attack political and religious corruption; the tradition influenced the young John Milton, whose elegy *Lycidas* (1637) is indebted to this mode of writing. Pastoral is also associated with a wider tradition of topographical writing, which ranged from Michael Drayton's massive survey of Britain, Poly-Olbion (published 1612-1622), to the country-house poems of Lanyer, Jonson, and Marvell. Texts such as John Gay's quirky Trivia; Or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London (1716) also reflect this interest in landscape

and locale. Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard" (1751) was the most successful example of the "graveyard" school, which also included Thomas Parnell's "Night-Piece on Death" (1721) and Edward Young's Night *Thoughts* (1742–1745). Toward the end of the early modern period, sentimental writings about landscape, such as James Thomson's The Seasons (1726-1730) and Oliver Goldsmith's The Deserted Village (1770) were highly popular; George Crabbe's The Village (1783) reacted against the conventions of pastoral writing and painted a grim picture of rural poverty. Mixed attitudes toward the working poor could also be detected in the popularity of "laboring-class" poetry, such as Stephen Duck's The Thresher's Labour (1730) and Mary Collier's The Woman's Labour (1739). Other influential poets of the eighteenth century included William Collins-especially the "Ode to Evening" (1746)—William Cowper, and Robert Burns. William Blake's Songs of Innocence and Experience, published in 1789, takes us into the beginning of the Romantic period.

See also Addison, Joseph; Beaumont and Fletcher; Behn, Aphra; Bible: Translations and Editions; Biography and Autobiography; Boswell, James; Burney, Frances; Classicism; Defoe, Daniel; Diaries; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Donne, John; Drama: English; Dryden, John; Elizabeth I (England); Fielding, Henry; Jacobitism; Johnson, Samuel; Jonson, Ben; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets; Journals, Literary; Latin; Marlowe, Christopher; Milton, John; More, Thomas; Pepys, Samuel; Pope, Alexander; Richardson, Samuel; Shakespeare, William; Sheridan, Richard Brinsley; Smollett, Tobias; Spenser, Edmund; Steele, Richard; Sterne, Laurence; Swift, Jonathan; Travel and Travel Literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

It is impossible to list all relevant primary sources, but good anthologies of early modern English literature include the following:

Davidson, Peter, ed. Poetry and Revolution: An Anthology of British and Irish Verse, 1625–1660. Oxford and New York, 1998.

DeMaria, Robert, ed. British Literature, 1640–1789: An Anthology. 2nd ed. Oxford, 2001.

Duncan, Thomas G., ed. Late Medieval English Lyrics and Carols, 1400-1530. London, 2000.

- Fowler, Alastair, ed. The New Oxford Book of Seventeenth Century Verse. Oxford, 1991.
- Hammond, Paul, ed. Restoration Literature: An Anthology. Oxford, 2002.
- Lonsdale, Roger, ed. Eighteenth-Century Women Poets: An Oxford Anthology. Oxford, 1989.
- The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse. Oxford, 1984.
- Norbrook, David, and H. R. Woudhuysen, eds. *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse*. London, 1993.
- Payne, Michael, and John Hunter, eds. Renaissance Literature: An Anthology. Oxford, 2003.
- Pearsall, Derek, ed. Chaucer to Spenser: An Anthology of Writings in English, 1375–1575. Oxford, 1999.
- Pooley, Roger, ed. English Prose of the Seventeenth Century, 1590-1700. London, 1992.
- Sharrock, Roger, ed. *The Pelican Book of English Prose*. Vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to 1780*. Harmondsworth, U.K., 1970.
- Stevenson, Jane, and Peter Davidson, eds. Early Modern Women Poets: An Anthology (1520-1700). Oxford, 2001.
- Trapp, J. B., Douglas Gray, and Julia Boffey, eds. *Medieval English Literature*. 2nd ed. Oxford and New York, 2002.
- Wootton, David, ed. Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England. London, 1986.

Secondary Sources

- Barber, Charles. Early Modern English. 2nd ed. Edinburgh, 1997.
- Corns, Thomas, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry: Donne to Marvell.* Cambridge, U.K., 1993.
- Hattaway, Michael, ed. A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture. Oxford and Malden, Mass., 2000.
- Hogg, Richard M., gen. ed. *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Vol. 3, 1476–1776. Edited by Roger Lass. Cambridge, U.K., 2000.
- Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*. Cambridge, U.K., 2002.
- Jones, Vivien, ed. Women and Literature, 1700–1800. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000.
- Keeble, N. H., ed. The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution. Cambridge, U.K., 2001.
- Kinney, Arthur F., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature*, 1500–1600. Cambridge, U.K., 2000.
- Loewenstein, David, and Janel Mueller, eds. *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge, U.K., 2003.

- Norbrook, David. Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance. Rev. ed. Oxford, 2002.
- Nussbaum, Felicity A. The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England. Baltimore, 1989.
- Pearsall, Derek, ed. *Chancer to Spenser: A Critical Reader*. Oxford and Malden, Mass., 1999.
- Richetti, John, ed. The Cambridge Companion to the Eighteenth-Century Novel. Cambridge, U.K., 1996.
- Sitter, John, ed. The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry. Cambridge, U.K., 2001.
- Wallace, David, ed. The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature. Cambridge, U.K., 1999.
- Wilcox, Helen, ed. Women and Literature, 1500-1700. Cambridge, U.K., 1996.

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM. One

Lucy Munro

must first clarify the origins of the term: today "enlightened absolutism" is more commonly used. But in its original form, the term as coined by eighteenth-century French thinkers—philosophers, philosophical popularizers, and social commentators, known collectively as philosophes—described the kind of government they felt was necessary to break through the complex of laws, attitudes, and habits that maintained a society of unjust privilege, stunted economic growth, and perpetuated governmental inefficiency and waste. What they (and their fellows in other countries) desired was a despotisme éclairé. But this had little to do with real despotism, which in the minds of western Europeans was associated with oriental regimes such as that of the Turks, on whose rulers there were, it was supposed, no checks of any kind. What they had in mind was simply monarchies possessing sufficient power to es-

THE "ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS" AND THEIR POLICIES

fairer, better, and more humane society.

Apart from several rulers of small territories, especially in Germany, there were certain monarchs (or powerful ministers of state) of large states in the second half of the eighteenth century who appeared to fit the picture of strong rulers prepared to accomplish such a program. Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) and

tablish enlightened policies that would lead to a

Leopold II (ruled 1790-1792) of Austria, Catherine II (ruled 1762-1796) of Russia, Charles III (ruled 1759-1788) of Spain, and ministers such as the Marquis de Pombal in Portugal and Johann Frederick Struensee were frequently mentioned by the philosophes as models of enlightened governance. Their policies promoted religious tolerance, advocated full civil rights for religious minorities (including Jews), insisted on curbing wasteful governmental expenditures, sought in various ways to stimulate their economies, and attempted to liberate serfs from the feudal control of their noble lords. All of these reforms were seen by the philosophes as part of a long-planned program designed to lessen the power of traditionally entrenched groups such as the clergy, noble landlords, and corrupt officials in the name of greater equality and freedom. Similarly, their attempts to tax these groups directly (often for the first time), in combination with other measures such as new forms of taxation and the lessening of mercantilistic restrictions on economic life, were lauded as freeing their economies from the dead hand of the feudal past.

THE TIMING AND NATURE OF THE REFORMS

There is widespread agreement among historians today on the reasons for the timing of these reforms. The eighteenth century witnessed a number of wars that, in contrast to those of the previous century, were financed entirely by governments rather than largely by warlord-entrepreneurs who had extracted much of their costs from civilian populations through forced contributions and looting. The more controlled "polite" wars of the eighteenth century were a clear reaction against the barbaric and religious wars of the seventeenth century—but these were still long and very expensive wars. All states, but especially the larger ones, had to find new revenues to finance warfare and to cut expenditures in other areas by making their governmental operations more efficient. This was particularly true after the end of the longest and costliest war of the pre-Revolutionary period, the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). It was in the thirty years or so following that war that enlightened despotism really flourished.

Taxing previously exempt groups such as the nobility and clergy was one means of enhancing revenues, but so was regularizing the practices of government to achieve greater control, through bu-

reaucratic and other reforms, over all of the subjects of a state. If it was true, as Leopold II of Austria put it, that monarchs were "drowning in the inkpot," it was because the sheer volume of state business had now outstripped the ability of monarchs to handle it with the old-fashioned, personal bureaucratic structures they had inherited from the past. Monarchs moved to establish both new institutions and a set of guidelines for bureaucrats that were both clear and uniform—a group of codified policies and procedures designed to ensure that the goals established by the monarch were pursued as intended. What these amounted to were primitive constitutions that helped to pave the way for the constitutional monarchies of the nineteenth century. In the end, paradoxically, these policies helped to make the monarchs themselves less necessary to the functioning of the state apparatus by establishing public law as a standard for governance. To the extent that their reforms were successful, they may well have helped to prevent revolutionary disturbances such as those that came to France in 1789 and after.

TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF REFORM

It has been pointed out that nearly all of the reforms of this period fit the pattern of earlier reforms designed not to reform society but to strengthen the position of the monarch himself within the state apparatus. There is some merit in this view. The reigns of Joseph II's mother Maria Theresa in Austria (ruled 1740-1780) and of Frederick II's father in Prussia (Frederick William I; ruled 1713–1740) can be adduced as examples. And it is clear that any weakening of the powers of either the nobility or the clergy would create a kind of power vacuum into which the monarch himself could step, assuming powers previously held by both groups as competitors for the exercise of public power within the state. In this context, furthermore, the freeing of serfs, who now became direct subjects of the crown, could be seen not only as a weakening of the powers of their previous lords, but also, simultaneously, as the assumption of vast new powers over them by the state as personified in the monarch. Finally, from this perspective, any benefit to the economy from reform would presumably result in greater revenues for the state, as would any improvement in the operations of government through curbs on official corruption and the elimination of wasteful expenditures. Similarly, the promotion of religious tolerance would remove a potent cause of social unrest, which was both disruptive to the economy and socially divisive in societies that needed greater unity in this period of intensifying international competition.

Thus (this argument runs) the reforms associated with the enlightened despots really had little or nothing to do with the humanitarian sentiments of genuine enlightenment (in spite of the Enlightenment rhetoric employed by most of them) and everything to do with strengthening the state and the monarch's position within it. That these rulers desired no fundamental restructuring of society is shown by the fact that in no cases were the privileges of the nobility and the clergy entirely eliminated.

This interpretation, however, while accurate as far as it goes, misses some important points about enlightened absolutism. First, it ignores the personal culture of most of these rulers—a culture that was to a considerable extent shaped by Enlightenment norms. Most of them grew up in the full flowering of the Enlightenment: they had much contact with leading figures of the movement, and professed to share its values. To ignore this fact is to deny all possibility that their motivations may have involved genuine humanitarian sentiment, and to suggest that their basic motive was also, in a sense, their basest motive. Second, it ignores the opinions of the philosophes themselves, most of whom believed that the motives of the enlightened despots were shaped, to a considerable extent, by enlightened values. They reasoned that if the reforms the latter sponsored did not go as far as some of the former hoped they might, the rulers were also practical people who understood the difference between philosophical dreams and political realities—and were quite comfortable with incremental reform. As an example, almost none among them believed that it was either possible or desirable to eliminate entirely the "society of orders," that is, a society in which the law was written differently for different groups, depending on their social rank. Finally, and perhaps most important, it ignores the fact that the reforms could serve both purposes simultaneously, making it unnecessary for contemporaries to draw this distinction. And in fact, they did not: most philosophes wanted monarchy strengthened just as much as did the rulers themselves (if indeed for somewhat different reasons) and saw the monarchs' work as beneficial to society.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM

In the end, enlightened despotism can be seen as the final stage of absolute monarchy, in which personal monarchical power indeed became stronger, but which also gave rise to a new conception of governmental power as rule by and under public law. This involved abandoning the theory of rule by "divine right," by which monarchs held their office by the grace of God, and justifying power by a new utilitarian standard: the welfare of the community they served. When Frederick II referred to himself as merely "the first servant of the state," he foreshadowed a wholly new concept of government one that justified vast new powers for governments in the name and service of public welfare. Not all of the so-called enlightened despots achieved such results; of the major ones, Catherine II of Russia, who governed the most backward of states, achieved the least. France, interestingly, had no such ruler—until Napoleon.

See also Absolutism; Catherine II (Russia); Charles III (Spain); Divine Right Kingship; Enlightenment; Frederick II (Prussia); Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Serfdom in East Central Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bruun, Geoffrey. *The Enlightened Despots.* New York, 1929. An old but still useful survey of the reforms of the "enlightened despots." An entirely narrative approach.

Gagliardo, John G. *Enlightened Despotism*. New York, 1967. A strongly interpretive approach to the problem, with attention to the significance of reforms and to the importance of enlightened absolutism as an epoch of European history.

Ingrao, Charles. The Hessian Mercenary State: Ideas, Institutions, and Reform under Frederick II, 1760–1785. Cambridge, U.K., 1987.

Liebel, Helen. Enlightened Bureaucracy versus Enlightened Despotism in Baden, 1750–1792. Philadelphia, 1965. Concentrates on the importance of the contribution of bureaucrats to the reforms of the period in one of the German states.

Scott, Hamish, ed. Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe. London, 1990. A series of essays on absolutism in different countries by a number of specialists.

John G. Gagliardo

ENLIGHTENMENT. The term "Enlightenment" refers to a loosely organized intellectual movement, secular, rationalist, liberal, and egalitarian in outlook and values, which flourished in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The name was self-bestowed, and the terminology of darkness and light was identical in the major European languages—"Enlightenment" for English speakers, siècle des lumières in France, illuminismo in Italy, Aufklärung for Germans and Austrians. Although it was international in scope, the center of gravity of the movement was in France, which assumed an unprecedented leadership in European intellectual life. Emblematically, the single most famous publication of the Enlightenment was the French Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisoné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers (1751-1772; Encyclopedia, or, Rational dictionary of the sciences, arts, and professions), a massive compendium of theoretical and practical knowledge edited in Paris by Jean Le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot. The cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment was genuine, however. It was a German admirer of d'Alembert and Diderot, Immanuel Kant, who produced the most enduring definition of the movement. In a famous essay of 1784, Kant defined enlightenment as "emancipation from self-incurred tutelage" and declared that its motto should be sapere aude—"dare to know." Writers and thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were certainly capable of profound disagreement among themselves. But the common aspiration defined by Kant—knowledge as liberation—is what permits us to see a unified movement amid much diversity.

ORIGINS

In a long-term perspective, the Enlightenment can be regarded as the third and last phase of the cumulative process by which European thought and intellectual life was "modernized" in the course of the early modern period. Its relation to the two earlier stages in this process—Renaissance and Reformation—was paradoxical. In a sense, the Enlightenment represented both their fulfillment and their cancellation. As the neoclassical architecture and republican politics of the late eighteenth century remind us, respect and admiration for classical antiquity persisted throughout the period. Yet the Enlightenment was clearly the moment at which the

spell of the Renaissance—the conviction of the absolute superiority of ancient over modern civilization—was broken once and for all in the West. The Enlightenment revolt against the intellectual and cultural authority of Christianity was even more dramatic. In effect, the Protestant critique of the Catholic church—condemned for exploitation of its charges by means of ideological delusion—was extended to Christianity, even religion itself. At the deepest level, this is what Kant meant by "emancipation from self-incurred tutelage": the Enlightenment marked the moment at which the two most powerful sources of intellectual authority in Europe, Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian, were decisively overthrown, at least for a vanguard of educated Europeans.

What made this intellectual liberation possible? The major thinkers of the Enlightenment were in fact very clear about the proximate origins of their own ideas, which they almost invariably traced to the works of a set of pioneers or founders from the mid-seventeenth century. First and foremost among these were figures now associated with the "scientific revolution"—above all, the English physicist Isaac Newton, who became the object of a great cult of veneration in the eighteenth century. Hardly less important were thinkers who are more typically classified as "philosophers" today, including the major figures of both the rationalist and the empiricist traditions-René Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz on the one hand, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke on the other. Similarly honored were the founders of modern "natural rights" theory in political thought-Hugo Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and Samuel Pufendorf. These thinkers did not see themselves as engaged in a common enterprise as did their successors in the Enlightenment. What they did share, however, was the sheer novelty of their ideas—the willingness to depart from tradition in one domain of thought after another. Nor is it an accident that this roster is dominated by Dutch and English names or careers. For the United Provinces and England were the two major states in which divine-right absolutism had been successfully defeated or overthrown in Europe. If the ideological idiom of the Dutch Revolt (1568-1648) and the English Revolutions (1640–1660, 1688) remained primarily religious, their success made possible a degree of freedom of thought and expression enjoyed nowhere else in Europe. The result was to lay the intellectual foundations for the Enlightenment, which can be defined as the process by which the most advanced thought of the seventeenth century was popularized and disseminated in the course of the eighteenth.

GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY

Logically enough, having supplied the great pioneers and precursors in the seventeenth century, neither the United Provinces nor England were to play a dominant role in the Enlightenment itself. What these countries did provide, however, was the indispensable staging ground for the central practical business of the movement, the publication of books. For most of the century, Amsterdam and London—together with the city-states of another zone of relative freedom, Switzerland—were home to the chief publishers of the Enlightenment, many of whom specialized in the printing of books for clandestine circulation in France.

For France was the leading producer and consumer of "enlightened" literature in the eighteenth century, occupying a dominant position in the movement comparable to that of Italy in the Renaissance or Germany in the Reformation. The reasons for this centrality lie in the unique position of France within the larger set of European nations at the end of the seventeenth century. At the end of the long reign of Louis XIV in 1715, Catholic France remained by far the most powerful absolute monarchy in Europe—yet one whose geopolitical ambitions had clearly been thwarted by the rise of two smaller, post-absolutist Protestant states, the United Provinces and Great Britain. The remote origins of the French Enlightenment can be traced precisely to the moment that the sense of having been overtaken by Dutch and English rivals became palpable. The key transitional work, the French Protestant Pierre Bayle's Dictionnaire historique et critique (Critical and historical dictionary), was published from Dutch exile in 1697. As the Enlightenment unfolded in France, the promptings of international rivalry remained central. The major texts of its early phase, Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu's Lettres persanes (1721; Persian letters) and Voltaire's Lettres philosophiques (1734; Philosophical letters) both held up a critical mirror

to what was now theorized as "despotism" in France—an imaginary Muslim one in the case of the first, a very real English mirror in the second. The critical edge of the *Encyclopédie*, the collective enterprise that defined and dominated the French Enlightenment at its peak, came from a still more urgent sense that intellectual modernization was a matter of national priority—demonstrated dramatically, indeed, by the magnitude of French defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The last years of the French Enlightenment saw the emergence of a distinctive school of political economy, whose conscious purpose was to find means of restoring the economic and political fortunes of France, in the face of British competition.

By this point, the example of the French Enlightenment had long since inspired or provoked a sequence of other national "enlightenments," according to a similar dynamic of international rivalry and influence. Second only to France in terms of its contribution to the Enlightenment was its perennial ally in political and cultural contention with England: Scotland—which, in fact, had been absorbed into political union with England in 1707. The first major thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment was David Hume, whose precocious Treatise of Human Nature was published in 1740. Hume's subsequent turn to history and politics paved the way for the works of Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and John Millar in the 1760s and 1770s, which gave birth to modern economics and historical sociology—and whose common focus was precisely the issue of economic and social development across time. Italy, not surprisingly, as another zone of French influence, produced not a "national" but a great flowering of local "enlightenments," the most important being the Milanese and the Neapolitan, both specializing in juridical thought and reform.

Beyond this western European core, the Enlightenment spread, in the second half of the century, to the western and eastern peripheries of European civilization. French and Scottish ideas were enthusiastically embraced in the English colonies of North America, and, with a slight lag, in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the South. As in France and Scotland, this was largely a spontaneous process, the work of an independent intelligentsia—even if some of the key figures of colonial "enlightenments" soon became statesmen them-

selves. In eastern Europe, by contrast, where the major absolute monarchies now reached their maturity, the Enlightenment tended to arrive with royal sponsorship: Frederick the Great's engagement of the services of Voltaire and Catherine the Great's of Diderot—or, for that matter, the Polish nobility's solicitation of advice from Jean-Jacques Rousseau—are the most famous gestures of what came to be known as "enlightened despotism." In any case, the last flowering of the Enlightenment as a whole came in Germany, where it found a philosophical consummation in Kant's mature philosophy, completed during the years that the French monarchy fell victim to the revolution that ended the European Old Regime as a whole.

IDEAS: CONSENSUS AND DIVERGENCE

What were the key ideas of the Enlightenment, beyond the challenge to inherited intellectual authority noted by Kant? The Enlightenment never presented itself as a single theoretical system or unitary ideological doctrine—if nothing else, the necessities of adaptation to different national contexts made unity of that kind unlikely. But the variety of its ideas was not infinite. The best way to approach them is perhaps in terms of a sequence of domains of thought or "problem-areas," in which a certain general consensus—often negative—can be discerned, together with a significant spectrum of differences of opinion.

Religion. No idea is more commonly associated with the Enlightenment than hostility toward established forms of religion—indeed, at least one major interpreter has characterized the movement in terms of "the rise of modern paganism" (Gay, 1966). It is certainly the case that the majority of adherents to the Enlightenment shared an intellectual aversion to theism in its inherited forms: specific objects of criticism included belief in miracles and other forms of divine intervention, the status accorded "holy" Scripture, and claims about the divinity of Jesus. At the same time, most Enlightenment thinkers regarded traditional churches, Catholic and Protestant, as engines of institutional exploitation and oppression. Hostility toward theism and a general anticlericalism did not, however, preclude an enormous variety of attitudes toward the supernatural and the "sacred" among followers of the Enlightenment. Forthright atheism did indeed make its public debut in Europe during the eighteenth century, in the works of figures such as Hume, Julien Offroy de La Mettrie, and Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach. But this was a minority position. The bulk of Enlightened opinion opted for the compromise of "deism" or "natural religion," which had the stamp of approval of Newton himself and which continued to attract a good deal of sincere devotion, in a wide variety of forms.

Science. It is a commonplace that the demotion of religion by the Enlightenment went hand in hand with the promotion of science—indeed, the very notion of a generic "science," as a sphere of cognition distinct from religious "belief," was undoubtedly a gift of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment discovery or construction of science, in this sense, owed everything to the idea of a heroic age of scientific achievement just behind it, in the development of modern astronomy and physics from Nicolaus Copernicus to Newton. For all of the prestige that now attached to science, however, it would be a mistake to exaggerate agreement during the Enlightenment with regard to either its methods or findings. The philosophical heritage from the seventeenth century was far too various for that. Looking back at the eighteenth century, the last great philosopher of the Enlightenment, Kant, described an anarchic battlefield, divided ontologically between materialism and idealism and epistemologically between rationalism and empiricism. Moreover, there was also profound disagreement as to the social consequences of scientific advance, however defined. For every Condorcet, celebrating the beneficent effects of cognitive "progress" for liberty and prosperity, there was a Rousseau, decrying the contribution that science made to technological violence and social inequality.

Politics. The seventeenth century had seen a profound revolution in political thought, with the emergence of the modern "natural rights" tradition of Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf. One of the major achievements of the early Enlightenment was to popularize and disseminate this tradition, via an endless array of translations, summaries, and commentaries. By the mid-eighteenth century, the basic conceptual vocabulary of the natural rights tradition—"natural rights," "state of nature," "civil society," "social contract"—had entered the mainstream of Enlightenment political thought,

which embraced, nearly unanimously, the belief that the only legitimate basis of political authority was consent. The path toward the vindication of "inalienable natural rights" in the founding documents of the American and French Revolutions lay open. Still, beyond this basic agreement about legitimacy, the practical substance of Enlightenment political thought was extraordinarily various. Only one major thinker, Rousseau, actually produced a theory of republican legitimacy—but in a form so radically democratic as to preclude its widespread acceptance prior to the era of the French Revolution. In terms of practical politics, the majority of Enlightenment thinkers accepted a pragmatic accommodation with monarchy—overwhelmingly still the dominant state-form in Europe—and instead pursued what might be termed a program of "proto-liberalism," concentrating on securing civil liberties of one kind or another—freedoms of religion, self-expression, and trade.

Social science. Meanwhile, the most influential work of political theory of the Enlightenment turned its back on natural rights theory altogether. In De l'esprit des lois (1748; The spirit of the laws), Montesquieu set forth a global taxonomy of stateforms, dividing the world into a West that had seen a transition from the martial republics of antiquity to the commercial monarchies of modern Europe, and an East dominated by unchanging "despotism." A succeeding generation of French and Scottish thinkers then developed Montesquieu's legacy in two different directions. One was the genre of "conjectural" or "stadial" history, which traced the historical development of societies through specific socioeconomic stages—huntergatherer, nomadic, agricultural, and commercial in the most famous of these, known retrospectively as the "four stages" theory. The other direction was toward an entirely new social science, that of economics or "political economy"—probably the most important single intellectual innovation of the Enlightenment. Within the ranks of "conjectural" historians and political economists, however, there was significant disagreement about the political and moral upshot of their findings. Thinkers as close in outlook as Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson could disagree profoundly about the effects of economic progress on political life. The field of political economy itself was sharply divided between two quite

different theoretical schools, French Physiocracy and the "system of liberty" set forth in Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). Finally, more conventional narrative historiography, which underwent a great flowering in the Enlightenment in the work of practitioners such as Voltaire, Hume, and Edward Gibbon, showed a not dissimilar variety. In the face of every legend about the shallow optimism of the Enlightenment, it is worth noting that its historiographical masterpiece, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788), recounted a tragedy of almost unimaginable proportions: the destruction of the classical world at the hands of "barbarism and religion."

Imaginative literature. From the start, poetry, fiction, and plays provided natural vehicles for the expression of Enlightenment ideas. Here, above all, the watchword is variety. It is very striking that the two most enduring works of imaginative literature of the French Enlightenment should be so dark in outlook. Its earliest work, Montesquieu's Persian Letters, is a stark parable about the lethal dangers of the pursuit of knowledge and freedom. Voltaire's philosophical novella Candide (1759)—doubtless the most widely read eighteenth-century work today—is a caustic satire on the "optimism" of philosophical rationalism. At the other end of this spectrum, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's late operas, scarcely less popular with contemporary audiences, convey an infinitely sunnier sense of basic Enlightenment ideas—from the raucous celebration of social and gender egalitarianism in Le nozze di Figaro (1785; The marriage of Figaro), to the stately presentation of a stylized Freemasonry in Die Zauberflöte (1791; The magic flute). In fact, The Marriage of Figaro can be regarded as an emblem of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism—the incendiary play on which it is based the work of a French Protestant admirer of the American Revolution, its libretto furnished by an Italian Jew, its composer an Austrian Freemason.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT "PUBLIC SPHERE": INSTITUTIONS AND IDENTITIES

Ideas naturally remain the primary focus of scholarly study of the Enlightenment. However, recent scholarship has devoted a steadily increasing amount of attention to what might be termed the "social history" of the Enlightenment—the form in which its ideas were expressed, the institutions by means of which they circulated, and the identities of the people who produced and consumed them. The theoretical inspiration for much of this research has come from the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas's early book, *Der Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962; The structural transformation of the public sphere), which traced the development of a "bourgeois public sphere" for the exchange of ideas and information, which reached its climax in the eighteenth century—indeed, was at one with the Enlightenment (Habermas, 1989; Melton, 2001).

Habermas's analysis laid special stress on the socioeconomic developments in the early modern period that made the "public sphere" in this sense possible. The most crucial development of all, he suggested, was a revolution in reading and writing in the eighteenth century to match the original "print revolution" of the sixteenth. The suggestion has been amply confirmed by subsequent scholarship, which has focused on three specific changes in the "print culture" of the Enlightenment. One is simply a tremendous leap forward not just in literacy rates, but in the very meaning of literacy, as "reading" itself deepened and widened and as large numbers of women joined the ranks of the literate for the first time. Secondly, the Enlightenment saw a vast expansion not just in the volume of printed matter in Europe, but also in its variety: different genres of books, multiplying in every direction, were joined by a wide range of periodicals, as well as weekly and even daily newspapers. Finally, authorship itself finally started to be modernized during the Enlightenment, as first the idea and then the reality of literary property began to take holdtraceable in the careers of such major writers as Voltaire, Hume, and Rousseau.

Beyond this transformation of the literate "public," Habermas also suggested that the eighteenth-century "public sphere" depended on certain characteristic social institutions, which shared a kind of family resemblance as sites for the expression of a specifically Enlightenment "sociability." Most striking of all was the Enlightenment salon—periodic social gatherings of writers and intellectuals for the exchange of ideas, presentation of written material, and display of works of art, typically under

female leadership and direction. The salons of eighteenth-century Paris are the most famous, but those of London, Berlin, or Vienna contributed no less to the local circulation of Enlightened ideas. Secondly, there was a set of slightly more "public," and certainly more masculine, establishments, part of whose allure depended on the consumption of intoxicants of one kind or another—the tavern, wine shop, and coffeehouse, pioneered in the United Provinces and Britain in the late seventeenth century and then widely imitated across Europe in the eighteenth. Finally, the propagation of Enlightenment ideas was a special concern of the network of Masonic lodges, again deriving from British origins, which then proliferated across the continent in the eighteenth century—the first secular, voluntary associations in modern Europe.

What was the social profile of those who attended Enlightenment salons, frequented eighteenth-century coffee shops, and joined Masonic lodges? In line with his Marxism, Habermas himself stressed the "bourgeois" or even capitalist origins and character of the "public sphere" of the Enlightenment. In fact, at its upper reaches, the movement was thoroughly mixed in social terms: the roster of its leading figures suggests a kind of united front between aristocrats—Montesquieu, Condorcet and an emergent middle-class intelligentsia, typified by the careers of Voltaire or Diderot. Below this level, however, there is no doubt about the fundamentally bourgeois character of the Enlightenment, in the broadest sense of the term. In fact, one of the most important achievements of scholarship over the past thirty years has been the patient reconstruction of what the historian Robert Darnton called the "business of Enlightenment"—the commodification of Enlightenment ideas, in the book trade above all. Darnton has also been a pioneer in uncovering the diffusion of Enlightenment ideas down the social scale, far below the cosmopolitan elite of famous names, to what he termed the "Grub Street" journalism of an emergent popular culture (Darnton, 1979 and 1982).

As it happens, however, the liveliest sector of the current social history of the Enlightenment is concerned not with social rank but with gender. What was the role of women in the Enlightenment? The leading part taken by women in organizing and hosting salons, as well as the rising rate of female

literacy, points to one kind of answer—that the Enlightenment indeed marked a watershed in the history of female participation at the highest reaches of European intellectual life (Goodman, 1994). At the same time, the absence of feminine names from the canon of the major writers of the epoch also suggests some of the limits of this emancipation. Early feminist ideas were in circulation in Europe from the late-seventeenth century onward: the works of Mary Astell (1666-1731) are a major reference point today. But Astell, a deeply devoted Anglican, was far from an Enlightenment thinker. On the whole, the actual record of eighteenth-century thought on women and gender suggests a kind of confused collision between competing values: the egalitarianism of Enlightenment social sensibilities was counterbalanced by a robust naturalism emphasizing the biological differences between the sexes. Not a few of the most famous writers of the era— Rousseau is the most notorious—adopted positions that can only be described as antifeminist. It very striking that the first great classic of feminist philosophy, Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792), was written by an English radical who, while she identified very closely with the French Enlightenment and admired Rousseau, owed the publication of her work to a very different political context—that of the French Revolution.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION

This brings us in fact to an initial question about the place of the Enlightenment in the wider currents of European history. Its maturity as an intellectual movement coincided with the start of a cycle of political revolutions that ended, after a half-century of social convulsion and warfare, with the destruction of the Old Regime of early modern Europe. What was the relation between the Enlightenment and what the American historian R. R. Palmer called "the age of the democratic revolution"? For conservative critics of the French Revolution such as Edmund Burke or Joseph de Maistre, the answer was simple and dramatic: the Enlightenment caused the Revolution-Voltaire and Rousseau sketched a scenario for political transformation that was then willfully enacted by the Abbé Siéyès and Maximilien Robespierre. The idea is easy to dismiss in its hyperbolic or conspiratorial forms. But how in fact should we conceive of the relation between the intellectual

movement of the Enlightenment and the political revolutions that overthrew the Old Regime?

Many scholars have stressed the practical thrust of the Enlightenment critique of political, social, and religious institutions, which certainly appeared to express a desire not merely to analyze but to change the world. At the same time, it also seems clear that the basic orientation of this criticism was reformist and not revolutionary. No major Enlightenment thinker ever advocated "revolution," in the sense of a conscious change of political regime, even by peaceful means—the memory of the last serious example of such a project, the failed Commonwealth that issued out of the English Civil War, was a potent warning against such presumption. On the whole, the practical political energies of the Enlightenment were devoted to a far more modest set of ends, the securing of a set of basic civil liberties freedom of religion, self-expression, trade—nor did many thinkers contemplate the extension of these liberties beyond an elite minority of white male property owners. It is perfectly appropriate that the most celebrated examples of Enlightenment activism should be the one-man campaigns mounted by Voltaire to "crush the infamy," as his motto put it, of anachronistic religious persecution. Of course, Voltaire was not the only Enlightenment thinker to become more directly involved with affairs of state, on occasion. But the oxymoron of "enlightened despotism" suggests the limits of such episodes. In eastern Europe, this was largely a matter of rendering the rule of divine-right absolutism more rational and efficient. In the West, experiments in the practical application of Enlightenment ideas—for example, efforts to deregulate the grain trade in France, inspired by Physiocracy—tended to be short-lived fiascoes.

The immediate origins of both the American and the French Revolutions can be traced, not to the conscious plans of revolutionaries dreaming of overthrowing regimes, but to fiscal crises brought on by debts incurred in international warfare—disputes over the escalating costs of imperial defense in the case of the first, state bankruptcy brought on by bankrolling the American revolt itself, in the case of the second. The Enlightenment cannot be said to have "caused" either, in any plausible sense of the term. This is not to deny any relation between them, however. On the contrary, if the Enlightenment

played a minimal role in the origins—largely spontaneous and contingent—of the American and French Revolutions, it was absolutely central to the processes of political and social reconstruction undertaken by both, once old regimes had collapsed. The various declarations of "natural rights" that accompanied every step of this saga, from Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence (1776) and the American state constitutions to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) and the American Bill of Rights (1791) and beyond, tell their own story—so many variations on the basic civil libertarianism of the Enlightenment. Politically, the Age of Revolutions afforded opportunities for state construction beyond what any Enlightenment thinker had envisaged. But the ensuing experiments in republican constitution making were all conducted in self-conscious continuity with eighteenth-century political thought. The one great success story here, the American constitution of 1787, with its antidemocratic machinery of "checks and balances," is notoriously a creature of the Enlightenment. Neither the French Revolution nor the wars of liberation in Latin America succeeded in creating comparably durable state structures, of course. But by far the most significant sociopolitical accomplishment of the former, the Napoleonic Civil Code (1804), was itself a straightforward expression of the egalitarian and rationalizing designs of the Enlightenment. Moreover, the fact that the restoration of monarchy that followed the overthrow of Napoleon was so unstable and short-lived is a testament to the long-term impact of the Enlightenment in altering the social and political expectations of Europeans. When the dust settled after another cycle of political revolutions a halfcentury later—unifying and modernizing Italy, Germany, the United States, and Japan by means of revolution "from above"—the social and political landscape to be seen in Europe and North America was very much in line with the hopes and aspirations of the Enlightenment.

THE INTELLECTUAL LEGACY OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

In the long run, then, the Enlightenment can be said to have succeeded in changing the world, much as the Renaissance and the Reformation had before it—through a complicated interweaving of intended and unintended consequences. There is,

however, one important difference between the first two and the last of these episodes of intellectual "modernization." On the whole, the great issues and passions of the Renaissance and the Reformation have long since receded into history, their very success having also canceled their actuality. There is no sign yet that the Enlightenment is "over" in the same sense. Despite the claims once made on behalf of Marxism or psychoanalysis in their heydays, the Enlightenment has yet to be coopted or surpassed by any later intellectual movement, in the way it did the Renaissance and Reformation.

There is no surer sign of this than its fate in twentieth-century scholarship. For alongside a massive professional literature on its thought, probably exceeding that devoted to the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the "scientific revolution," the Enlightenment has inspired a polemical and philosophical commentary on it that is unprecedented in modern intellectual history. On the one hand, the movement has attracted a powerful series of advocates, concerned to defend its intellectual and political legacy, typically by straightforward identification with it. These include Ernst Cassirer, whose Philosophie der Aufklärung (Philosophy of the enlightenment), published on the eve of his exile from Nazi Germany in 1932, launched the serious academic study of its subject, and, above all, Peter Gay, whose two-volume study, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation (1966, 1969)—which ended with a ringing vindication of Enlightenment liberal humanism, still incarnated today in the American constitution—remains the most authoritative single synthesis of the field. On the other hand, the Enlightenment has also been the object of an endless series of polemical attacks in the twentieth century. What is perhaps most striking is that the greatest of these have not come from the right of the political spectrum, as in the tradition descending from Burke and Maistre to Friedrich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger, but from its center—Carl Becker's perennially popular The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers—as well as its far left—Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's classic of Western Marxism, Dialektik der Aufklärung (1947; Dialectic of enlightenment) and virtually the entire early oeuvre of the French historian Michel Foucault. For Becker, the fatal flaw of the Enlightenment was its naive utopianism, modeled on that of its ostensible

Christian opponents. Both Horkheimer and Adorno and Foucault regarded Enlightenment rationalism less as utopian than as inherently authoritarian in nature, its fundamental will to power plainly visible in twentieth-century fascism, Stalinism, and consumer capitalism alike.

Today this field remains divided between contemporary representatives of these positions. The descendents of Becker, Horkheimer and Adorno, and Foucault can be found among the major theorists of postmodernism, who continue to attack the Enlightenment both for its utopianism—its supposed addiction to "grand narratives" of progress and emancipation—and its intellectual authoritarianism, embodied in its various philosophical "essentialisms" or "foundationalisms." If successors to Cassirer and Gay are somewhat less vocal today, it is perhaps precisely because the Enlightenment might not seem to require such strenuous advocacy, in a world dominated by a triumphant neoliberalism claiming direct descent from it. The contemporary politics of the Enlightenment remain unpredictable, however. Paradoxically, by far the most visible promoter of its values today is in fact the most famous living representative of the tradition of Horkheimer and Adorno-Jürgen Habermas, who has long urged the Left to embrace what he terms the "unfinished project" of the Enlightenment. The note of modesty, acknowledging the gap between goal and accomplishment, in fact captures the self-definition of the Enlightenment far better than any kind of self-congratulation. It was Kant himself who answered the question, "Do we now live in an enlightened age?" by saying: "No, but we live in an age of enlightenment"—a judgment that perhaps remains as true today as when it was first rendered.

See also Academies, Learned; Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; American Independence, War of; Anticlericalism; Atheism; Bayle, Pierre; Burke, Edmund; Catherine II (Russia); Deism; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Diderot, Denis; Education; Empiricism; Encyclopédie; Enlightened Despotism; Equality and Inequality; Feminism; Frederick II (Prussia); Freemasonry; Gibbon, Edward; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Hume, David; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets; Journals, Literary; Kant, Immanuel; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Liberty; Literacy and Reading; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Natural Law; Newton, Isaac;

Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Political Philosophy; Printing and Publishing; Public Opinion; Reason; Republic of Letters; Revolutions, Age of; Rights, Natural; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Salons; Scientific Revolution; Smith, Adam; Voltaire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Bayle, Pierre. Historical and Critical Dictionary: Selections. Translated by Richard H. Popkin. Indianapolis, 1991.
- Ferguson, Adam. An Essay on the History of Civil Society. Translated by Fania Oz-Salzburger. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1995.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Political Writings*. Translated by H. B. Nisbet. Cambridge, U.K., 1996.
- Kramnick, Isaac, ed. *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*. New York, 1995. An excellent anthology of short selections from primary sources.
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de. *Persian Letters*. Translated by C. J. Betts. Harmondsworth, U.K., 1973. Translation of *Lettres persanes* (1721).
- ——. The Spirit of the Laws. Translated and edited by Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1989. Translation of De Vesprit des lois (1748).
- Smith, Adam. An Inquiry into the Nature and the Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner. 2 vols. Indianapolis, 1981.
- Voltaire. Candide and Related Texts. Translated by David Wootton. Indianapolis, 2000.
- Williams, David, ed. *The Enlightenment*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1999. An anthology of longer selections from primary sources, oriented toward political and social thought.

Secondary Sources

- Becker, Carl. The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. New Haven, 1932.
- Cassirer, Ernst. *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*. Translated by Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove. Princeton, 1951.
- Darnton, Robert. The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800. Cambridge, Mass., 1979.
- ------. The Literary Underground of the Old Regime. Cambridge, Mass., 1982.
- The Eighteenth Century: A Current Bibliography. Published annually by the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies: essential guide to the literature. Philadelphia, 1975–.
- Gay, Peter. The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. 2 vols. New York, 1966, 1969.

Goodman, Dena. The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment. Ithaca, N.Y., 1994.

Habermas, Jürgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass., 1989.

Hampson, Norman. *The Enlightenment*. Harmondsworth, U.K., 1968. The finest single-volume interpretation in English.

Kors, Alan Charles, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. 4 vols. Oxford, 2002. Now the authoritative multivolume guide.

Melton, James Van Horn. The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2001.

Outram, Dorinda. *The Enlightenment*. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1995.

Porter, Roy. *The Enlightenment*. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth, U.K., and New York, 2001. This and the Outram text are intelligent, up-to-date brief surveys of the field.

Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century. The Voltaire Foundation has published several volumes—books, essays, proceedings of conferences—every year for nearly four decades; essential for all scholars of the Enlightenment.

Venturi, Franco. *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, U.K., 1971.

Yolton, John W., editor. *The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment*. Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1992. The best one-volume handbook.

JOHNSON KENT WRIGHT

ENLIGHTENMENT, JEWISH. See Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment).

ENSENADA, CENÓN DE SOMODE-VILLA, MARQUÉS DE LA (1702–1781), minister to Philip V and Ferdinand VI of Spain. One of Spain's most powerful eighteenth-century ministers, Somodevilla was born into a poor *hidalgo*, 'noble', family in the small northern town of Alescano in the Rioja region. Little is known about his formative years. In 1720, at the age of eighteen, he was working as a civil servant for the navy in Cádiz, where his abilities gained the notice of the royal minister José Patiño y Morales (1666–1736),

Groomed by Patiño, Somodevilla was promoted to numerous positions within the ministries of navy and war. He earned the title of marqués de la Ensenada in 1736 for his services to the navy in the Italian campaigns that made Philip V's (ruled 1700–1724; 1724–1746) son Charles the king of Naples, and he became a secretary of state and of war in 1741. When José de Campillo (1695–1743) died in 1743, Ensenada succeeded him as first secretary in four of the five secretariats of the Spanish crown: finance, war, navy, and the Indies.

Ensenada and José de Carvajal (1698–1754), first secretary of state, dominated the reign of Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759). Ensenada's position exemplified the incredible power that individual ministers came to wield in Bourbon Spain as the crown reduced the historic power of the *Consejos* ('councils'), an institutional stronghold of the aristocracy under the Habsburgs.

Eighteenth-century Spain is often characterized as the century of Bourbon reform, in which successive kings oversaw efforts to centralize administration and to modernize and rationalize the state. The first Spanish Bourbons, Philip V and Ferdinand VI, were ineffectual rulers, but they promoted talented ministers who worked to reshape Spain as it recovered from the economic crises of the seventeenth century and the political fracture of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Melchor de Macanaz (1670–1760), Campillo, and Patiño instituted ambitious programs to stabilize and consolidate power in the first decades of Bourbon rule. Yet these early "reformers" did little to challenge Spain's traditional economic and social structures, and historians have identified Ensenada as the eighteenth century's first real innovator, one whose vision prefigured the more far-reaching projects of Charles III's reign (1759–1788).

Like his mentor Patiño, Ensenada recognized the importance of improving the military to protect Spain's interests throughout its empire, particularly its American colonies. He expanded the Spanish fleet and reformed an ailing naval infrastructure. He initiated civil engineering projects and asserted state control of public works at national, regional, and local levels. Dissatisfied with Spain's scientific and technological stagnation, he sent students abroad

then the naval intendant general.



Marqués de la Ensenada. Portrait by Jacopo Amigoni, c. 1750. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

and subsidized visits of prominent scientists and thinkers to Spain.

Perhaps Ensenada's most famous project was his plan to reform the tax system in Castile by eliminating various provincial taxes in favor of the *única contribución*, a single tax proportional to wealth and applied to every individual. To assess the tax, he directed a vast census, or *catastro*, of the communities, people, and properties of Castile. The single tax added a social component to economic reform, for the old provincial taxes largely exempted both nobility and church, placing an inordinate tax burden on the poor. The nobility fought and defeated the single tax, however, reacting to the threat that Ensenada and a new class of royal bureaucrats presented to traditional power and local privilege.

Ensenada created enemies within Spain for his policies of national reform, but his role in foreign affairs ultimately caused his downfall. His aggression against the competition of England and its ally Portugal in Atlantic trade, and his support of a strategic alliance with France, alienated pro-English and pro-Portuguese factions within the court and diverged from the policies of Carvajal, who pursued a more neutral course. This court factionalism came

to a head during the territorial dispute and subsequent treaty with Portugal over Paraguay in 1750. Ensenada opposed the unfavorable terms of the treaty for Spain, as did the Jesuits. Their protests did not prevent the treaty's ratification, and only heightened political resentment against them.

In the wake of the Paraguay crisis and Carvajal's death in 1754, Ensenada became an easy target for his enemies, despised for his vanity and feared for the disproportionate power he possessed. His fall was swift and he was banished that year to Medina del Campo, where he remained until Charles III restored him to court (though not to power) in 1760. He came under new scrutiny for his relationship with the Jesuits in the events leading to their 1767 expulsion from Spain, and he was again exiled to Medina del Campo, where he died in 1781.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Charles III (Spain); Ferdinand VI (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Domínguez Ortíz, Antonio. Sociedad y estado en el siglo XVIII español. Barcelona, 1976.

Lynch, John. Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808. Oxford, 1989.

Villa Rodríguez, José. Don Cenón de Somodevilla, marqués de la Ensenada. Madrid, 1878.

JULIANNE GILLAND

ENTHUSIASM. From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, "enthusiasm" was used in describing individuals or groups who claimed to have been the special recipients of divine inspiration. Originally having the neutral or positive meaning of "being possessed or inspired by a god" (from the Greek *enthousiasmos*), the term assumed negative connotations after the Reformation. Protestant Reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) first used the word "Schwärmer" to describe such radical reformers as Thomas Müntzer (c. 1489–1525), Andreas Karlstadt (c. 1480–1541), and the Anabaptists, on account of their elevation of religious experience over the literal words of Scripture.

"Enthusiast" was the English equivalent, used to characterize those thought guilty of feigned inspiration, impostures, sectarianism, and extremes of religious passion. Enthusiasm was also associated with sets of physical symptoms—convulsions, ecstatic dancing, prophesying, speaking in foreign tongues, and the "quaking" from which Quakers received their derisory designation. The expression was used of a variety of sects, including the original Anabaptists, Behmenists, Seekers, Familists, Ranters, Camisards, Quietists, and Quakers. However, the deployment of the term in the context of religious controversy meant that it was often applied indiscriminately. Puritans and Methodists could be referred to as enthusiasts. Luther called the pope an enthusiast, and even the rationalist philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650) attracted the label. Its more restricted technical sense was well expressed by Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) who defined it as "a vain confidence of Divine favour or communication."

ENTHUSIASM AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

In the West, Christian belief is grounded in a combination of four authorities: Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. Whereas Catholics typically elevated the authority of tradition and Protestants that of Scripture, enthusiasts argued that private religious experience was paramount. This emphasis on individual inspiration meant that those designated enthusiasts were often regarded as a threat to the established civil and religious order. Private and heartfelt revelations unchecked by the external authority of Scripture, the universal strictures of common reason, or the institutionalized resources of ecclesiastical tradition arguably did present some challenges to social stability. Responsibility for the ill-fated German Peasants' War (1524-1526) was laid on the shoulders of religious enthusiasts, not entirely without justification, for Müntzer's apocalyptic visions had played a role in the later stages of the revolt. English critics of enthusiasm also came to regard the Great Rebellion (the English Civil War; 1642-1651) as an event that exemplified the dangers of unchecked religious zeal.

Most responses to the perceived problem of enthusiasm stressed the need for private religious experience to be moderated by reason or constrained by the authorities of tradition or Scripture. Of these, reason was the major beneficiary of the fear of enthusiastic excess. Champions of reason claimed that a reasonable religion suffered from neither the corruptions to which tradition was susceptible nor the difficulties associated with the interpretation of Scripture. For its promoters, moreover, the religion of reason also promoted religious concord, for in its simplest form, it contained only fundamental doctrines on which all, at least in principle, could agree. The seventeenth-century tendency toward rational religion can be regarded, at least in part, as a reaction against the putative dangers of enthusiasm.

THEORIES OF ENTHUSIASM

Another response to enthusiasm was the attempt to analyze its natural causes. During the seventeenth century a number of writers set out to investigate the etiology of what was regarded as a religious distemper. In his classic work of psychopathology, The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), Robert Burton (1577–1640) articulated the influential view that enthusiasm was one of two extreme forms of religious melancholy, the other being atheism. Both extremes were caused by various affects in the brain, and both were equally undesirable. Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), son of the famous classicist Isaac, devoted a complete work to the condition. In his Treatise concerning Enthusiasm (1655) he argued for a distinction between natural and supernatural enthusiasm. The former was caused by an excitation of the soul, spirits, or brain, the latter by divine or diabolical inspiration. Religious errors arose when natural or diabolical inspirations were mistakenly thought to have originated from God. The Cambridge Platonist Henry More (1614-1687) also focused on the natural causes of enthusiasm in his Enthusiasmus Triumphatus (1662). For More, enthusiasm resulted from a diseased imagination, which in turn had underlying physical causes. While it was essentially a physiological condition, it could be triggered by ascetic and monkish habits. By the same token, in human behaviors and attitudes lay the prospect for the control and cure of enthusiasm through cultivation of the habits of reasonableness, temperance, and humility.

These naturalistic treatments gave enthusiasm a significance that went beyond contemporary confessional polemic. As a generic form of mental pathology, its adverse affects were discovered in other spheres of human endeavor such as science and medicine. Followers of the medical and chemical reforms of Paracelsus (1493–1541) and Jan Baptiste van Helmont (c. 1579–1644) were referred to

as "philosophical enthusiasts," and theosophists and alchemists were similarly identified. More importantly, the emergence of this category in the early modern period gave a new shape to interpretations of religious history. Schismatic groups such as the early Christian Montanists and Donatists, and the medieval Waldensians and Cathars, were now retrospectively classified as enthusiasts. Enthusiasm was also given a role in the general history of religion. According to Henry More's analysis, enthusiasm accounted for defections from the pure, simple, and rational religion that he and many others believed had been universally practiced in the first age of the world. Enthusiasm, in short, was said to account for the varieties of heresy and heathenism in the world and thus took on the status of a theory of religious pluralism.

Physiological accounts of enthusiasm and the application of the category to religious history are indicative of an important shift in Western understandings of the basis of religious belief. The quest for the natural causes of the diversity of religious beliefs, incipient in the treatments of Burton, Casaubon, and More, heralds the beginning of Enlightenment attempts to provide religious beliefs with natural, rather than supernatural, explanations. To a degree, these treatments also lessened the moral stigma associated with religious heterodoxy. Enthusiasm and its critics played a significant role in the secularization of European thought and culture.

See also Anabaptism; Cambridge Platonists; Descartes, René; Helmont, Jan Baptiste van; Johnson, Samuel; Luther, Martin; More, Henry; Paracelsus; Peasants' War, German; Quakers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Casaubon, Meric. A Treatise Concerning Enthusiasm, as It Is an Effect of Nature: But Is Mistaken by Many for Divine Inspiration, or Diabolical Possession. London, 1655.

More, Henry. Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, or a Brief Discourse of the Nature, Causes, Kinds, and Cure of Enthusiasm. London, 1662.

Secondary Sources

Heyd, Michael. "Be Sober and Reasonable": The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries. Leiden, 1995. Argues that reactions against enthusiasm provide important background to the Enlightenment.

Knox, Ronald. Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion with Special Reference to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Oxford, 1950. The classic study of early modern enthusiasm, although Knox's own sympathies are quite apparent.

Tucker, Susie I. Enthusiasm: A Study in Semantic Change. Cambridge, U.K., 1972. Traces changing meanings of "enthusiasm"

PETER HARRISON

ENTREPRENEURS. See Artisans; Commerce and Markets; Shops and Shopkeeping.

ENVIRONMENT. To reflect squarely upon the environment of early modern Europe, one needs to adopt a perspective shaped by the rise of environmentalism, a way of thinking that gained prominence in the 1960s and 1970s. This philosophy calls for a recognition of the intrinsic value of nature and a rejection of the view that humans are somehow outside of nature. Environmental historians are revisiting many of the issues familiar to historians of the early modern age through the perspective of environmentalism, balancing the traditional attention given to people and society with a focus on the environment itself—the natural and the man-made.

Early modern Europeans thought about the world they lived in. Most earned a precarious living directly from the land, and a minority had the leisure to reflect on the links between their society and the milieus it depended upon. Some worried about perceived changes to the natural world surrounding them, while others eagerly sought ways to improve or better control the features most relevant to economic or social life. Others immersed themselves in the study of nature and reflected upon the place of humankind in the universe. Voyages to very different lands, advances in science and technology, political clashes, and the sheer intellectual dynamism of the period from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment all contributed to the transformation of European thinking about the environment.

Early modern Europeans drained wetlands, tried to improve agricultural practices, and coped with the pollution associated with dense populations. They discovered new resources and worried about the depletion of forests. They sailed to the tropics and mapped their own lands, planted gardens, and fought diseases. All of this can be studied in the long-established fields of history: economic, political, social, and cultural. Other aspects of the period's environment can be explored in works on early modern agriculture and fisheries, mining, public works, urbanism, forestry, science, and medicine.

Not all environmental historians adopt the most rigorous tenets of environmentalism. Some simply share an attitude of respect for nature, perhaps founded on a new awareness of the intricacies and the fragility of ecosystems. Others remain attached to the deeply rooted concept of human stewardship of nature or, more uniquely, proclaim the hybrid character of much of the world around us. Many, in the end, cling to the centrality of human beings to life and, therefore, to history. Yet, however amenable it may be to a variety of interpretations, environmentalism represents an elemental reformulation of an enduring inquiry into the divide between nature and culture. It has led to a genuine broadening of historical research. The following sketch of the thematic and methodological wealth of early modern environmental history is structured around the three poles of the human experience of nature: first, its many and changing representations; second, the rich bodies of knowledge it has fostered; and third, the broad range of institutions and practices developed to guide our daily interactions with the natural world.

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY AND REPRESENTATIONS OF NATURE

The evolution of ideas about nature was first studied through textual analyses before cultural historians expanded this process to a quest for meaningful signs in countless objects. Long before the rise of environmentalism, historians of literature were drawn to the many meanings of the word *nature* and, distinctly, the quasi-universal explanatory power that it acquired in the eighteenth century. The early modern period soon emerged as a key stage in the evolution of European attitudes toward the natural world. The Renaissance and the scientific revolution advanced more materialistic, less religious, and certainly less magical interpretations of natural phenomena, even before enhancing human agency in these matters. The Enlightenment fur-

thered this positivist trend, readily extending its faith in the perfectibility of humans to society and to its surroundings, while new articulations of private and public interests prepared the way for radical changes in European economies. At the same time, an aesthetic revolution, precursor to the Romantic movement, encouraged a less instrumental, yet still anthropocentric, appreciation of nature. Unsurprisingly, studies of the impact of these key cultural currents upon the ways in which Europeans conceived of their place in the environment reflect regional disparities in their timing and relative strength.

Although for most authors the natural world generally remained just a background, incidental to or even deliberately drawn to advance a thesis, the wealth of early modern literature permits some wide-ranging inquiries. Asking new questions from well-known texts has, for example, identified a great shift in the significance of mountains to early modern society, from repulsive poles to objects of curiosity and, eventually, to a veritable cult rooted in a new appreciation of the sublime. In turn, mountains lent themselves to speculations on the relationship of humans with what must pass for, in a European context, wild spaces. Similar investigations enriched the history of many sciences, including ecology, and influential revisions have turned to social groups often ignored by scholars, revealing, most notably, the pertinence of gender to environmental history.

Students of literature have also invigorated historical research through their probes of the autonomy of a text from its surroundings and the multiplicity of its meanings. This late-twentieth-century trend allows for more critical readings of references to the cultural processes that made sense of the features of a natural milieu for its inhabitants. For instance, considerable work (enriched through collaboration with scientists) has taken place in areas such as the history of natural disasters and of animals, where written records proved singularly opaque because of their moral and exemplary style. More generally, the recent swell of cultural studies also irresistibly expanded the definition of the records likely to expose the mental images familiar to each society. A striking range of cultural manifestations and objects may now testify to the many meanings of various environments, be they obviously man-made, like a garden, or apparently more

natural, like a lake, as lasting as a rural landscape or as fleeting as a fair, as universal as bad weather or as singular as early modern tastes for monsters and fantastic lands. Environmental history has much to gain from this blossoming of cultural history since all societies tightly weave their "sites of memory" with their surroundings. Most notably, cultural history has carried the history of landscapes well beyond the social, economic, and agricultural mechanisms of their formation and evolution. It has also brought modes of perception other than the visual within the reach of investigations. Odors, sounds, and tastes now enrich our understanding of the clashes of modernity and tradition characteristic of early modern life, perhaps most evidently in the jumble of urban environments.

Detractors of this embrace of the cultural dimensions of all environments may regret a loss of the "natural," turned into one of the dimensions of human experience rather than a fundamental and unique component of human experience as well as a reality outside of it. Indeed, a cultural analysis tends to present even very natural phenomena as hybrids. Yet, this juxtaposition of the natural and the artificial is precisely what is of interest to many historians when they turn to early modern Europe, because its preindustrial societies remained highly dependent upon environmental conditions while steadily expanding the range of tools available to control their fate.

The ambiguity of early modern stances vis-à-vis nature is perhaps most evident within the context of the great transoceanic expansion that created a frontier of tremendous economic and intellectual importance. This surge of European power, be it associated with the exploitation of tropical islands or the creation of "neo-Europes" by settlers, their animals, their crops, and their parasites, thoroughly challenged perspectives upon nature and the place of humans within their environments. The inquisitive mind of the Enlightenment entertained a great range of interpretations, from highly simplistic schemas to a nascent grasp of the interrelatedness of natural phenomena. Indeed, a loose parallel may be drawn between these intercontinental ventures and recent forays of environmental historians into the similarly unpredictable field of cultural history. Just as the former eventually fostered more relative assessments of the links between social structures and

environment, the latter are helping to wrench environmental history away from an overly "essentialist" penchant, most evident in many historical uses of geography and the field of climate history. Exposing the complexities, the vagaries, and the relative weight of the cultural and natural forces that shape identity has made it easier to resist the temptation to link identity and locale too tightly. This is important to the field of environmental history, never entirely free from the specter of determinism.

INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

The contribution of geographers to environmental history is more readily recognized than that of historians of literature. Indeed, it is fair to say that the key to the history of a region or a nation has repeatedly been sought in its geography.

The influence of the French *Annales* historical school is perhaps most telling in this regard. Starting after World War II, its many disciples were intent on expanding their investigations beyond the political and narrative history that had been common until then. They sought to show history in its social, economic, and geographical contexts by articulating the relationships between a society and its milieu around the concept of "possibilism," that is, suggesting that throughout history, communities strove to make the most of the possibilities offered by a natural milieu while at the same time respecting their own priorities.

The range of closely or loosely *Annales*-inspired studies of interest to environmental historians is remarkable, in spite of a recognizable rural bias that was perhaps most evident in the early years of this movement. Cities have found the researchers they deserved, ordinary as well as exceptional settings have been treated, and syntheses were not long in appearing. Countless communities, from modest villages to great composite units such as the Mediterranean basin, have been firmly inscribed within their natural parameters, especially with regard to local symbioses between economic practices and resources. Nevertheless, many environmental historians will regret that, in these theses, the significance of a milieu resides precisely in the "thickness" of its links to the socioeconomic structures that it harbored. Environmental features less related to a community and its survival are likely to receive little attention, and some significant fluctuations or even deteriorations of the natural systems surrounding it may remain hidden behind its adaptability.

Like studies of the Annales school, historical geographies of the early modern age may also be said at times to treat nature as a significant but passive background. Nonetheless, historically minded geographers continue to contribute to our knowledge of the evolution of urban and rural landscapes, the emergence of industrial clusters, the ever-changing map of commerce, patterns of land degradation or land reclamation, and so forth. Environmental historians will always profitably revisit such social and spatial arrangements, even if, in their call for a full recognition of the dynamics of a milieu, they choose to focus on the processes of greatest interest to them. They may, for instance, analyze the anthropization of a milieu, that is, the growing role played by humans in its evolution, or they may question its sustainability, seeking in effect a measure of the lasting power of the relationship between a society and its environment.

Many disciplines besides geography are contributing to the growth of environmental history. "Hard sciences," such as medicine, botany, zoology, and ecology, are helping to decipher the material traces of earlier environments. Their contributions are most welcome with regard to prehistoric or particularly long periods with a lack of written sources. However, historians of the early modern age are also learning to use the data provided by ever-sharper scientific tools, to make sense of pollen deposits, animal remains, traces of contaminants, climate fluctuations, epidemics, or, less dramatically, diets. From the social sciences, disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology, archaeology, sociology, or economics, all familiar with the conceptualization of networks and practices that are frequently connected with the environment, also inform many inquiries of an environmental and historical nature. Indeed, the border between environmental history and neighboring fields such as economic history or historical demography ought to remain porous. After all, many productions severely taxed a region's natural resources, and population levels often had a direct impact on European environments, notably in marginal regions. Historians of agriculture, technology, consumption patterns, the material world, military affairs, and many

others have much to say about early modern landscapes.

INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES

Because the early modern period is at the root of much of the institutional context of European life, the role played by various authorities in mediating the relations between rural or urban communities and their natural surroundings has, quite logically, attracted the attention of environmental historians. A first area of interest concerns the many regulations that anticipated the protection and conservation measures initiated in the twentieth century. Medieval and early modern controls of nuisances were intended to benefit human beings rather than the environment itself. Nonetheless, the range and coherence of the principles they invoked remain significant in the eyes of environmental historians. An array of edicts, intended to protect public health as well as property or the rights of corporate bodies, became law. In many different contexts across Europe, municipal, regional, or even royal powers reached deep into legal precedents to control the deeds of entrepreneurs. While never crafted to safeguard an environment for its own sake, these measures nonetheless tenaciously articulated its many values. Research in this area is often pursued within urban settings, a preference justified by the intricacies and intensities of the issues they raised and the records they left. Beyond the walls of cities, forests also receive considerable attention. Initial probes fueled a long polemic on the overexploitation and an eventual scarcity of wood before the age of coal. Thoughts then turned to the state's intrusions in the relations between these territories and surrounding villages, and soon to the multitude of functions played by forests in the lives of these communities.

Environmental historians also explore the rich world of public works, the early modern period marking an important step in the affirmation of the will of Europeans to restructure their environment. From the great designs of the Renaissance to the sustained eighteenth-century focus on movement and exchanges, from dams to enclosures to land reclamation initiatives, environmental historians are reworking a field familiar to students of engineering, architecture, institutions or, again, agriculture and technology. Their goal is to direct attention

away from the heroes or even villains of these stories to the natural milieus where they competed, and their agendas are shaped by important regional distinctions in the timing and types of works undertaken.

Finally, major political landmarks often play a role in environmental histories. Most evidently, the great revolutions that concluded the early modern period were not without impact upon European environments, although it is now clear that in this area as in many others, continuities and changes are not easily sorted out. This truism simply recalls the fact that the early modern age was an age of transition. Then, as before, Europeans continued to reshape their environment without escaping its many imperatives. Yet their successes and failures are of particular interest to environmental historians because they prepared European societies for the radically more assertive attitudes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

See also Agriculture; Enlightenment; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Renaissance; Scientific Revolution; Weather and Climate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ambrosoli, Mauro. The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850. Cambridge, 1997; 1st Italian ed., 1992.
- Brimblecombe, Peter, and Christian Pfister, eds. *The Silent Countdown: Essays in European Environmental History.* Berlin, 1990.
- Cosgrove, Denis E. The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy. Leicester, U.K., 1993.
- Corbin, Alain. The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination. Cambridge, U.K., 1986; 1st French ed., 1982.
- Crosby, Alfred W. Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900. Cambridge, U.K., 1986.
- Glacken, Clarence. Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in the Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century. Berkeley, 1967.
- Grove, Richard H. Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860. Cambridge, U.K., 1995.
- Johns, Alessa. ed. Dreadful Visitations: Confronting Natural Catastrophe in the Age of Enlightenment. New York, 1999.
- Kjaergaard, Thorkild. *The Danish Revolution*, 1500–1800: An Ecohistorical Interpretation. Cambridge, U.K., 1994; 1st Danish ed., 1991.

- Merchant, Carolyn. The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution. San Francisco, 1980.
- Schama, Simon. Landscape and Memory. New York, 1996.
- Smout, T. Christopher. Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600. Edinburgh, 2000.
- Thomas, Keith V. Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800. New York, 1983.
- Watkins, Charles. ed. European Woods and Forests Studies in Cultural History. New York, 1998.
- Worster, Donald. Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas. Cambridge, U.K., 1994; 1st ed., 1977.
- Zupko, Ronald, and Robert Laures. Straws in the Wind: Medieval Urban Environmental Law, The Case of Northern Italy. Boulder, 1996.
- Further references will be found through the web sites of the European Society for Environmental History (ESEH) and the American Society for Environmental History (ASEH).

PIERRE CLAUDE REYNARD

EPISTEMOLOGY. Epistemology means "theory of knowledge," and sometimes more specifically "theory of the sciences." As a term, epistemology (French, épistémologie, German, Erkenntnistheorie) entered European languages in the midnineteenth century. As a subject matter, it was present in ancient Greece, both in Plato's discussions of knowledge in the *Meno* and *Theaetetus*, and in Aristotle's characterizations in his logical works of "scientific" knowledge, that is, knowledge organized around basic principles from which other knowledge can be derived, or through which various facts can be explained. The root word episteme meant 'knowledge' in Greek; in early modern times the corresponding Latin word scientia meant 'organized knowledge', especially of a sort suitable for presentation as an ordered body of doctrine.

In early modern Europe, the theory of knowledge was examined and discussed in a variety of intellectual contexts. These included discussions of the methods and structure of knowledge in general, but especially of organized knowledge. The most important objects of knowledge included God and religious doctrines, the natural world as a whole as well as specific parts of it (as in astronomy, mechanics, or metallurgy), and knowledge of human nature, including the human body (in medicine and

physiology) and the soul or mind. These topics were discussed in university courses and the extensive literature they spawned, and in the works of individual philosophers outside universities, perhaps under princely or other wealthy patronage, but often not. European universities were church-related institutions that had been invigorated by the recovery of Aristotle's and other ancient works in the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. They provided a backdrop of theory, largely Aristotelian, of how knowledge is acquired and organized. Significant early modern thinkers such as Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), Francis Bacon (1561–1626), René Descartes (1596-1650), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716), John Locke (1632-1704), George Berkeley (1685-1753), and David Hume (1711-1776) worked largely outside this setting. Of major early modern philosophers, only Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) enjoyed a career as a university professor.

THE NEW SCIENCE

The single most significant early modern epistemological episode was the rise of the "new science" in the period from 1500 to 1750. This episode is sometimes described as the "scientific revolution," even though it took two hundred and fifty years to unfold and did not really constitute a unified revolution. Early results in astronomy (the Sun-centered solar system) and optics (the theory of lenses) fomented intellectual change and heralded the extension of human knowledge into new domains of the large and the small, through the telescope and microscope. The theory of vision exemplifies themes arising from this initial work. Relying on optical advances, Descartes developed a bold new conception of the physiological and cognitive bases of sight, which challenged Aristotelian orthodoxies concerning the physical and physiological operation of the senses, and formed part of his more general challenge to the Aristotelian theory of mind. In his fully developed system, Descartes appealed to purely rational considerations (epistemological rationalism) to ground his new theory of matter and of sensory properties such as light and color. Berkeley challenged Descartes's theory of vision in developing his own rival theory of knowledge, which denied any purely rational insight into the nature of matter, and rendered sensory experience the sole basis for knowledge of the natural world (epistemological empiricism).

The most epistemologically impressive achievement of the new science was Newton's mechanics, which unified the celestial and terrestrial domains through the laws of motion and the inverse-square law of gravitational attraction. Isaac Newton (1642-1727) claimed that his new advances arose by turning away from rationalist philosophical systems such as that of Descartes (though Newton's work arose partly in direct response to Descartes's physical theories), and relying instead on observation and experiment. Indeed, the inverse-square law was established by fitting a single mathematical law to a diversity of empirical information about falling bodies and planetary motions. Further, Newton did not pretend to understand how gravity works. He simply claimed that bodies tend toward one another according to his law. His scientific achievements inspired subsequent philosophical analysis and were used to support epistemological empiricism.

COGNITION AND PSYCHOLOGY

Early modern theories typically explained the cognitive basis of knowledge through the powers of the human mind. In the Aristotelian scheme, various cognitive powers had been distinguished, including the senses, imagination, memory, and intellect. Later authors accepted these basic powers and focused epistemological debate on their mode of operation, scope, and limits. The intellect and senses were viewed as natural mental tools for the production of knowledge. Thus, the nature and possibility of knowledge might be investigated via the power and reliability of the human cognitive faculties. Rationalist epistemologists such as Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz agreed that the human intellect possesses the capacity by itself, without appeal to sensory experience, to discern the essence or nature of God, matter, and the human mind. Empiricist philosophers such as Locke and Hume denied such power to the human intellect, and sought to base all human knowledge of the natural world in sensory experience. Hume held that the human mind differs only in degree from the minds of other animals, and denied that the human cognitive faculties naturally confer rational justification on their products. Knowledge of significant matters of fact for him reduced to cognitive habits produced by experiencing empirical regularities. Kant later created a distinction between the empirical psychological study of the mind (as in Hume), and the study of the logical or conceptual basis of knowledge. In this way he distinguished epistemology as a subject area from empirical psychology (even though he didn't possess the German word for "epistemology").

ORDER AND SYSTEM OF KNOWLEDGE

Early modern philosophers were presented an order of knowledge in university instruction, largely derived from the Aristotelian organization of the disciplines. Knowledge was divided into the theoretical (metaphysical and physical) and the practical (moral and political). Metaphysics studied the nature of being itself (the fundamental nature of reality, such as substance and its properties). Physics included the entire natural world, from the basic properties of bodies or matter through the study of living things (biology) to psychology. The eighteenth century articulated such systems, as in the Encyclopédie of Denis Diderot (1713-1784) and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), and in the highly structured philosophical system of the German philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754). These later systems often agreed with Bacon in dividing knowledge relative to the cognitive faculties: history—which meant all collections of facts, whether about nature or about human society—was based in memory, poetry (and art more generally) was based in imagination, and philosophy—both theoretical, including what we would call natural science, and practical—was based in reason (or the intellect). Such classifications sometimes diverged. Thus, psychology was first classified under physics or the science of nature, later as a metaphysical science, then as a "moral science" (or "human science"), and later again as a natural science. Classification and reclassification of the disciplines continues.

SKEPTICISM AND LIMITS

In many accounts of early modern epistemology, the revival of ancient skepticism in the sixteenth century figures prominently. Skeptical writings did inspire discussion. In religious contexts, skepticism about human ability to understand the divine was used both to support the claim that organized religion must use its divinely sanctioned authority to teach the truth about God and religious topics, and

also to challenge whether anyone can claim to have the truth about such matters. Some philosophers, such as Francisco Sánchez (c. 1550-1623), skeptically questioned whether human theoretical knowledge could really uncover the nature of reality as in metaphysics, and suggested a more limited, experience-based goal for knowledge. Descartes used skepticism as a tool for achieving certainty in metaphysical knowledge, but did not himself take the skeptical threat seriously. Other philosophers, such as Spinoza and Locke, quickly dismissed skeptical arguments. Philosophical empiricists such as Hume developed a mitigated skepticism, permitting Newtonian-type knowledge of empirical regularities in nature, but denying human ability to go beyond such regularities to the existence of God or the alleged immateriality of the human soul or mind. Generally, early modern epistemology increasingly recognized limits to human knowledge, culminating in Kant's system of transcendental idealism, according to which knowledge of bare reality, the existence of God, or the soul's immateriality, lie beyond human capacity.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Aristotelianism; Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; Cartesianism; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; Empiricism; Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Kepler, Johannes; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Logic; Natural Law; Newton, Isaac; Philosophes; Philosophy; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Spinoza, Baruch; Wolff, Christian.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Sánchez, Francisco. *That Nothing Is Known*. Translated by Douglas F. S. Thomson. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1988. Translation of *Quod Nihil Scitur* (1581).

Secondary Sources

Ayers, Michael, and Daniel Garber, eds. *Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Cambridge, U.K., 1998. Contains chapters on the cognitive faculties and other epistemological topics.

Emmanuel, Steven, ed. *The Blackwell Guide to the Modern Philosophers: From Descartes to Nietzsche*. Oxford and Malden, Mass., 2001. Contains chapters on all major early modern philosophers, often focusing on epistemology.

Hatfield, Gary. Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Descartes and the Meditations. London and New York, 2003. Discusses Descartes's epistemology in relation to its

intellectual context, including the rise of the new science.

Henry, John. *The Scientific Revolution and the Origins of Modern Science*. London and New York, 1997. Includes discussion of the philosophical context of the new science.

GARY HATFIELD

EQUALITY AND INEQUALITY.

"Triple is the house of God which is thought to be one: on Earth, some pray, others fight, still others work. . . . On the function of each the works of the others rest, each in turn assisting all." So wrote the eleventh-century French bishop, Adalbero, as he formulated a representation of the social order that would deeply influence early modern social thought. According to this medieval Christian taxonomy, divine providence divided earthly society into three unequal orders, each of which was defined and ranked on the basis of its function. The clergy, who served God, occupied the first estate. The nobility, who defended the church and provided military protection for the community, constituted the second estate. Last (and certainly least), laborers, who toiled to feed and support the two superior orders, comprised the third estate. For society to function harmoniously, those born into the nobility and third estate and those who entered the priesthood were obligated to recognize their place in the social order and fulfill their prescribed duties.

The feudal paradigm of the three orders informed the social imagination of Europeans down to the eighteenth century, but other modes of social classification became equally important during the early modern period. Although early modern Europeans had little conception of social class in the modern sense of the term, they certainly understood wealth to be a determinant of social rank. The possession of land helped to fix the social position of much of the population, from the poorest peasant to the greatest aristocrat. Second, social difference was conceived in terms of status. In this case, the hierarchy was composed of multiple gradations in rank, each of which enjoyed a certain degree of honor or public esteem. Honor pervaded all levels of early modern society, but it was generally taken for granted that those who occupied certain ranks

and professions enjoyed more of it than others. Finally, it was imagined that the social order was organized on the basis of privilege. The word "privilege" referred to special legal rights (literally 'private laws') that entitled particular groups of individuals to advantages that other groups did not possess. Privilege added a legal dimension to conceptions of early modern hierarchy, as various corporate groups were marked juridically by the privileges they enjoyed.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY

In practice, wealth, status, and privilege were intimately related. Wealth could generate status, just as status could elicit privilege, and privilege, in turn, could produce wealth. There was no simple formula by which these three forms of inequality combined to determine social rank, but a brief tour of the early modern social hierarchy, starting with the nobility and working downward, will show how they worked together to stratify society.

While the clergy was granted pride of place in Adalbero's tripartite conception of the temporal order, the nobility in fact dominated European society throughout the early modern period. This dominant position stemmed in large part from noble wealth. Although they comprised a small fraction of the European population, nobles possessed a grossly disproportionate share of the land. To take a particularly dramatic example, the English peerage, which numbered between sixty and two hundred individuals over the early modern period, owned approximately one-fourth of England's territory. At the local level, nobles stood out like landed giants. Their economic superiority also allowed them to build extensive patronage networks through which they exercised influence at the regional and national level.

Land ownership alone, however, cannot fully explain the dominance of the nobility. Status also mattered. Nobles sat atop a steep hierarchy of status and expected to be treated with the respect that was their due. They were addressed deferentially, granted special roles in public ceremonies and processions, and given the highest positions in army, church, and government. High-ranking nobles also attended court, where a culture of civilized elegance enhanced their status and further distinguished them from lesser nobles and commoners. Although

in urbanized areas of Europe such as Italy and the Netherlands, court culture may not have taken such highly distinctive forms, nobles everywhere were afforded a great deal of public esteem.

Finally, historians emphasize that privilege reinforced noble wealth and status. Certain privileges, such as the rights of lordship, were feudal in origin. Many nobles were not merely landowners but lords as well, meaning they possessed rights to judge local disputes, exploit seigneurial monopolies, and, increasingly in early modern eastern Europe, bind serfs to the land and exact labor services from them. Lordship was on the decline in early modern western Europe, but other privileges remained intact or were even newly created. Honorific privileges, such as the right to wear a sword or display certain articles of luxury, gave symbolic expression to the superiority of noble status. Political privileges assured nobles a strong voice in Estates and other corporate bodies through which they defended their liberties. Fiscal privileges protected noble wealth. As state finance expanded to redistribute resources on a massive scale over the course of the early modern era, the privilege of tax exemption shielded nobles from ever-growing fiscal demands and became essential to the order's social prominence.

The domination of the nobility reveals a great deal about inequality in the early modern period, but the same forms of inequality that set the nobility apart molded the rest of the social hierarchy. The bourgeoisie or "middling sort" (merchants, shopkeepers, and professionals) stood well above the laboring majority but did not enjoy nearly the same degree of wealth, status, or privilege as the nobility. Although financiers could accumulate fortunes that rivaled those of great aristocrats, the middling classes in general could not match the wealth of the second order. Nor, in terms of status, could the bourgeoisie command the same degree of social esteem. While the merchant took pride in his respectable education, comfortable home, professional success, and civic standing, all of which distinguished him from the lower orders, his prestige was limited by representations of businesspeople as crass, self-interested, and incapable of noble thoughts and deeds. One need only recall Molière's "bourgeois gentilhomme" (in the 1670 play of the same title), whom the playwright depicted as a crude social-climbing buffoon. Finally, the bourgeoisie enjoyed a mixed bag of privileges. It possessed fewer honorific privileges than the nobility but did enjoy tax exemptions and the privileges of municipal citizenship.

Below the level of the bourgeoisie, there was the vast working population of Europe. In towns, where the world of work was populated mainly by artisans, both wealth and status depended heavily on a single type of privilege, that of guild membership. The master artisans who ran the guilds enjoyed a relatively high degree of status and economic security, whereas apprentices and journeymen were hemmed in by guild regulations concerning hiring, wages, working hours, and workplace discipline. Still, apprentices and journeymen were far better off than the growing population of incompletely trained and transient workers who enjoyed none of the status or security that came with guild membership. Day laborers outside the guilds lived in highly precarious circumstances. An unusually long stretch of unemployment or poor health could easily throw them into the floating (and, after 1650, increasingly numerous) underclass of homeless paupers and beggars.

In the countryside, the peasantry as a whole enjoyed little wealth and esteem and were entitled to few privileges. Yet not all peasants were equal. In sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century central and western Europe, wealthier peasants took advantage of high grain prices and expanded their farms. Called yeomen in English, laboureurs in French, and Vollbauer in German, these peasant farmers formed local rural elites whose economic independence lent them a degree of respectability. The consolidation of land by the nobility and this upper tier of the peasantry spelled disaster for the middle- and lower-level peasants who constituted the majority of the European population. As the ranks of middling peasants thinned, the number of poor peasants who possessed mere scraps of land rose dramatically. Some took up cottage industry, but many smallholders and landless day laborers sank deeper into poverty. Like unskilled day laborers in the towns, the poorest peasants lacked the wealth, status, and privilege to protect them from falling into the outcast population of beggars and vagrants.

OTHER FORMS OF INEQUALITY

Although inequality in the early modern period stemmed principally from social stratification, research toward the end of the twentieth century began to emphasize that additional lines of inequality-based on age, gender, ethnicity, race, and religion—cut across the social hierarchy. Here too, however, the interplay of wealth, status, and privilege was important. In the patriarchal order of early modern Europe, legal restrictions (anti-privileges, in effect) severely limited women's ability to accumulate and control property. Common women, for example, were increasingly excluded from the privileges of guild membership, making it more difficult for them to earn money. Women were also afforded less esteem than men. Parents gave daughters inferior educations, and religious authorities throughout Reformation Europe enshrined the power of husbands over wives. To be sure, queens ruled a few countries, aristocratic women wielded influence at court, merchant wives helped manage business affairs, and widows carried on with the family craft or farm, but in general women enjoyed far less autonomy than men of the same social rank.

Similar forms of inequality resulted from distinctions in religion. Jews, where they had not been expelled, were subject to laws that narrowed their economic opportunities and political rights. In many areas, Jews could not own land or practice particular trades. In Italy, Germany, and eastern Europe, they were denied the rights of municipal citizenship and forced to live in isolated, often walledoff communities. In terms of status, they were seen as complete outsiders. Just as sumptuary laws attempted to create public signs of class distinction, municipal regulations in many towns forced Jews to wear marks of their religious identity on their clothing. Even Jews who became wealthy merchants or financiers could not rise above their inferior status, since they were often accused of being parasites who preyed on Christian communities. In this case, inequality based on religious identity limited the social advantages provided by wealth.

Religious and racial distinctions also fueled European slavery. In the sixteenth century, in the Iberian peninsula and throughout the Mediterranean, Christians enslaved Muslims and forced them into domestic service. As the Atlantic slave trade grew in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Europeans

enslaved black Africans in numbers that far exceeded previous practices and forced them to work in the American colonies. In the colonial Atlantic, racism and proto-industrial production combined to produce the profound inequalities of plantation society.

EGALITARIAN CHALLENGES

The rigid inequalities of the early modern social order and the assumptions about hierarchy that underpinned it did not go unchallenged. Indeed, for all their wealth, prestige, and privilege, early modern elites presided over periods of great instability in which subversive movements and ideas arose.

The Protestant Reformation provided one context in which radical ideas developed. In the German Peasants' War of 1524-1525, the greatest popular revolt before 1789, tens of thousands of peasants in central and southern Germany rose up against their lords to attack the feudal order. In the "Twelve Articles of the Upper Swabian Peasants," a famous list of grievances adopted by the peasants' parliament of Memmingen in March of 1525, peasants demanded the abolition of serfdom, lower feudal dues, freedom to hunt and fish, and a broad extension of communal rights. Although the immediate causes of the revolt were economic, the ideas of the Reformation played an important role in shaping peasants' demands. Claiming that the political and social order should conform to "godly law," the peasants not only justified concrete grievances but attempted to institute a more egalitarian order in which "the common man" would receive economic relief and enjoy the same political and legal rights as nobles and prelates. The revolutionary implications of this attack on feudalism were clear to contemporaries: "If God so desires it," reflected Elector Frederick III the Wise of Saxony (ruled 1486–1525), "then so it will come to pass that the common man will reign." Other princes were less passive in the face of rebellion. With the support of Protestant theologians, they unified their armies to crush the popular insurrection.

Radical religious ideas also gave rise to egalitarian movements in seventeenth-century England, where Puritanism helped to fuel a constitutional conflict between king and Parliament. During the turmoil of the English Civil War (1642–1649), many radical groups emerged to call for sweeping

political and social changes. From 1647 to 1649, a loose coalition of radical activists and journalists, known derisively as the Levellers, attempted to persuade Parliament and the New Model Army to pursue a program of democratic political reform. While the Levellers pressed for a range of constitutional, legal, and fiscal reforms, their most extraordinary demand involved the electoral franchise of Parliament. In a document entitled An Agreement of the People (October 1647), the Levellers advocated popular sovereignty and demanded that Parliamentary elections be held on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. Although the Levellers conceded, in the Putney debates that followed, that paupers and domestic servants might be excluded from the franchise, their claim that all male heads of household should possess the right to vote was truly revolutionary. The notion that, as Thomas Rainborough put it, "the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the greatest he" and was therefore entitled to basic political rights constituted a direct challenge to the political predominance of the English landed gentry. Having failed to gain the support of the army, the Levellers did not realize their agenda, but simply formulating the idea of universal manhood suffrage and agitating for its incorporation into the English constitution represented a remarkable moment in the history of political equality.

After the Levellers pressed for political equality, another radical group, the Diggers or True Levellers, demanded economic equality. In 1649 Gerrard Winstanley and his followers began to dig and cultivate crops on the common wasteland of St. George's Hill in Surrey, outside London. For the Diggers, this and similar acts in other towns symbolized the idea that the Earth was a "common treasury" to be shared by all. "The poorest man hath as true a title and just right to the land as the richest man," Winstanley wrote, extending the political democracy of the Levellers to the economic realm. Private property and the inequalities that resulted from it, he argued, violated the egalitarian intentions of the creator. For historian Christopher Hill, the Diggers' commitment to social equality made them the true revolutionaries of the English Civil War.

The atmosphere of crisis created by the English Civil War allowed groups like the Levellers and the Diggers to voice radically egalitarian ideas. Although such voices were silenced when political authority was restored in 1660, some of the Levellers' political propositions were revived by John Locke after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, while the social egalitarianism of the Diggers would resurface in a secularized form in the nineteenth century.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The first great secular challenge to early modern inequality occurred during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. In the wake of the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, Enlightenment thinkers, known in France as philosophes, defied religious orthodoxy and began to develop a modern science of man and society. The philosophes were hardly radical egalitarians: most did not challenge the idea of private property or include women, common people, or non-Europeans in their discussions of the "rights of man." But they did formulate a utilitarian philosophy that challenged the foundations of early modern inequality and ushered in a period of social reform.

First, the utilitarian thrust of the Enlightenment had important implications for privilege. Many Enlightenment writers saw little justification for privilege. Why, for example, were the French clergy and nobility entitled to tax exemptions when the state desperately needed revenue? Reason dictated that all citizens of a nation should be taxed equally, according to a uniform rate. Economic writers, meanwhile, attacked the monopolistic privileges of guilds and trading companies, suggesting that free trade would produce a more prosperous economy without such extremes of wealth and poverty. A freer economy, they argued, would engender a more fluid society in which articles of luxury and convenience would spread beyond the narrow circle of elites.

The philosophes also reconceptualized the problem of status. Status, they suggested, should not stem from the accident of birth but from social utility and personal merit. Those who contributed to society were to be esteemed, while those who selfishly took from it ought to be shunned. Such a utilitarian approach may not have led many philosophes to champion the cause of the working class, but it did encourage some to attack the idleness and arrogance of the aristocracy. In his novel *Candide*

(1759), Voltaire described one lord as addressing people "with the most noble disdain, tilting his nose so high in the air, raising his voice so mercilessly, adopting so imperious a tone, affecting so haughty a bearing, that everyone who met him wanted to beat him up." Jean-Jacques Rousseau's republican emphasis on simplicity and civic virtue also cast doubt on the moral condition of the high nobility.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment calls for reform and increasingly heated political conflicts between the French monarchy and various representative bodies prepared the way for the French Revolution. In 1789, the actions of revolutionary leaders in the National Assembly combined with popular insurrection to set the stage for landmark legislation that would establish equality before the law. On 4 August 1789 the National Assembly attacked the regime of privilege, abolishing feudal dues, tax exemptions, and church tithes and throwing open access to careers in the church, government, and military. Weeks later, on 27 August 1789, the Assembly issued the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen," which proclaimed in its first article: "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights." While this liberal period of the Revolution (1789-1791) witnessed the promotion of legal and political equality, revolutionaries during the radical phase known as the Terror (1793-1794) attempted to introduce greater economic equality. Hoping to quell urban unrest, legislators imposed price controls to make goods more accessible to workers and requisitioned grain from farmers in the countryside to feed the less fortunate. Although revolutionaries could not finally agree on how far the state should go to construct a society of equals, the French Revolution launched a debate on the relationship between political and social equality that would rage for the next two centuries.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Artisans; Bourgeoisie; Class, Status, and Order; Clergy; Enclosure; English Civil War Radicalism; Enlightenment; Feudalism; Gender; Guilds; Honor; Jews, Attitudes toward; Laborers; Mobility, Social; Peasantry; Peasants' War, German; Race, Theories of; Reformation, Protestant; Revolutions, Age of; Serfdom; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sumptuary Laws.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blickle, Peter. *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective.* Translated by Thomas A.
Brady Jr. and H. C. Erik Midelfort. Baltimore, 1981.

Bossenga, Gail. *The Politics of Privilege: Old Regime and Revolution in Lille.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1991.

De Vries, Jan. *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis*, 1600–1750. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1976.

Dewald, Jonathan. *The European Nobility*, 1400–1800. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1996.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago, 1980.

Farr, James R. *Artisans in Europe, 1350–1914.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000.

Hill, Christopher. The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution. New York, 1972.

Kamen, Henry. Early Modern European Society. London and New York, 2000.

Kwass, Michael. Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France: Liberté, Égalité, Fiscalité. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000.

Roche, Daniel. *France in the Enlightenment*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge, Mass., 1998.

Scott, Tom, ed. The Peasantries of Europe from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries. London and New York, 1998.

Te Brake, Wayne. Shaping History: Ordinary People in European Politics, 1500–1700. Berkeley, 1998.

Tilly, Charles. Durable Inequality. Berkeley, 1998.

Wiesner, Merry E. Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe. 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2000.

Woloch, Isser. The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s. New York, 1994.

MICHAEL KWASS

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS (1466?–1536),

Dutch humanist. The illegitimate son of a priest, Erasmus was born in Rotterdam c. 1466. After the premature death of his parents, his guardians persuaded him to enter an Augustinian monastery. On his request he was sent to the Collège de Montaigu in Paris in 1495, but he developed a strong distaste for the Scholastic brand of theology taught there and focused on the humanities instead. In 1499 he undertook the first of four journeys to England. The patronage of important men, foremost among them William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury

(c. 1450–1532), and the friendship of Thomas More (1478–1535) and John Colet (1467?–1519) opened doors for him and stimulated his interest in classical sources and biblical studies. Over the next two decades he made a name for himself through his collection of classical proverbs (Adages, first version 1500) and his elegant translations from the Greek (Euripides, Lucian, Plutarch, etc.). His jeu d'esprit, The Praise of Folly (Encomium Moriae; 1511), was an international bestseller and remains in print to the present day. From 1506 to 1509, Erasmus traveled in Italy, where he was awarded a doctorate in theology at the University of Turin (per saltum, that is, without the requisite examinations) and worked as a corrector for the famous Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio. After the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, he left for England and taught at the University of Cambridge, but he returned to the Continent when the hoped-for royal patronage was not forthcoming.

Two church benefices, which he converted into pensions, and an appointment as councillor to Prince Charles (later Emperor Charles V) gave him a certain measure of financial and scholarly independence. For Charles's guidance, Erasmus wrote an essay on statecraft, The Education of a Christian Prince (1516), as well as two position papers on war against the Turks and ways of ending the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants. Like Luther, Erasmus suggested that the Turks were the scourge of God and that spiritual reform must precede military action. His plan for peace among the religious factions rested on the idea of negotiation and compromise and the assumption that a future general synod would be able to formulate mutually acceptable doctrinal positions. To indicate that his advice was spiritual as much as political, Erasmus incorporated the pieces into Psalm commentaries (1530 and 1533). His position as councillor made it imperative for Erasmus to live in the Low Countries. From 1517 to 1521 he therefore resided in Louvain. After Charles's departure for Spain, he settled in Basel.

Erasmus's biblical studies aroused the opposition of conservative theologians. They objected to his application of the humanistic philological method to Scripture and protested against his plan to emend the Vulgate, then widely regarded as St. Jerome's translation, written with papal authoriza-

tion and under divine guidance. Erasmus had now collated numerous biblical manuscripts and studied the textual citations and exegesis of Greek and Latin fathers. He edited and translated a number of patristic works (Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen, Theophylactus, and others). The most important fruit of his studies, however, was a critical Greek and Latin edition of the New Testament and annotations explaining the textual changes he proposed. First published by Johann Froben in Basel in 1516, the work went through five editions in Erasmus's lifetime. The annotations more than tripled in volume as Erasmus incorporated ongoing research and answered the attacks of Catholic theologians. According to his critics, Erasmus's changes laid the groundwork for heterodox interpretations and gave support to the Lutherans.

Erasmus initially sympathized with the reformers, but he withdrew his support after 1521



Desiderius Erasmus. Portrait by Hans Holbein.
©BETTMANN/CORBIS



when it became apparent that their teaching was schismatic. The saying current at the time, "Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched," reflects the fact that Erasmus sharply criticized the Catholic hierarchy in such works as *The Praise of Folly* and the *Colloquies* (first version 1518). His call for inner piety rather than external compliance with ceremonies, first formulated in *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (1503), and his emphasis on Scripture and the fathers created the impression that he

shared Luther's platform. He differed sharply from Luther, however, in calling only for a reform of abuses and initiating no change in doctrine. As his polemic with the reformer in 1524 over the question of free will clearly showed, Erasmus respected the traditions of the church and accepted its teaching authority. Although he voiced doubts about certain doctrinal points, for example, the divine institution of the sacrament of penance, he expressly subjected his views to the verdict of the church.

Erasmus's approach to doctrinal questions may be described as "Catholic skepticism." He examined the evidence on both sides but relied on consensus and tradition as decision-making tools if the evidence was inconclusive. Schism therefore presented an epistemological challenge to Erasmus. Not surprisingly, he concentrated all his efforts on promoting a peaceful solution to the religious debate. Pacifism was also the watchword of The Education of a Christian Prince and the essays The Complaint of Peace (1517) and War Is Sweet to Inexperienced Men (1515). Erasmus's moderate and humane attitude earned him the enmity of partisans in both religious camps, who denounced him as a hypocrite and fence sitter. The decade before his death in 1536 was accordingly dominated by apologiae in which he attempted to justify his writings and protested against their retrointerpretation as "Lutheran."

Erasmus's contemporaries were uncertain how to classify him professionally. Many correspondents addressed him as "theologian," but the emphasis shifted in the mid-1520s. Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) famously contrasted Erasmus with Luther. In his opinion the latter was a true theologian, the former merely a humanist who taught good style and polite manners. The Louvain theologian Frans Titelmans flatly declared that "Erasmian" was synonymous with "humanistic." After the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Catholic Church placed Erasmus's works on the Index of Prohibited Books; in Protestant countries, his textbooks (for example, Copia, 1512; On Writing Letters, 1522) and his anthologies continued to be used in schools, but it was clear that Erasmus now served only as a style model.

Interest in Erasmus revived during the Enlightenment when he was praised for his rationalism. In the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Erasmus is most often seen as a protagonist of pacifism. Such interpretations, however, present an unduly simplified version of Erasmus's ideas. His socalled rationalism does not meet modern criteria. It is tempered by religious sentiments and qualified by an unquestioning belief in the church. His pacifism is similarly misrepresented by writers who ignore its epistemological basis and reduce it to social concerns. Christian humanism, or as Erasmus himself called it, *docta pietas* ('learned piety'), remains the best term to describe the ideal he admired and indeed exemplified.

See also Bible; Humanists and Humanism; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; More, Thomas; Reformation, Protestant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Collected Works of Erasmus.* 22 vols. to date. Toronto, 1974–.

Secondary Sources

Augustijn, Cornelis. Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence. Translated by J. C. Grayson. Toronto, 1991.

Rummel, Erika. *The Confessionalization of Humanism*. New York, 2000.

——. Erasmus and His Catholic Critics. Nieuwkoop, Netherlands, 1989.

Tracy, James. *Erasmus of the Low Countries*. Berkeley, 1996.

Erika Rummel

ESOTERIC SCIENCES. See Alchemy; Cabala; Magic.

ESPIONAGE. Early modern Europeans believed spying to be a necessary complement to both warfare and effective government. At home governments were continually on the lookout for dangerous opinions and plotting by their subjects. In dealing with foreign powers, they needed information on opponents' plans and resources: the sizes and movements of their armies, the state of their fortifications, the funds they had available. When campaigning in unfamiliar territory, generals needed informants who could describe local geography and alert them to its dangers and possibilities. All governments sought to provoke dissension among their enemies, encouraging rebellions and suborning rival commanders whenever possible, and as wars wound down, each combatant needed to know as much as possible about what the others would accept in an eventual peace treaty. After about 1650, as governments became more alert to the economic components of power, they also sought a better understanding of the economic conditions of their rivals.

MOTIVES AND PATTERNS OF ACTION

It has not been easy for historians to sort out the complex patterns of espionage that responded to these needs. Documentation concerning spying is inevitably difficult to interpret, and the best studies of early modern espionage have been close examinations of specific cases rather than general histories. Nonetheless, these case studies have established some elements of a general history of early modern espionage. They have shown, first, the remarkable range of opportunities that governments had for recruiting foreign informants at all levels of society. Before about 1650, ideas of patriotism and national loyalty remained weak, and many aristocrats held on to medieval ideas of their political autonomy; when aristocrats believed the state had mistreated them, it was often possible for a foreign government to secure their services. In 1587-1588 the English ambassador to France (a high aristocrat and relative of Queen Elizabeth I [ruled 1558-1603]) used his position to pass English secrets to Spain and send home misleading information about Spanish intentions—this as Spain was preparing to invade England. The ambassador was moved partly by greed and partly by the belief that he had been slighted in his pursuit of influence at court. Fifty years later the Spanish succeeded in securing the services of Henri Coeffier-Ruzé d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars (1620-1642), a favorite courtier (and possibly a lover) of the French king Louis XIII (ruled 1610-1643). Cinq-Mars was moved principally by ambition for a larger political role, which he found blocked by Cardinal Richelieu's (1585-1642) domination of French politics. Even when not moved by greed or ambition, aristocrats were logical targets for espionage efforts. Many had familial connections in other countries, creating divided loyalties and the frequent exchange of information, and it proved easy for well-dressed adventurers to make friendships in the highest social circles and to acquire political secrets in the process.

Farther down the social scale, there were other opportunities for recruiting spies. Political and military leaders were always surrounded by crowds of servants, secretaries, and dependents, many of them poorly paid yet with constant access to important documents. Presumably it was some such source that made possible the immediate diffusion of detailed plans for the Spanish Armada as it prepared to

invade Britain. The Spanish government understood the value of these plans and went to great lengths to keep them secret. Yet in 1586 one set of plans reached London within weeks of being drafted, and in 1588, as the armada was about to sail, illicit copies of its final arrangements reached pro-Spanish governments in Florence, Venice, and Rome. Merchants were another crucial source of information. Even the most savage early modern warfare rarely interrupted commercial relations between the combatants, allowing merchants to report regularly on ship movements, public opinion, and a variety of other topics of interest to rival governments. Indeed such reporting scarcely differed from the news reports that merchants drew up as part of their normal business practices. Among the peasantry, especially in border areas long used to smuggling, military commanders easily recruited guides to lead their troops through unfamiliar terrain. At these levels valuable information might cost governments very little money. Whereas it might cost huge sums to bribe important aristocrats, secretaries, merchants, and peasants were ready to supply information for the equivalent of a few days' wages.

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Because information was both so necessary and so readily available, spying remained a private enterprise through the eighteenth century; lords, generals, and politicians all paid for spies who reported directly to them. But over the period espionage services tended to become more centralized in a few government offices, where greater control could be exercised over their activities and greater professionalism could be enforced. In England, Elizabeth I's secretary of state Sir Francis Walsingham (c. 1532-1590) established a full-scale espionage service to deal with the Spanish threat. He had agents working throughout Europe and specialized messengers to collect their information. In Louis XIV's (ruled 1643–1715) France also, it came to be understood that espionage services reported to the secretary of state for foreign affairs. Techniques also were marked by this trend toward professionalization. Fourteenth-century governments already used cyphers and codes to keep their messages secret, and in 1466 the Florentine polymath Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) invented a cypher disk system that remained the basis for cryptography through the nineteenth century. The first printed book devoted to coded messages appeared in 1518, and later sixteenth-century publications spread advanced versions of these techniques throughout Europe. In turn governments devoted more resources to decoding one another's messages. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they systematically opened diplomatic mail, copied it, and set trained specialists to decoding the contents. During the short span of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Britain accumulated at least twenty-seven large volumes of messages intercepted from other powers.

In establishing their networks, spymasters were aided by the growing assumption that governments should maintain representatives in one another's capitals. Permanent embassies were first employed by the Italian states of the fifteenth century; after 1500 the practice was taken up in northern Europe in response to the intensification of international rivalries during these years. Each country's embassy formed a pole around which spies clustered. Ambassadors of course were formally instructed to learn as much as possible about the country they resided in and were ready to bribe locals for that purpose. But host countries also acquired information from embassy staffs. In late-sixteenth-century London the wandering Italian philosopher and heretic Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) ingratiated himself with the Spanish ambassador, even taking up lodging in the ambassador's residence. He used this intimacy to uncover networks of Catholic missionaries in Britain, whom he promptly named to the English authorities.

Bruno's example illustrates the complex motives that might underlie early modern espionage. Most spies acted from self-interest, but Bruno and many others saw themselves as combatants in the great religious struggles that followed the Protestant Reformation. In Bruno's case this meant primarily hatred of the Catholic Church, which had persecuted him for heresy and would eventually have him burned at the stake in 1600, and a commitment to thwarting Catholic regimes wherever possible. After 1685, when Louis XIV expelled about 300,000 Protestants from his domains, France replaced Spain as the most visible threat to Protestantism's existence. In the face of these attempts at Catholic hegemony, religious exiles accepted the risks that spying entailed because of their sense that they were participants in a great ideological struggle against evil opponents. From his Dutch exile, the Calvinist theology professor Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) organized a network of spies to observe French ports and sought to encourage Protestant rebellion within France itself. (In turn the French government succeeded in placing an informer within this group and learned about most of its doings.) Jewish exiles, forced to leave Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1580, were another group of potential informants, especially useful because many of them had contacts across Europe.

Because so much early modern European warfare concerned religion and because fomenting rebellion abroad was a normal tool of foreign policy, governments did not distinguish clearly between internal and external espionage. All maintained significant numbers of police spies to report on the opinions and doings of their own populations. The police spies of eighteenth-century Paris accumulated an enormous documentation on the "bad opinions" they overheard in taverns and other public spaces; such reports of disaffection commonly led to arrests and lengthy imprisonments. In Spain and Italy governmental policing of this kind was reinforced by the inquisitorial activities of the Catholic Church. In the late sixteenth century the Spanish Inquisition maintained a staff of about twenty thousand salaried "familiars" charged with collecting information on their neighbors' opinions and practices.

How much did all this activity matter for the course of European international politics? For individuals the consequences of espionage might be dire. Walsingham's spies entrapped numerous Catholic plotters, many of whom were executed after being tortured to name accomplices. Walsingham's ability to intercept and decipher their correspondence with Mary Stuart (Mary, Queen of Scots; ruled 1542–1587) ensured her execution and thus had implications for British high politics. In the late seventeenth century, however, there developed something of an espionage stalemate among the European states. All governments had specialists proficient in code breaking and information gathering, and none gained much tactical advantage from them. Even earlier, their espionage successes had confronted states with another paradox: they now often found themselves burdened with too much information without the capacity to organize it and act on it effectively.

See also Diplomacy; Inquisition; Military; State and Bureaucracy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bély, Lucien. Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV. Paris, 1990.

Bossy, John. Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair. New Haven and London, 1991.

Haynes, Alan. *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Services*, 1570–1603. Wolfeboro Falls, N.H., 1992.

Kahn, David. The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing. New York, 1967.

Parker, Geoffrey. *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*. New Haven and London, 1998.

Read, Conyers. Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth. Cambridge, Mass., 1925.

Thompson, J. W., and S. K. Padover. Secret Diplomacy: A Record of Espionage and Double-Dealing, 1500–1815. London, 1937.

JONATHAN DEWALD

ESTATES. See Class, Status, and Order.

ESTATES AND COUNTRY HOUSES. "Estate," in the sense of landed property, entered English usage around 1790, while the term "country house" is of Elizabethan origin. This was not a farmhouse, a Roman *villa rustica*, but a substantial edifice, fully staffed and generally on a working estate with gardens, cropland, pastures, and woods. Country houses might serve for pure escape to bucolic surroundings or as sites to impress, house, and entertain friends and important guests.

Following the disintegration of the Roman Empire, endemic conflict demanded castles to defend domains and fiefs. Rulers were peripatetic, holding court in their own and their vassals' castles, or in the few towns of their realms. Cities almost disappeared. Nobles lived in their castles, and rich townsmen kept to the safety of their walled towns. Around 1200 relative political stability returned to Europe, towns revived, and a conscious attitude ap-

peared that life in the country, rather than in town, was special and worthwhile. Such an attitude can be seen in the *Très riches heures* (1413–1416) of Jean de France, duc de Berry, with its depiction of his castles in the French countryside, and the pleasures of cavalcades and the hunt.

For wealthy townsmen, a country house served as an escape from crowds and cares, and for many, a conscious return to their rural roots. Some had retained family farmsteads, but their chief livelihood was commerce. For nobles, who usually possessed landed estates, it was a different matter. They became established in towns when towns came to dominate the neighboring countryside, built urban palaces, and entered urban politics. And when princely courts settled in a capital city, with the growth of the bureaucratic state, nobles also flocked to capitals to look after their interests. But their incomes mainly derived from their estates, and so they divided their year between town and country. At first they tended to make the ancestral castles they left behind more livable, but soon they began to build on their estates grand houses suited as much to pleasure as to estate management.

The interiors of country houses graduated during the era from the multipurpose great hall, around or above which were added family, guest and servant quarters, storerooms and stables, to more consciously articulated structures. Kitchens, storerooms, and servant quarters were put on the ground floor. On the principal floor stood a series of rooms both intimate and grand: halls for public business, parlors and salons for conversation and gaming, dining nooks, grand banquet halls, libraries, and ballrooms. Upper floors provided bedroom suites for family and guests, with attic rooms for personal servants. Water closets succeeded privies, and stables and barns were placed at a distance.

ITALIAN BEGINNINGS

What we might call a country house on its estate appeared first as villas in Renaissance Italy, where popes and cardinals had long escaped malarial Rome to grand retreats in the neighboring hills. Italians knew their Roman forebears escaped crowded cities to enjoy country life in splendid villas, extolled by Cicero, Virgil, and the younger Pliny, who had a villa near Ostia to which he could flee Rome in a few hours. As cities grew in northern Italy, many who



Estates and Country Houses. Villa Barbaro, Maser, Italy, designed by Palladio and built on the remains of a medieval manor house c. 1549–1558. ©G. E. Kipder Smith/Corbis

migrated to them kept the farmsteads from which they came. Those who grew wealthy built on their rural holdings retreats with pleasant gardens. Boccaccio's Decameron (1351-1353) describes in detail the nearby country houses and gardens to which his storytellers fled the plague in Florence. By the 1400s the Medici and other rich Florentine families, whether of common or noble descent, prided themselves on their rural villas. The Tuscan countryside was agreeable, and attractive landscapes appear as background in paintings they commissioned. Nature's charms gained mention in poetry as the pastoral came into vogue. It became not only desirable but fashionable to escape the city in summer, and to go hunting in the fall. Landed estates and country houses provided the means, and for rich commoners throughout Europe gave access to noble status.

After 1530 Italy was largely at peace, and in the north the building of villas quickened. Many rivaled

urban palaces in grandeur. Some stood on hills with views over the surrounding countryside, others amid gardens on the outskirts of a town or village. Some were pure escapes, with no working estate. The Venetian elite generally invested in productive properties, where they enjoyed classical villas built by Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) and Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616) that would provide the model for many later English and other European country houses, and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello in Virginia. On Lake Como, birthplace of Pliny, Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio began what is today the Villa d'Este. The Borromeo family of Milan built their villa on Isola Bella in Lago Maggiore, on the site of their medieval castle.

In the hills surrounding papal Rome new villas in Renaissance and baroque style proliferated. Perhaps the most famous was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's 1550 villa with its playful fountains at

Tivoli. Near Viterbo, Vicino (Duke Pier Francesco) Orsini created a magical park on his family estate. The seaside also attracted building, such as the Villa Doria, originally two miles outside Genoa's walls, and the unfinished villa of Margaret, duchess of Parma, at Ortona.

The stark and bandit-ridden countryside of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily did not prove conducive to the country villa, and the nobility at first did little more than modernize their castles, while maintaining palaces in or on the outskirts of Naples and Palermo. They visited their castles to collect rents and hunt in the fall. With the coming of the house of Bourbon to the throne in the eighteenth century seaside villas began to appear around the Bay of Naples, and at Bagheria, near Palermo.

THE SPREAD OF THE COUNTRY HOUSE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The nobility of Spain, like that of southern Italy, became urban and built imposing residences in provincial capitals. Hilltop castles were abandoned, though castles that abutted towns survived and were transformed into residential palaces, such as those of the dukes of Medina Sidonia in Sanlúcar de Barrameda and the dukes of Feria at Zafra. Only a ruin remains of the castle at Alba de Tormes of the dukes of Alba, today owners of the 1770 Liria Palace in Madrid. For autumnal hunts, Spanish nobles erected pavilions or stayed in simple farmhouses (fincas). A finca usually proved satisfactory as an escape for wealthy townsmen. After the royal court settled in Madrid in 1562, many grandees and civil servants built palaces there. The marquis of Santa Cruz, an admiral who served long in Italy, proved a rare exception in 1564 when he built a Genoesestyle palace with gardens at Viso del Marqués in remote La Mancha. If few Spanish nobles favored country houses, Spain's Habsburg and Bourbon rulers did. Philip II (1527-1598) often summered in the intimate Valsaín Palace in the woods of Segovia. Nearby, Philip V (1683-1746) built the elegant palace of La Granja, with its splendid fountains. The stiffness of Spanish Habsburg court etiquette and the presence of a royal alcazar in most cities limited occasions that Spanish rulers might stay in a noble's palace or country estate. Portugal proved similar to Spain. Its kings made Sintra their country escape.

North of the Alps, French kings and nobles began to transform their châteaus and manor houses into elegant country residences as peace and stability came in the late fifteenth century. Francis I (1494–1547), impressed by Italy, conceived Chambord as a country residence from the start, perhaps inspired by Leonardo da Vinci, who, following a life in busy Florence and Milan, retired to a house in the park of Amboise. French nobles, with country estates throughout the kingdom, built urban hôtels in Paris and provincial capitals as government expanded. With Louis XIV (1638-1715), the court concentrated at Versailles, which started as Louis XIII's hunting lodge amid extensive parks. Versailles expanded on a colossal scale to become the seat of government as well as a fount of pleasure. The château of superintendent of finance Nicolas Fouquet at Vaux-le-Vicomte provided Louis with the model and team of architect Louis Le Vau (1612-1670), decorator Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), and gardener André le Nôtre (1613–1700). Freed from attendance at Versailles after the death of Louis XIV, the French nobility established a routine of life between Paris or some provincial capital for the "season" from late fall till late spring, and their country châteaus for summertime and the hunt in autumn.

In England, while a few peers established residences in London, most nobles and squires improved their castles and ancestral halls, and began soon to build grand new country houses. Cardinal Wolsey's Late Gothic brick Hampton Court, whose builders included Italians, set the tone for the Tudor period. Queen Mary's councillor Lord William Paget built Beaudesert Hall in Staffordshire, while Queen Elizabeth's councillor William Cecil built Burghley House in Northamptonshire, and closer to London, Theobalds, scene of fabled festivities. Tudor and Stuart monarchs on a royal progress stayed at such great country houses and expected to be properly lodged and entertained. Rich Bess of Hardwick, countess of Shrewsbury, became famed for frenzied building, above all for Hardwick House, designed by Robert Smythson (c. 1535-1614). Using loot from piracy, Sir Francis Drake turned Buckland Abbey into a splendid country house.

In the reign of James I, Inigo Jones (1573–1652) introduced the Palladian style to England,



Estates and Country Houses. Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, England, designed by Robert Smythson and built 1590–1597. ©ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS

with a fine example the Queen's House at Greenwich. The Restoration saw monumental baroque extravaganzas such as the first duke of Devonshire's Chatsworth, as well as the work of Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), Blenheim Palace for the duke of Marlborough and Castle Howard for the earl of Carlisle.

The country house also came to the Burgundian Netherlands. Regent Mary of Hungary had built at Binche a villa and park in the Italian manner that Henry II of France (1519–1559) in 1554 destroyed from spite. In the subsequent Spanish Netherlands the great families divided their time between Brussels and the countryside, where they both modernized old castles and built new châteaus in the baroque fashion. In the Dutch Republic, where landscapes and pictures of rural life first gained wide favor, wealthy burghers relished escaping big mercantile towns for the country, though space was limited and the terrain flat. They came by the late seventeenth century to favor Palladian style houses in parklike settings.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the eighteenth century, country houses and villas, both great and modest, had come into full fashion, and extended into eastern Europe. Life for hosts and guests included rich meals, strolls in parks, cards at night, hunts in season, all respectful of social rank and station. Balls, musical concerts, and banquets marked great occasions. In living quarters, privacy had come to prevail. Childhood became a special and precious state for the privileged young, and the country house seemed a healthier and safer place for them when not at school. The work of the estate, as often as not, was left to professional managers and overseers. What impression the high life and pursuit of pleasure at a country house made on servants, peasants, and other commoners seldom proved of concern.

Nowhere did the country house become so important in the lives of the elite as in England. Ministers of state and members of parliament mingled not only to socialize but also to determine the affairs of the kingdom. The fourth duke of Devonshire entertained on a grand scale to sway elections. In architecture, Robert Boyle (1694–1753), Lord Burlington, revived the Palladian style with Burlington House, Chiswick, which stood in an "English" garden, its apparent naturalness in contrast to the geometric formal gardens of France and Italy. Whimsical structures such as Chinese pagodas, Grecian temples, and Roman ruins marked many gardens, such as those designed by Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1715–1783). The Adam brothers, Robert (1728-1792) and James (1730-1794), varied classic models in building and interiors, while Horace Walpole (1717-1797) took whimsy to a Gothic mode with Strawberry Hill, setting another fashion. Renovated castles and new country houses extended into Scotland and Ireland. Life in these houses ran the gamut from Henry Fielding's world of Squire Western in Tom Jones (1749) to that of Jane Austen's novels, where country dwellers mingled with the rich and powerful, who came from the city to find recreation in the great houses on their estates. For interiors and furnishings, Queen Anne, Georgian, Chippendale, and Pompeiian styles competed with French fashions.

In France newly ennobled bourgeois and judges of the parlements built numerous country châteaus on a comfortable scale, and for pure relaxation, *mai*-

sons de plaisir without working estates. The high nobility aspired to have an apartment at Versailles, an imposing hôtel in Paris, and a nearby country château, and forsook provincial life. Versailles had become so grand that the Petit Trianon was built as an escape from it. Neither in France nor elsewhere, save Poland, did the country house play a political role comparable to that in England.

Peace and the country house came late to the fragmented German lands. Voltaire, an exile to the country at Ferney, satirized the German nobility in *Candide* with Baron Thunder-ten-Tronckh's rude Westphalian castle. But with recovery from the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and the repulse of the Turks following the 1683 siege of Vienna, building in the German lands revived, led by princes and bishops. Yet apart from Vienna, no capital was very big and nobles seldom had a long journey from castle or manor to whichever of the numerous courts was theirs. In the Habsburg realms, country

houses did begin to proliferate as magnates built urban palaces in Vienna, Prague, and later, Buda and Pest, and matched them with elegant constructions on their estates in the Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian countryside. The Habsburgs, with their Hofburg in Vienna, built Schönbrunn, intended to rival Versailles, two miles outside Vienna's walls. Closer, Prince Eugene of Savoy built his Belvedere Palace with its extensive garden. Prince Nicholas Eszterházy's country estate at Fertöd, fifty miles from Vienna, rivals the grandest in Europe. Franz Joseph Haydn provided Eszterházy's music with an orchestra of some two dozen players. Baroque yielded to neoclassical in architecture, while rococo and Louis XV and Louis XVI styles dominated interiors.

As Prussia grew in power, its nobles built palaces in Berlin and began to regard their estates as sites for country houses, though these tended to remain simple. When Frederick the Great built Sans



Estates and Country Houses. Aerial view of the Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte, Seine-et-Marne, France, designed by Louis LeVau and Jules-Hardouin Mansart and built 1658–1661 for Nicholas Fouquet, finance minister to Louis XIV. ©YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORRIS

Souci at Potsdam, it became an alternate capital in the countryside. Court life in Munich and Dresden also separated Bavarian and Saxon nobles from their estates. For hunting Germans preferred male camaraderie in hunting lodges (Jagdschlösser) decorated with antlers. Matters in Denmark and Sweden proved similar.

As peace extended to Poland and Russia, great country houses for kings and tsars, magnates and wealthy bourgeois, quickly followed to dot the undulating plains stretching eastward. Poland had already acquired a taste for the baroque style before the eighteenth-century Saxon kings arrived from Dresden, and its magnates had established the pattern of an urban palace in Warsaw or Vilnius and a grand country estate. Just outside their new capital of St. Petersburg, the Russian tsars had their Tsarskoe Selo, and farther into the country, Peterhof. The writings of Leo Tolstoy and Alexander Pushkin make clear that, for the Russian elite, a life divided between urban palaces in winter and country houses on their estates in summer had become routine by the end of the eighteenth century.

The French Revolution threatened what appeared to be the increasingly carefree lifestyle of the nobility and the wealthy. In France, many châteaus were looted, and French armies carried revolutionary ardor into Italy and the German lands until it was tempered by Napoleon. With the restoration of 1815, the country house and estate embarked on a new era of popularity, though with somewhat more concern for public opinion.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Court and Courtiers; Gardens and Parks; Jones, Inigo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Detailed guidebooks, such as the *Blue Guides*, published by Benn, London, and the *Guides bleu*, published by Hachette, Paris, are most helpful.

Ackerman, James. The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses. Princeton, 1990.

Cook, Olive. The English Country House: An Art and a Way of Life. London, 1974.

Girouard, Mark. Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History. New Haven, 1978.

. Life in the French Country House. New York, 2000.

Goodman, Albert, ed. The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century. London, 1953.

Rybczynski, Witold. The Perfect House: A Journey with the Renaissance Master Andrea Palladio. New York, 2002.

PETER PIERSON

ESTATES-GENERAL, FRENCH

This entry includes two subentries: ESTATES-GENERAL, 1614
ESTATES-GENERAL, 1789

ESTATES-GENERAL, 1614

The Estates-General of 1614 was the last meeting of that representative institution before the fateful meeting of 1789 on the eve of the French Revolution. During the Middle Ages, both the English Parliament and the French Estates-General developed out of the king's council. In England, Parliament assumed two functions of the council, serving as an advisory body and as a supreme court. In France, a permanently sitting body known as the parlement became the supreme court while the Estates-General, which met first in 1302, became an advisory body that met only occasionally.

An Estates-General was a meeting of elected representatives of the three estates (clergy, nobility, commoners). It met when summoned by the king, who called it only when he needed extraordinary income or special support (most recently in 1484, 1560, 1576, and 1588; the last three because of the Wars of Religion). Governments were reluctant to convoke an Estates-General because of the fear that it might become a regularly meeting body with well-defined powers.

Deputies were elected to an Estates-General through a complicated, several-layered system and appeared at the meeting with lists of grievances (cahiers des doléances) drawn up by those males who were electors. Traditionally, the government asked for support and money and, in return, promised to respond favorably to the grievances.

The Estates-General of 1614 was called in February of that year by the regency government headed by Marie de Médicis, the wife of Henry IV (who was assassinated in 1610) and mother of Louis XIII. The occasion was the uprising being organized by Louis II de Bourbon, the prince of

Condé. The purpose was to deny popular support to Condé and maintain the regency government until Louis XIII's thirteenth birthday, when he would, theoretically, be old enough to rule in his own name, and Condé's excuse of saving the minor king from bad advisors would disappear.

Marie de Médicis (counseled by several of Henry IV's former advisors) was successful in influencing the elections through a combination of pamphlet propaganda, bribery, and an extensive tour made by the young Louis. Of the 474 deputies who appeared at the meeting of the Estates-General in Paris, probably only nine were supporters of Condé.

To further minimize the possibility of revolt, the regency government used various excuses to postpone the meeting of the Estates until after the majority of the king was declared on 2 October and then to transfer the meeting place from Sens to Paris. The government wanted the deputies to condemn Condé and formally approve the actions of the former regency government of Marie de Médicis and the present personal government of Louis XIII. To do that, however, it had to allow the deputies of each of the three estates to draw up the traditional summary or general *cahiers*.

While the deputies of each estate were debating what to include in their general *cahier*, they consulted with each other about items of special interest. The clergy (First Estate) wanted all the deputies to ask for the acceptance in France of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. The nobles (Second Estate) were particularly concerned about the sale of government offices, especially provisions that could make them hereditary, and about financial abuses. The Third Estate was especially interested in taxes, noble pensions, and growing royal control over local matters. Eventually, the deputies agreed to ask for limitations on heredity of offices, investigation of present and past financial abuses, and limitations on royal power in local matters.

From 15 December to 16 January, the business of the estates was hindered by the strong reaction of the First Estate to the item chosen by the Third Estate as the first article of its general *cahier*. This was a request that the king declare it a fundamental law that no one on earth but the king of France had any authority over his kingdom. Despite the sup-

port of parlement for the article, the royal government forced the Third Estate to remove it and present it separately to the king.

The reason for the action of the government was that it wanted to end the Estates-General quickly before any more questions were asked about past or present government policy or finances. The government pushed the deputies to finish their work and brought the meetings to an end on 23 February 1615. Most deputies remained in Paris hoping for an answer to their *cahiers*. On 24 March they were informed that their most important requests would be honored immediately: the number of royal offices would be reduced, the sale of royal offices would be limited. Pensions would be regulated and financial abuses would be investigated. In fact, none of this was done.

The government sent letters throughout France stating, falsely, that the deputies were being sent home at their own request because their upkeep was costing too much and that the *cahiers* would be answered as soon as they had been studied carefully. That never happened because the government was primarily interested in survival, not reform.

The Estates-General of 1614 is usually judged a failure, and the deputies receive most of the blame because of the dissension among the three estates. There was dissension. The clergy wanted the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent and protection for their benefices and tax privileges. The nobles wanted to reassert their feudal, honorary, and official privileges. The Third Estate wanted to assert the independence of France, hold the nobles in check, control local government, and spread the tax burden. Nevertheless, all three estates presented a program that called for reform of the Roman Catholic Church, charitable institutions, and education. They wanted the basic social structure to remain in place, but with a reduction in taxes and abolition of financial abuses. These issues would still be relevant when the Estates-General next met in 1789.

See also Absolutism; Class, Status, and Order; Condé Family; Henry IV (France); Louis XIII (France); Marie de Médicis; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Trent, Council of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hayden, J. Michael. France and the Estates-General of 1614. Cambridge, U.K., 1974.

-----. "The Uses of Political Pamphlets: The Example of 1614–1615 in France." Canadian Journal of History 21 (1986): 143–166.

Hayden, J. Michael, and Malcolm Greenshields. "The Clergy of Early Seventeenth Century France as Seen by Themselves and Others." *French Historical Studies* 18 (1993): 145–172.

Major, J. Russel. Representative Government in Early Modern France. New Haven, 1980.

J. MICHAEL HAYDEN

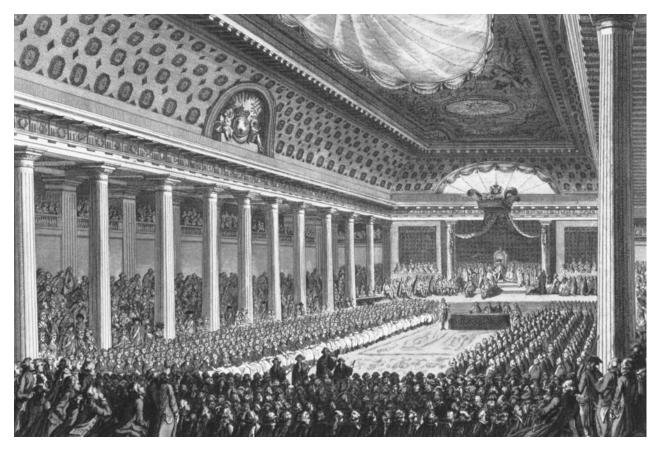
ESTATES-GENERAL, 1789

The Estates-General were a very old part of the governing system in France, but by 1789 they had not met for a hundred and fifty years. Despite some superficial resemblances, the Estates were not the French equivalent of an English Parliament. Instead, they were convoked on an irregular basis whenever the monarchy felt the need to seek the advice of its subjects. Consequently, the Estates-General in France had no institutional permanence, no clearly defined powers, and no archives. The one element that was constant was the requirement that they meet in three separate chambers, the First Estate, the clergy; the Second Estate, the nobility; and the Third Estate, everyone else. This reflected the assumption that society was divided into those who prayed, those who fought, and those who worked.

The calling of the Estates-General in 1789 took place in a context where many were worried that the crown's appetite for new revenues was limitless and that there were few defenses against it. That was the lesson many drew from the last fiscal controversy in the previous reign, the Maupeou crisis of the early 1770s. This had ballooned into a constitutional crisis over the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the accountability of ministers, and the right to tax. The regional sovereign courts, known as parlements, raised these issues and when they refused to back down, the crown abolished them in 1770–1771. Louis XVI restored the parlements in 1774 on his accession to the throne, but their general timidity afterward convinced many observers that they had lost the ability to constrain the crown's fiscal rapaciousness. Thus when the new financial crisis began after the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) and following extravagant postwar

spending, many bodies throughout the kingdom began to call for an Estates-General. Both an Assembly of Notables (1787) and the Parlement of Paris claimed that only an Estates-General could consent to the government's demand for new taxes. The refusal of the parlement to register fiscal reforms and its publication of a new declaration of fundamental laws provoked the government into abolishing it once again in May 1788. The subsequent rioting in several important provincial towns like Rennes and Grenoble sapped the government's credit rating. By August, the government could no longer borrow and so promised to convoke an Estates-General for the following year.

At the same time, the public was being deluged with vast numbers of scandal stories about the court and its nefarious influence on national life. Suspicion of the court was hardly new but beginning with the reign of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774), it took on a new life. The subject matter was the king and his mistresses, but the subtext was the emasculating influence of women in national life. Later, the stories told about Marie-Antoinette were utterly fantastic. The tales of her sexual debauchery extended the earlier themes of emasculation to a broad dialogue on how the court corrupted the nation. The Affair of the Diamond Necklace (1785), in which the aging Cardinal de Rohan was duped into buying a necklace to gain the queen's favor, illustrates this perfectly. Scurrilous pamphlets soon regaled the public with stories of clerical hypocrisy, sexual intrigue, and syphilitic queens. The broader lesson was that the nation itself had been corrupted by a decadent court. Indeed, for the writer Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert, the themes of despotism and corruption were linked: the French were incapable of resisting tyranny because they were decadent. Even someone as sober as the Marquis de Lafayette partly believed this. According to him, ministers "think it their duty to preserve despotism. There are swarms of low and effeminate courtiers. The influence of women, and love of pleasure have abated the spirits of the Nation ..." For some, therefore, the Estates General were supposed to regenerate the nation. For others, the problem of despotism was paramount, and the solution was a written constitution. For Lafayette, the financial crisis of the monarchy was an opportunity to impose a National Assembly. By the end of 1788, he was



Estates General, 1789. A contemporary engraving of the opening meeting on 5 May in the Salles des Menus Plaisirs at the Palace of Versailles. The ART ARCHIVE/MARC CHARMET

endorsing a Bill of Rights, much like the American one. This implied an end of privilege and equality before the law. Others, soon to be called "patriots," were moving in the same direction. The writer Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, Count de Mirabeau, who became an important figure in the French Revolution, wrote, "Privileges are useful against kings, but they are detestable against nations, and ours will never have civic spirit so long as it is not delivered of them." In the provinces, a talented Breton law professor, Jean-Denis Lanjuinais, who was a member of the Estates-General and the National Assembly, wrote, "... the nobility with its privileges, in its origin and in its nature, is only too often a militia armed against the citizens, only a parasitical corps living from the work of the people while sneering at them."

Many hoped the Estates-General would thus be the device to effect a vast transformation. What stood in the way was the Parlement of Paris's declaration of 23 September 1788, that the Estates-General meet according to the forms of 1614; that is, any one of the three chambers could veto the actions of the other two. Thus began a furious pamphlet campaign for a doubling of the number of Third Estate deputies and for vote by head. The patriots' strategy was to demand a single chamber with as many deputies in the Third Estate as in the other two combined. It was hoped this would produce a reliable majority for reform. As experience would prove, this was not always the case. The government conceded doubling in January 1789, but without vote by head. This meant little.

The elections to the Estates-General took place with this uncertainty, but the results did show the essential difference between the nobility and the upper Third Estate. At each stage in the multitiered electoral process, electors had to produce a *cahier de doléances*, or statement of grievances. An analysis of these statements illustrates the essential points of

conflict in the early Revolution. Nobles were willing to surrender their tax privileges. They did insist on keeping their monopolies of high office in church and state, while the upper Third Estate wanted a merit system. Other divisions were political. Nobles wanted vote by order; the Third Estate, vote by head. On many issues, like the importance of a periodic Estates-General with responsibility for fiscal matters, they agreed. Nonetheless, on the issue of civil equality and the shape of the future legislature, they were not in agreement.

It is often said that the crown was in a position to broker a compromise, but this is doubtful. When the Estates-General opened at Versailles on 5 May 1789, the crown showed it was interested in restoring finances and little else. The debate among the orders over vote by head or by estate continued for the next six weeks because neither the Second nor the Third Estate was willing to compromise. The Third broke the stalemate by declaring itself the National Assembly (June 17), declaring it would begin a roll call of all deputies of all three orders, and declaring in the Tennis Court Oath (June 20) that it had sovereign power to write a constitution. It also defied Louis XVI's suggestion in the Royal Session (June 23) that the Estates-General decide some issues by order and others by head. Finally, in order to gain time for a projected dissolution of the Estates-General, Louis XVI ordered the privileged orders to meet in common with the Third. But dissent and desertion in the army as well as the taking of the Bastille (July 14), which turned the entire capital over to the revolutionaries, forced the king to call off the coup. The now renamed Constituent Assembly would go on to produce the document that made the Revolution revolutionary: the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 26).

See also Ancien Régime; Diamond Necklace, Affair of; France; Louis XVI (France); Marie-Antoinette (France); Revolutions, Age of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Shapiro, Gilbert, and John Markoff. Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789. Foreword by Charles Tilly; with contributions by Timothy Tackett and Philip Dawson. Stanford, 1998.

Tackett, Timothy. Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789–1790). Princeton, 1996.

DONALD SUTHERLAND

ETHNOGRAPHY. Derived from the Greek ethnos ('nation or people') + graphia ('writing'), "ethnography" refers to the empirical and descriptive study of humanity in such large groups as communities or nations. Before about 1750, "anthropology" ('the study of man') referred to the study of human nature, that is, of the abstract individual. In the second half of the eighteenth century, philosophical speculation about human nature was replaced by the empirical study of particular historical nations, that is, anthropology became specific and collective, as the modern discipline of anthropology is today. The empirical study of specific historical nations did exist throughout the early modern era, but it is not called anthropology. The heading "ethnography" on this article indicates that early modern studies of nations are generally not recognized by modern anthropologists as sufficiently scientific. Most studies that we would call ethnographic were ad hoc reports of world travelers, missionaries, and explorers that encompassed far more than simply the various peoples encountered on the journey. Navigation, natural history, descriptions of climate, minerals, plants, and animals could all be included in a piece of travel writing.

The term "ethnography" came into use in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The Oxford English Dictionary's first citation of the term is from the 1834 Penny Cyclopedia (II, 97) which adopted it from German: "The term ethnography (nation-description) is sometimes used by German writers in the sense which we have given to anthropography." The first OED citation of "ethnology" comes from Pritchard's Natural History of Man (1842). Had the term been used in the early modern period, it would have been pejorative. From the fourteenth century to about the mid-eighteenth, "ethnic" (from Greek ethnikos 'heathen') referred to specifically foreign nations that were neither Christian nor Jewish, rather, pagan, heathen, or, by implication, "the other." Ethnography, therefore, was discourse about "Them" as opposed to "Us."

Attempts by Europeans to describe what they were seeing are as old as the voyages of discovery, even older. In antiquity, there were basically two ways of describing primitive human societies. Human history represented either a steady degeneration from a primitive golden age or progress from an initial rude and uncultivated condition. In the former case, primitives were portrayed as noble, free, and virtuous, as in the Greek geographer Strabo's descriptions of the Scythians; in the latter case, primitives were presented as cruel, ignorant, and evil, as in Book 7 of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.

When Europeans sailed off toward Elysium, the Islands of the Blessed, and the lands of the Hyperboreans (who were believed to live in a land of perpetual sunshine and abundance), they may not have expected to find monstrous people like the "blemmyes," whose heads were located below their shoulders, or incredible wealth in China as described by John Mandeville (d. 1372) and Marco Polo (c. 1254-1324). But when they encountered the apparently primitive inhabitants of Hispaniola and other Caribbean islands, what could they do but cast them in the classical terms they brought with them? Bartolomé de Las Casas reported that Columbus had carefully read and annotated Ptolemy's Geography and more recent geographic textbooks by Pope Pius II (reigned 1458-1464) and Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420). Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) alternated between the Greek modes of golden age and savagery, here describing indigenous Americans as living naked in the forest with neither law nor religion and winning all they needed from the hand of nature, there describing a cannibal he met who had partaken of more than two hundred people. In his New World Chronicles, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1457-1526) compared parrots he had seen in the New World with descriptions by Pliny, and his account of society on Hispaniola resembled the golden age of Hesiod (fl. eighth century B.C.E.) and Virgil (70-19 B.C.E.). Thus it comes as little surprise that early modern Europeans described what they saw in terms similar to ancient Greeks and Romans, even when such language was misleading or prejudicial. Indeed, it was the only language they had.

As natural history emerged as a recognized genre of philosophical writing, ethnography was

frequently appended to accounts of climate, topography, minerals, flora, and fauna, as if peoples and their cultures were just another feature of the natural landscape. Here human beings could be studied on three levels. On the physical level, one might report on a people's relative size, shape, and color and also its material culture and food, which were determined by the natural environment. On the social level, the author described customs, manners, and political organization. And on the intellectual or cultural level, the author could address a nation's achievements in the arts and sciences and in religion or philosophy.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, enough descriptive accounts of New World peoples had come in that ethnographers could offer detailed comparisons of New World peoples with the ancients. Joseph-François Lafitau's (1670–1740) comparison of the ancient Romans and Persians to the Americans of Louisiana is the most prominent example, and Lafitau represents the universalizing of an essential human nature. In the course of the eighteenth century, comparison gave way to classification, and classification meant the study of particulars and the drawing of distinctions. At this point we begin to see an ethnography that resembles modern anthropology, with each nation thoroughly unique and separate from the others. Naturalists could classify nations just as they classified minerals, plants, and animals. Humanity acquired its scientific designation as *Homo sapiens* in the eighteenth century from Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), but that designation of humanity as "wise" did not come easily. In moral and theological terms it was clear enough which creatures were human and which animal. But when one tried to draw the line between the seldom-seen orangutan and the wild man of Borneo, things became murky. Linnaeus himself wrote that he could find no quantitative difference between ape and human. Nor was the Linnean system universally accepted as eternal truth. It was simply a system, formed in the process of international debate, and over the first ten editions of Linnaeus's Systema Natura, he experimented with different classifications of humanity, dividing the genus Homo into several species. Linnaeus's French rival, Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707-1788), also divided humanity into two species black and white.

Ultimately, human classification came down to the question of human origins. Did humanity originate in a single pair, male and female, either as told by the accounts in the Book of Genesis or by some other more naturalistic (perhaps evolutionary) process? Or did humanity represent several different and independent origins? If the former, then how could one account for the wide variety of color, stature, shape, and strength among global humanity, to say nothing of the differences in social organization, customs, manners, morals, and religion? Climate was one explanation. Montesquieu's explanation in Book 14 of L'esprit des lois (1748; The spirit of laws) is the most famous account of the effects of climate, but many others offered similar explanations. Like characterizations of primitives, the climate thesis reached back to antiquity in Polybius (204–123 B.C.E.) and Strabo. On its face, climate was convincing. It was known that plants and animals could be markedly transformed by their local environment, as when tropical plants were placed in European botanical gardens, or goldfish are kept in a ten-gallon tank. Europeans turned brown when exposed to the sun, and even within Europe there were degrees of color ranging from pale, blond Scandinavians to dark-haired, oliveskinned Spaniards.

Others noted that climate was not as effective as it was frequently taken to be. The short, darkskinned Lapps neighbored the tall, fair Swedes. After four generations in Massachusetts, Africans were just as dark as they were in Africa. And Jews living on India's Malabar coast, supposedly since the Babylonian captivity in the sixth century B.C.E., were reported to look just like European Jews. Clearly some other force affected the physical attributes of human beings. If that force (Johann Friedrich Blumenbach [1752–1840] spoke of a teleological force contained in "genital liquid") was so persistent, and if it was assumed that all of humanity descended from a single human pair, then how could one account for human diversity? Polygenesis was tempting, but because of its obvious moral implications, few Europeans dared to hold that position before the second half of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, morality has been a major issue in ethnography ever since the first voyages of discovery. What impressed Europeans about the New World was not that it was inhabited by human societies but that those societies were so different from their own. Not only were they different, but they were understood to be inferior. It was Europeans who circumnavigated the globe to reach Tahiti, not Tahitians who, for all their navigational prowess, sailed to Europe. What should the relationship be between Europeans and their less-developed brethren? Certainly they had to be evangelized, and almost from the beginning Spaniards set out to convert Central, South, and North Americans to Christianity. But what means were appropriate? Could they be evangelized forcibly, as Charlemagne had converted the Saxons eight hundred years earlier? Could one justify purchasing enslaved individuals in Africa and forcing them to work on sugar plantations in the Caribbean, provided one treated them with restraint and attempted to care for their souls? All of these questions were explored in an ad hoc manner in accounts of the New World written by missionaries, traders, explorers, and planters in the early modern period.

There was unanimous agreement that, in technological terms, the ethnoi of the globe had not achieved what Europeans had. Less clear was whether that technological progress had been translated into any moral progress among Europeans themselves. Here was another use for ethnography. Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) could point out that, despite accounts of human sacrifices and cannibalism in Central America, the real barbarians were the Europeans. That sentiment was echoed two centuries later by Georg Forster, one of Captain Cook's fellow travelers on his 1772–1775 voyage around the world, in a graphic account of cannibalism in New Zealand. And Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) famously argued in his two Discourses that social inequalities were European constructs and that the progress of the arts and sciences had brought not any moral improvement but the contrary. Both of Rousseau's arguments were supported by a selective reading of travel narratives.

Rousseau, of course, never left Europe. Neither did Montaigne. Both, however, considered themselves authorities on non-European peoples purely on the basis of their reading of others' travel reports. Real travelers, like Georg Forster, did not believe one could come to an adequate understanding of the *ethnoi* unless one visited them personally. On the other hand, scholars like Forster's nemesis Christoph Meiners (1747–1810), who disagreed with Forster on every level from the credibility of witnesses to the interpretation of evidence to the politics of the French Revolution, believed that visiting one or two places was insufficient for understanding humanity as a whole. Such knowledge one could only acquire through the comparative reading of others' travel accounts; no one could acquire firsthand knowledge of all the peoples of the globe. Thus began a debate over library research versus field research that persists in anthropology to the present day.

See also Class, Status, and Order; Colonialism; Exploration; Linnaeus, Carl; Montaigne, Michel de; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Noble Savage; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Núñez. Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America. Translated by Cyclone Covey. Albuquerque, 1983. Originally published 1542.

Casas, Bartolomé de las. *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account.* Translated by Herma Briffault. Baltimore, 1992. Originally published 1552.

Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier de. *History and General Description of New France*. Translated by J. G. Shea. 6 vols. New York, 1866–1872. Originally published 1744.

Forster, Georg. *A Voyage Round the World*. Edited by Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof. 2 vols. Honolulu, 2000. Originally published 1777.

Lafitau, Joseph François. Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times. Translated by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore. 2 vols. Toronto, 1974–1977. Originally published 1724.

Meiners, Christoph. *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit*. 2nd ed. Lemgo, 1793.

Secondary Sources

Elliott, J. H. *The Old World and the New 1492–1650*. Cambridge, U.K., 1970.

Grafton, Anthony, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi. New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery. Cambridge, Mass., 1992.

Pagden, Anthony. The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology. Cambridge, U.K., 1982.

Rowe, J. H. "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century." *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (Spring 1964): 1–19.

MICHAEL CARHART

ETIQUETTE BOOKS. See Advice and Etiquette Books.

EUCHARIST. See Ritual, Religious.

EULER, LEONHARD (1707–1783), the most prominent and productive mathematician of the Enlightenment, who laid the foundations for numerous new fields. Born in Basel to a Protestant minister and the daughter of another, Euler was destined for the clergy. His propensity for mathematics appeared early, however, and when he entered the University of Basel at the age of thirteen, he studied under the noted mathematician Johann I Bernoulli (1667–1748). He received his master's degree in philosophy in 1723 and joined the department of theology.

From the beginning, however, Euler worked hard to secure a position as a professional mathematician. His close association with the Bernoulli clan of mathematicians, which was to last throughout his life, proved invaluable in this. In 1727 he followed Johann I's two sons, Nikolaus II and Daniel, to the newly established St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Although initially invited to serve as professor of physiology, Euler ultimately succeeded Daniel Bernoulli as the academy's professor of mathematics in 1733. In the same year he married Katrina Gsell, daughter of a Swiss painter residing in St. Petersburg. During his years in St. Petersburg, Euler set the pattern for his subsequent career with a prodigious output of articles, treatises, and books on all aspects of mathematics. He was also active in various practical duties of the academy, including the mapping of Russian territories and studies of shipbuilding and navigation.

In 1741 Euler accepted the invitation of Frederick II of Prussia to join the newly reorganized Berlin Academy of Sciences. His twenty-five years in Berlin

were marked by his close association with the academy's president, Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), as well by his active participation in several controversies that rocked the "Republic of Letters." Most celebrated among these were a dispute on Leibnizian monads, which Euler vehemently opposed; a controversy about Maupertuis's "Principle of Least Action," in which Euler supported his colleague against Johann Samuel König and Voltaire; and a prolonged debate with d'Alembert and Daniel Bernoulli on the equations describing vibrating strings, which drew in all the leading mathematicians in Europe.

After Maupertuis's death in 1759 Euler became the de facto leader and administrator of the Berlin Academy, but without the official title of president. His strained relations with Frederick II led him to accept an invitation from Catherine the Great to rejoin the St. Petersburg Academy. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1766 and remained there until his death in 1783.

Euler's mathematical output was prodigious, and his collected works include no less than 856 separate works, both published and unpublished. His contributions span all mathematical fields known in his time, as well as several that he founded himself. Euler wrote three textbooks on the differential and integral calculus, which included extensive discussions of differential equations and means to their solution: Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum (1748), Institutiones Calculi Differentialis (1755), and Institutiones Calculi Integralis (1768– 1770). In these works Euler insists that the calculus is essentially a relationship between algebraic functions and is not based on geometry. He has no place for the traditional interpretation of differentials and integrals as determining the tangent of a curve or the area beneath it, and his calculus textbooks include none of those familiar graphics. The notion of "function" was a novel one at this time, and he defined it as any algebraic expression including variables and constants.

In the *Introductio* Euler presents the differential calculus as a special case of the calculus of finite differences when the difference reaches zero. At that point, the ratio between the difference in the value of the function f(x) and the difference in the value of the variable x is 0/0. Whereas most mathematicians

considered this expression to be more or less meaningless, according to Euler, it is the basis of the calculus and can take on any value whatsoever. The calculus, he argued, was a procedure to determine the specific value taken on by this ratio in each particular case.

Euler, along with Joseph-Louis Lagrange, founded the calculus of variations, which deals with the extremum characteristics of functions as a whole, rather than the point characteristics dealt with by the differential calculus. His work in this field played a crucial role in supporting Maupertuis during the controversy over his principle of least action. Using the calculus of variations, Euler demonstrated that the fundamental laws of motion were those that demonstrated the least amount of "action," as defined by Maupertuis. Maupertuis viewed this result as a clear manifestation of God's infinite wisdom in designing the world. Although Euler himself did not present his work explicitly in such metaphysical terms, he remained Maupertuis's most important and loyal supporter throughout the controversy.

Euler was a principal founder of complex analysis, and the field's fundamental relationship, $ei\theta = cos\theta + isin\theta$, is known today as "Euler's formula." He contributed extensively to mathematical notation, introducing "f(x)" for a function, "e" for the base of natural logarithms, "i" for the square root of -1, and " Σ " for a sum. He worked extensively on number theory and many aspects of mathematical physics, including hydrodynamics and astronomy. Euler was a true polymath, and his deep mark on mathematics is evidenced today by the very numerous "Euler theorems" interspersed in a remarkably wide range of mathematical fields.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Catherine II (Russia); Frederick II (Prussia); Lagrange, Joseph-Louis; Mathematics; Republic of Letters; Voltaire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Euler, Leonhard. Foundations of Differential Calculus.
Translated by John D. Blanton. New York, 2000.
Translation of first nine chapters of Institutiones Calculi Differentialis (1755).

-----. Introduction to Analysis of the Infinite. 2 vols. Translated by John D. Blanton. New York, 1988, 1990. Translation of Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum (1748).

Secondary Sources

Boyer, Carl B. "The Age of Euler." In *History of Mathematics*, revised by Uta C. Merzbach, Ch. 21, pp. 439–465. New York, 1991.

Youschkevitch, Adolph P. "Euler, Leonhard." In *The Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, edited by Charles C. Gillispie, 16 vols. New York, 1970–1980.

Amir Alexander

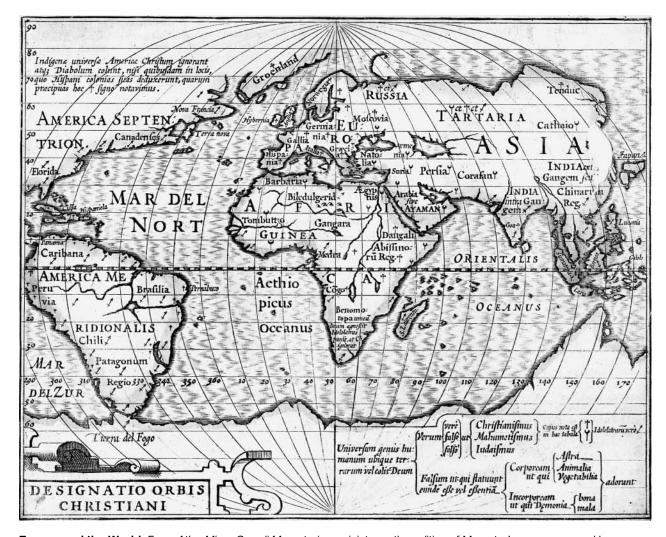
EUROPE AND THE WORLD. Between 1450 and 1789 the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world changed dramatically, as the inhabitants of what had been a poor, remote corner of Eurasia became poised to dominate the world politically, culturally, and economically. The nature and extent of this change can be traced in various ways. A world map of the mid-fifteenth century, for instance, is strikingly different from a mideighteenth-century map—not only because of the amount of information available to the later mapmaker, but also in the techniques employed to display that information. The effects of European wars on the world outside Europe also changed significantly during these centuries, as did the relationship between European Christendom and Islam, particularly the Ottoman Turks. Within Europe, new products and crops brought back from other continents significantly changed everyday life. Above all, by the mid-eighteenth century, Europeans controlled the sea, the size and extent of which had been unknown to them in the fifteenth century.

In 1459 Fra Mauro, a Camaldolese monk in Venice, produced a mappa mundi, or world map, at the request of King Afonso V of Portugal. This map, a disk six feet in diameter that was designed to be placed in a public space, followed the medieval tradition of showing the Earth's surface as almost entirely land and dividing it into three regions, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Fra Mauro's data came from a number of sources, both old and new. For example, his knowledge of Asia was drawn from the writings of Marco Polo (1254-1324) as well as those of a contemporary, Niccolò dei Conti (c. 1395-1469), who had visited India. The map contained not only geographical information, but historical and ethnographic information as well. Places of historical significance were emphasized, and various peoples were shown wearing their usual

dress. What the map did not do was provide guidance for a traveler on the road or at sea.

Europeans' knowledge about the world grew tremendously between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, as new worlds were opened up and the shape of the previously known world could be determined more precisely. The contrast between Fra Mauro's map and an eighteenth-century map of the world is striking. Eighteenth-century maps illustrate a world that was known to be largely water. The landmasses that almost entirely filled Fra Mauro's map shrank, while new ones—the Americas appeared. The newer maps located the surface of the Earth on a grid of latitude and longitude and provided a traveler, especially one at sea, with accurate information about distances. Unlike earlier maps, eighteenth-century maps paid careful attention to the outlines of the continents, because the information they contained often came from the reports of seamen. At the same time, eighteenthcentury maps were plainer than earlier ones, because they concentrated on presenting geographical information and left blank areas as yet unexplored by Europeans. Historical, ethnographic, and other kinds of data included by Fra Mauro now appeared in books and journals rather than as an integral part of maps. As knowledge of the world expanded, maps shrank in size so that they could be folded up and inserted into books; unlike Fra Mauro's representation of the world, which had to remain in one place, these newer maps were portable.

Fra Mauro's map—despite the medieval cartographic conventions it employed—hinted at an important factor in the early modern transformation of the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world. The patron who requested the map, Afonso V of Portugal (ruled 1438–1481), was already involved in overseas expansion, continuing a Portuguese program of exploration down the west coast of Africa. His goal was a water route to Asia, via the west rather than the east, that would break the Muslim monopoly of trade with the Far East, even as the Turks were coming to dominate eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. The turn to the west as a way of reaching Asia had several important consequences that radically changed the relationship of Europe to the world.

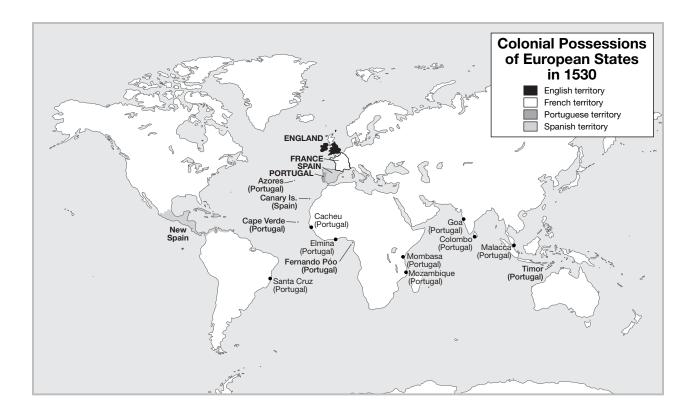


Europe and the World. From *Atlas Minor Geradi Mercatoris*, a miniature atlas edition of Mercator's maps prepared by Jodocus Hondius in 1607. The map uses symbols to indicate areas of the world where Christian, Muslim, and 'idolatrous' religions were most prevalent, and is one of the first examples of thematic mapping. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

By developing an Atlantic route to Asia, the Portuguese began the process that led to the discovery first of the Americas and then of the Pacific Ocean. These discoveries radically changed the European understanding of the surface of the Earth, demonstrating that it was largely water and that the Americas, a previously unknown landmass, huge and heavily populated, existed on the other side of the Atlantic. Initially, Europeans attempted to incorporate this new information into their existing worldview—the world as depicted by Fra Mauro—but gradually they became aware that this was not possible. The new information demanded a reexamination of the European conception of the Earth and its inhabitants.

A significant consequence of the turn to the west was the devastation of the peoples of the Americas, and subsequently those of many Pacific islands, as Europeans introduced diseases such as smallpox. The prior isolation of these populations left them prey to pathogens associated with Eurasian and African societies. At the same time, syphilis struck Europe in devastating fashion, suggesting to contemporary observers and many modern scholars that it came from the Americas.

Another consequence of European overseas expansion was the redirection westward of the African slave trade, long controlled by Arab traders supplying the Muslim world. The establishment of Portu-



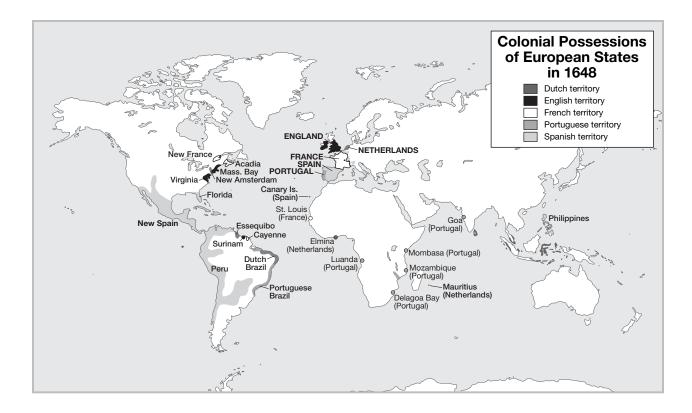
guese factories (trading posts) on the west coast of Africa provided a new outlet for slaves, who were sent to Portuguese plantations on the Atlantic islands. This new market was to increase in size as more European nations established settlements in the Americas and so required a supply of labor.

The European encounter with the wider world not only provided access to the spice markets of Asia—the original goal of the explorations—but also introduced Europeans to new products and crops. Sugar, long grown on the islands of the Mediterranean, became more available as the Portuguese grew it on the Atlantic and Caribbean islands. Potatoes and maize, both native to the Americas, became important elements of the European diet, contributing to the growth of the European population by providing an abundant supply of cheap, nutritious food, especially for the poorer classes.

From a military perspective, the most striking difference between Europe in 1450 and 1789 was in the relation of Europe to the Islamic world. In the mid-fifteenth century, Europe was encircled by a swath of Muslim states stretching from eastern Europe, through the Middle East, across North Africa, and into southern Spain, where the Muslim kingdom of Granada existed until 1492. From the fif-

teenth to the late-seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turks, the most aggressive Muslim society, advanced steadily through eastern Europe, capturing Constantinople in 1453, pushing up through the Balkans, conquering Hungary in 1526, and, in 1529, besieging Vienna for the first time. The Turks remained a constant threat to eastern Europe until their last, unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. Defeated and exhausted, they began a withdrawal from eastern Europe during the eighteenth century, enabling Austria and Russia to expand in the Balkans and reversing the course of several hundred years of warfare. For the first time, the Ottomans were on the defensive against an expanding European world.

The impact of European warfare on the rest of the world also changed over the course of the early modern period. In 1453, the Hundred Years' War between France and England ended. The war had devastated France and helped to incite the subsequent Wars of the Roses (1455–1485) in England, but it had no significant consequences beyond Europe. In 1763, a new series of wars between France and England—sometimes collectively known as the Second Hundred Years' War—came to an end. These wars not only involved all of the major Europe.



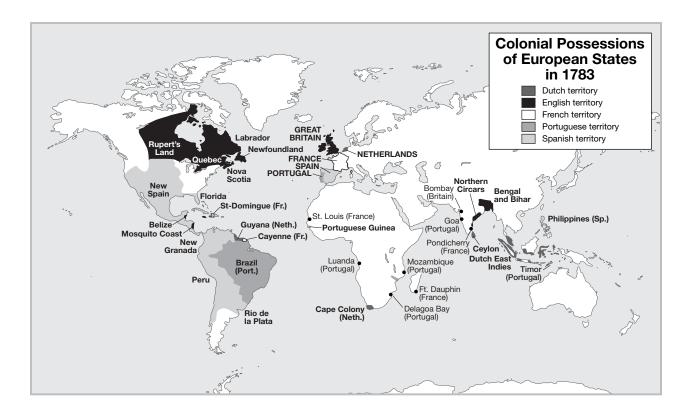
pean powers, they had repercussions throughout the world. In North America and India, indigenous allies of the French and English fought under European officers and with European weapons in order to achieve European rulers' goals. When the war ended, the British Empire had become the dominant power throughout the world, not because it had the largest army, but because it controlled and policed the seas and had learned how to manipulate local ethnic and cultural divisions in order to divide and rule.

Closely connected to the wars that spread from Europe to the rest of the world was the notion that all mankind could be organized within a single international legal order. As European sailors moved out into the larger world, they faced situations that came to require legal resolution. European states exploring new routes to Asia carried over into their new overseas possessions their long histories of border disputes. To prevent such conflicts, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 issued three bulls collectively known as *Inter Caetera*, which divided the New World between Spain and Portugal. Within their respective spheres, Spain and Portugal enjoyed a monopoly on trade with native inhabitants, but they were also responsible for supporting and protecting

Christian missionaries. Other nations that subsequently became interested in expansion—the English, French, and Dutch—refused to accept the papal solution to the problem of imperial conflict.

Several related legal questions revolved around the status of the inhabitants of the New World. How could the European conquest of the New World be justified legally and morally? Did the inhabitants of the Americas have the right to possess their lands in peace? Did they have to admit Christian missionaries? One consequence of these questions was the development of international law, a body of rules primarily regulating the relations among European nations, especially those involved in overseas activities, but also claiming jurisdiction over non-Europeans under some circumstances. These rules became the basis for constructing a legal order for all humankind.

In the final analysis, the discovery of the vast oceans and the ability of Europeans to dominate maritime trade routes were pivotal to Europe's changing relationship with the rest of the world. Unlike the land-based empires of ancient and medieval times, modern empires relied heavily on control of sea routes for economic and administrative purposes. As a result, small nations such as the Portu-



guese and the Dutch could establish profitable empires based on ships and sailors.

The European attitude toward the peoples of the rest of the world underwent a significant change between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, Europeans were intimidated by a seemingly unstoppable Islamic juggernaut and awed by the existence of the sophisticated Asian world Marco Polo described. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Turks had been repulsed and were clearly beginning to lose their empire, and much of the romantic mystery associated with the East was being dispelled as more and more Europeans reported on it. By 1789, Europeans were reaching a point where their fear and awe were beginning to give way to a sense of superiority. Europeans increasingly saw themselves as the summit of human development; others, they believed, ought to follow their example or submit to their rule.

See also Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Exploration; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benton, Lauren. Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 2002.

Buck, David D. "Was It Pluck or Luck That Made the West Grow Rich?" *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 413–430.

Crosby, Alfred W., Jr. The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492. Westport, Conn., 1972.

Grafton, Anthony. New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery. Cambridge, Mass., 1992.

Landes, Davis S. The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor. New York, 1999.

McNeill, William Hardy. The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community. Chicago, 1963.

Parry, J. H. The Discovery of the Sea. New York, 1981.

Thompson, William R. "The Military Superiority Thesis and the Ascendancy of Western Eurasia in the World System." *Journal of World History* 10 (1999): 143–178.

JAMES MULDOON

EXCLUSION CRISIS. Exclusion Crisis was the name given to the crisis over the succession that

developed in England in the aftermath of Titus Oates's revelations in the summer of 1678 of a "popish plot" to murder Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and massacre English Protestants. The plot was a fabrication, but because Charles had no legitimate children and the heir to the throne was his Catholic brother, James, duke of York, Oates's revelations provoked anxieties about what would happen should the king suddenly die and be succeeded by his brother. The English associated Catholic rule with religious persecution and tyrannical government.

SUCCESSION AND EXCLUSION

Concern over the possibility of a Catholic succession had been expressed before. In early 1674 a group of opposition peers, following the duke of York's public acknowledgment of his conversion to Catholicism and marriage to the Catholic Mary of Modena the previous year, had sought to introduce legislation providing for the education of York's children as Protestants and the exclusion from the succession of any prince of the blood in the future who married a Catholic without parliamentary consent, but backed down in the face of opposition from the bishops. However, the popish plot gave the issue an immediate intensity. Between 1679 and 1681 opponents of the Catholic succession (soon to be christened the Whigs) introduced three bills into successive Parliaments to exclude James from the throne. The first made it through the Commons on its second reading on 21 May 1679 by a vote of 207 to 128 (with 174 members being absent), but was lost to a royal prorogation later that month (and subsequent dissolution in July). The second made it to the Lords, where it was defeated by a vote of 70 to 30 on 15 November 1680, and the third was again lost in the Commons following the king's speedy dissolution of the short-lived Oxford Parliament of 21-28 March 1681.

The first Exclusion Bill stipulated that the succession should pass to the next lawful, Protestant heir—as if the duke of York were actually dead—thereby implying James's eldest daughter, Mary, who was married to Prince William of Orange. The second was initially more ambiguously worded so as to leave the way open for settling the throne on Charles II's eldest illegitimate son, James Scott, the duke of Monmouth, though subsequently modified

in committee to make it clear that Mary was the Commons' preferred successor. The third was again ambiguously worded but never made it to the committee stage.

An exclusion bill was not the only solution proposed for dealing with the possibility of a Catholic succession. Charles II and the court favored imposing limitations on a Catholic successor to make it impossible for York to do anything to undermine the Protestant establishment once king. This idea won some support among more radical Whigs like Algernon Sidney (1622–1683) and John Wildman (c. 1621-1693) because it seemed to bring England nearer to the status of a republic. But it was seen as a trap by most Whigs (who merely wanted to preserve Protestant monarchy in Britain and who thought that limitations could never be made binding) and was disliked not just by James but also by Mary's husband, the future William III (ruled 1689–1702). The earl of Shaftesbury, the leading champion of the Exclusion Bill in the Lords, also backed attempts to persuade Charles to divorce his barren wife and remarry, or to declare Monmouth legitimate, but to no avail. For this reason, some historians have suggested that the term Exclusion Crisis is not really appropriate, preferring instead Succession Crisis, although this seems somewhat pedantic. Indeed, Shaftesbury himself saw the remarriage and legitimization schemes as nothing more than other ways to exclude the Catholic heir should the Exclusion Bill fail.

PROPAGANDA AND POWER

The Whigs conducted their campaign against the duke of York not just in Parliament but also in the press, at the polls, and in the streets, whipping up popular anti-Catholic sentiment to try to convince Charles of the necessity of diverting the succession and organizing mass rallies and petitioning campaigns in support of their position, most famously the notorious pope-burning processions in London on 17 November, the anniversary of Elizabeth I's accession in 1558. Recalling the miseries that English Protestants had suffered under England's last Catholic monarch, Mary I (ruled 1553–1558), and pointing to the alleged tyrannies of Europe's leading Catholic monarch, the absolutist Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643-1715), they alleged that a Catholic successor would pose a threat to the lives,

liberties, and estates of English Protestants. In order to justify Parliament's ability to exclude James, they documented historical precedents for diverting the succession and also employed natural law arguments to insist that the people's representatives had the right to debar James from the throne in order to guarantee the safety of the people. Yet the Whigs were not just concerned about what might happen should James become king; they were also worried about developments under Charles II. Thus they complained of what they saw as a drift toward popery and arbitrary government not only in England but also in Scotland and Ireland, and were particularly critical of what they saw as an intolerant episcopalian establishment in the church. They accused the bishops and the high Anglican clergy (who opposed exclusion) of being papists in masquerade, and urged that the penal laws against Protestant nonconformists be relaxed so that Protestants of all stripes could unite against the perceived Catholic menace.

Charles was able to defeat the exclusion movement by refusing to call Parliament again after 1681. He also launched a rigorous legal onslaught against alleged political and religious enemies of the state with a cleverly crafted propaganda campaign designed to poison public opinion against the Whigs (who were represented as threatening to embroil the three kingdoms once more in civil war). Although a few radical Whigs continued to conspire to divert the succession, either by open revolt or by assassinating the royal brothers (the so-called Rye House Plot of 1682-1683, which was leaked to the government before the conspirators were able to attempt anything), public opinion had by now turned decisively against the Whigs. York succeeded to the throne upon the death of his brother in February 1685, and an ill-planned rebellion led by the duke of Monmouth that summer was easily put down by the government.

See also Charles II (England); James II (England); Parliament; Political Parties in England; Republicanism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Harris, Tim. London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis. Cambridge, U.K., 1987.

——. Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society 1660–1715. London and New York, 1993. Harris, Tim, Paul Seaward, and Mark Goldie, eds. *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England*. Oxford, 1990.

Jones, J. R. The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678–1683. Oxford, 1961.

Knights, Mark. Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81. Cambridge, U.K., 1994.

Scott, Jonathan. Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677–1683. Cambridge, U.K., 1991.

TIM HARRIS

EXHIBITIONS, ART. See Art: Art Exhibitions.

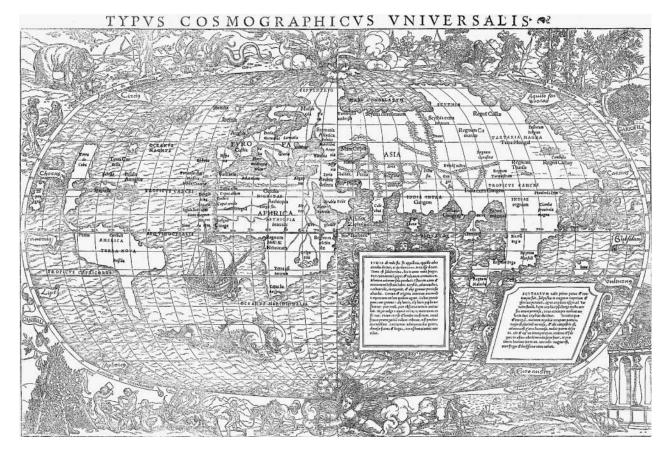
EXPERIENCE AND EXPERIMENT.

See Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

EXPLORATION. The early modern period, in European usage, defined the centuries in which Europeans explored the rest of the world. The motivations of individual explorers and their sponsors varied, but taken collectively, their efforts greatly increased European knowledge about the world's lands and peoples and brought vast continents and their inhabitants into contact with Europe, for both good and ill.

RENAISSANCE BEGINNINGS OF EXPLORATION

The so-called Age of Discovery began in the late fifteenth century, but Europeans had been probing the known areas and boundaries of their world for several centuries before that, motivated by tales of fabulous riches in distant kingdoms in Africa and Asia. Christian missionaries and leaders of the Catholic Church in Rome had also sent emissaries into Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, seeking to fulfill the biblical mandate to spread the message of Christianity. Later they sought allies against the growing power of Muslim rulers in the Middle East. Developments in the mid-fifteenth century added momentum to those efforts. Western Europe showed unmistakable signs of economic growth by 1450, as population and the economy recovered from the century of crisis that began in the early fourteenth century and was worsened by



Exploration. The cartography on this map from Simon Grynaeus's *Novus Orbis Regionum* has been attributed to Sebastian Munster. Published in 1532, the map may have been prepared before then, as the geographic information is somewhat dated. The mapmaker may have been unaware of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe in 1522. The outline of Africa is reasonably accurate, but the shape of Asia is problematic and North America is shown as a narrow strip. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

waves of epidemic disease from 1348 on. In 1453 the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople, the heir to ancient Rome and capital of Orthodox Christianity, and brought it within the Muslim world. At about the same time, the invention of movable type (associated with Johannes Gutenberg) made it possible to reproduce written materials more cheaply and quickly. Reports on great events such as the fall of Constantinople, plus ancient treatises about geography and real or fanciful books about travel, inspired many Europeans to seek new venues for trade, spread the message of Christianity, and search for allies against Ottoman expansion.

Potential explorers sought out investors among wealthy merchant communities, and asked for sponsorship from the various national monarchies emerging in the climate of economic recovery that marked the late fifteenth century. Portuguese explorers such as Gil Eanes, Nuno Tristão, and Alvise da Cada Mosto had explored down the western coast of Africa in the 1430s, 1440s, and 1450s, respectively. After 1479 and a treaty with Castile that gave them exclusive rights to African exploration, Portuguese expeditions continued their search for trade opportunities and a sea route to India. The voyages of Diogo Cão, Bartolomeu Dias, and Vasco da Gama (1498) established that route by 1500. Castilian expeditions after 1479 explored westward in search of fabled islands, conquering the Canary Islands in the process. Isabella of Castile and her husband Ferdinand of Aragón also sponsored the four voyages of Christopher Columbus between 1492 and 1504 to search westward for Asia, as well as sponsoring voyages by other explorers in the same period.

By the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, Portugal and Castile agreed upon spheres of influence in lands discovered across the Ocean Sea (the Atlantic Ocean). Probing the treaty's limits, the Portuguese brothers Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real explored a northern route across the Atlantic, staking a claim to rich fishing grounds near Labrador; Pedro Álvares Cabral touched the northeast coast of Brazil in 1500 on the way to India. The Italian father and son John and Sebastian Cabot and their associates aimed above all to find a northwest passage to Asia—an aim that would continue to inspire explorers thereafter. Henry VII of England (ruled 1485-1509) sponsored expeditions by the Cabots in the 1490s to explore toward the northwest, following up on presumed voyages from Bristol in the 1480s that left little or no trace in the records.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In terms of sea and overland routes established and coastlines and hinterlands explored and mapped, Europeans probably accomplished more in the early sixteenth century than in any other half-century in history. In 1513 the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and saw the great western ocean that would be named the Pacific. That same year his compatriot Juan Ponce de León cruised around the southern tip of Florida. In 1519 the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, having quarreled with the king of Portugal, sailed under Spanish auspices to find a westward route to Asia that would challenge the south and eastward route pioneered by the Portuguese. Sailing south beyond the known coastlines of America, Magellan explored the treacherous strait that would bear his name and crossed the vast Pacific Ocean to the islands of East Asia, where the Portuguese were already established. Anxious to spread the Christian Gospel and support local allies, Magellan was killed in a skirmish in the islands later known as the Philippines. The remnant of his expedition finally made it back to Spain in 1522 under the leadership of Juan Sebastián de Elcano (del Cano), sailing ever westward around Africa and accomplishing the first voyage around the world.

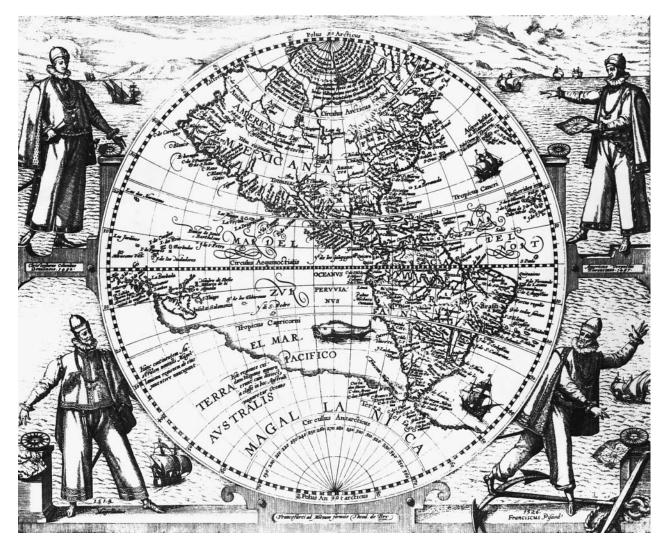
From the 1520s through the 1540s, Spaniards, Portuguese, and a few Germans, Frenchmen, and others probed the interior of the Americas, from the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains of North Amer-

ica to the great river and mountain systems of South America, mapping lands of stunning natural beauty and awesome physical challenges. In the process, Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) conquered the Aztec empire, Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541) conquered the Inca empire, and numerous other explorers, conquerors, clerics, and officials working for the crown established the administrative structure of a Spanish empire in the Americas.

Francis I of France, the great rival of Spanish King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, supported several expeditions to North America. Among others, he sponsored the Italian Giovanni da Verrazano's discovery (1524) of New York Bay and Jacques Cartier's exploration (1534–1541) of the Gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Wherever Europeans went, they inadvertently brought with them the whole array of diseases that Europeans, Africans, and Asians had long endured, but which the native populations of the Americas had never experienced. The result was a demographic catastrophe for native populations. Many scholars argue that syphilis was transferred from the Americas to the Old World, with serious but not devastating effect.

The Portuguese established a basic administrative structure in Brazil, but their overseas efforts focused largely on Asia in the sixteenth century. Portuguese mariners learned how to navigate the trade routes of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea—routes that were well known to local peoples but were new to Europeans. A Dutch expedition would find its way to East Asia in 1595, challenging the Portuguese thereafter. Although several expeditions sailed westward to Asia from America in the decades after Magellan, Spaniards did not discover the eastward route back across the Pacific until the voyage of Andrés de Urdaneta in 1565. Thereafter, they established a trading base at Manila, with regular voyages between New Spain (Mexico) and the Philippines, and discovered various other island groups in the South Pacific.

At the same time, English expeditions under Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor (1553), and Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman (1580), plus a Dutch expedition under Willem Barents (1594–1597), tried to find a viable northeast route through the Arctic Ocean to Asia in the late sixteenth century. Russian fur-trading expeditions probed the



Exploration. Engraving by Theodore de Bry, 1596, depicts the New World, surrounded by portraits (clockwise from lower left) of Magellan, Columbus, Vespucci, and Pizarro. ©CORBIS

area as well; one of these expeditions, under the Cossack Ermak Timofeevich (1581–1582), began the exploration of Siberia. The continuing search for a northern passage to Asia inspired English efforts under Martin Frobisher (1576–1578) and John Davis (1585–1587), who sailed eastward, and Francis Drake (1577–1580), who sailed westward. By the late sixteenth century, some European mapmakers showed a clear understanding of the world's major coastlines and oceans, but others replicated antiquated or misleading information. Similarly, Europeans still knew little about the vast interior spaces of Africa, Asia, North America, and parts of South America.

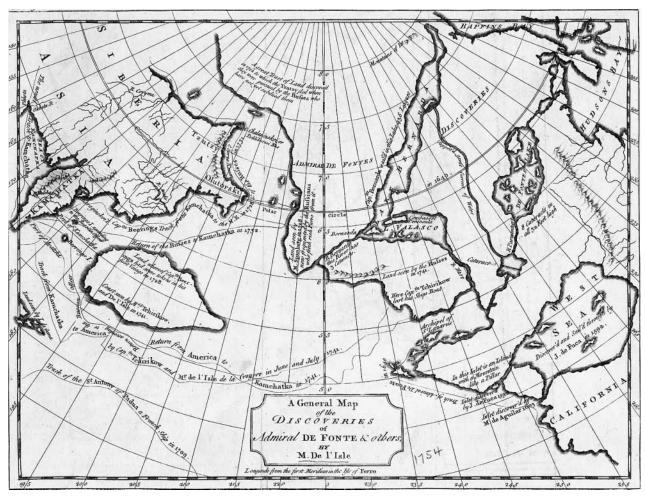
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By the early seventeenth century, Europeans competed for trade and colonies in the areas already discovered and explored the boundaries of a known world that was already much larger than it had been at the start of the early modern period. The Portuguese António Fernandes (1613) and the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Paez (1618) explored the interior of East Africa, while Dutch expeditions under Willem Schouten and Isaac Le Maire (1615–1616) discovered Cape Horn, and Frederik de Houtman (1619) traced the western coast of Australia. Expeditions under Franz Thyssen (1627) and Abel Janszoon Tasman (1640s) explored and charted other parts of Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and nearby

island groups, but never found the legendary great southern continent (Terra Australis) that had graced many early maps.

In North America, Henry Hudson (1610) discovered the bay later named for him, thinking it was the great western ocean at the end of the Northwest Passage. Other expeditions proved him wrong, but the search at least increased geographical knowledge. The vast lands south of Hudson's Bay and north of New Spain remained largely unknown to Europeans in the early seventeenth century, apart from a few Spanish settlements in the southeast and a few English and Dutch settlements in the northeast. During the century, France sponsored a series of expeditions that challenged the English presence

in the north and sought a route through the continent. Samuel de Champlain (1603–1615) explored the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Jean Nicolet (1634) and Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chomart, Sieur des Groseillers (1658-1659), continued French exploration of the Great Lakes region. In the last few decades of the century, King Louis XIV sponsored a series of expeditions that explored from the Great Lakes to the network of river systems in central North America, aiming to establish a French empire between the English in the north and the Spanish in the south. The most famous expeditions were led by Réné-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (1673–1687), Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet (1673), and Louis Hennepin (1679-1680). Approaching from the Gulf of



Exploration. This reproduction and translation of a 1752 French map by Joseph Nicolas de L'Isle appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of March/April 1754 and demonstrates how little was known of the North Pacific region in the mid-eighteenth century. The mythical voyages of De Fonte are shown as well as the actual voyages of Bering and Tchirikov, and a "West Sea" is shown north of California. Map Collection. Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

Mexico, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville (1699) discovered the mouth of the Mississippi River. By the time Louis XIV died in 1715, France had a chain of settlements from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico, though they remained small and vulnerable to hostile local peoples and international rivals alike.

In South America, expeditions from the 1630s to the 1660s traced the awesome extent of the Orinoco and Amazon River systems, as Spain and Portugal struggled to grasp the true extent of their colonial dominions. The discovery in the 1690s of gold and gem deposits in Brazil gave added impetus to exploration of the interior, within the structure of settled colonial regimes run by Spain and Portugal. Nonetheless, huge areas would remain unknown to Europeans until well beyond the early modern period.

European exploration in the eighteenth century, as in earlier times, was motivated in large part by political rivalries as well as by enduring goals such as oceanic passages northwest and northeast from Europe to Asia and the search for the elusive great southern continent. Vitus Bering, a Dane in the service of Tsar Peter I ("the Great") of Russia, made two major voyages (1728 and 1733-1741) in search of a northeast passage, in the process mapping much of coastal Siberia and discovering the strait later named for him between Asia and Alaska. In the Americas, the French founded New Orleans in 1718 and sponsored expeditions in the 1720s and 1730s to continue exploration in the middle of North America, even as they faced increasing pressure from England in the northeast. In the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) they lost most of the territory they claimed in North America to England. Nonetheless, French exploration continued, driven by the increased interest in scientific endeavors that was part of the Enlightenment.

Scientific voyages of exploration are traditionally associated with the eighteenth century, although the scientific urge to discover, classify, and understand lands, peoples, animals, and plants characterized European exploration throughout the early modern period. Eighteenth-century voyages concentrated on the Pacific Ocean, one of the last great spaces on Earth that remained largely unexplored. The Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen (1722) is credited with discovering Easter Island

and some of the Samoan islands in the South Pacific, though he claimed to have sighted the great southern continent as well. Pacific voyages in the last half of the century reflected the rivalry between England and France, while at the same time searching for that elusive continent and other new lands and observing various natural phenomena. Samuel Wallis of England, while circumnavigating the globe from 1766 to 1768, discovered the Society Islands (Tahiti), while Philip Carteret on another ship in the expedition sailed farther south looking for Terra Australis. A French expedition under Louis Antoine de Bougainville also reached Tahiti in 1768. The greatest of the eighteenth-century voyages were those of the Englishman James Cook. In three major expeditions (1768-1771, 1772-1775, and 1776–1779), Cook probed and tested most of the legends and lore about the vast Pacific Ocean. With superb mapmaking skills, and aided on the second and third voyages by the most accurate timepiece yet developed and other modern navigational aids, Cook was able to chart the Pacific and its islands with unprecedented accuracy. He confirmed the existence of and mapped numerous islands, explored the northwest coast of North America, and proved to all but the most diehard believers in Terra Australis that whatever land existed in the far south was not habitable. His reports and maps became best-sellers among the literate public in Enlightenment Europe. On his third voyage, Cook's expedition became the first documented European arrival at the Hawaiian Islands. Although some of the officers who accompanied him assumed that some Spanish voyage or other must have preceded them, Cook dismissed those assumptions. He died in a skirmish with local islanders in 1779, on a return visit to the islands. A French expedition under Jean-François de Galaup, Count of la Pérouse (1785-1788) and a Spanish expedition under the Italian Alessandro Malaspina (1789-1795) carried out their own extensive Pacific voyages. Their agendas reflected European political rivalries as well as a search for scientific knowledge.

In North America as well, exploration by Daniel Boone into Kentucky (1769–1775), Alexander Mackenzie across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific (1789–1793), and George Vancouver along the northwest coast (1792–1794) established an English presence in an area long claimed by Spain

but hardly settled or defended by her. Belatedly, Spain dispatched expeditions along the coast from Mexico that established a chain of presidios (garrisons) and missions along the length of California, exploring and mapping as they went. By land José Ortega discovered San Francisco Bay in 1769, and by sea Juan Pérez and Bruno Heceta discovered Nootka Sound (1774–1775). The far northwest corner of North America thus became a focus of rivalry for England, Russia, Spain, and—after 1783—the fledgling United States, which sponsored Robert Gray's expedition along the northwest coast (1787–1793).

At the very end of the early modern period, English expeditions into the African interior (Mungo Park to the Gambia and Niger Rivers in 1795–1805 and Sir John Barrow northward from the Cape of Good Hope in 1797–1798), foreshadowed a major focus for European exploration in the nineteenth century. During the early modern centuries, Europeans had explored and mapped much of the world, driven by a combination of motives that ranged from religious zeal and scientific curiosity to commercial and political rivalries and personal ambitions. In their travels, they had not only explored the world; they had changed it forever.

See also Africa; Asia; British Colonies; Cartography and Geography; Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Dutch Colonies; Europe and the World; French Colonies; Gama, Vasco da; Islands; Magellan, Ferdinand; Pizarro Brothers; Portuguese Colonies; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Spanish Colonies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baker, Daniel B., ed. *Explorers and Discoverers of the World*. Detroit, 1993.
- Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492. Philadelphia, 1987.
- Fernández-Armesto, Felipe, ed. *The Times Atlas of World Exploration*. London, 1991.
- Goetzmann, William, and Glydwr Williams. The Atlas of North American Exploration: From the Norse Voyages to the Race to the Pole. New York, 1992.
- Newby, Eric. The Rand McNally World Atlas of Exploration. Chicago, 1975.
- Penrose, Boies. Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620. Cambridge, Mass., 1952.
- Phillips, William D., Jr., and Carla Rahn Phillips. The Worlds of Christopher Columbus. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1992.
- Williams, Glyn. Voyages of Delusion: The Northwest Passage in the Age of Reason. London, 2002.

CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS

EXTREME UNCTION. See Ritual, Religious.



FAIRY TALES. See Folk Tales and Fairy Tales.

FALSE DMITRII, FIRST (1582?–1606?; ruled 1605–1606), the most successful of the several pretenders to the Muscovite throne during the Time of Troubles and a rallying-point for those in revolt against Tsar Boris Godunov; briefly ruled as tsar.

In 1603 a young man appeared in Lithuania who claimed to be Tsarevich Dmitrii Ivanovich, son and heir of Ivan IV. He repudiated the official story that Tsarevich Dmitrii had died an accidental death at Uglich in 1591, claiming instead that he had been delivered from a murder plot concocted by Boris Godunov. The true identity of the man remains in dispute. Some scholars identify him as a defrocked fugitive monk, Grigorii Otrep'ev, a pawn of Godunov's main political rivals, the Romanovs, while others think he was selected by the Nogais many years before and brought up to believe that he truly was the tsarevich.

This False Dmitrii quickly won the recognition and support of the Lithuanian Chancellor Lew Sapieha, Prince Adam Wisniowiecki, and especially Jerzy Mniszech, the palatine of Sandomierz, who raised a small army of Polish mercenaries and adventurers on Dmitrii's behalf. Most likely they intended to regain those parts of Seversk, Chernigov (Chernihiv), and Smolensk that the Commonwealth had lost seventy years before. King Sigis-

mund III allegedly gave this project some qualified unofficial support. How much assistance these men were prepared to offer him cannot be determined, but Dmitrii expected such support and pledged in return to marry Mniszech's daughter Marina and accept the Catholic faith.

In October 1604 Dmitrii's army invaded the Seversk region of southwestern Muscovy. Although many of Dmitrii's Polish troops and retainers soon abandoned him, he more than made up these losses with new support from the Zaporozhian and Don Cossack Hosts. Putivl', Ryl'sk, Kursk, and Kromy quickly capitulated to him. Most of the garrison troops, townsmen, and court peasants of the Seversk region welcomed Dmitrii, seeing him as their deliverer from unpopular military governors and the onerous agricultural corvée on crown plowlands. Tsar Boris's commanders were unable to take advantage of their armies' overwhelming numerical superiority, and their harsh reprisals against Seversk towns and villages, state peasants, and garrison troops stiffened rebel resistance. By spring 1605 the rebellion on behalf of the False Dmitrii had spread to include most of Muscovy's southern frontier. Soon after Tsar Boris's unexpected death on 13 April 1605, many of his field commanders and several of the more powerful duma boyars came over to Dmitrii's camp at Kromy. Boris's successor, the sixteen-year-old Tsar Fedor Borisovich, was deposed and murdered. Dmitrii entered the capital on 20 June 1605 and was crowned tsar the following day.

Tsar Dmitrii attempted rapprochement with the duma boyars but made fatal errors in pardoning his archenemy, Prince Vasilii Shuiskii, and in not pressing his new tsaritsa, Marina Mnischówna, to renounce Catholicism. The allegedly arrogant conduct of Marina's Polish retinue provided further grounds for Shuiskii, the Golitsyns, and Metropolitan Hermogen to agitate against Tsar Dmitrii. On 14 May 1606 riots broke out in Moscow, initially against Marina's Polish guests; on 17 May Shuiskii's agents took advantage of the disorder to assassinate Dmitrii. Vasilii Shuiskii was proclaimed tsar two days later.

See also Boris Godunov (Russia); Russia; Time of Troubles (Russia).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dunning, Chester S. L. Russia's First Civil War: The Time of Troubles and the Founding of the Romanov Dynasty. University Park, Pa., 2001.

Perrie, Maureen. Pretenders and Popular Monarchism in Early Modern Russia: The False Tsars of the Time of Troubles. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1995.

Skrynnikov, Ruslan G. *Boris Godunov*. Edited and translated by Hugh F. Graham. Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1982.

BRIAN DAVIES

FAMILY. There is no natural form of family, just as there has never been historical agreement about the meaning of the word itself. Throughout most of the early modern period "family" usually referred to all the members of one's household, including nonrelatives, such as servants and lodgers. At the same time some authors of the time clearly conceived of "family" in the sense of an extended kinship network. By the beginning of the nineteenth century both of these meanings had been largely supplanted by the modern sense of a cohabiting nuclear group of parents and children, although neither of the older meanings died out completely. Just as importantly there was no common family and household living arrangement during the early modern era and accordingly no clear transition from "traditional" to "modern" families but rather a plurality of household forms that continued to occur well into the nineteenth century.

KINSHIP AND THE HOUSEHOLD BEFORE THE EARLY MODERN ERA

The early modern household represented the basic unit of residence, production, and reproduction in the city and country alike. Its common interchangeability with "family" throughout the period had deep and ancient roots. Almost all modern European languages trace their words for "family" back to the Latin *famulus*, 'slave', thus signifying the dependence of relatives and servants on the paterfamilias or head of the household. Government officials from antiquity through the early modern period shared this patriarchal view of all authority and accordingly considered the hearth, or household, the key unit in census and tax calculations. Thus for practical as well as ideological reasons, the premodern household was the family.

This residential sense of family, however, coexisted with a broader definition as an extended group of kin or all of the people related by blood. Ancient Greeks and Romans tended to stress the unilineal agnatic kinship group (Latin gens, plural gentes), tracing blood relations only through the father's ancestry, but still recognized the importance of relations through the mother's side (known as cognates). Latin, for instance, had one word for a paternal uncle (patruus) and another for a maternal uncle (avunculus). During the early and High Middle Ages the Germanic understanding of kinship as bilateral, involving blood relations from both parents' families, dominated. The marriage of two individuals from different clans (German Sippe; French race; Spanish raza; Italian razione) thus had repercussions far beyond the couple itself. Now each had new parents, siblings, and cousins who were to be treated as blood relations, even after the death of one of the spouses, at least according to canon or church law. Until at least the twelfth century this type of broadly defined family by extended kinship constituted the strongest social, economic, and political bond throughout Europe.

About this time many aristocrats, knights, and wealthy merchants returned to the ancient practice of a patrilineal definition of kinship, inventing permanent family surnames and coats of arms that were passed down from fathers to sons. By the end of the Middle Ages the patrilineal movement had spread throughout Europe. Admittedly some members of the lower orders did not adopt the practice of a first

and a last name until governments compelled them to do so at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but these were rare exceptions to the rule. In most cases the family surname was inherited from the father though some islands of bilateral lineage survived, such as Castile, where men often took their aristocratic wives' surnames. Sometimes, as in parts of France, a surname went with an estate and thus could potentially come from a nonrelative.

The success of the patrilineal form of genealogy, however, did not eliminate the importance of all maternal as well as paternal relatives in matters of inheritance, guardianship, and of course affection. Canon law also made no distinctions between the two branches of family in its restriction of marriage to those individuals outside the fourth degree of kinship. Thus family in both its broadest definition of kinship and the narrower sense of household survived into the early modern era.

THE HOUSEHOLD VIEWED FROM THE OUTSIDE: FORMATION AND COMPOSITION

The great diversity of marriage and inheritance practices in early modern Europe make generalizations about the formation and composition of the household extremely difficult if not impossible. There are, however, some notable characteristics, a few of them quite distinctive in history. In 1965 the historical demographer John Hajnal famously identified what he called "the European marriage pattern" of the early modern era. This apparently unique phenomenon, which he later revised to "the northwestern European pattern," originally described marriage practices in all the lands west of an imaginary line drawn between Saint Petersburg and Trieste. The two most striking aspects of this model were relatively late marriage (late twenties for men, early to midtwenties for women) and a high percentage (10 to 25 percent) of never married or widowed individuals. Hajnal theorized that various economic factors—such as extended journeyman status in a craft and a population surplus of marriageable girls and women—as well as religious factors (notably the Catholic celibate ideal) contributed to this pattern, which showed no signs of change before the nineteenth century.

The implications for household formation were significant. First, there was the size of the household itself. Late marriage tended to reduce the number of

pregnancies and live births, the latter to about five to seven per woman by the age of forty. Given the high infant and child mortality rates, this meant a nuclear family under five per household most of the time—considerably smaller than was commonly assumed. At the same time the common practice of sending boys and girls by age twelve to apprenticeships or domestic service meant that many youths would be considered part of a household other than their parents' for at least five and as much as fifteen years, depending on their securing permanent employment, property, or in the case of young women, a suitable dowry. Finally, the large number of single young people and widowed old people resulted in an unusually high proportion (by premodern standards) of lodgers or single households, especially in cities.

During the last forty years of the twentieth century, Hajnal's thesis underwent testing and considerable refinement. Reconstituting families by examining marriage contracts, wills, baptismal registers, tax records, and other legal documents, many historians have confirmed the frequency of late marriage and single households during the era, but they have also made clear that there was no one marriage pattern or household type among the diverse peoples of early modern Europe, east or west. Rather, certain ideal models tend to appear more in certain places and times, but even so there is a risk of distorting the variability of these household forms and their larger social implications in practice.

It is widely accepted that the most common type of household was the nuclear family, with evidence pointing well back to the Middle Ages, at least in England. Composed only of a married couple with or without children and possibly a servant, the nuclear family appears everywhere and at all times during the early modern era. If a son remained at home with his parents into adulthood and postponed setting up his own household, the nuclear unit became what is known as a stem family, also an apparently frequent model throughout Europe. When three generations of a family lived together or when any relatives other than the nuclear unit cohabited, the household became an extended family. This type of household, typically including one elderly grandparent, was most common in southern France and parts of German-speaking Europe, especially in the countryside. Households without a conjugal unit at the center, known as nonfamily households, were more common in cities. Households composed of several conjugal units—known to demographers as joint, multiple, or complex households and to early modern contemporaries as fraternas (Italian) or frérèches (French)—were most common in southern and eastern Europe. Again though, these geographical generalizations are merely crude approximations that are particularly difficult to support in the so-called transition zones of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, western Poland, and Estonia.

The erroneous presumption that most early modern families were large appears to have originated in the nineteenth century primarily as a reaction against the perceived dangers to the family (by then meaning the nuclear family) from industrialization and other modern developments. Numerous subsequent studies have instead confirmed Hajnal's conjecture that large or multiple households predominated only in eastern Europe, while small households remained the norm in the west. In Russia, for instance, three-quarters of all serf households through the eighteenth century were multiple, while in Scandinavia, England, and northern Germany the majority of households were nuclear, with only 2 percent of English households containing more than twelve people. In fact except for serfs or sharecroppers, whose landlords structurally encouraged large households, the poorer the family, the smaller the household.

The painstaking work of David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber on a fifteenth-century Florentine tax census found that only one out of ten households had more than ten people and that most averaged four to five persons. Significantly those few large households in Florence, England, and elsewhere tended to be proportionate to personal wealth. Royal courts, for example, could encompass hundreds of retainers, and even the household of a seventeenth-century English lord might contain forty or more people (and many aristocrats maintained more than one residence). An ordinary English gentleman, by comparison, might have eight people in his "family," while the average household in the kingdom contained four to five individuals. Even among those households with more than three children, the relatively long span between births in many families combined with the early age of leaving for work often meant than no more than three children might be resident at a given time.

In addition to the various types of blood relatives included in different household models, three types of nonkin might also be in residence and therefore considered members of the family. The most common were domestic servants. In cities these tended to be girls from the country, sometimes relatives but usually strangers contracted for three or more years. The objective for the girls, typically starting work at age twelve or thirteen, was to earn enough money for a decent dowry with which they hoped to secure a good marriage. Salaries were one-half to one-third of what the maids could make in the fields, so there was great mobility during harvest time despite the obligations of their contracts and laws threatening punishment. The one exception to the preference for female domestics was the wealthy household, where many male retainers reflected on the social status and virility of the paterfamilias. Domestic servitude as a life phase was extremely common in early modern Europe, so at least one-third of households at any given time included servants. This also held for apprentices, under contract for up to seven years in the hope of learning a craft. In practice apprentices, who were usually teenage boys, ended up doing many odd jobs and other work not related to a craft and were in that sense on the same level as servants.

The third type of nonrelative who might be considered part of the household was lodgers. These individuals tended to be single young men, often journeymen, who stayed for as little as a few weeks or as long as several years. Unable to set up their own households yet, they were forced to rent and often travel, staying mostly in cities and providing a welcome source of income for many families. Often they worked on the family farm or in some kind of cottage industry.

THE HOUSEHOLD VIEWED FROM THE INSIDE: AFFECTIONS AND MATERIAL INTERESTS

Another modern myth about the premodern family has its origins in the work of the sociologist Philippe Ariès more than forty years ago. Though later scholars have somewhat caricaturized his argument, their criticism has nonetheless thoroughly demolished Ariès's most controversial assertion regarding the

family, namely that the sentimental affections seen as normal between parents and their children were alien to Europeans before the eighteenth century. During the 1970s some historians, such as Lawrence Stone and Jean-Louis Flandrin, attempted to modify the thesis with their own theories of an early modern transition, but by the late 1980s the scholarly consensus had clearly swung in favor of greater continuity on the question of familial and parental love and affection. Obviously such matters are highly subjective and thus impervious to quantification. The sources available for an overwhelmingly illiterate society are extremely limited as well. Still one need go no further than the sensationalist press's accounts of infanticide and parricide or the plays of Shakespeare, Molière, or Richard Sheridan to grasp the extreme sensitivity of early modern Europeans to the unnatural treatment of blood relations, particularly acts of betrayal and murder among parents, children, siblings, and other close relatives. There was clearly something special about the relationship between parents and children that went beyond mutual duties and obligations, something that occasionally led to great extremes of passions and above all something that deeply affected one's own sense of identity.

This does not mean that early modern families were immune to material interests or the tensions that property often caused. The common source of such conflicts was of course the question of inheritance, and here early modern Europe possessed as bewildering a set of local variations as can be imagined. Some historians have attempted to tie type of inheritance practice to household type, yet while there is some rough correlation between impartibility and multiple households or between partibility and nuclear households, there are far too many regional exceptions to support any such generalization. Broadly speaking the two most basic distinctions were those between partible and impartible inheritance. In partible inheritance the patrimony, or total estate, was evenly divided among children, usually the sons. Occasionally daughters would inherit (especially if there were no sons), but their property would be administered by their husbands or male relatives. Though intended to minimize conflicts among siblings over inheritance, partibility often had the opposite effect, since the heirs had to inventory anything they received at any time. Dividing up the patrimony every generation could also lead to impoverishment, hence a gradual move toward impartibility developed by the beginning of the early modern era.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries partibility began to be replaced in some parts of central and southern Europe by impartibility, which had already established a foothold in much of southern France and Spain. In most versions of impartibility, one heir (usually the oldest son, a practice known as primogeniture) inherited the entire patrimony, thus acting as a steward to the family property and preserving its integrity. The new practice was especially popular among royal dynasties, large landowners, and other wealthy families. In most places noninheriting brothers and sisters were to receive a "portion," that is, a cash settlement, and in many cases went on to work for the older brother. Among nobles on the Continent, the designated heir was often expected to provide an annual stipend for each of his brothers and a dowry to each of his unmarried sisters. English aristocrats, by contrast, were rarely required to make any such concession and only did so voluntarily.

Despite such counterbalances, many early modern people, especially among the Protestant clergy, considered impartibility inherently unfair and even unchristian. Moreover the multitude of diverse customs throughout Europe could make the rights and prerogatives bestowed upon the head of the household appear quite arbitrary. Within the kingdom of France, for instance, a father in Provence had absolute power over the choice of his heir, an exclusionary tactic that led to the designation of the fortunate beneficiary as l'enfant, 'child' (implying that his excluded siblings were not even children in a real sense). Meanwhile a father in Brittany had no power whatsoever to discriminate among his children. Occasionally a father might attempt to circumvent the local legal tradition and put an entailment in his will (known as a substitution in France; mayorazgo in Spain; majorat in Denmark; fideicommissum in Italy, Germany, Sweden, and Poland; and strict settlement in Britain) that prohibited sale, gift, or division of the land for several generations, but this was not always possible.

The question of inheritance could play a key role in relations within the family, including degrees

of affection. Even small amounts of property could trigger bitter rivalries among designated heirs and their brothers and sisters, particularly in the case of children from two different marriages, where each individual or group of siblings attempted to exclude the other from inheritance. Many fathers clearly agonized over their attempts to preserve the patrimony and also provide for all of their children. The results could vary considerably. Impartibility tended to encourage emigration, early marriage, and nuclear households among noninheriting children, especially as travel to the New World became cheaper and more frequent, but many also remained near home. It also usually resulted in an extended family household for the adult heir and parent(s), though this too could vary, depending on the nature of the inheritance, local custom, and preferences of the father. Partibility carried its own set of conflicts and survived in many areas (for example, much of central and western Germany) well into the nineteenth century.

The head of the household's control over the family's patrimony obviously gave him a great deal of authority over his children's lives, particularly over the choice of spouses and the timing of marriages. As a rule the more property involved, the greater the involvement of fathers or male guardians in such matters, although forced marriages remained unusual and in most places illegal. Instead, fathers and children often sought a convergence of economic interests and personal attraction, apparently succeeding a good deal of the time. The prerogatives of inheritance also usually ensured that fathers or mothers would be provided for in old age, either in an extended household or with guaranteed income after passing the family property on. Heads of poor households, on the other hand, especially landless laborers, exercised no such economic authority over their grown children and thus enjoyed much less financial security in old age. Well into the twentieth century small households of single or married people over sixty were the poorest anywhere in Europe or North America, surpassed in that distinction possibly only by female-headed households with children.

The nonrelatives of an early modern household usually had no stake in inheritance strategies but played essential roles in family dynamics nevertheless. Writers of the era were fond of portraying ser-

vants and apprentices as scheming enemies of the master and the mistress of the house: lying, stealing, lecherous, and above all lazy. Indeed by the eighteenth century words such as "varlet" and "knave" had taken on almost exclusively derogatory meanings in the English language. Legal and other records convey a more nuanced and complicated tangle of relationships between servants and the relatives of the house. Some servants were treated like surrogate children, while others were clearly neglected or abused, receiving worse or less food, mean accommodations, and no affection. Even that common source of illegitimate babies, the illicit affair between the paterfamilias and a young maid, defies easy generalization. Every case had its own mixture of coercion (even rape) and willingness, of naïveté and cynical manipulation, of secrecy and flagrancy. The authority of the paterfamilias over servants and apprentices moreover was never absolute, though it did generally enjoy the legal benefit of the doubt. Religious authorities held the paterfamilias responsible for the spiritual instruction of the entire household, and immoral acts by children and servants alike reflected directly on his reputation. Protestant consistories and other church bodies frequently censored a father or widow for "bad housekeeping," though secular authorities rarely followed up with any punishments of their own.

THE HOUSEHOLD AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

Before the wide-scale industrialization of the nineteenth century, the household was the key unit of production in European economies. Urban workshops and rural farms alike relied on the labor of household members, including parents, children, servants, apprentices, and sometimes wage-earning lodgers. The degree to which this "whole house" (das ganze Haus) economic model successfully functioned remains a matter of some dispute among family historians. The key for the early modern paterfamilias lay in meeting his family's immediate and future needs while minimizing the number of mouths he had to feed. In this respect rural households west of the Hajnal line showed much greater flexibility, largely because of the high availability of servants and lodgers to balance the size of the household with the size of the holding. The size of eastern European households, usually complex in structure, was less flexible and therefore fixed the

amount of labor available, regardless of the size of the property to be worked. Over all, many factors—type and quantity of product, local agrarian system, interregional and international markets, kin and other social networks, property laws, demographics, and so forth—helped determine which labor strategy a head of household adopted.

The division of labor in the early modern household had not always been gender and age specific. During the Middle Ages wives apparently often shared in their husbands' craftwork, even into widowhood. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though, this type of labor was increasingly restricted for women, who nevertheless often continued to bring in income through sewing or spinning work (which came to be defined as part of "housekeeping" and thus not really "work"). The division of labor along gender lines was long familiar in rural settings, where men were assigned to tasks requiring greater physical strength, such as plowing and planting, while women (and children) worked on food preparation, cleaning and mending of clothing, housecleaning, water carrying, and so forth. During harvest all members of the household played various parts in getting crops from field to market.

Two major economic events during the early modern era had especially significant consequences for the household economy. The first was the rise of wage labor following the late fifteenth century. At the very time when new impartible inheritance laws were sweeping across Europe, an increasing number of wage-earning jobs in the West provided noninheriting children with an alternative basis for setting up their own households. This loss of labor forced some farmers to hire their own help, further increasing the number of wage earners in the economy and nonrelatives in the household.

The second development began in the midseventeenth century and likewise fed the growth of a wage economy in many parts of western Europe. Proto-industrialization, particularly in the textile industry, had the greatest impact on small landholders, whose members (women, children, and sometimes men) increasingly turned to some phase of cloth production for their households' incomes. Unlike the traditional guild system, in which all phases of production were under the direct supervision of a master in the craft, the "putting-out system" (German *Verlagssystem*) assigned an intermediate task to an outsider, who was paid at an agreed-upon piece rate. The growth of these so-called cottage industries was gradual and came as a consequence of changes in agrarian markets as well as higher demands and therefore increased production. Before the mechanization and factories of the industrial revolution, for instance, it took four to ten spinners to produce the amount of yarn woven by a single weaver in one day. Like large landowners who had increasingly enclosed and converted their farmland to sheep-grazing fields, these cottagers found income from the cloth industry both more profitable and more reliable than farming.

The immediate impact of increased wage labor and proto-industrialization on household forms was not always clear-cut. Clearly wage labor tended to encourage earlier marriage and more nuclear households. No longer forced to wait for inheritance, noninheriting children had little reason to remain part of an extended or complex household rather than start their own. Yet many such individuals, for reasons of security or family solidarity, did stay on well into adulthood despite the conditions. Similarly proto-industrialization sometimes encouraged more nuclear households and other times had the opposite effect. The formation of new households depended on many factors, including the skills required for production (an important limitation in such industries as arms manufacture in Belgium), the initial outlay of capital required for equipment (for example, expensive looms), and the size of the household.

IDEAS ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

Since antiquity family and household have served as powerful metaphors as well as social realities. Aristotle considered the household (Greek oikos) the chief building block of society as well as the model for a successful state. "It was out of the association formed by men with . . . women and slaves," he wrote in his *Politics*, "that the household was formed. . . . The next step is the village. . . . The final association, formed of several villages, is the city or state." Aristotle considered both the household and the state "naturally" hierarchical and patriarchal, with the head of the household and head of state each possessing certain duties as well as

prerogatives. Their paternal authority demanded filial obedience but also obliged household heads to display loving concern. Later the Roman paterfamilias and emperor enjoyed expanded rights, often to a shockingly autocratic degree by modern standards. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries European writers revived the classical tradition of the household as metaphor for the state, arguing for a strengthening of the patriarchal leader of each. In Germany a number of popular Protestant pamphlets, the so-called Hausvaterliteratur, lamented that the authority of the head of household, or Hausvater, was under assault from an unholy alliance of shrewish wives, wild children, papist agitators, and a variety of devils bent on destruction of the family. A father should be as a king in his own household, they argued, providing biblical, classical, and anecdotal evidence in support. Publications elsewhere in Europe similarly invoked the sovereignty of the paterfamilias, whom Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) likened to the head of a small monarchy.

The other side of the patriarchal metaphor consisted of a paternalization of political authority. This imagery too was ancient and continued to inspire many medieval paeans to fatherly kings, such as Saint Louis (Louis IX; ruled 1226–1270) of France. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though, proponents of a stronger "absolutist" monarchy, such as Jean Bodin (1530–1596), applied paternal claims of sovereignty to argue for greater political authority for their kings. Only a father's strong hand, Bodin maintained in his *Six Books of a Commonwealth* (1576), could prevent the anarchy that had overtaken France during its religious wars.

The comparison of a kingdom to a household probably reached its zenith with the writings of the Englishman Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653). Beginning in the 1630s Filmer published several tracts that made an argument similar to Bodin's but with even more extensive use of patriarchal imagery. Unlike the proposed absolute monarch of Thomas Hobbes, Filmer's ruler—like a true father—ruled more by moral suasion and education than by force. His ultimate authority, however, was beyond dispute, dating back to Adam and later the dispersion of Babel: "The Nations were distinct Families, which had Fathers for Rulers over them; . . . God

was careful to preserve the Fatherly Authority, by distributing the Diversity of Languages, according to the Diversity of Families." After the English Civil War and Commonwealth, Filmer's writings received new attention, culminating in the printing of his previously unpublished masterwork, *Patriarcha* (The natural power of kings) in 1680. By then patriarchal political imagery and language were so pervasive that even John Locke (1632–1704), who dismissed Filmer's absolutist arguments as "glib nonsense," was forced to acknowledge the paternal nature of government.

The patriarchal revival also had its religious dimension. Both kings and fathers, as Filmer noted, received their authority directly from God, most explicitly in the fourth commandment to love and obey one's parents. This "divine right" to rule became closely identified with the absolutist monarchies of England's Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) and France's Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715), but the sentiment, if not the political implications, was widespread in early modern Europe. At the same time both fathers and political authorities had clearcut responsibilities for the religious welfare of their respective "families." Martin Luther (1483–1546) even referred to both figures as bishops expected to lead by example and discipline every member of their respective realms. This highly idealized patriarchal hierarchy was best expressed by German authors, who wrote of a Hausvater (head of household) subject to a Landesvater (prince or "father of his country"), with both overseen by the Gottesvater (God the father) himself.

Throughout the early modern period many religious sects and political groups also employed the language and imagery of family. All of the Reformation's leaders spoke to their congregations as "families," and some groups, notably the Anabaptists and their successors, called each other "brother" and "sister." Later movements, such as the Society of Friends (that is, Quakers) and Moravian Brethren, similarly turned to the language of family for coherence and identity. Finally, secular political groups from the Masons to the Jacobins of the French Revolution openly proclaimed brotherhood (French *fraternité*) as one of their foundational tenets.

BIRTH OF THE MODERN FAMILY?

Just as no single "traditional" family model ever existed, no single modern family model succeeded it. Nuclear households admittedly became more common during the nineteenth century, but complex and alternate household forms continued to thrive in some places, particularly southern and eastern Europe. "Modernization," in the guise of either industrialization or increased individualism, also did not spell the end of the importance of kinship; some historians argue that family relations became even more important as a result of such larger social transformations. On the other hand, the household itself did experience some significant changes. Most notably, historians detect a discernible increase after the sixteenth century in the desire for privacy, resulting in somewhat larger and more compartmentalized residences among the middle and upper classes. The idea of "home" itself took on a form of separation from society, a haven in a tumultuous world. By the eighteenth century a new "cult of domesticity" was growing, and by the following century it spread to lower-middle-class and working-class cultures. Like the patriarchal model that preceded it, the new idealization of the household often remained a common point of reference rather than a social reality. Still it corresponded nicely with the continuing rise of nuclear households, a convergence one might call the congealment of the modern family if not its birth.

See also Authority, Concept of; Childhood and Childrearing; Divine Right Kingship; Divorce; Gender; Inheritance and Wills; Marriage; Proto-Industry; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Michael. Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500–1914. 2nd expanded ed. New York, 1995.
- Ariès, Philippe, and Georges Duby, eds. A History of Private Life. Vol. 3: Passions of the Renaissance, edited by Roger Chartier. Cambridge, Mass., 1989.
- Burguière, André, et al., eds. A History of the Family. Vol. 2, The Impact of Modernity. Cambridge, Mass., 1996.
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis. Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household, and Sexuality. Translated by Richard Southern. Cambridge, U.K., 1979.
- Goody, Jack. The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe. Cambridge, U.K., 1983.
- Hajnal, John. "European Marriage Patterns in Perspective." In *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demogra-*

- phy, edited by D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, pp. 101–138. London, 1965.
- Herlihy, David, and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427. New Haven, 1985.
- Houlbrooke, Ralph A. *The English Family*, 1450–1700. London, 1984.
- Hunt, Lynn. The Family Romance of the French Revolution. Berkeley, 1992.
- Kertzer, David I., and Marzio Barbagli, eds. *The History of the European Family*. Vol. 1: *Family Life in Early Modern Times*, 1500–1789. New Haven, 2001.
- Laslett, Peter. Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations. Cambridge, U.K., 1977.
- Medick, Hans, and David Warren Sabean, eds. *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*. Cambridge, U.K., 1984.
- Mitterauer, Michael, and Reinhard Sieder. The European Family: Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present. Translated by Karla Oosterveen and Manfred Hörzinger. Oxford, 1982.
- Ozment, Steven. When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe. Cambridge, Mass., 1983.
- Plakans, Andrejs. Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500-1900. Oxford, 1984.
- Roper, Lyndal. The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg. Oxford, 1989.
- Sabean, David Warren. Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870. Cambridge, U.K., 1990.
- Stone, Lawrence. The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500-1800. London, 1977.
- Traer, James F. Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-Century France. Ithaca, N.Y., 1980.
- Wall, Richard, Jean Robin, and Peter Laslett, eds. Family Forms in Historic Europe. Cambridge, U.K., 1983.

JOEL F. HARRINGTON

FAMINE. See Agriculture; Charity and Poor Relief; Economic Crises; Food Riots; Poverty.

FARNESE, ISABEL (SPAIN) (1692–1766), queen of Spain. Isabel Farnese, the second wife of Philip V of Spain (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746), was born in Parma in 1692, the daughter of Odoardo II Farnese of the ducal house of Parma and of Dorothy Sofia of Neuberg, duchess of Bavaria. A physically attractive, intelligent, and cultured



Isabel Farnese. Portrait by Louis Michel van Loo, c. 1745. ©Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

woman, Isabel was always at her husband's side, supporting him in the tasks of governing with her strong will and ambition to rule. Her marriage was proposed to the king by Abbot Giulio Alberoni (1664–1752), at that time ambassador of the sovereign duke of Parma to the royal court in Madrid.

Scholars have long disputed whether the new queen was an instrument used to support Spanish claims on Italian territories lost by the Peace of Utrecht (1713) or, on the contrary, an active shaper of Spain's Italian policy, aiming to gain states for her sons to rule, as the sons of the king's first marriage were first in line for the throne of Spain. In either case, her arrival in Spain marked a change in the direction of government. With the banishment of the former queen's chief lady-in-waiting, the Princess d'Ursins, after a famous confrontation in Jadraque (1714), the king's French advisers were dismissed and replaced by Alberoni. Alberoni occupied himself primarily in organizing unsuccessful campaigns in Cerdaña (1717) and Sicily (1718) before falling out of favor. The Italian objectives he favored were pursued tenaciously by the new queen,

who eventually saw her son Charles enthroned in the Kingdom of Naples (1734) and her son Philip ruling the sovereign duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1748).

Having been obliged to acquiesce in her husband's abdication in favor of his son Luís I (1724), Isabel played a decisive role in Philip V's resumption of the crown after Luís's death eight months later, energetically overcoming constitutional obstacles and her husband's scruples. In the same fashion she was responsible for locating the royal court in Seville from 1729 to 1733, trying to combat the bouts of depression suffered by the king. Isabel devoted the last years of the reign to her favorite pastimes: music (Carlo Broschi, known as Farinelli, organized court performances); her art collection (whose success is documented in her will); and the construction of royal palaces, including La Granja near Segovia, her favorite residence; the Royal Palace in Madrid, entirely rebuilt after a fire in 1734; and finally the palace of Riofrío, her most personal project.

After the death of the king in 1746, Isabel remained in Madrid, but the intrigues that swirled around her at court persuaded King Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746-1759) to order her retirement to La Granja, where she lived in isolation but nonetheless informed about the news from court. She had one last political role to play. Upon the death of Ferdinand VI in 1759, she was named in his will as governor of the Realms of Spain, pending the arrival from Naples of her son Charles III (ruled 1759-1788), whom she received on his entry into Madrid. Although she once again resided in the Royal Palace, she lacked any political influence. Death surprised her as she was enjoying the king's invitation to spend some time at the royal palace in Aranjuez in 1766. Her remains rest next to those of her husband in the Collegiate Chapel at La Granja.

See also Charles III (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

García Cárcel, Ricard. Felipe V y los españoles: Una visión periférica del problema de España. Barcelona, 2002.

Kamen, Henry Arthur Francis. *Philip V of Spain: The King Who Reigned Twice*. New Haven, 2001.

Martinez Shaw, Carlos, and Marina Alonso Mola. *Felipe V.* Madrid, 2001.

Vidal Sales, José Antonio. Felipe V. Barcelona, 1997.

CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW
(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

FEBRONIANISM. Febronianism was an ecclesiastical and political movement in late-eighteenth-century Catholic Germany. It was precipitated in 1763 by the publication of *De Statu Ecclesiae* (On the state of the church) by Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701–1790), the auxiliary bishop of Trier, writing under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius. Hontheim's six-hundred-page Latin work of theology, canon law, and ecclesiastical history vigorously attacked the development of papal monarchy within the Catholic Church while advocating a strong episcopal system of church government and a central role for secular rulers in church affairs.

In De Statu Ecclesiae, Hontheim outlines the historical origins of papal authority, tracing it to the successes of the papal court system and the University of Bologna law school in the Middle Ages and to falsified scholarly works like the ninth-century forged decretals of Isidore Mercator (known as the pseudo-Isidore). Hontheim supports his historical arguments with a theological position advocating the independence of the bishops from the pope. He does not deny the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, but argues that neither Scripture nor tradition grants the pope legal or political jurisdiction over other bishops. He insists that many papal prerogatives—such as the right to confirm episcopal elections, grant dispensations, or hear legal appeals from episcopal courts—are usurpations. De Statu Ecclesiae even argues that some of the decrees of the Council of Trent illegally increase papal control over local churches. Hontheim was a conciliarist, for he considered church councils the ultimate source of authority in the church. Pope Clement XIII (reigned 1758-1769) formally condemned the work in 1764 and a number of refutations were published, mostly in Italy.

Hontheim's work was well received in Germany because it drew on a number of traditions. Hontheim refers regularly to Gallicanism with the aim of bringing "the liberties of the French Church" to Germany. The popularity of Febronianism among educated Catholics in Germany, however, has to be

traced to several specifically German traditions. The first of these was the sentiment, strong in Germany for centuries, that the Italians who dominated the Papacy did not understand conditions in Germany. This view often coincided with anti-Jesuit feeling after the Thirty Years' War, because many Catholics blamed the Jesuits, papal nuncios, and Rome for the confessional extremism that contributed to the length and destruction of the war. Furthermore, aristocratic prince-bishops and cathedral canons remained committed to the mix of secular and ecclesiastical powers that characterized the Imperial Church (Reichskirche) within the Holy Roman Empire, and Febronianism seemed to provide intellectual support for their position at a time when they were under increasing attack for their aristocratic lifestyle and lack of religious training and commitment.

However, Febronianism was not really a defense of the aristocratic Reichskirche, even if it tapped into the traditional dislike of Roman interference in German affairs. Hontheim's treatise can be considered part of the Catholic Enlightenment in Germany, especially in its non-Austrian, non-Bavarian form. Much of the appeal of his work comes from the fact that he gave a strong role within the church to the very public who read the work: clerics, scholars, and canon lawyers. Febronianism was also strongly episcopalist, giving bishops extensive powers, and nationalist, in advocating national and provincial synods as ultimate sources of authority. Ultimately, by the 1780s Febronianism lost much of its vitality as the Josephine reforms in Austria divided Catholic leadership. The movement was nevertheless important in highlighting the problematic relationship between German Catholicism and the Roman Church. German Catholics had needed the Jesuits, the nuncios, and papal support in the aftermath of the Reformation and the Council of Trent, but by 1700 Catholicism was firmly entrenched in about a third of Germany and more confident German church leaders increasingly disliked Roman involvement in their affairs.

See also Enlightenment; Gallicanism; Jesuits; Law: Canon; Papacy and Papal States; Reformation, Catholic; Trent, Council of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Klueting, Harm, ed. Katholische Aufklärung—Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland. Hamburg, 1993.

Printy, Michael O'Neill. *Perfect Societies: German States and the Roman Catholic Revolution*, 1648–1806. Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2002.

MARC R. FORSTER

FEMINISM. Although "feminism" is a nineteenth-century neologism, it is now generally accepted in anglophone historiography as a shorthand label for discourses that criticize misogyny and male dominance, argue for an improvement of the female condition, and demand a public voice for women speaking on behalf of their sex. A large corpus of writings, published all over Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, can be considered "feminist" in this sense.

THE RENAISSANCE QUERELLE DES FEMMES

The first systematic feminist treatise is probably Christine de Pizan's Le livre de la cité des dames (1404–1405; Book of the city of ladies), composed at the French court in response to the misogyny of Jean de Meun's second part of the Roman de la rose (Romance of the rose). Pisan argued that the pervasive misogyny of the classical and Christian canon presented a distorted image of female nature produced by male arrogance and prejudice: "If women had written the books," she wrote in 1399, "they would have done it otherwise." Women's reason and sense of justice were in no way inferior to those of men, she contended. Pizan's City of Ladies, built on "the field of Letters" and consecrated by the Virgin Mary, is an allegory of the female voice in history, which, once raised, will never be silenced.

After the advent of printing, feminism established itself as a prolific genre, part of an interminable series of polemics between the detractors and the defenders of women known as the *querelle des femmes*, 'quarrel about women'. A few examples will illustrate its most widespread arguments: One of the characters in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528) declares that "everything men can understand, women can too," and he cites Plato's inclusion of women in the ruling elite of the *politeia* against the Aristotelian reasoning of his opponent. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa opens his "On the No-

bility and Excellence of the Feminine Sex" (1529) with the thesis that sexual difference is confined to the reproductive organs while God has endowed "both male and female . . . with the same and altogether indifferent form of soul, the woman being endowed with no less excellent faculties of mind, reason, and speech than the man." In "On the Excellence and Dignity of Women" (1525) Galeazzo Flavio Capella accuses men of duplicity: they exclude women from most pursuits and then "prove" that they are unable to participate in them. The French author François Billon asserted in 1555 in Le fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin (The invincible fortress of the honor of the female sex) that male arguments against women usually rely on custom rather than reason, and, like many others before and after him, he likens the oppressive husband to the "tyrant." The theme of "wicked men" could also be discussed in moral terms, as in Marguerite de Navarre's observation (in the Heptaméron, 1559) that men's chief pleasure consisted in dishonoring women and their chief honor in killing other men, both of which went against God's law. The opposition of feminine piety, virtue, and refinement to male profanity, vice, and vulgarity is found in much feminist literature. Another popular genre, found all over Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, is the galleries of illustrious women, proving by historical example that they could equal men in every respect.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, feminist voices were raised in several countries. Lucrezia Marinella's The Nobility and Excellence of Women and the Defects and Failings of Men (Venice, 1600), Marie de Gournay's Equality of Men and Women (Paris, 1622), and Anna Maria van Schurman's Dissertation on the Aptitude of the Female Understanding for Science and Letters (Leiden, 1641; French transl.: Paris, 1646; English: London, 1659) were the most widely known, but similar arguments were made by Arcangela Tarabotti (Nuremberg, 1651), Johann Herbin (Wittenberg, 1657), María de Zayas (Spain, 1637), Margaret Cavendish (London, 1663), Margaret Fell (London, 1666), and others. The arguments of the querelle were thus widely disseminated. Some of them were already found in Erasmus's writings, and Castiglione, Agrippa, and Van Schurman were translated into several European languages. As the

editor of Michel de Montaigne's *Essays*, Gournay was known all over Europe.

It seems safe to conclude that by the middle of the seventeenth century most literate women and men in western Europe were conversant with at least some of the arguments of the querelle. Its main themes were: (1) the recognition of women's equality with men as immortal souls and rational beings; (2) the assertion that men are like tyrants, wielding an arbitrary and unjust power over women; (3) the argument that the present "nature" of women is the product of a biased education; (4) the demand for access to higher education and the Republic of Letters; (5) the indictment of men's outrageous treatment of women, especially in marriage; (6) the glorification of "strong women," usually by means of galleries of historical examples; and (7) the call for "politeness" and a softening of manners tied to an upgrading of the "feminine virtues," so that (upper-class) women became the agents of a civilizing mission.

ENLIGHTENMENT FEMINISM

After 1660 the above themes persisted, but feminism increasingly interacted with Cartesianism and other innovative currents of thought. The Amazon faded into the background while the learned woman became a more common, but also highly controversial, figure. In France the rise of the female author and the antifeminist backlash, best exemplified by Molière's play *Les femmes savantes* (1672; The learned women), coincides in time. In Italy a learned woman, Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, was awarded a doctorate in philosophy (Padua, 1678; probably a European first).

François Poulain de la Barre (On the Equality of the Two Sexes, 1673) reworked existing feminist arguments in a Cartesian framework, drawing on Descartes's methodological maxim of radical doubt, his dualism of body and mind, and his mechanistic biology. "The Soul has no Sex" becomes "The Mind has no Sex," but it is important to note that Poulain also seeks to demonstrate that the male and the female body are generally alike, except for the reproductive organs. Poulain criticizes the contradictory use of the concept of "nature" by the philosophers of natural law. He proposes an entirely nongendered curriculum for the education of both women and men (On the Education of Women,

1674). Apart from feminism and Cartesianism, Poulain's egalitarian social philosophy draws on the philosophy of natural rights, the Jansenist moral critique of rank, the cultural relativism of travelogues, biblical criticism, and the quarrel of the ancients and moderns. The result is an early instance of an Enlightenment social philosophy. Poulain turns feminism into a systematic philosophy and establishes a space for feminism within Enlightenment discourse.

Despite Poulain's strict egalitarianism, the praise of the "feminine virtues" is not absent from his work. This is probably true of the bulk of Enlightenment feminist theory. A good example is Antoinette de Salvan de Saliez, a lady from Albi in southern France, who declared in 1682 that "among civilized people, the equality of the sexes is no longer contested." By "civilized" she meant polite, peaceful, and lettered; she abhorred the aggressive lifestyle of the traditional warrior aristocracy. Salvan's version of the equality of the sexes was predicated on a feminization of elite culture. This type of argument was double-edged: it could be used to carve out a space for women within elite culture, but it was also conducive to a restriction of women to the sphere of morality and manners. We should not forget that, despite all the Enlightenment discourses about equality, universities and scientific academies continued to exclude women.

Cartesian rationalism influenced most lateseventeenth-century and early-eighteenth-century feminists in one way or another. Poulain de la Barre was translated into English (London, 1677), and his arguments, if not his name, are copied and paraphrased over and over again. In England, William Welsh (1691), Mary Astell (1694), Judith Drake (1696), and John Toland (1704) defended the equality of the sexes in Cartesian terms, as well as by an environmentalist psychology they took from Poulain or from John Locke. In France similar arguments were advanced by Gabrielle Suchon (1693), Morvan de Bellegarde (1702), Claude Buffier (1704), and Anne Thérèse de Lambert (1727). "Men," Lambert wrote, "have seized authority over women rather by means of force than by natural right."

In 1687 Christian Thomasius, the main protagonist of the early German Enlightenment, advo-

cated an equal education for men and women. In the 1720s and 1730s, the German poets Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, Anna Helena Volckmann, and Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann defended female authorship and the equal mental capacity of women: "Der Schöpfer hat uns ja mit gleichen Geist bedacht / Und gleiche Seelen-Kraft und Triebe beygebracht," wrote Zäunemann in 1738 ("For the Creator has endowed us with the same mind / And the same vitality and impulses"). In Spain the equality of the sexes was defended in Benito Feijoo's Teatro crítico de errores comunes (1725; Critical exposition of common prejudices), one of the founding texts of the Spanish Enlightenment. In Italy, Giuseppa Eleonora Barbapiccola stressed the Cartesian theme of the sexless mind in her translation of Descartes's Principles of Philosophy (1722), and in 1723 a Paduan academy, the Ricovrati, organized a debate on the question "if women ought to be admitted to the study of the sciences and the noble arts." In 1732, Laura Bassi obtained a degree in philosophy at Bologna where she taught from 1732 to 1778. At the same university, Maria Gaetana Agnesi held a chair of mathematics. Agnesi was one of the protagonists of a debate on the academic education of women that went on until the 1780s.

Another critical discourse on gender emerged in the ambit of philosophical history. Poulain de la Barre had outlined a hypothetical history of the origins of inequality in which the subjection of women was depicted as a historical result instead of a "natural" condition. However, the combination of travelogues and speculations about the primitive past of the species also resulted in a theory of the progression of European, and especially French, civilization. This was evidenced by the greater liberty enjoyed by women of the eighteenth century compared with both the European past and the Asian present (the latter point was made by Montesquieu as well as Voltaire). It was possible, however, to evaluate the liberty of women in widely divergent ways, ranging from George Louis Leclerc Buffon's assertion that female liberty was "necessary to the refinement [douceur] of society" and was only found among "the most civilized nations," to the Scot John Millar's fear that commercial society would lead to "dissolute manners," and, ultimately, to "universal prostitution." In both cases, however,

the female condition was theorized as historically determined instead of being an immutable fact of nature.

To the eighteenth-century mind, gender had become an "essentially contested concept." Montesquieu had read Poulain de la Barre, and he had one of his personages in the Persian Letters exclaim that male supremacy was not founded in nature. Rousseau voiced egalitarian-feminist opinions in his early essay On Women as well as in his unpublished notes On Education, drafted for Mme Dupin in 1746-1751, but later he embraced the contrary theory that a virtuous republic was unthinkable without the exclusion of women from the public sphere. Toward the end of the century, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, Olympe de Gouges, Marie-Madeleine Jodin, and others formulated a full program for the emancipation of women. Similar programmatic feminist writings were published in most parts of Europe, notably by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel in Prussia, Mary Wollstonecraft in England, and in an anonymous pamphlet in the Dutch Republic, arguing "that women ought to take part in the government of the land." Such bold claims on behalf of women would be inexplicable without the upsurge of Enlightenment feminist thought, of which only a few examples have been adduced above.

DISSEMINATION AND GEOGRAPHY

The new women's history of the past thirty years has unearthed an enormous corpus of previously unknown or forgotten feminist sources. Pending a full quantitative investigation, only tentative conclusions are warranted.

Before 1600, elite women possessing literary and intellectual skills were probably more numerous in Italy than anywhere else. It was also in Italy that women were admitted to several literary academies, and, in a few cases, acquired a university degree. There are also two German examples: Dorothea Erxleben, who became Germany's first woman medical doctor in 1754, and Dorothea Schlözer, who was the first woman to receive a Ph.D. from a German university (Göttingen), in 1787. Renaissance feminism was vigorous in Italy, the German Empire, and France, probably less so in England and the Dutch Republic.

In the course of the seventeenth century, French feminism became the strongest in Europe, exercising a notable European influence, as French supplanted Latin as the main language of international elite sociability. From the late seventeenth century, a steady stream of feminist publications began to come from British presses. In the eighteenth century, feminist arguments were found all over Europe. This is now fairly well documented for France, England, Spain, Italy, the Dutch Republic, and the German lands, and there are examples from Denmark, Sweden, and other nations. One gets the impression that Enlightenment feminism was strongest in France and Britain, but this picture may well be corrected by future research.

The development of feminism over time is not easy to ascertain. To picture it as a linear "rise" would be to simplify a story that is probably better captured by the metaphor of waves and backlashes. The main watershed in the history of early modern feminism is the transition from the Renaissance *querelle* to the Enlightenment, but even here caution is required, for many Renaissance themes lived on within eighteenth-century feminism. This is especially true of the "feminine virtues," which were in various ways combined with egalitarian, rationalistic arguments.

It remains true, however, that the linkages between feminism and Cartesianism, as well as the frequent use by feminists of the environmentalist social psychology of Poulain, Locke, and others, gave Enlightenment feminism a "philosophical" tone that had been less conspicuous in the literary genre of the *querelle*. Theological themes were gradually marginalized, while the new "science of man" acquired a greater importance, both for feminists and for their opponents. Finally, the acceptance of the female author, albeit with ups and downs, seems to be a European phenomenon from the early eighteenth century onwards.

At the present time it is not possible to determine whether the quantity of feminist publishing increased over the long run. In the French case there is a distinct peak in the 1630–1680 period, and perhaps another one in the early eighteenth century, but after that the picture is less clear. From the late seventeenth century, the periodical press

played an increasingly important role, but again, quantitative investigations are not yet available.

QUESTIONS OF MEANING AND INTERPRETATION

Much of early modern feminism follows definite literary conventions. Eulogies of the "beautiful Sex" by male authors frequently give an impression of frivolity and "literary gallantry." Some historians have pictured the Renaissance querelle as a vain literary game instead of a serious argument for equality and dignity. While it cannot be doubted that some texts lend themselves to such a reading, it is seldom the whole story. The literary games people play tell us what is on their minds. The pro- and anti-woman literature of the querelle bespeaks a deep-seated ambivalence and anxiety about the place of women in society. In the most literal sense it shows that the subjection of women was not "unquestioned." Moreover, many feminist tracts, especially those written by women, are suffused with sincere indignation and despair about women's oppression.

Finally, different feminisms and "feminist moments" should be interpreted in the context of struggles over particular practices, such as literary authorship and taste, elite sociability, female networks, university politics, forms of religious worship, marriage laws and customs, and social and political issues. Many feminist utterances that seem outlandish at first sight only disclose their real meaning and significance when read in their specific context.

The feminism of the early Enlightenment (1650–1700) partook of the philosophical turn of that age. It demonstrated that the status of women is liable to be questioned in a period of transition when the entire intellectual and cultural landscape is shifting. A similar dynamic was visible in the late eighteenth century when feminism developed in tandem with the democratic revolutions.

Seen over the long run of European history, the writings of the early modern feminists present us with a consistent sequence of rejoinders to the mainstream apologies for male supremacy, a countercanon that originated somehere in the Late Middle Ages and has continued ever since. It represents a major feature of European history that has no parallel in the other great civilizations of the world.

See also Cartesianism; Cornaro Piscopia, Elena Lucrezia; Enlightenment; Gender; Marguerite de Navarre; Salons; Sexual Difference, Theories of; Women.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akkerman, Tjitske, and Siep Stuurman, eds. Perspectives on Feminist Political Thought in European History: From the Middle Ages to the Present. London and New York, 1998
- Albistur, Maïté, and Daniel Armogathe. Histoire du féminisme français du moyen âge à nos jours. Paris, 1978.
- Bock, Gisela, and Margarete Zimmermann, eds. Die europäische Querelle des Femmes: Geschlechterdebatten seit dem 15. Jahrhundert. Stuttgart and Weimar, 1997.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. Mujeres e illustración: La construcción de la feminidad en la ilustración española. Valencia, 1998.
- Browne, Alice. The Eighteenth Century Feminist Mind. Brighton, U.K., 1987.
- Bruneau, Marie Florine. "Learned and Literary Women in Late Imperial China and Early Modern Europe." *Late Imperial China* 13 (1992): 156–172.
- DeJean, Joan. Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France. New York, 1991.
- Goldsmith, Elizabeth C., and Dena Goodman, eds. *Going Public: Women and Publishing in Early Modern France*. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1995.
- Goodman, Katherine R. Amazons and Apprentices: Women and the German Parnassus in the Early Enlightenment. Rochester, N.Y., and Woodbridge, U.K., 1999.
- Harth, Erica. Cartesian Women: Versions and Subversions of Rational Discourse in the Old Regime. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1992.
- Honegger, Claudia. Die Ordnung der Geschlechter: Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750–1850. Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1991.
- Jordan, Constance. Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1990.
- Labalme, Patricia H., ed. Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past. New York and London, 1980.
- Lougee, Carolyn C. Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France. Princeton, 1976.
- MacLean, Ian. Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature, 1610–1652. Oxford, 1977.
- Odorisio, Ginevra Conti. Donna e Società nel Seicento: Lucrezia Marinella e Arcangela Tarabotti. Rome, 1979.
- Offen, Karen. European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History. Stanford, 2000.
- Perry, Ruth. The Celebrated Mary Astell: An Early English Feminist. Chicago and London, 1986.

- Schiebinger, Londa. The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science. Cambridge, Mass., 1989.
- Smith, Hilda L. Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists. Urbana, Ill., Chicago, and London, 1982.
- Stuurman, Siep. François Poulain de la Barre and the Invention of Modern Equality. Cambridge, Mass., 2003.
- Taylor, Barbara. Mary Wollstonecraft and the Feminist Imagination. Cambridge, U.K., 2003.

SIEP STUURMAN

FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS (François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, 1651–1715), French archbishop, author, and educator. François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon descended from an ancient noble family from the area of Périgord, near Sarlat. He was the second child born from his father's second marriage. He attended university at Cahors and entered seminary in Paris at Saint-Sulpice.

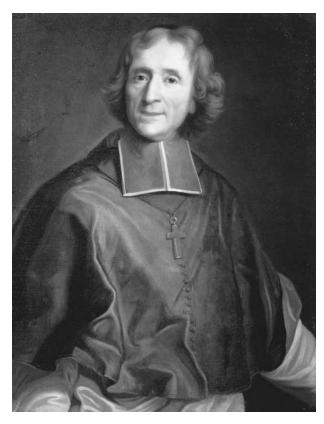
The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685, which required all Protestants in France to convert to Catholicism at the penalty of exile or imprisonment, shaped Fénelon's early clerical career. After his ordination in 1676, his work in educating former Protestants began in 1678 when he became the director of a residential and educational institution for women who had recently converted from Protestantism to Catholicism, the Congregation of New Catholics (Congrégation des Nouvelles Catholiques), a post he retained until 1689. One of his first treatises, Traité de l'éducation des filles (A treatise on the education of women), published in 1687, resulted from this work. In 1686, he was sent to the newly acquired majority Protestant provinces of Aunis and Saintonge to continue his work in converting Protestants there.

In 1688, Fénelon became involved in a controversial movement called Quietism, a mystical religious group that promoted a passive approach to prayer life and spirituality. His connection with it began when he met Madame Jeanne Guyon, the French noblewoman who was its primary advocate. He embraced her teachings and began corresponding regularly with her. Although Mme Guyon believed her methods to be fully within orthodox Catholicism, her beliefs and practices came under

scrutiny by the Catholic Church in France in 1694 when several French bishops met to review her writings and ideas to determine their orthodoxy. In a meeting at Issy, the bishops condemned her teachings, and she was imprisoned in Vincennes in 1695 as a result of the proceedings.

In 1689 Fénelon's work in education continued when he was named the tutor for King Louis XIV's grandson, the duke of Burgundy. As a result of his role as primary educator of the young prince, Fénelon wrote several didactic works including *Fables* (Fables) and *Les dialogues des morts* (Dialogs of the dead) around 1690. In 1693 Fénelon became a member of the Académie Française and with the support of the king in 1695, he became the archbishop of Cambrai, a diocese in northeast France. The prominent French theologian and bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet consecrated him.

Controversy and disgrace marred the final decades of Fénelon's life. His affiliation with Mme Guyon and Quietism led to a long and very public quarrel with Bossuet that began in 1697. Following the Quietism controversy, Bossuet wrote a treatise indirectly denouncing Mme Guyon's teachings ("Instructions on prayer") and sent his draft of the work to Fénelon for critique. While Fénelon accepted the bishops' decision in Issy regarding Mme Guyon's teachings, he continued to adhere to some ideas connected to the movement, including the concept of "pure love." After viewing Bossuet's work, Fénelon rushed to publication his own work, Explication des maximes des saints sur la view intérieure (Explication of the maxims of the saints on the interior life), which countered Bossuet's ideas, supported religious mysticism, and championed the idea of "pure love." The dispute over these theological issues quickly escalated to a very public and vicious dispute with Fénelon and Bossuet attacking each other's positions in flurried succession of treatises. In an effort to defend himself, Fénelon appealed to Pope Innocent XII, who agreed in 1697 to review his Maxims of the Saints to judge whether the ideas contained in it were as dangerous to the faith as Bossuet had charged. After a lengthy review process, in March 1699 the pope condemned the majority of the propositions in Fénelon's work in a carefully drafted statement that censured his teachings without branding him a heretic. The dispute resulted in Fénelon's removal from



François Fénelon. Portrait by Joseph Vivien. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

his position as preceptor in 1699 and his exile from Paris and the court to Cambrai, where he remained for the rest of his life.

The publication of Fénelon's most famous work, Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse (The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses), also damaged his reputation and standing at court. A fantastic adventure story of Telemachus's search for his father, the book was published in 1699 without Fénelon's approval. Its popularity was fueled by the idea that the book was a thinly veiled exposé and satire of Louis XIV's court, although Fénelon maintained it was merely a vehicle for his political ideas. As a result of its publication, the king barred Fénelon from all contact with the duke of Burgundy, but this ban was relaxed in later years, allowing Fénelon periodic visits with his former pupil.

During his last years at Cambrai, Fénelon continued to write, publishing treatises condemning Jansenism such as "Pastoral Instruction in the Form of Dialog on the System of Jansenius," published in

1714. He died 7 January 1715 at his home in Cambrai.

See also Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Jansenism; Louis XIV (France); Quietism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Barnard, H. C., ed. Fénelon on Education. A Translation of the 'Traité de l'Education des Filles' and Other Documents Illustrating Fénelon's Educational Theories. Cambridge, U.K., 1966.

Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *The Adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses*. Translated by Tobias Smollett. Introduction and notes by Leslie A. Chilton. Text edited by O. M. Brack, Jr. Athens, Ga., 1997. Translation of *Les aventures de Télémaque fils d'Ulysse*.

Secondary Sources

Chérel, Albert. Fénelon au XVIIIe Siècle en France (1715–1820) Son prestige, son influence. Paris, 1917. Reprint Geneva, 1970.

La Bedoyere, Michael de. *The Archbishop and the Lady: The Story of Fénelon and Madame Guyon*. London and New York, 1956.

Davis, James Herbert, Jr. Fénelon. Boston, 1979.

SARA E. CHAPMAN

FERDINAND I (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1503–1564), king of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia, 1526; king of the Romans 1531; Holy Roman emperor, 1558. The young Archduke Ferdinand was born on 10 March 1503 in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, and grew up under the supervision of his grandfather, King Ferdinand of Aragón and Castile. After the accession of his older brother Charles to the thrones of these Iberian kingdoms and election as Holy Roman emperor in 1519, Ferdinand was awarded the Habsburg Dynasty's holdings in central Europe via family treaties of 1521–1522.

The situation of these holdings when Ferdinand arrived in the early 1520s was challenging. The locals who had developed a historical relationship with the Habsburgs of earlier generations were now challenged to accept a Spanish-speaking ruler with more ties to his grandfather Ferdinand's Iberia than to his grandfather Maximilian's Austria. The spread and popularity of various Lutheran and Anabaptist

ideas among the hereditary lands' population further complicated matters for the young ruler.

Ferdinand was also confronted with the Ottoman Dynasty's claims and influences in the neighboring kingdom of Hungary. Hungary had become a prize target of the neighboring ruling families' influence, and Ferdinand was able to stake out some claim to the Hungarian crown of St. Stephen because of negotiations with his wife's family, the Jagiellonians (the rulers of Poland-Lithuania, Bohemia, and Hungary), which had resulted in 1515 in a complicated set of marriage alliances. As a partial result of these negotiations, Archduke Ferdinand married Anne of Jagiełłon in the Austrian city of Linz in 1521.

Eager to build up his power and prestige, Archduke Ferdinand contributed substantially to the imperial campaigns in Italy against the French under King Francis I in 1525. His troops outnumbered those of his brother Charles V and played a major role in the imperial victory at Pavia that year. Charles recognized his younger brother's aid and importance by delegating increased authority to him in the empire, authority that would become publicly confirmed in 1531 with Ferdinand's election as king of the Romans (the title usually granted to the designated successor as emperor).

In 1526, Ferdinand's brother-in-law, the Bohemian and Hungarian King Louis II Jagiełłon, was killed on the battlefield at Mohács leading an army against the Ottomans. This led to the regency of Louis's widow (and Archduke Ferdinand's sister), Archduchess Mary, followed by the election of Ferdinand as king of Bohemia and then king of Hungary later the same year. (The last title was in dispute for much of the early sixteenth century.) Ferdinand was the last Hungarian ruler to be crowned at the medieval coronation and burial site of Székesfehérvár.

As king of the Romans, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and hereditary ruler of the various Habsburg dynastic lands of central Europe, Ferdinand was a substantial political power in early Reformation Europe. He is also credited with reorganizing the Habsburgs' administration of these territories along Burgundian lines and introducing elements of Italianate culture into the Austrian lands and Bohemia. The Belvedere summer palace

in Prague, for example, is usually considered an expression of architectural styles and forms taken from sunnier Italian (and perhaps Spanish?) climes.

Handicapped by the ever-present threat of the Ottomans to the east as well as the disputes over the crown of St. Stephen in Hungary, Ferdinand was in a difficult position vis-à-vis the Lutheran princes in the empire from whom he wished (and needed) financial support. An Ottoman army unsuccessfully besieged the city of Vienna in 1529, and Ottoman cavalry forays into Habsburg territories continued into the early 1530s. Ultimately, Ferdinand rather unwillingly played a key role in negotiating the famous Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which substantially established the legal framework of (Christian) religious cooperation in the Holy Roman Empire for the next sixty years.

When Ferdinand's brother Charles began laying down his imperial and other ruling responsibilities in the 1550s, Ferdinand was willing and able to pick many of them up, defending his and his sons' claims against those of his nephew, the future King Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598), and taking over the empire as Ferdinand I in 1558. The House of Austria was now split between an Iberian and a central European branch. This oft-overestimated division would continue until the early eighteenth century. As emperor, Ferdinand participated (via representatives) in the frenzied final stages of the important Council of Trent, which ended in December 1563.

During his lifetime, Ferdinand engineered the election of his eldest son Maximilian to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, as well as his election as king of the Romans and heir to the imperial title. Ferdinand followed the example of his grandfather Emperor Maximilian I and not that of his brother Emperor Charles V in forgoing papal coronation, ruling instead as elected emperor. This precedent was followed by all his successors to the imperial title until the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Austria; Bohemia; Habsburg Dynasty; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Jagiellon Dynasty; Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Bauer, Wilhelm, et al., eds. *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, vols. 11, 30–31, 58. Vienna, 1912–2000. Covers years 1514–1534.

Secondary Sources

Bucholtz, Franz Bernhard von. Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten. 9 vols. Graz, 1968–1971. Reprint of 1831–1838 edition.

Fichtner, Paula Sutter. Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation. Boulder, Colo., 1982.

Ranke, Leopold von. Ferdinand I and Maximilian II of Austria: An Essay on the Political and Religious State of Germany Immediately after the Reformation. Translated by Lady Duff Gordon. New York, 1975. Reprint of 1856 edition.

Joseph F. Patrouch

FERDINAND II (HOLY ROMAN

EMPIRE) (1578–1637; Holy Roman Emperor 1619-1637; king of Bohemia 1617-1619 and 1620–1627; king of Hungary 1618–1625). Ferdinand was born in Graz to the Habsburg archduke Charles of Inner Austria (and was thus the grandson of Emperor Ferdinand I) and the Wittelsbach duchess Maria of Bavaria. More than any other individual, Ferdinand merits being called the founder of the Habsburg Monarchy in central Europe, and he, along with his cousin, Duke and then Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573–1651), stands out as the leading prince of the Counter-Reformation in Germany. Ferdinand grew up in a strongly Catholic household under the watchful eye of his devout mother, and in 1590, shortly before the death of his father, he journeyed to Ingolstadt in Bavaria to study with the Jesuits at the university at which for a time Maximilian was a fellow student. Back in Graz in early 1595, Ferdinand was formally recognized as ruler of Inner Austria by the estates in late 1596, after reaching his majority. In the spring of 1598 he undertook an Italian journey that included a visit with Pope Clement VIII, then in Ferrara, and a stay with the Jesuits in Rome. Both his marriages, to Maria Anna of Bavaria from 1600 to 1616 and to Eleanor of Gonzaga from 1622 to 1637, turned out happily. Ferdinand was deeply religious, affable personally, and a conscientious and hardworking ruler who found his relaxation chiefly in the hunt and in music, which he supported lavishly and with rich results. He sought to combine reason of state with the advancement of religion. Shortly after assuming power in Graz, he embarked on a rigorous, often harsh reformation of religion in Inner Austria that brought thousands back from Protestantism to the Catholic faith and at the same time strengthened Ferdinand politically in his contest with the Estates. From early on in his rule, Ferdinand felt called to restore Catholicism in his lands, a mission encouraged by the Jesuits and confirmed in Ferdinand's mind by the success of his efforts in Inner Austria against formidable odds and the advice of many councillors.

Ferdinand emerged as the natural Habsburg candidate to succeed the childless Emperor Matthias, and in 1619 he was elected Holy Roman Emperor, a year after the Bohemian rebellion sparked the Thirty Years' War. Ferdinand's testament of 1621 indicated his realization that if he was to triumph over his confessional adversaries in the empire and hold the line against the Turks to the east, he would need to create tighter unity among his many territories. He succeeded in establishing his inheritance as a single entity that included Upper and Lower Austria as well as Inner Austria, the lands of the Bohemian crown, and a portion of Hungary. After the dust cleared following the Bohemian rebellion, Ferdinand gradually established a relatively mild absolutism in his territories, with the exception of Hungary, and he generally succeeded in winning over the support of the aristocracy represented in the various estates. He also initiated further Counter-Reformation measures in the Austrian territories and Bohemian lands that would in the long run lead to their recatholicization. Thus he sustained and strengthened what R. J. W. Evans has called the three pillars of the Habsburg Monarchy: the dynasty, the aristocracy, and the church.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand was drawn increasingly into the conflict in Germany. His forces, combined with those of Maximilian's Catholic League, controlled much of north and central Germany by late 1627, where his advance seems to have been dictated by a desire to foster the interests of Catholicism rather than to set up a form of absolutism in the empire, as some have contended. Supported by the Catholic electors and urged on by his Jesuit

confessor, William Lamormaini, Ferdinand issued in 1629 the fateful Edict of Restitution, which reclaimed for the Catholics all the church lands that, they asserted, had been seized illegally by the Protestants since the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555. This extreme measure alienated Protestant states hitherto loyal to the emperor, especially Saxony and Brandenburg, and helped provoke the successful invasion of the Swedish king, Gustavus II Adolphus, whose victory at Breitenfeld near Leipzig in 1631 reversed the whole course of the war. Ferdinand withdrew from his militant program in the empire with the Peace of Prague of 1635, in which he backtracked on the edict and so won back to his side Saxony and other Protestant states. At the electoral convention of Regensburg in 1636, he secured the election of his son, Ferdinand III, as king of the Romans, which prepared the way for his succession as Holy Roman emperor. Ferdinand II died in Vienna on 15 February 1637 after returning from Regensburg.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Austria; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Habsburg Territories; Holy Roman Empire; Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Reformation, Catholic; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bireley, Robert. "Ferdinand II: Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy." In Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Edited by R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas. New York, 1991.

. Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S.J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1981.

Evans, R. J. W. The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: An Interpretation. Oxford and New York, 1979. A classic account.

Saunders, Steven. Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1615–1637). Oxford and New York, 1995. Valuable for the general culture of the court as well as for music.

ROBERT BIRELEY

FERDINAND III (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1608–1657; ruled 1637–1657),

king of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman emperor. The son of Ferdinand II and Maria Anna of Bavaria (1574-1616), daughter of Duke William V of Bavaria, Ferdinand III was probably the leastknown emperor of the modern period. He was born on 13 July 1608 in Graz, when his father, who was to be elected emperor in 1619, was still only head of a cadet branch of the Habsburgs. Already during the lifetime of his father, Ferdinand III was elected king of Hungary in 1625 and crowned king of Bohemia in 1627. However, in 1630, during a critical juncture of the Thirty Years' War, Ferdinand II failed to ensure his son's election as his successor in the empire, and he succeeded in doing so only on 22 December 1636, a few weeks before his own death.

Imperial policy during the Thirty Years' War oscillated between a Spanish orientation that was primarily anti-French and a Bavarian orientation that was primarily anti-Protestant. Ferdinand's marriage to Maria Anna (1606-1646), daughter of Philip III of Spain, in 1631 followed a period when the Austrian and Spanish political paths had threatened to diverge after the inconclusive end of the War of the Mantuan Succession (1627-1631). At home, Ferdinand was driven into opposition against General Albrecht von Wallenstein, and his court chamberlain, Count Maximilian Trauttmansdorff, counted as one of the movers who helped ensure Wallenstein's dismissal and assassination in February 1634. Finally taking command of the imperial army, with Count Matthias Gallas as his most trusted lieutenant, Ferdinand was joined by a Spanish army from Italy and won the victory of Nördlingen on 6 September 1634, which demolished the Swedish position in Germany (and was celebrated in several of Peter Paul Rubens's paintings). Ferdinand went on to command the imperial army for the first two years of the war against France, after 1635. His return to Vienna after his father's death on 15 February 1637 coincided with the virtual end of joint Austrian-Spanish Habsburg efforts against the Bourbons, as he was forced to devote most of his resources to the renewed incursions of the Swedish army. He himself was almost taken prisoner in the winter of 1641, when the Swedish general Johan Banér raided Regensburg, where Ferdinand was attending the imperial diet.

Banér was only stopped at the last moment by the ice breaking up on the Danube.

Ferdinand III is often credited with hastening the end of the war. That judgment is ironic because he was consistently determined to fight the war to a successful conclusion; though undoubtedly pious, he represented a more businesslike approach than his father. He was adamant in not allowing concessions to Protestants in the hereditary Habsburg lands, where heresy was regarded as the midwife of rebellion. In Hungary, however, where Protestants could rely on Transylvanian support, Ferdinand was grudgingly forced to return a number of churches to them at the peace of Linz in 1647. On the other hand, he was quite willing to adopt the late Wallenstein's policies and work with the Protestant princes of Germany. But his allies among the German electors were one by one forced to withdraw into neutrality when the disorganized imperial army failed to defend them from the Swedes. Meanwhile, his cousin and brother-in-law Maximilian of Bavaria wished for an understanding with France and a break with the Spanish alliance. Ferdinand thus fought a losing battle to keep the family compact alive. After the disastrous campaigns of 1644/1645, with the Transylvanians joining the Swedes and their armies at the gates of Vienna, he was reduced to entering peace negotiations on his enemies' terms and finally had to abjure further support of Spain at the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in October 1648.

That peace settlement was less damaging in its consequences for imperial power than has long been believed. The defeat was measured in opportunity costs rather than actual lost territories. Ferdinand's room for maneuver was even widened by the increasing irrelevance of the denominational divide, and he continued to exercise his influence among the estates of the empire, while France was prevented from fully exploiting her position by the civil wars of the Fronde. Separation from Spain, though, also meant that Ferdinand was unable to gain a lock on the Spanish inheritance by marrying his eldest son, Ferdinand IV, to the Spanish heiress Maria Theresa. Ferdinand IV, moreover, died on 9 July 1654, soon after being elected king of the Romans (the title of the designated successor to the emperor).

Ferdinand III himself remarried twice, with both alliances designed to strengthen family ties. His second wife Mary Leopoldina (1632–1649), a first cousin from the Tyrolean branch of the Habsburgs, died after only a few months of marriage. His third wife, Eleanor of Gonzaga (1630–1686), whom he married on 30 April 1651, was a relation of his stepmother and proved to be a dazzling consort at the Diet of Regensburg, where the imperial couple held court from December 1652 to May 1654. Ferdinand has been described as a melancholy character who often felt compelled to stand on his dignity. He did, however, intensify a family tradition of interest in music by dabbling as a composer himself, and he exhibited some knowledge of the natural sciences. Because of both family and military influences, his reign probably saw the peak of Italian influences at the court of Vienna. Ferdinand was again starting to engage in a proxy war with Sweden when he died on 2 April 1657 and was succeeded by his second son, Leopold I.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asch, Ronald G. The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618–1648. Houndmills, U.K., 1997.

Koch, Matthias. Geschichte des Deutschen Reiches unter der Regierung Ferdinands III. 2 vols. Vienna, 1865–1866. An archive-based but unfootnoted survey up to 1648.

Parker, Geoffrey. *The Thirty Years War*. 2nd ed. London and New York, 1997. This and Asch's work are the two best English-language introductions to the period.

Ruppert, Karsten. Die kaiserliche Politik auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongreß (1643-1648). Münster, 1979.

Lothar Höbelt

FERDINAND VI (SPAIN) (1713–1759; ruled 1746–1759), king of Spain. Ferdinand VI, born in Madrid in 1713, continued the reformist policies of his predecessor. The son of Philip V (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746) and his first wife María Luisa of Savoy, Ferdinand married the Portuguese princess María Bárbara de Bragança in 1729

and remained devoted to her throughout their married life. Peace-loving and pious, he was fond of music, maintaining in his service the composer Domenico Scarlatti and the famous castrato singer Carlo Broschi, known as Farinelli. The latter organized the brilliant festivals and boating excursions on the Tagus River that were typical of courtly life during Ferdinand's reign, often in conjunction with the court's seasonal movements from palace to palace.

Heir to the political aims of his father and his stepmother, Isabel Farnese (1692–1766), Ferdinand continued to participate in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). The peace treaty in 1748 granted the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to his half-brother Philip, putting an end to thirty years of Spanish intervention in Italy. Those grants were ratified by the Treaty of Aranjuez (1752), which guaranteed the neutrality of the Italian Bourbons. Ferdinand retained his father's chief domestic secretary, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la Ensenada, as the head of several government departments, although he named José de Carvajal as his own chief foreign secretary to temper Ensenada's power.

Ferdinand's domestic policies continued those of his father as much in cultural affairs (foundation of the Royal College of Surgeons in Cádiz; the definitive creation of the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando) as in the economy (support for the royal tobacco factory in Seville and the royal textile factory in Brihuega; support for exclusive trading privileges with America for the Barcelona Company and others; Carvajal's initiative to found companies devoted to commerce and manufacture, such as the Extremadura Company in Zarza la Mayor and the San Fernando Company in Seville). In matters of finance, a series of beneficial measures were adopted during his reign (direct administration of provincial taxes and the 1749 creation of the Royal Currency Exchange to limit dependence on foreign bankers). But the most important project in his reign—the establishment of a single tax (unica contribución) along Aragonese lines—was a complete failure. Nonetheless the cadastral survey known as the Catastro de la Ensenada, ordered in preparation for the tax, remains a valuable portrait of the demographic and material reality of Castile. In religious matters, the regalian tendency of the Concordat of 1737 was



Ferdinand VI. Portrait depicting Ferdinand as "Protector of Arts and Learning," by Antonio Gonzalez Ruiz. The Art Archive/ Academia BB AA S Fernando Madrid/Album/Joseph Martin

EUROPE 1450 TO 1789

reinforced with the signing of the Concordat of 1753. Although it did not extend the power the crown exercised over the church in Granada and the American empire to the rest of the realm, the concordat governed relations between the monarchy and the church for the rest of the century.

In foreign policy, several contentious matters were resolved. In 1750 Madrid bought back the concessions granted by the Peace of Utrecht (1713) for England to supply slaves (the asiento) and send a limited amount of trade goods (the navío de permiso) to Spanish America. That same year the Treaty of Limits settled most of the boundary disputes between Spain and Portugal in South America. The death of Carvajal in 1754 impelled the king to appoint as his first secretary Ricardo Wall, an Anglophile who worked with the English ambassador Benjamin Keene to bring about the fall of Ensenada. As a result, Ensenada's ambitious plans to strengthen the Spanish navy against England, embodied in ordinances related to timber supplies (Ordenanza de Montes; 1748), naval construction, and the mandatory registration of mariners (Matrícula de Mar; 1751), were paralyzed. Spain shifted to a foreign policy of pacifism and neutrality, even after the eruption of the Seven Years' War in 1756. In this context conflicts affecting Spain's delicate power relations with North African states were influenced by commercial pressures, as in the case of Spanish responses to alliances formed with Algeria by the Hanseatic city of Hamburg and later by Denmark.

The death of the queen (1758) plunged the king into a deep depression, which degenerated into madness until his death in Villaviciosa de Odón in 1759. His remains rest, with those of his wife, in the Convent of the Royal Salesians in Madrid.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Ensenada, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la; Farnese, Isabel (Queen of Spain); Philip V (Spain); Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Spain; Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Morales Borrero, Consolación. Fiestas reales en el reinado de Fernando VI. Madrid, 1972.

Pieper, Renate. La real hacienda bajo Fernando VI y Carlos III (1753–1788): Repercusiones economicas y sociales. Madrid, 1992.

Voltes Bou, Pedro. La vida y la época de Fernando VI. Barcelona, 1998.

CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW
(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

FERDINAND OF ARAGÓN (1452–1516), king of Aragón (as Ferdinand II, ruled 1479–1516), Castile and Léon (as Ferdinand V, ruled 1474–1504), Sicily (as Ferdinand II, ruled 1468–1516), and Naples (as Ferdinand III, ruled 1504–1516), king of Castile and Aragón.

The son of Juan II of Aragón and his second wife, Juana Enríquez, Ferdinand was educated in a court culture that spanned the western Mediterranean and endowed him with a broad international outlook. With his wife, Isabella of Castile (1451–1504), Ferdinand governed the united and powerful kingdom of Castile and Aragón. A shrewd diplomat and military leader, he took advantage of spectacular strokes of good fortune and strategic marital alliances to lay the foundations of the vast Habsburg empire in Europe and the Americas that dominated the early modern era.

While a young prince, Ferdinand served as lieutenant in the crown of Aragón (1465–1468; a group of associated political regions governed separately by the same ruler), gaining experience in governance during the Catalonian civil war (1462–1472). In 1468, Juan II negotiated Ferdinand's marriage to Isabella, heiress in her own right to the crown of Castile, intending to use the alliance as a way to broker peace at home. The marriage treaty stipulated an unprecedented form of corulership in which both partners retained considerable autonomy in their respective realms while each respecting the customs and laws of the other.

To the surprise of many, the marriage became a personal and political success, but it initially faced serious opposition. In Castile, the barons feared the formidable royal power that would result from the marriage. Both Louis XI of France (ruled 1461–1483) and Afonso V of Portugal (ruled 1438–1481), who had hoped for a marriage alliance with Castile, also opposed the marriage. Isabella's brother, Enrique IV, disowned her in favor of his daughter Juana, whose paternity many disputed. In 1474, however, Enrique died and a war of succes-

sion ensued. But by 1479, when Ferdinand became king of Aragón in his own right upon his father's death, the opposition was quelled and the union of the two realms was complete.

Five surviving children (Isabel, 1470–1498; Juan, 1478–1497; Joanna, 1479–1555; María, 1482–1517; and Catherine, 1485–1536) solidified the union, and Ferdinand's adroit handling of their marriages spread Castilian influence across Europe. Catherine married Arthur, Prince of Wales, and then his brother, Henry VIII of England; first María and then, after her death, Isabel, married Manuel I of Portugal. In a double marriage in 1496 that established the foundations of Spanish Habsburg power, Joanna wed Philip of Burgundy, archduke of Austria, and Juan married Philip's sister, Margaret.

In Castile, Ferdinand and Isabella pursued the conquest of Granada and funded the voyages of Columbus, both in 1492. They promoted a militant Christianity—they expelled both Jews and Muslims and established the Spanish Inquisition (1478)—that had the added benefit of enriching the royal treasury. Their actions earned them the title the Catholic Sovereigns (*Reyes Católicos*), and created an effective impediment to later Protestant reformers. Ferdinand was often absent from his Aragonese realms (Aragón, Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands), which he governed through lieutenants, but he carefully upheld traditional legal and constitutional institutions and kept Aragón strictly separate from Castilian government.

Ferdinand's accomplished diplomacy and skillful military campaigns propelled Spain to the forefront of European politics. He annexed Naples (1504), which remained under Spanish control for over two centuries, added Navarre (1515), and waged war in Africa (1509-1511). An important figure in the Renaissance, Ferdinand typified Machiavelli's sly fox, a master of political manipulation, more shrewd than pious. Through the Holy League, he contained French aggression in Italy and persuaded the papacy to divide the territories in the Americas between Portugal and Castile along a line of demarcation (ratified by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494). He ushered in modern diplomacy by establishing permanent embassies in Rome, Venice, London, Brussels, and Vienna, staffed with professionally trained officials with Latin as their common language. Ferdinand promoted Renaissance culture through his patronage of humanists Lucius Ma-



Ferdinand of Aragón. Undated portrait engraving. ©CORBIS

rineus Siculus and Antonio Geraldi. Under his aegis, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek were taught at the University of Alcalá; Antonio de Nebrija compiled the first Castilian grammar handbook (1492); and the Polyglot Bible was completed (1517).

Isabella's death in 1504 left Ferdinand king only in Aragón, while his daughter Joanna and her husband, Philip of Burgundy, inherited Castile. Hoping to garner support from Castilian nobles, he married Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII of France, in 1506, raising the possibility that Aragón and Castile might separate once again, but Joanna's mental instability and Philip's early death (1506) reinstated Ferdinand as effective ruler of Castile with Joanna as titular queen. He supervised the education of his grandson, Ferdinand (later Emperor Ferdinand I), until his death in 1516.

See also Charles II (Spain); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty: Spain; Inquisition, Spanish; Isabella of Castile; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain); Joanna I, "the Mad" (Spain).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hillgarth, J. N. The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516, Vol. 2, 1410–1516: Castilian Hegemony. Oxford, 1976–1978.

Sarasa, Esteban, ed. Fernando II de Aragón, el Rey Católico. Zaragoza, Spain, 1996. Vicens Vives, Jaime. Historia crítica de la vida y reinado de Fernando II de Aragón. Zaragoza, Spain, 1962.

THERESA EARENFIGHT

FESTIVALS. Early modern festivals and celebrations may be classified in several different ways: as religious, civic, or courtly; as annual or in honor of unique occasions; as popular and folkloric or as elite and learned; and finally, according to whether they constituted celebrations of the religious and social order or were subversive of it. None of these categories is entirely discrete, for there is considerable overlapping of tone and circumstance. The final distinction, that between "establishment" feasts and subversive ones, is the one most fundamental for contemporary scholarship and provides the most useful basis for a general discussion.

CELEBRATION OF THE EXISTING ORDER

Both civic and religious pageantry aimed at portraying the established order in a favorable light and at fostering an impression of harmony and security. The distinction between the two was not always clear.

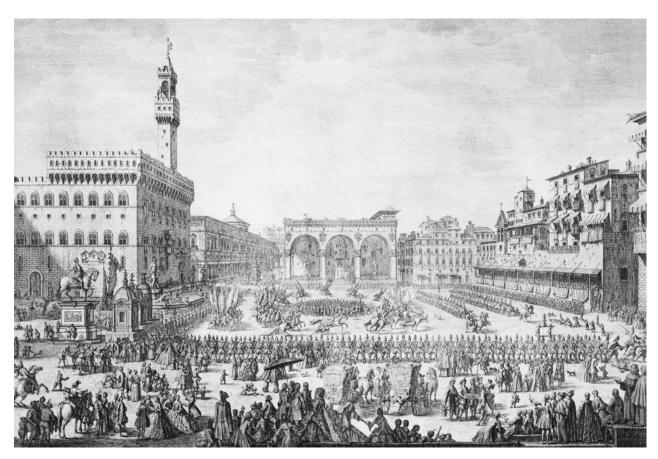
Religious feasts and processions. With its recurring commemorations of moments in the drama of the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Redemption, the Christian calendar evoked a coherent and reassuring view of human history, whatever unjust or chaotic conditions might prevail in the contemporary political and social worlds. Special church services and processions through the streets brought all classes together in recollection of events recounted either in the Gospels or in the lives of saints. When government officials took part in such religious processions, for example in that for Palm Sunday in Venice, the arrangement provided a still more encompassing picture of harmony, with the integration of the civic and spiritual realms of life. Moreover, because many cities had particular saints as patrons, the celebration of their feast days, such as St. John's Day (24 June) in Florence or the day of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) in Siena, was a frankly civic affair.

While most religious celebrations were engraved, so to speak, on the calendar, there were others devoted to unique ecclesiastical occasions,

such as the canonization of new saints and the investiture of new bishops. The Roman Holy Years, coming every quarter century, entailed very elaborate public observances. In the Iberian Peninsula, during the Counter-Reformation and into the Enlightenment, there were occasional celebrations of autos-da-fé (literally 'acts of faith'), with the public trials of heretics followed by "reconciliations" or executions. These manifestations, chilling to our late modern sensibility, were watched by great numbers of people in a festive mood. Whatever the actual effect, the intent of the organizers was undoubtedly to strengthen religious faith and ecclesiastical institutions.

State occasions. The basic aim of purely civic pageantry was to present a majestic and harmonious view of the state and to cultivate a pride of citizenship in both participants and spectators. For the state as for the church, processions were probably the most effective form of festive manifestation. When a monarch or ruling prince or the ruling council of a republic rode at the center of a colorful parade that included local guilds and confraternities, and perhaps also foreign ambassadors or, as in trading cities like Lyon and Antwerp, the representatives of foreign merchant colonies, all dressed in costumes of office or in collective "livery," one could infer a just equilibrium not only between church and state, or among social classes, but also among the nations of Christendom. Sometimes, as when new popes paused in their inaugural procession to St. John Lateran to accept the friendly greetings of Rome's Jewish colony, even non-Christians were integrated into a harmonious view of the world.

In the late Middle Ages it became customary for new monarchs to make grand, ceremonial entries into their capital cities. In the streets they might find decorative structures built by the city fathers or by organized social groups such as guilds. Such structures often bore inscriptions, and sometimes there were also stationary scenes called *tableaux vivants* ('living pictures') in which immobile human actors represented biblical, mythological, historical, or allegorical scenes. More rarely, actors recited verses to the monarch, who paused to listen. These manifestations were intended not just to assure rulers of the populace's loyalty but also to remind them of their own obligations toward the city. At one point in her



Festivals. A 1757 engraving by Guiseppe Zocchi depicts a festival in the Piazza della Signoria, Florence. ©HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

1559 progress through London, Queen Elizabeth I is said to have stated in answer to a display, "I have taken notice of your good meaning toward mee, and will endeavor to Answere your severall expectations." Thus entries and other civic processions tended to confirm the intangible political contracts underlying early modern societies. There is no doubt that they were often a significant force for social peace.

The style of entry decorations changed with the progress of classical revival in the Renaissance. Vernacular inscriptions gave way to Latin ones, and the principal street decorations became triumphal arches and other temporary structures imitated from the buildings of ancient Rome, or from architectural treatises. Allegory fell into relative disfavor. The Latin inscriptions and temporary paintings on entry arches alluded most often to history, above all to the history of classical Rome, either republican or imperial. These changes reflect a general shift in

taste but are also instrumental in that shift. Artists and literary figures who planned the architecture and iconography of structures erected for entries belonged quite often to the avant-garde, and their work was influential in various realms. This was true not only during the initial phase of classical revival in the Renaissance but also during the subsequent development of the baroque style and sensibility in the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Thus the planner for decorations of the 1635 entry into Antwerp of Cardinal Ferdinand of Austria was the celebrated painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), who also did the engravings for the published account.

In addition to inaugural entries into their capital cities, some rulers were honored with triumphal processions in other towns of their own dominions or those of friendly foreign princes. The undisputed champion triumphator during the Renaissance was the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–

1556), who periodically traveled in state through his possessions and vassal states in Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, and the Low Countries. Popes also occasionally made ceremonial journeys entailing grand urban entries, as when Pope Clement VIII traveled north from Rome in 1598 to take possession of the duchy of Ferrara. Queen Elizabeth I of England, during her long reign (1558–1603) staged a number of "progresses" through her kingdom. French kings as well, for example Charles IX in 1564–1566, sometimes made state tours of their provinces. Noble brides traveled in triumphal processions from their homes to those of their husbands, as, for example, when Marie de Médicis proceeded from Florence to the French court in 1600.

During the Renaissance, several particularly poignant occasions for pageantry and popular festivity were furnished by what we might now call "summit meetings," that is, conferences between rival sovereigns, or between sovereigns and popes. Of these the two best remembered are the meeting between the young kings Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold near Calais in 1520, and the prolonged consultations of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII at Bologna in 1529-1530. The first meeting, which antedated the main thrust of the classical revival, was marked by chivalric ceremonies and entertainments. At Bologna, there were triumphal entries and then, months later, a papal coronation of the emperor, the last such ever to take place. After the crowning, pope and emperor rode together through the streets of Bologna under a single canopy. This striking image, which seemed to herald an era of peace, soon became known all over Europe through a series of engravings.

The great political upheavals in western Europe during the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth centuries—religious wars in France and the Low Countries, the troubles of the Fronde in France, the Civil War in England, the Thirty Years' War in Germany—were not favorable for great displays of pageantry. In 1660, however, the young Louis XIV made a grand entry into Paris with his new queen, Marie-Thérèse of Spain, and the next year the recently restored Charles II of England traversed London from the Tower to Whitehall on his way to be crowned. These two

major events were recorded in elaborately printed "festival books" with much finer engravings than had been found in similar publications of the sixteenth century. Following decades saw the publication of many more such books.

Royal and dynastic weddings. Just as some celebrations partook of both the religious and the civic realms, others had both civic and courtly elements. Thus royal and other dynastic weddings usually involved joyous entries of brides into their husbands' cities. If the marriage sealed a political alliance, as when Duke Cosimo I of Florence married the daughter of the Spanish viceroy of Naples in 1539, or when the future Louis XVI of France married the Austrian Marie-Antoinette, daughter of the Holy Roman emperor, in 1770, decorations for the urban entries of the brides often had political themes. Such weddings were, however, also accompanied by ever more elaborate series of "closed" entertainments whose only evident purpose was the display of magnificenza (wealth and generosity) for the pleasure of elite audiences. That seemingly frivolous purpose was in fact politically important for rulers in increasingly absolutist regimes.

Courtly entertainments. The diversions offered by princes to aristocratic audiences became more varied and more lavish as courts grew larger. It was a very long way from the small ducal court of Urbino immortalized by Baldassare Castiglione in The Book of the Courtier (1528) to the large body of French aristocrats who gravitated around the palace of Versailles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the end of the early modern period, the variety of courtly entertainments had become very large, including tournaments and other forms of chivalric combat (now largely feigned), organized hunts, fireworks, banquets, concerts, ballets, and dramatic performances of many different kinds. Although commercial theater was already becoming important, several major theatrical genres—the neo-classical commedia erudita (learned comedy) of the Italian Renaissance, the Italian opera, the comedia of the Spanish Golden Age, the classical comedies and tragedies of seventeenth-century France-were born or perfected in part at court. Dance genres such as the French ballet de cour and the English masque were virtually confined to courtly circles.

During the Renaissance the occasions for grand entertainments were relatively few, mainly weddings, baptisms of heirs, Christmas, and carnival. Later, at least in large courts, entertainments were commissioned more frequently and might last several days. The French court at Versailles, the largest and most magnificent in Europe from the 1660s to the French Revolution, set the standard in such things. One famous and well documented fête of 1664 may serve as an example. By command of the young Louis XIV, the Plaisirs de l'île enchantée (Pleasures of the bewitched island) were devised by the duke of Saint-Aignan to last three days, 7-9 May. A rather loose unifying theme was taken from the sixth, seventh, and eighth cantos of Ludovico Ariosto's immensely popular chivalric epic Orlando furioso (1516-1532; Madness of Roland). Saint-Aignan had as collaborators the playwright Molière (1622-1673) with his troupe of actors; the lyric poet Isaac de Benserade (1613?-1691), the musician Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1689), and the stage architect Carlo Vigarani (d. 1693). On the first day, the king and some of his courtiers paraded in "Ariostean" costume and then competed in a run at the ring. Louis was disguised as Ariosto's hero Ruggiero. There followed a ballet and a banquet punctuated by the appearance of marvelous stage "machines" or automata. Molière's play La princesse d'Élide (The princess of Elis), interspersed with pieces of music and ballet, was performed the second day. The third day featured still another ballet and an exhibition of fireworks, fused into a sort of "pyrotechnic opera." Further entertainments, including the playing of two more comedies of Molière, ensued during four more days. The Plaisirs were commemorated in handsome publications.

FESTIVALS OF MISRULE AND SUBVERSION

While religious and civic festivals have attracted the attention of historians of art, literature, and ideas, the festivals of misrule have recently held a particular interest for anthropologists, semioticians, and social historians. An indisputable ancestor of festivals in the latter category can be seen in the ancient Roman Saturnalia, during the celebration of which the social order was temporarily turned upside down as slaves wore their masters' clothing and were served by them at table. The Saturnalia were doubtless seen by Romans in power as a safety valve for the release of popular resentment against social injustice.

Whether they served only that purpose or were also a force for reform or revolution is a matter of historical speculation, as is also the effect of early modern feasts descended from them.

The Feast of Fools and Abbeys of Misrule. The Feast of Fools (Latin Festum Stultorum, French Fête des Fous, German Narrenfest) was long celebrated in religious communities shortly after Christmas. A reversal of hierarchy was effected through the election of a young cleric or monastic as "bishop," and sometimes things held sacred were made fun of in mock masses. The actual church authorities were understandably uneasy with such frivolities. In the sixteenth century and later, some towns also had lay organizations of young men known as "abbeys" or "kingdoms" of misrule. These groups elected "abbots" or "kings" and participated together in various lighthearted activities during Christmas and Carnival. In Renaissance England, on a higher social plane, a court lord of misrule was sometimes appointed for yuletide celebrations, or "revels." Thus George Ferrars, holding that appointment from the young King Edward VI, staged a mock triumphal entry into London in January 1552.

Carnival. The most important feast of misrule by far was that of Carnival, celebrated just before the onset of Lent. It was a period of "licensed transgression" enjoyed by all classes of society. A measure of its popularity can be seen in the curious fact that carnival celebrations persisted in some Protestant areas of northern Europe that had ceased to observe Lent. Italian Carnival parades sometimes had elaborate decorated pageant cars. In Rome, such parades often flattered reigning pontiffs, as when that of 1536 recreated the ancient triumph of Paulus Aemilius in allusion to Pope Paul III. In Florence and Venice, where the parades were sometimes planned by well-born young men in companies analogous to the abbeys of misrule, there might be a less reverent tone.

Carnival in Italy was also the principal occasion for the production of neoclassical comedies, and in Germany there were special *Fastnachtspiele* (Carnival plays), most memorably those of Hans Sachs (1494–1576). In France, during the next century, the celebration was also a favored time for the performance of Molière's comedies. At the Stuart courts in seventeenth-century England, allegorical

masques might be written and performed for Shrovetide, the three days preceding Ash Wednesday. Unlike the generally apolitical Italian and French comedies and German *Fastnachtspiele*, which made fun of typical human faults, the English compositions often carried ideological messages supporting the divine right of kings.

The most subversive activity of Carnival probably lay in the custom of "masking," which permitted the social classes to mingle promiscuously in the streets and even to express seditious sentiments under the protection of anonymity. Church authorities periodically forbade masking, but it was tremendously popular. Carnival activities in general became less important during the baroque period and the Enlightenment, although they are still lively today in a few Catholic cities such as Cologne and Venice. It would be hard to prove that they were lastingly subversive of dominant institutions, although their spirit often stood in opposition to official ideology.

See also Carnival; Games and Play.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anglo, Sydney. Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy. 2nd ed. Oxford and New York, 1997. A solid study of English royal pageantry through the coronation of Elizabeth I in 1559.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Helene Iswolsky. Boston, 1968. Translation of *Tvorchestivo Fransua Rable* (1965). An influential book whose contraposition of popular and official culture has affected scholarship in the history of festivals, along with that in several other domains.
- Béhar, Pierre, and Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, eds. Spectaculum Europaeum. Theatre and Spectacle in Europe. Histoire du spectacle en Europe (1580–1750). Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, Band 31. Wiesbaden, 1999. A wide-ranging and systematic study of civic and courtly festivals for most of the early modern period, with some coverage also of religious celebrations. Unusual amount of attention to festivals in smaller countries or linguistic areas.
- Bergeron, David. *English Civic Pageantry* 1558–1642. Columbia, S.C., 1971. A systematic study, with attention to lord mayors' shows, royal entries, and progresses.
- Bryant, Lawrence M. The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 216. Geneva, 1986. A careful and clear study of the evolution of royal entries into Paris through that of Louis XIV in 1660.

- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Rev. reprint. Aldershot, U.K., and Brookfield, Vt., 1994. See particularly the chapters "The World of Carnival" (pp. 178–204) and, for changes in festive practice made by Protestant and Catholic reformers, "The Triumph of Lent: the Reform of Popular Culture" (pp. 207–243).
- Jacquot, Jean, ed. *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*. 3 vols. Paris, 1956–1975. The proceedings of three pioneering colloquia on Renaissance festival studies.
- Mitchell, Bonner. The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494–1600). Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, 203. Florence, 1986. A systematic narrative.
- Muir, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. New Approaches to European History, 11. Cambridge, U.K., 1997. A study in the current school of ritual scholarship that is both synthesizing and original. Much about Carnival and other popular festivals, as well as about ecclesiastical and civic pageantry.
- Strong, Roy. Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450– 1650. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984. Excellent analyses of selected festivals at the Habsburg, Valois, Medici, and Stuart courts.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen, and Anne Simon. Festivals and Ceremonies. A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic and Religious Festivals in Europe 1500–1800. London and New York, 2000. A partial but vast bibliography of printed festival books and relevant news bulletins for virtually the whole early modern period. This is the starting place for primary research.
- Wisch, Barbara, and Susan Scott Munshower, eds. "All the World's a Stage": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Part 1, Triumphal Celebrations and the Rituals of Statecraft. Part 2, Theatrical Spectacle and Spectacular Theatre. Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University, Vol. 6. University Park, Pa., 1990. Includes several focused studies on Renaissance and baroque celebrations and a highly useful "Bibliography of the Literature on Triumph" (Part 1, pp. 370–385) covering studies for the early modern period as well as those for ancient and medieval times.

BONNER MITCHELL

FEUDALISM. Strictly speaking, feudalism refers to the medieval dependency/service relationship between lords and their vassals or to the political subordination and service of lesser lords to higher lords or princes. These medieval relationships faded in the early modern centuries as princes developed institutionally complex states and replaced unreliable feudal levies with mercenaries and, eventually, standing armies. Although the proper-

ties of lords and knights, called fiefs, often retained distinct laws that governed their transmission, feudalism in the strict sense survived only as a vestigial institution in the early modern centuries.

What most commentators and detractors called feudalism between 1500 and 1800 was technically lordship. Karl Marx and modern Marxist historians considered feudalism an oppressive economic system, a means of production. While feudalism in some settings assumed the appearances of an economic system, notably in the large noble and ecclesiastical estates of eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary that were worked by serf labor, feudalism was actually a much broader institution. It was both a fiscal system for the support of the governing classes and a system of local governance. One of the oldest and most durable institutions in European history, feudalism emerged in the early medieval centuries, reproduced and reshaped itself century after century, and spread into newly colonized regions. Retaining many of its medieval features until its violent demise in the wake of major political revolutions, feudalism survived in France until the Revolution of 1789 and in much of central and eastern Europe until the Revolutions of 1848.

FEUDALISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In the Middle Ages, feudalism/lordship was the institutional and territorial expression of the unlimited governing authority of lords: princes, high aristocrats, bishops, and abbots. Lords exercised governing authority by birthright or by office, and the inhabitants of the lords' domains were their subjects. Feudalism expressed itself in many institutions, which, like a fine net, covered the entire landmass of urban centers, rural villages, mountain ranges, rivers, and roads. Feudalism was a fiscal system that supported the governing class. Lords in turn assigned part of their fiscal assets to agents as remuneration for their administrative tasks and to knights for military service. The fiscal burdens of feudalism took any form deemed suitable by the lords: payments in cash, in kind, in labor services, or in military services. There were direct taxes on men and land as well as a variety of indirect taxes such as tolls on rivers or roads and taxes assessed in markets and fairs. Lords collected taxes when property changed hands, mortuary fees when old tenants died, and entrance fees when new tenants assumed

possession of landholdings. There were fees for the obligatory use of feudal grain mills, grape and olive presses, and ovens.

Feudalism was also a system of local governance. All-purpose agents of the lords, such as mayors in the villages and towns, not only collected the lord's taxes but supervised the communal assembly and administered justice with the cooperation of the most notable residents. Above the mayors there were intermediate agents such as provosts, then higher officials often called bailiffs, and a corresponding hierarchy of fiscal, judicial, and administrative offices. At the apex stood the lord with his household and central administration. Although kings and princes such as dukes and counts normally had more extensive and complex lordships than bishops, abbots, barons or lesser lords, these lordships were all remarkably similar.

REGIONAL PATTERNS OF FEUDALISM

Feudalism was absolutely unassailable in law in the early modern centuries. Normally the king or prince himself was the principal lord and still derived significant revenues from his feudal holdings. Rent rolls, urban and village charters, the day-to-day administrative, fiscal, and judicial records of lords, as well as the publicly verifiable custom of the lordships were upheld in both the lowliest and the highest courts. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, judicial officials of kings and princes held public inquiries and assembled written compilations of provincial customary law in France and in the western parts of the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy. In Prussia, the codifications appeared later in the eighteenth century. In England, manorial records served the same purpose.

By the beginning of the early modern era, about 1450 or 1500, feudalism already had a thousand years of history behind it in the core lands of the old Roman Empire and at least two or three hundred years in the most recently settled areas. At the end of the Middle Ages there were already distinct regional patterns of feudalism, which became more pronounced between 1500 and 1800. These regional variations affected feudalism mainly as a fiscal system, while feudalism as a system of local government survived almost everywhere in Europe. The feudal systems of Europe in their fiscal expressions fell into three broad zones that extended from west

to east. These regional variations were the result of differences in economic development, population density, and political organization.

The first zone included England, the Netherlands, and the lower Rhineland area of Germany as well as France, Spain, and Italy. This first zone encompassed the most densely populated, the most economically developed, and the most politically advanced areas of Europe. The customary laws viewed the holdings under the feudal authority of lords as secure, usually perpetual, tenures. Consequently, those who actually possessed the land and used it had rights tantamount to property ownership. Lords could not dismiss their tenants and confiscate their property without due cause, such as the failure to pay annual dues for a number of years, and even then only with formal judicial procedures. Likewise, once established, the regular annual feudal taxes were normally viewed as immutable. Kings, princes, and central governments generally reserved for themselves the right to assess new taxes and to increase rates. In most of this part of Europe, serfdom had largely disappeared by 1500. The most common burdens of medieval serfdom had been restrictions on transfer of tenures except in the direct line of succession (mortmain), prohibition of marriage outside the lordship, mandatory residence, and unregulated taxes and labor services. Although remnants of these practices survived here and there, they were largely governed by the provisions of customary law.

Powerful economic forces that emanated from expanding urban centers and international trade produced significant changes in property ownership and land use in this zone in the early modern era, but these changes occurred slowly at a pace measured in generations and even centuries. Nobles, well-to-do urban residents, state officials, and even prosperous peasants bought perpetual tenures near cities, in rural villages, even in remote areas with easy access to commercial routes. From piecemeal purchases of land that often stretched over generations, they assembled large farms and vineyards that produced for the expanding markets. The physical appearance of the landscape changed as consolidated capitalist farms partially replaced peasant villages. Economically, the newly created or expanded farms of the better-off classes were market-oriented, capitalist enterprises worked by tenant farmers or sharecroppers on short-term leases.

Although the new owners of former peasant lands sometimes cleared their lands of the old feudal taxes by paying for their abolition, more often than not they simply stacked short-term market leases over the perpetual tenures. The network of feudal fiscal rights assigned to landed property were so deeply imbedded in law, especially when they belonged to ecclesiastical lords, charitable organizations, or towns, that the old feudal burdens survived but took on an increasingly archaic appearance. In heavily urbanized northern Italy, the partial elimination of the perpetual tenures and the more widespread stacking of short-term renewable leases over preexisting tenures were already very advanced by 1500. Elsewhere, the changes occurred mainly between 1500 and 1750 or 1800. Roughly half the land held by peasant perpetual tenants in 1500 passed into the hands of nonpeasants by the 1780s. In England this process was called enclosure. Enclosure began in the late Middle Ages and peaked in the eighteenth century. Normally, English enclosure brought with it the elimination of the feudal fiscal rights. In the areas of England unaffected by enclosure, feudal tenures, called copyholds, survived until 1922.

The second zone encompassed the most anciently settled core lands of the Holy Roman Empire, those areas that had been settled prior to the thirteenth century, with the notable exception of the lower Rhineland (Cologne, Mainz, the Rhenish Palatinate, etc.), which belonged to the first zone. This zone included Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Alsace, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia. The determining factor here was the modesty or mediocrity of any force, whether demographic, economic, or political, that could have produced significant change. Although there was a dense network of rural villages, the cities and towns were very small and quite undynamic between 1500 and 1800. Most of Germany lay well outside the major trade routes in Europe. Politically the area was fragmented into hundreds of small states.

Feudal estates here consisted of clusters of peasant villages or scattered peasant holdings subject to an array of feudal taxes. Lords rarely had directly held farms of notable size in 1500 or in 1800. The

forces that partially transformed the landscape in the first zone were too weak to produce similar results here. Upper-class investors such as nobles, ecclesiastical institutions, and burghers lent money to peasant tenants and piled new rents on old feudal taxes. They even bought up feudal tenures, often by foreclosing on bad peasant debts. But they did not disturb peasant farming. Although much of the land in many peasant villages near the larger towns technically belonged to burghers who were legally the tenants, the investors almost always immediately retroceded the foreclosed lands to the existing peasant farmers. Capitalist, freestanding farms worked by tenant farmers on short-term leases were very uncommon. In the absence of strong market forces, the short-term leases or life leases that multiplied in the rebuilding of this part of Germany after the Thirty Years' War faded into perpetual arrangements by the eighteenth century. Lords were content to retain peasants to farm their tenures and pay feudal taxes generation after generation.

The third zone extended eastward along the Baltic from Denmark and Holstein through the German states of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and the two Pomeranias to Prussia and then south through Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary, ending with Austria and the other possessions of the Habsburgs in the southeastern Alps. This entire zone was very lightly populated and both economically and politically underdeveloped. Central governments of kings and princes were weak, while nobles were comparatively strong and independent. Plagues and ruinous wars repeatedly devastated the fragile network of settlement in this zone between 1300 and 1700. Although the feudal practices here were the same as those in use everywhere in Europe, the whiplash effects of cyclical devastation did not allow feudalism to develop much beyond the stages characteristic of parts of western Europe in the Carolingian era of 750 to 950.

Lords in this third zone, whether princes, ecclesiastical institutions, barons, or knights, had an abundance of land but could find little peasant labor. They made heroic efforts century after century to colonize their lands, but no sooner had settlement begun to produce its first fruits than some fresh calamity undermined it. Out of necessity, lords relied primarily on their own directly held lands to support themselves. Such farms expanded between

1500 and 1800, not principally through consciously planned depopulating enclosure, but because abandoned peasant tenures and entire villages fell back into the hands of the lords. The most heavily damaged regions in the era of the Thirty Year's War, for example, lost on average half their population.

To work their directly held lands, lords in this zone hired landless day laborers as permanent staff and as temporary wage labor, and they relied on feudal labor services assessed on peasant farmers and cottagers. Normally, lords did not simply impose arbitrary labor services on their existing subjects, but rather offered lands to new colonists with labor services as a condition of tenure. With each new wave of devastation, feudal labor services became more important. To retain labor, lords also multiplied restrictions on the personal movement and land transfers of their subjects. The result was a new form of serfdom, born of insurmountable poverty and underpopulation. It was only after 1750 that the positive pull of markets for grain and livestock had much of an impact on these eastern European forms of feudalism.

FEUDAL COURTS

Everywhere in Europe, lords retained wide rights of local jurisdiction and local governance. Although the polemical literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries painted a very unflattering portrait of the feudal courts, in fact they performed indispensable services as lower courts of first instance with jurisdiction over civil and criminal affairs. They survived because the states had neither the political need to abolish them nor the revenues to replace them. From at least the sixteenth century in the more advanced states and from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elsewhere, the men who staffed the feudal courts were legally trained professionals who received an annual salary. The feudal courts were incorporated into the judicial hierarchy of the state with rights of appeal in western Europe by 1500 or shortly thereafter, but in Austria, Bohemia, and Brandenburg-Prussia this did not occur until the middle of the eighteenth century. Feudalism also survived as a system of local governance. Feudal officials retained their traditional supervisory role in the administration of the smaller towns and the rural villages, while royal or princely officials usually controlled the important cities.

THE DEMISE OF FEUDALISM

Opposition to the feudal system grew steadily from the middle of the eighteenth century. Peasants had always hated both the system and the tithe, the obligatory feudal tax for the support of the church. While most nobles everywhere understandably defended feudalism, members of the non-noble elite were of two minds. On the one hand, anyone who aspired to assimilation into the nobility routinely purchased feudal rights and estates since they were the socially indispensable prestige properties of the aristocracy. On the other hand, the non-noble elites were increasingly aware that the feudal system and the legal nobility were hopelessly antiquated institutions. Opposition to feudalism among the non-noble elites was based on the overall transformation of society, not on the economic burden of feudalism per se. Consequently, opposition was much more vocal in France and Italy than in Prussia, Austria, or Bohemia.

Enlightened reformers began to eliminate feudalism here and there from the middle of the eighteenth century. The task was monumentally difficult. Rulers such as Frederick II of Prussia could abolish personal serfdom or improve conditions of tenure on their own domain lands, but not on the lands of other lords. Lords had legitimate property rights that could not simply be dismissed without compensation. The reforms began timidly with the removal of restrictions on personal freedom that were degrading but that produced little revenue for the lords. In 1778 Louis XVI of France abolished all forms of serfdom on directly held royal estates and the right of pursuit of serfs for the entire realm. From the 1770s, enlightened rulers in Denmark, Piedmont-Sardinia, and Austria promoted the liquidation of feudal fiscal rights with elaborate and costly schemes to make redemption payments to lords that were financially beyond the means of most peasants. Political revolutions eventually swept aside the remnants of the feudal system.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Estates and Country Houses; Landholding; Property; Serfdom in East Central Europe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aymard, Maurice. "From Feudalism to Capitalism in Italy." *Review* 6 (1982): 131–208.

Blanning, T. C. W. Joseph II. London and New York, 1994.

- Blum, Jerome. The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe. Princeton, 1978.
- Carsten, F. L. *The Origins of Prussia*. Oxford, 1954. Repr. Westport, Conn., 1981.
- Clay, C. G. A. Economic Expansion and Social Change: England, 1500-1700. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1984.
- Doyle, William. "Was There an Aristocratic Reaction in Pre-Revolutionary France?" *Past and Present* 57 (1972): 97–122.
- Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. The Origins of Physiocracy: Economic Revolution and Social Order in Eighteenth-Century France. Ithaca, N.Y., 1976.
- Goubert, Pierre. *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century*. Translated by Ian Patterson. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1986.
- Ritter, Gerhard. Frederick the Great: A Historical Profile. Berkeley, 1968.
- Thirsk, Joan, ed. Chapters from the Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500–1750. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1990.

JAMES L. GOLDSMITH

FIELDING, HENRY (1707–1754), English novelist and playwright. Fielding was born 22 April 1707 at Sharpham Park, Somerset, and the family moved to East Stour in Dorset three years later. His father, Edmund, was a lieutenant who was reckless with money, and his mother, Sarah Gould, was a judge's daughter. Edmund Fielding remarried in 1718 after Sarah's death, and Fielding was educated at Eton, where he developed a love of the Greek and Roman classics. In 1728, he moved to London, where he published his first work, an ode on King George II's birthday, a satirical poem, "The Masquerade," and his first play, Love in Several Masques. From 1728 to 1729 he studied law at the University of Leiden, but returned to London because his father's increasing extravagance had left Fielding penniless. He supported himself by writing for the stage; between 1729 and 1737 he wrote twenty-five comedies and satires that were passionately engaged with exposing the vices of the court, politics, and society of the 1720s and 1730s. Fielding's first success, The Author's Farce, reflects on his own difficult financial position. In 1734 he married Charlotte Craddock, and they lived in lodgings in the Strand in London with their two children. His other successes at the Little Theatre, Haymarket (which

he managed) included *Tom Thumb* (1730) and *The Grub Street Opera* (1731). His political satires *Pasquin* (1736) and *The Historical Register for 1736* (1737) provoked the government of Prime Minister Robert Walpole to pass the Theatre Licensing Act of 1737, which banned political satire on the stage, thereby ending Fielding's career as a playwright.

Returning to the study of the law, Fielding was admitted to the bar in 1740. He also established the satirical periodical *Champion* (1739–1741). In 1741 his debts caused him to be detained in a bailiff's sponging-house (a preliminary detention center before prison), where he wrote *Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, an attack on novelist Samuel Richardson's concept of "virtue rewarded" in his novel *Pamela* (1740). *Shamela* parodied Richardson's epistolary style, revealing Shamela's "virtue" or "vartue" to be a weapon of self-interest and gain.

Fielding's talent for comic ridicule blossomed further with *Joseph Andrews* (1742), described by Fielding as a "comic epic-poem in prose" (Preface). Fielding attacked Richardson's schematic moral simplicity by inverting gender—Joseph is the victim of the lustful Lady Booby—and by the panoply of characters Joseph encountered with his quixotic friend Parson Adams. The novel's originality lies with its self-consciousness as fiction and the strong authorial presence of an omniscient narrator introducing each chapter and controlling the pace and plot.

In 1743, Fielding published the successful *Miscellanies* including *A Journey from this World to the Next* and *Jonathan Wild* (revised and republished in 1754), based on the life of a Machiavellian gangster living in the 1720s. After Fielding's wife died in 1744, his sister, Sarah Fielding, who was also a writer, managed his household until he married his wife's former servant, Mary Daniel, in 1747. Meanwhile Fielding produced two anti-Jacobite newspapers, *The True Patriot* (1745–1746) and *The Jacobite's Journal* (1747–1748).

The epic scale of Fielding's art reached its apex with *Tom Jones* (1749). He commented in the dedication that "... to recommend goodness and innocence hath been my sincere endeavour in this history." Fielding's attitude to morality, judgment, justice, and honor in depicting the life of his epony-

mous orphan hero revealed his realism. He challenged the reader's judgment with the complexity of his characterization, for example in the female characters who test Tom's honor, ranging from the idealized Sophia to the sexually avaricious Molly Seagrim to the conniving socialite Lady Bellaston. Samuel Johnson found the moral ambiguity of the novel troubling.

Fielding's experience as a justice of the peace (for Westminster in 1748 and for Middlesex in 1749) and as chairman of the quarter sessions of Westminster, where justices of the peace for Westminster met to discuss petty crime, shaped his last, rather sentimental, novel, *Amelia* (1751). The novel sympathetically portrayed how Amelia and her husband, Captain Booth, suffered from institutionalized injustice in the military, the aristocracy, and the court of law. Accused of losing the comedy of his earlier novels, Fielding responded in his satirical periodical *The Covent-Garden Journal* that he would write no more fiction.

In his final years, Fielding's determination to suppress crime and administer justice led him to assist his half-brother, Sir John Fielding, in establishing the "Bow Street Runners," an embryonic police force, while writing on contemporary legal debates (1749–1752). In 1754 he sailed to Portugal in an attempt to improve his failing health and wrote *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (published posthumously in 1755). He died in Lisbon and was buried there.

See also English Literature and Language; Richardson, Samuel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Fielding, Henry. *Amelia*. Edited by David Blewett. London, 2001.

- -----. *Jonathan Wild*. Edited by David Nokes. Harmondsworth, U.K., 1982.
- . Joseph Andrews/Shamela. Edited by Judith Hawley. London, 1999.
- —. A Journey from This World to the Next and The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon. Edited by Ian A. Bell and Andrew Varney. Oxford and New York, 1997.
- ——. Tom Jones: The Authoritative Text, Contemporary Reactions, and Criticism. 2nd ed. Edited by Sheridan Baker. New York, 1995.

Secondary Sources

Battestin, Martin C., and Ruthe R. Battestin. *Henry Field-ing: A Life.* London and New York, 1989. The standard expansive biography of Fielding by the most eminent scholar on Fielding.

Campbell, Jill. Natural Masques: Gender and Identity in Fielding's Plays and Novels. Stanford, 1995. A study deconstructing critical assumptions about gender in Fielding's work by historicizing his fiction.

Pagliaro, Harold. *Henry Fielding: A Literary Life.* Basing-stoke, U.K., 1998. A thought-provoking biography examining the relation between Fielding's work as a lawyer, magistrate, and political essayist and his fiction and drama

Uglow, Jenny. *Henry Fielding*. Plymouth, U.K., 1995. A useful introduction to the life and major works.

MAX FINCHER

FIFTH-MONARCHY MEN. See English Civil War Radicalism.

FILMER, ROBERT. See Patriarchy and Paternalism.

FIREARMS. Firearms first emerged through Chinese alchemical experimentation, which produced gunpowder explosives by the ninth century and gradually developed early gunpowder weapons technologies. Gunpowder mixtures and weapons slowly diffused throughout Eurasia over Chinese trading networks, but contemporary political, cultural, and technical conditions inhibited firearms' impact on the practice of war. When gunpowder was introduced in Europe in the late medieval period, firearms began to change European warfare radically.

FIREARMS AND LATE MEDIEVAL WARFARE

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Europeans developed relatively inexpensive methods of manufacturing gunpowder, producing stable powder mixtures, and forging large siege guns, often known as bombards. These guns fired immense stone shot weighing hundreds of pounds, and their gunners personified them, giving them names such as Mons Meg and Pumhart von Steyr. When em-

ployed in sieges, bombards could pummel medieval walls and towers into ruin, allowing attacking soldiers to storm fortifications, if the town or castle did not surrender first. Late medieval sieges are often remembered for Shakespeare's dramatic rendering of Henry V's siege of Harfleur and the theatrical king's appeal for his soldiers to head "once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more." The Elizabethan playwright prudently avoided mention of the powerful French royal siege train that battered English castles in Aquitaine and northern France and ultimately produced the French victory in the Hundred Years' War of 1337–1453.

Outside of siege operations, firearms initially had little impact on late medieval warfare. Late medieval artillery pieces were heavy and difficult to move, so these firearms were not practical for battles in open plains. Most medieval infantry and cavalry continued to use a variety of handheld personal weapons, and the emergence of coherent infantry pike squares, especially in Flanders and in the Swiss cantons, had a much stronger effect on fifteenthcentury warfare than did handheld firearms. While a few late medieval soldiers employed hand cannon early experiments in infantry firearms—crossbows and longbows represented the most significant infantry projectile weapons throughout the fifteenth century. These weapons systems could deliver their arrows or bolts with great force and accuracy, but the slow-loading, delicate mechanisms used in crossbows and the social technology, including intensive muscular training, necessary to fire longbows ensured that firearms would eventually replace them.

RENAISSANCE FIREARMS AND THE EMERGENCE OF EARLY MODERN WARFARE

European royalty and nobles rapidly adopted firearms and promoted their use. All of the "renaissance monarchs" of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries recognized the dramatic power of siege artillery. Renaissance artillery was so crucial to the latter stages of the Reconquista in Spain that Weston F. Cook's study refers to the "cannon conquest" of Granada. Ottoman emperors recognized the devastating potential of siege artillery and sponsored the forging of immense artillery pieces. The Ottoman army of Mehmed II besieged Constantinople in 1453 and used immense artillery pieces firing stones to bash the city's famous

walls, which had long been considered impregnable. Mughal armies employed firearms and artillery in their swift conquest of northern India in the early sixteenth century. Renaissance armies also used tunneling operations to plant large gunpowder mines beneath fortifications and then to detonate them.

Renaissance engineers experimented with a variety of new fortification designs intended to respond to the threat of the powerful siege artillery of the fifteenth century. Medieval round towers could be modified to serve as platforms for defensive artillery, and walls could be reinforced to protect against besiegers' guns. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, many rulers constructed new artillery towers to maximize the potential of artillery to defend towns and strategic sites. Many fortification experiments were more pragmatic and improvised, however. Defenders relied on earthworks, ditches, and outworks to disrupt besiegers' attacks and keep enemy siege artillery at a distanceespecially during the Italian Wars of 1494 to 1559, which provided an impetus for rapid military developments.

BASTIONED FORTIFICATIONS AND SIEGE TACTICS

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, military engineers in Italy began to transform the pragmatic earthwork fortification techniques into a system of bastioned fortifications, the trace italienne. These fortifications were often known as "star forts" because of the pointed protruding bastions and the regular diamond or pentagonal plans of many bastioned citadels. The defenses are perhaps more properly referred to as artillery fortifications because the real defensive mechanism of the fortification system was artillery firepower. The mutually supporting bastions created well-protected firing platforms for guns, which could use interlocking lines of sight to create devastating crossfire on besieging forces. Printed treatises with complex plans and diagrams communicated the architectural principles of the trace italienne, and bastioned fortifications multiplied quickly through Europe between the 1500s and 1550s. Strategic concerns and prestige competition combined to pressure monarchies, small principalities, and cities to build expensive bastioned fortifications, brimming with artillery. The enormous costs of forging artillery, digging trenches, constructing fortifications, and maintaining garrisons meant that fortress building often required noble and state patronage, and sometimes produced financial exhaustion or serious political ramifications.

The new artillery fortifications were not impregnable, but they often forced long, costly sieges. The newly refortified city of Siena, for example, succumbed to a siege in 1555, but only after a sustained attack against the vigorous Sienese and French defenders. Taking a fortress defended by artillery involved envelopment operations, followed by a laborious process of digging approach trench systems and siting batteries of siege artillery. Often, months of digging and mining activities had to be endured before besiegers could breach the defenses of an artillery fortress. Then, if the defenders still refused to surrender, costly assaults had to be launched by besieging infantry.

NEW ARMIES

Fighting campaigns that involved sieges of artillery fortifications encouraged European infantry to adopt harquebus firearms as their principal projectile weapons and produced new armies. Harquebus firearms used a matchlock system—composed of a serpentine mechanism, which held a slow-burning match that would ignite gunpowder in the barrel to fire the weapon's lead ball. Projectiles fired through a harquebus's smoothbore barrel took erratic trajectories, making the weapon highly inaccurate. To be effective, the harquebus had to be used at close range by groups of harquebusiers, soldiers who specialized in using the weapon, firing together. Infantry who used the harquebus in combat were highly vulnerable, though, since their weapon required numerous, complex movements to reload. Further, using the firearms proved highly dangerous, since infantrymen had to use individual doses of gunpowder, usually carried in pouches suspended from bandoliers around the soldier's chest; sparks from the slow-burning match could touch off one of the doses of gunpowder on one's own (or a neighboring soldier's) bandolier, producing an explosion. The transformations of armies did not just involve technological changes, but also organizational changes. Spanish tercios (infantry regiments) and other new armies increasingly relied on the coordination of infantry using firearms to avoid acci-



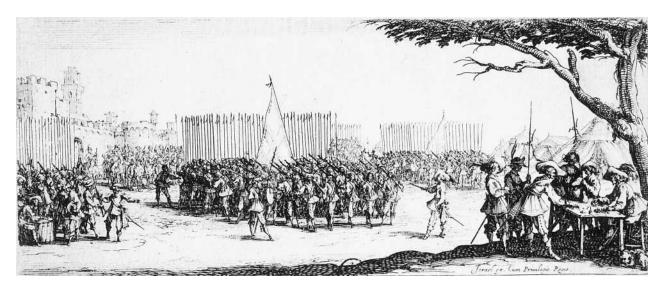
Firearms. Procession of the Catholic League (June 5, 1590). This painting by François Bunel (c. 1522–1599) shows the importance of firearms culture in civic displays, urban politics, and religious conflict. ©Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY

dents, and on the support from pikemen who could protect harquebusiers while reloading.

While the growing numbers and importance of infantry in warfare might suggest that European nobles' prominence in military systems was threatened, firearms did not lead to the end of noble participation in warfare. Nobles remained in elite cavalry units and some noble horsemen developed caracole tactics, using complex rotating maneuvers to fire their delicate wheel-lock pistols in succession. Other nobles became officers, commanding infantry units and capitalizing on the new armies' demands for military leadership, experience, and firearms expertise. Swiss mercenaries, German *Landsknechts*, and other stipendiary troops were led by noble and

non-noble military elites, who attempted to profit from warfare as military entrepreneurs, known as *condottiere* in Italy. Military enterprisers recruited, outfitted, and trained their infantry and engaged in conflicts throughout Europe.

The many long conflicts of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave ample opportunities for the new armies to demonstrate their power. The Habsburgs' firearms-based armies waged seemingly interminable warfare against Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, in Hungary, and even at the gates of Vienna, which endured long sieges in 1529 and 1683. Emperor Charles V launched campaigns against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean and in North Africa that relied heavily on artillery. Reli-



Firearms. Troops enlisting; no. 2 of Jacques Callot's series of engravings Les misères et malheurs de la guerre, 1663. Musketeers are shown marching in close order using seventeenth-century methods of infantry drill. The ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIES PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

gious divisions between Protestants and Catholics fueled conflicts and intensified hatreds between contending armies beginning with the wars of the Schmalkaldic League in Germany. A militant French Protestant minority in France successfully raised powerful armies during the French Wars of Religion of 1562–1629, but Catholic forces' superiority in artillery and numbers gradually wore down the French Protestant cause. Catholic Spanish rulers used tercio armies in their attempts to suppress the Dutch Revolt of 1566-1648. The Protestant Dutch forces led by Maurice of Nassau began to develop new techniques of military discipline, drill, and linear tactics to increase the firepower of their infantry units. These trends were reinforced by the advent of the matchlock musket—essentially a larger, more powerful version of the harquebus—which was such a heavy and clumsy weapon that infantry had to use a forked rest to support the barrel when aiming and firing it.

The internationalization of the Thirty Years' War, which engulfed central Europe between 1618 and 1648, ensured that firearms techniques and developments were shared and spread throughout Europe. Near-constant warfare produced a widespread proliferation of firearms that allowed many people to have firearms in their homes. European nobles and monarchs built up huge arms collections, such

as Louis XIII's personal armory. It is no surprise that contemporary artists heavily emphasized camp scenes and military imagery in their works. Imperial, Spanish, Catholic League, Protestant Union, Swedish, and French armies crisscrossed Germany, wreaking devastation. Jacques Callot's Miseries of War portrayed the brutalities of seventeenth-century warfare, which often involved conflicts between peasants and soldiers, in addition to more conventional battles and sieges. The most horrifying atrocities involved the sacking of cities after sieges. Contemporaries referred to the "law of the siege," a set of conventions over military practices that allowed besieging armies to pillage towns that refused to surrender when a breach was made in their walls. Rampaging troops pillaged numerous towns in the war zone, and General Tilly's army utterly destroyed the German city Magdeburg after a siege in 1631. Gustavus Adolphus's Swedish army perhaps utilized firearms most effectively, but all of the armies fighting in the Thirty Years' War began to use smaller, more mobile guns extensively as field artillery, which could support infantry in pitched battles. The immense financial and human costs of warfare gradually exhausted all of the states involved in the continuing warfare, leading to the famous compromise Peace of Westphalia of 1648.

THE MILITARY REVOLUTION AND EUROPEAN STATE DEVELOPMENT

The most important interpretive framework for assessing the impact of firearms on early modern European history has been the much-debated concept of a "military revolution." Michael Roberts, whose famous essay is reprinted in The Military Revolution Debate, originally articulated the notion of revolutionary changes in firearms tactics, strategy, the scale of warfare, and administrative demands that reshaped European military practices, states, and societies between 1560 and 1660. Geoffrey Parker and other historians have since adopted the concept of a "military revolution" but used it in radically different ways: debates have erupted over the periodization, dynamics, and development of the "military revolution," and even over whether it existed at all. All of the competing notions of a military revolution support the notion that "war made the state and the state made war." Governments invested in organizational and bureaucratic developments to support and supply their armies' "hungry guns" with firearms and gunpowder. Spanish armies used garrisons in Milan and the elaborate transportation system of the Spanish Road to supply their troops. Successive French monarchs patronized and updated the Arsenal at Paris, which manufactured, organized, and supplied French royal artillery throughout the early modern period. States began to develop permanent standing armies, despite some politicized debates questioning the wisdom of such structures. Growing armies and burgeoning state bureaucracies went hand in hand, especially in Louis XIV's France.

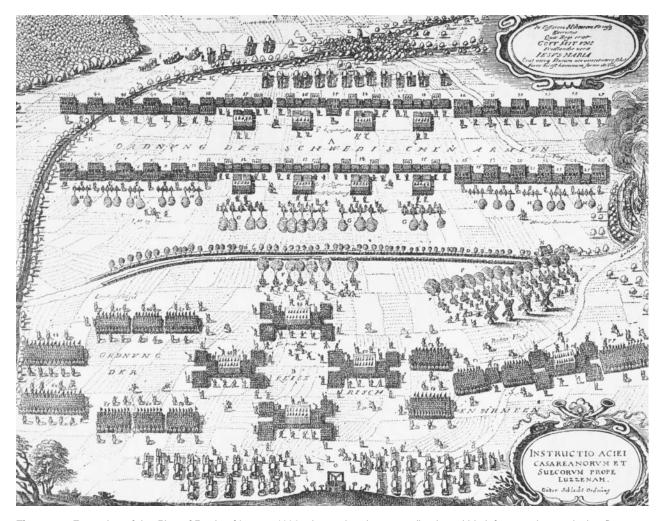
The "military revolution" also clearly had global implications. Military changes that began prominently in Europe and the Mediterranean diffused throughout the world as a result of early modern European imperialism and mercantilism. Spanish conquistadores used artillery and European siege tactics to conquer cities like Tenochtitlán (Mexico). Dutch and Portuguese fortifications at ports in Morocco, Goa, and Indonesia secured their trading networks. While the techniques developed in the "military revolution" allowed European states to extend empires over broad areas of the globe, some non-Western states and regions, such as Japan, China, and the Mughal Empire, developed ways of using firearms and fortifications that aided them in resisting European expansion.

At sea, however, the naval dimensions of the military revolution allowed European ships to dominate all of the world's oceans by the beginning of the seventeenth century. European shipbuilders had begun to adopt artillery as early as the fifteenth century. Venice's naval Arsenal, which dated from the medieval period, was reorganized to outfit and supply Venetian ships with artillery. The sixteenth century saw the development of the heavily armed sailing ship, or galleon, which packed dozens of guns into multiple decks to produce firepower that no other type of ship could match. Galleons carried gold and silver from mines in the Americas to Spain, but equally well-armed Dutch fleets and English privateers preyed upon them. The Spanish Armada of 1588 showcased battles between two competing designs of galleons. Galleons allowed fleets to pound ports into submission around the world, unless they were well defended by artillery fortifications. State-sponsored permanent navies developed during the seventeenth century, preparing the way for the refined ships of the line and linear naval warfare of the eighteenth century.

FIREARMS CULTURE AND MODERNITY

Rulers, nobles, and municipalities used fireworks and firearms in city entries, displays, processions, and ceremonies. Militants participating in Catholic League processions in Paris brandished firearms in the late sixteenth century, and municipal festivities at the city's Hôtel de Ville frequently employed cannonades of artillery. Elite corps of musketeers and bodyguards including the *gardes françaises* of Louis XIII, Russian *streltsy*, and Ottoman Janissaries demonstrated rulers' fascination with firearms.

Firearms shaped European popular imagination in the early modern period as well. Fears of the explosive power of gunpowder animated the English public's responses to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, while the awesome force of the "infernal machines" (fireships packed with explosives) used by the Dutch against Spanish besiegers at Antwerp in 1585 frightened soldiers throughout Europe. The need to produce firearms inspired new research, knowledge, and techniques. Artists and artisans such as Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Dürer, and Michelangelo Buonarroti developed designs for fortifications and experimental weapons. Galileo Galilei and many of the leading early modern scientists



Firearms. Engraving of the *Plan of Battle of Lutzen*, 1632, shows the close coordination within infantry units employing firearms and pikes. ©Bettmann/Corbis

performed chemical and ballistics experiments related to firearms and fortifications. The horrifying wounds caused by firearms stimulated anatomical research and new medical techniques. The protoindustrial production of gunpowder, firearms, and instruments for siege warfare employed artisans throughout Europe.

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought subtle refinements and increasing systemization of military changes that had begun earlier. Transitions in infantry weaponry to flintlock muskets and bayonets represented mere technological fine-tuning, simplifying arms procurement, logistical services, drill, and discipline. The Enlightenment brought an increasingly technical, "scientific" approach to firearms production and use, reflected in the military articles in Diderot and d'Alembert's

Encyclopédie. Military intellectuals theorized military structures, emphasized precision, and introduced standardization. Throughout the early modern period, military vocabulary related to firearms infused modern languages: "half-cocked," "firstrate," and "martinet" were just a few of the words that emerged from early modern military practices. The expanding process of industrialization, coupled with the social dimensions of the American and French revolutions, would quickly transform modern warfare as the mechanization of firearms exponentially increased firepower and the scale of destruction in the nineteenth century.

See also Military; Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnold, Thomas F. The Renaissance at War. London, 2001.

- Black, Jeremy. War and the World: Military Power and the Fate of Continents, 1450–2000. New Haven, 1998.
- Contamine, Philippe. War in the Middle Ages. Translated by Michael Jones. Oxford, 1984.
- Cook, Weston F., Jr. "The Cannon Conquest of Nasrid Spain and the End of the Reconquista," *Journal of Military History* 57, no. 1 (Jan. 1993): 43–70.
- The Hundred Years' War for Morocco: Gunpowder and the Military Revolution in the Early Modern Muslim World. Boulder, Colo., 1994.
- Hale, J. R. War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620. London and Leicester, 1985.
- Hall, Bert S. Weapons and Warfare in Renaissance Europe: Gunpowder, Technology, and Tactics. Baltimore, 1997.
- Lynn, John A. Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610–1715. Cambridge, U.K., 1997.
- Parker, Geoffrey. The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800. 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K., 1996.
- Pepper, Simon, and Nicholas Adams. Firearms and Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Siena. Chicago, 1986.
- Rogers, Clifford J., ed. The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe. Boulder, Colo., 1995.
- Tilly, Charles. Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass., and Oxford, 1992.
- Tracy, James D., ed. City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective. Cambridge, U.K., 2000.

BRIAN SANDBERG

FISCHER VON ERLACH, JOHANN BERNHARD (1656–1723), Austrian architect and sculptor. Born near Graz, Fischer initially trained as a sculptor and stucco worker with his father, a decorator of castle interiors for southern Austrian nobility. He moved to Rome in 1670, where he apprenticed with Philipp Schor (b. 1646), a member of a Tyrolean family of artists who designed sculpture, interiors, gardens, and ephemeral architecture for special events. He was also drawn into the learned circle of Christina, the former queen of Sweden (ruled 1632–1654), whose members included the exceptional sculptor, painter, and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), famous for his monumental Piazza of St. Peter's in Rome; antiquarian and theorist Giovanni Pietro Bellori (c. 1616-1690), who served as Christina's

librarian; composer Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725); and philosopher, scientist, and archaeologist Athanasius Kircher (1601?–1680). Within this rich cultural setting, Fischer grew into a learned architect, who, after returning to Vienna in 1685, created a distinctive imperial architecture that promoted the aspirations of the Habsburg court.

In Vienna, once the Turkish siege was ended in 1683, a new confidence within the imperial court, the aristocracy, and the general citizenry generated a building boom that rapidly changed the city from a bourgeois, fortified frontier town into an imperial capital. Fischer, ennobled as Fischer von Erlach in 1696 and appointed court architect in 1704, was a crucial figure in this transformation. He translated the experience that he gained in Rome designing pageants and processions, and his familiarity with the theatrical productions promoted by Queen Christina, into a remarkable architecture. He organized his buildings to engage spectators and participants as they approached, entered, and moved through them, heightening the drama of gateways, spatial sequences, and of the buildings within the existing circulation patterns of the city. For the interiors, he drew on seventeenth-century stage practices to orchestrate light, shade, scale, and color. Fischer employed this architectural theater to shape the functions and messages of the buildings for their various users.

From 1687 on, Fischer was involved with imperial commissions, working in succession for emperors Leopold I (ruled 1658-1705), Joseph I (ruled 1705-1711), and Charles VI (ruled 1711-1740). One of his most important projects was the vast building and grounds of Schönbrunn Palace outside the city (begun 1688-1690, resumed in 1693, with the gardens begun in 1695 but never completed, and the palace built 1696-1700). Another was his scholarly work, the ambitious Entwurff einer historischen Architektur (Outline for a history of architecture), which he began in Rome and used as the basis for tutoring the future emperor Joseph I in architecture beginning in 1689; the Entwurff was published in 1721. He worked as well for the court aristocracy, among them the Dietrichstein, Liechtenstein, and Althan families, and in Salzburg he undertook an extensive group of projects for Johann Ernst, Count Thun, prince-bishop of Salzburg, 1687-1709: the Kollegienkirche (university church, 1694–1707), a new hospital and church for the poor north of the city (Johannesspital), a theological seminary and church (Dreifaltigkeitskirche [Church of the Holy Trinity]), and a girls' school for Ursulines (Ursulinenkirche, 1699–1705, and nunnery, 1707–1726).

Fischer's two great projects in Vienna were the Karlskirche (built 1716–1737) and the Hofbibliothek (imperial library), which he began the year before he died (built 1722–1736); both were finished by his son Joseph Emanuel. The Karlskirche was commissioned by the emperor in thanksgiving for the deliverance of Vienna from the plague in 1713 and dedicated to St. Carlo Borromeo, the emperor's name saint, renowned for attending to the plague-stricken in his Milan bishopric. The library was designed as part of the Hofburg, the extensive Habsburg palace within the city, whereas the church stood on a hill outside the walls overlooking the city. Both employed heraldic symbols, primarily paired columns (two sets within the library, and one

monumental pair as part of the church facade). Fisher's design for the church combined architectural elements from his Entwurff: a Roman temple facade for the portico, versions of Trajan's column for the paired columns, a dome derived from St. Peter's, the combination of columns and dome from Hagia Sophia, and Chinese temples for the end pavilions. The emblem of twin columns flanking the imperial crown, with the motto "Plus Ultra" (Farther beyond), was created for Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519-1556) and adopted by the Habsburgs thereafter, to refer to the Pillars of Hercules (that is, Gibraltar in Spain and Mt. Acha in northern Morocco, flanking the Strait of Gibraltar, gateway to the New World). It served as a statement of the Habsburgs' belief in a destiny of world empire, as gateway to the realm of learning, and as entrance to the heavenly realm. Charles VI, the last Holy Roman emperor descended directly from the Habsburg line, provided the twin columns with a new motto, "Constantia et Fortitudine" (With constancy and fortitude), the



Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. The Karlskirche, Vienna, built 1716-1737. @ADAM WOOLFITT/CORBIS

Latin translations of the names of the two pillars in front of the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem. The unique use of the Hebrew letters of the name of God in the glory over the Karlskirche altar extends that reference. Fischer was here functioning both as scholarly expert in Habsburg heraldry and the history of sacred architecture, and as the architect of the most important building in the imperial capital (Dotson).

Fischer's city palaces for members of the Habsburg court all employed a traditional rectangular form, as established in earlier Viennese palaces by Italian architects. His innovation was bold sculptural frames for the central portals that employed the vocabulary of pageant architecture and of theater to suggest independent triumphal arches breaking the facade plane. The portal design was extended to entrance halls and stairwells in "dramatic successions of lighted, shadowed, and half-lighted spaces with brilliantly illuminated climax at the end" (Dotson).

See also Bernini, Gian Lorenzo; Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Christina (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire); Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aurenhammer, Hans. J. B. Fischer von Erlach. London, 1973. The only book-length study of Fischer in English.

Dotson, Esther Gordon. *J. B. Fischer von Erlach* (1656–1723): Architecture as Theater. Exh. cat. Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. Chicago, 2002. The most informative new understanding of Fischer's architecture.

Lorenz, Hellmut. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. Zurich, 1992.

CHRIS OTTO

FLORENCE. Originally a center of Roman provincial government and commerce, Florence in the Middle Ages became an important bishopric, a county nominally subject to the Holy Roman Emperor, and, by 1138, a commune. Beginning in 1125 with the capture of its nearby rival, Fiesole, Florence embarked on a policy of Tuscan expansion that would culminate in the mid-sixteenth century with its conquest of Siena and its position as the

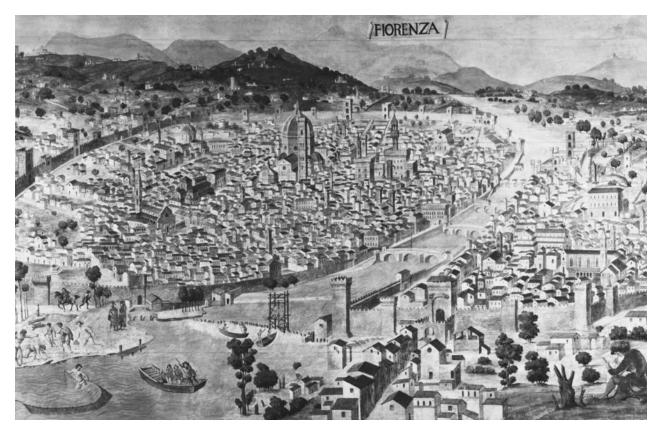
capital of Tuscany. A hub of banking, commerce, and textiles, it was, along with Venice, Milan, Rome, and Naples, one of the five powers of Renaissance Italy as well as the axis of Renaissance Italian culture. Its history throughout the early modern era was bound to the Medici family, who dominated it either unofficially or, after 1530, as lords. With the death of Gian Gastone de' Medici in 1737, Florence and its territory became a fief of the House of Lorraine.

THE FLORENTINE CONSTITUTION

With the exile of most of the Medici in 1494, the republic, dominated by the friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), broadened the government by establishing a Great Council of some three thousand members. But with the return of the Medici in 1530, the oligarchy redrew the constitution. Alessandro de' Medici (1510-1537) became capo (head) and, shortly thereafter, "duke of the republic of Florence." The four-man Magistrato Supremo replaced the Signoria; the Consiglio de' 200 (Council of Two Hundred) and Senato de' 48 (Senate of Forty-Eight), whose members served for life, replaced the Consiglio Maggiore (Great Council). As of 1537, the old criminal courts of the Executors of the Ordinances of Justice and Podestà (chief magistrate) were consolidated in the Otto di Guardia e di Balìa (Eight on Public Safety), though, despite ducal attempts at centralization, some two dozen other bodies exercised criminal justice functions. As of 1569, the ruler held the title grand duke of Tuscany from the pope.

POLITICS

Although the arrival in Italy of Charles VIII of France in 1494 seemed the fulfillment of Savonarola's apocalyptic preaching, the friar's pro-French policy, antithetical to the position of Pope Alexander VI, and his defiance of a papal excommunication led to his execution in 1498. In 1512, the Medici, headed by Cardinal Giovanni (the future Pope Leo X [reigned 1513–1521] and the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent), returned as lords, but fled in 1527 following the sack of Rome. In 1530, pro-Medici troops forced the fall of the last Florentine republic. Although the Medici would, from now on, rule as lords, Florence's patriciate proved resilient: 90 percent of appointees to the Senate



Florence. A panorama of the city from the Carta della Catena, 1490. Museo de Firenze Com'era, Florence, Italy/The Bridgeman ART LIBRARY

during the sixteenth century came from families who had served in the *Signoria* the century before.

Florence became the capital of an important medium-sized state in the early modern period. As of 1537, it was ruled by one of the most talented of the Medici, Duke Cosimo I (1519–1574), who succeeded in establishing considerable Florentine independence. By the early eighteenth century, Florence was paying huge subsidies to Austria, one of the costs of attempted neutrality. In the last weeks of the reign of the childless Gian Gastone de' Medici (1671–1737), several thousand Austrian troops occupied the city, and upon his death the grand duchy passed to the House of Lorraine.

The Medici dukes allied Tuscany with the Catholic states of Europe through both policy and marriages. Cosimo I, for instance, married into the House of Toledo; his progeny made marriage alliances with the Habsburgs, the royal house of France, and the House of Lorraine. Catherine de Médicis (1518–1589), wife of Henry II of France, was a daughter of Lorenzo of Urbino, and Marie de

Médicis (1573–1642), wife of Henry IV of France, was a daughter of Francesco. Catherine's daughter Elizabeth married Philip II of Spain, and a son married Mary Stuart. Cosimo III (1642–1723) paired his daughter with Johann Wilhelm, elector of the Palatinate.

SCIENCE, ART, AND CULTURE

Florence's enduring fame rests on its place in Renaissance and early modern culture. The humanists Coluccio Salutati, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola all worked in Florence. In the early sixteenth century, the Rucellai family hosted gatherings of Florentine patricians in the family's palace gardens, the Orti Oricellari, where Niccolò Machiavelli explained to the literati gathered there the principles of his *Discourses*; indeed, scholars trace the political realism of Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) to modes of thought developed by participants in the Rucellai garden conversations.

Florence remained a center of learning through the early modern era. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)

served as a Medici court mathematician and as tutor to the future Cosimo II (1590–1621), and left some of his scientific instruments to Ferdinando II (1610–1670), a man of real scientific bent. Another of Galileo's legacies was a "core of Tuscan Galileans" (Cochrane, p. 232), many of whom gathered at the learned academy popularly known as the Cimento, patronized and organized by prince Leopoldo, son of Cosimo II.

Lorenzo Magalotti (1637–1712), a diplomat, scientist, and writer whose interests ranged from geometry to air pressure to collecting bawdy poetry in several languages, belonged to the Accademia della Crusca and served as secretary of the Accademia del Cimento. When the latter disbanded in the second half of the seventeenth century, its members spread its ideas throughout Europe. Cosimo III (1642–1723) patronized medical research, including the work of his personal physician, Francesco Redi (1626-1698), whose critique of the received wisdom of the Greek physician Galen led to a more modern approach to health and pharmacology. Several Medici grand dukes also made it their policy to extend health care to even the more remote parts of their domain.

The Medici and other patrons sought out the best artists and humanists of the day. Florence was at the forefront of mannerism, with the architecture of Michelangelo (the stairs of the Laurentian Library, 1524–1526) and the paintings of Jacopo Pontormo (*The Visitation* in the Church of the Annunziata, 1514-1516, and The Deposition in the Church of Santa Felicità, 1526-1528), Parmigianino (The Madonna with the Long Neck, c. 1535), and the works of Agnolo Bronzino and Giorgio Vasari (best known for his Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects and the Uffizi, or public office building, 1559–1565). The city was an energetic participant in the Italian baroque movement; Artemesia Gentileschi enjoyed the patronage of Cosimo II, completed Judith and Her Maidservant around 1614, and was admitted to Florence's Accademia del Disegno.

FINANCE AND ECONOMY

Florence remained economically stable, even prosperous, until the recession, accelerated by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), of the 1620s. Cosimo I and his successors, especially Ferdinando I, lavished

time and money on the acquisition and improvement of Livorno, which became Tuscany's main port and a sanctuary for merchants of all nations and creeds. In the reign of Francesco, a wave of palace construction reflected increased patrician investment in buildings.

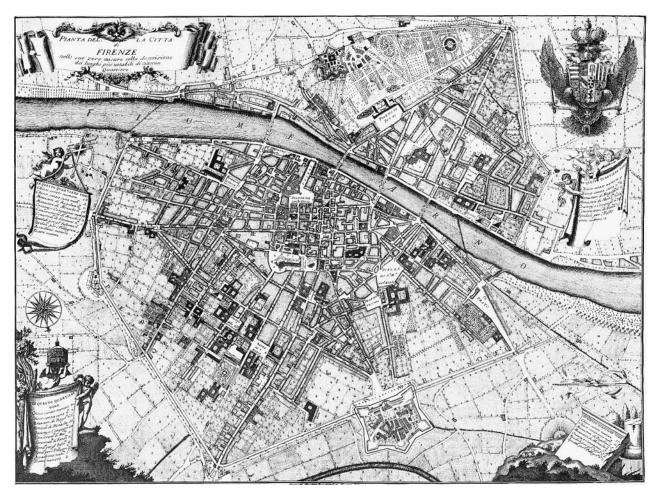
Florence's economic power rested upon two industries, international banking and textiles, though the great Medici bank collapsed by 1494. Good raw wool, imported from England, Spain, and elsewhere, was spun by thousands of country women and then woven into cloth on looms. Until the mid-fourteenth century, women dominated the weaving trade, but were then replaced by German immigrant males. By the late sixteenth century, women once again flocked to the trade, and they constituted nearly two-thirds of wool weavers by 1604.

Smaller but still important was Florence's silk industry, producing high-quality, luxury goods. Women played important roles in cultivating mulberry trees, harvesting the leaves on which the silkworms fed, caring for the silk cocoons, and spinning the raw silk into thread. As with the wool industry, women tended to carry out production tasks associated with plain cloth, not with fine, highly decorative textiles.

Other important industries included international trade, printing, and glassmaking. Florentine merchants could be found in every corner of Europe. Cosimo I subsidized the press of Laurens Lenaerts (known in Florence as Lorenzo Torrentino), who published works in the vernacular, Latin, and Greek, among them the first edition of Vasari's *Lives* (1550). Torrentino's successors served as printers to the grand dukes until the late eighteenth century. A painting by Giovanni Maria Butteri from the early 1570s of a glass factory, built for Francesco I, hints at the importance of that industry.

POPULATION

In 1427 Florence held about 40,000 permanent inhabitants, not including clergy, about one-third of its estimated population prior to the Black Death of 1348. The 1552 census counted about 60,000 residents, including clergy. The number rose to about 75,000 by 1600. The population was unusually literate; between a quarter and a third of Florentines could read and write during the Renaissance.



Florence. Guiseppe Bouchard's beautifully engraved 1755 plan of the city of Florence identifies many of its architectural treasures. The city reached its cultural height in the fifteenth century under the patronage of the Medicis, especially Cosimo (d. 1464) and Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492). At the time of this map the city and the Duchy of Tuscany had passed to Francis of Lorraine, the future Francis I of Austria; Austrian rule lasted throughout the eighteenth century. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

Florence had an important Jewish community by the early thirteenth century. By the fifteenth century, Jews were relegated to a very few professions, notably pawnbroking. The Savonarolan republic's attempt in 1495 to expel them failed. Cosimo I granted substantial privileges to Jewish bankers in Tuscany and forbade anti-Semitic acts. In the 1550s, he opened Tuscany to settlement by Jews, an invitation accepted by many Iberian Jews, who created the first important Sephardic community in Italy. In 1571, Jews in Florence were moved to a ghetto, where they enjoyed considerable internal autonomy and where, by the century's end, they had built two synagogues. The Jewish physician Elia Montalto di Luna worked at the Medici court in the seventeenth century and produced learned scientific treatises. Although the entry of Napoleonic armies into Florence in 1799 resulted in the emancipation of the Jews, the return of the Habsburgs in 1815 forced them back into the ghetto, from which they were definitively liberated only with Italian unification.

See also Banking and Credit; Florence, Art in; Galileo Galilei; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Humanists and Humanism; Italy; Jews and Judaism; Macchiavelli, Niccolò; Medici Family; Plague; Renaissance; Vasari, Giorgio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Florentine Histories*. Translated by Laura F. Banfield and Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. Princeton, 1988. Translation of *Istorie fiorentine*. Florence's

history as compiled, on commission from the Medici, by this astute political observer.

Secondary Sources

- Acton, Harold. *The Last Medici*. Rev. ed. New York, 1980. A lively portrait of the late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Medici grand dukes.
- Brackett, John K. *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence*, 1537–1609. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1992. Analyzes the Florentine criminal justice system in the late Renaissance.
- Cochrane, Eric. Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800: A History of Florence and the Florentines in the Age of the Grand Dukes. Chicago and London, 1983. Colorful and well written; an impressionistic work for the general public with several chapters on the late Renaissance.
- Hale, J. R. Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control. London, 1977. A history of the Medici and their relationship with Florence from the early Renaissance through the reign of Gian Gastone.
- Litchfield, R. Burr. Emergence of a Bureaucracy: The Florentine Patricians, 1530–1790. Princeton, 1986. Catalogues the resilience of the Florentine elite over the longue durée.
- Menning, Carol Bresnahan. Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: The Monte di Pietà of Florence. Ithaca, N.Y., 1993. A scholarly work on Florence's charitable pawn shop through the late sixteenth century.

CAROL M. BRESNAHAN

FLORENCE, ART IN. Art in Florence during the period from 1450 to 1789 marked the transition from Florence as the birthplace of Renaissance art in Europe during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to the peak of Florence's importance during the second half of the fifteenth century and its gradual loss of artistic status to Rome and Venice in the sixteenth century. Florence under the Medici grand dukes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served as the prototype for the emergence of artistic courts such as Versailles, but it became increasingly a destination for art tourists rather than a center of artistic creativity.

LATE-FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ART

During the second half of the fifteenth century, private collectors began to replace the church and medieval guilds as the most important patrons of art in Florence. In 1459 Piero de' Medici (1416–1459), the son of Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464)

and father of Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449-1492), commissioned Benozzo Gozzoli (born Benozzo di Lese, c. 1421–1497) to paint the Medici family's private chapel in their original palace. The frescoes, one of the last great examples of the international Gothic style, depicted the journey of the magi with members of the Medici family appearing as portraits in the painting. Another leading Florentine family, the Rucellai, commissioned Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), the leading architect of the fifteenth century, to design their family palace and the facade of their parish church, the most important edifice of the Dominican order in Florence, Sta. Maria Novella (c. 1458-1470). Tomasso Portinari, the Bruges representative of the Medici, exerted an enormous influence on the development of Florentine painting during the late 1470s when the altarpiece he had commissioned from the Flemish artist Hugo van der Goes (active 1467-1482), Adoration of the Magi (1476–1478, Uffizi), arrived in Florence in 1478 at the Church of St. Egidio. Domenico Ghirlandajo (born Domenico di Tommaso Bigordi, c. 1448–1494) closely modeled his *Adora*tion of the Shepherds (1483-1486) after Portinari's painting for the family chapel of Francesco Sassetti in Sta. Trinita (probably the finest ecclesiastical interior decoration of the era). Ghirlandajo was the most prolific fresco painter of his age, and perhaps the greatest influence he would have on the future development of Italian painting occurred in 1488 when the then thirteen-year-old Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) served as his apprentice and developed the fresco skills that would prove so valuable when he painted the Sistine ceiling.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was also influenced by the Portinari altar. His *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi), commissioned by the monks of St. Donato a Scopeto in 1481 and left unfinished in 1482 when Leonardo left Florence for Milan, is especially close to the almost shocking realism and psychological depth of Hugo's altar. Leonardo apprenticed with Andrea del Verrocchio (born Andrea di Michele di Francesco Cione, 1435–1488) who had replaced Donatello (born Donato di Niccolo, 1386?–1466) as Florence's leading sculptor. Verrocchio is best remembered for his impressive *Christ and Doubting Thomas* (1465–1483), prominently situated on Orsanmichele in the center of Florence, and his playful *David* (c. 1476), commissioned by

Lorenzo de' Medici and currently in the Bargello (the former Palazzo del Podesta and now the leading museum for sculpture in Florence). Both of Verrocchio's statues reflect the concern for emotions and drama that would be so central to Leonardo's style. The interest of Leonardo and Michelangelo in anatomy was foreshadowed by the work of Antonio del Pollaiuolo (born Antonio di Jacopo Benci, c. 1431–1498) whose engraving *Battle of the Nudes* (c. 1465, Metropolitan Museum, New York) was the largest Florentine print of the fifteenth century and served artists as a model for nude figures in a variety of poses.

The best-known work of this era is certainly the Birth of Venus by Sandro Botticelli (born Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi, 1445-1510) in the Uffizi (commissioned by Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici for his Villa di Castello). The Neoplatonic theme of celestial Venus expressing divine love is the clearest example of the revival of pagan antiquity in Florence during the Renaissance and is typical of the transformation of art from a predominantly Christian to an overwhelmingly secular medium. The nude Roman goddess of love was symptomatic of the type of art and literature that would soon spark a backlash, advocated by the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola, against the revival of Greco-Roman civilization. Savonarola was a puritanical forerunner of Martin Luther, and his attacks against the increasingly pagan nature of Florentine civilization resulted in the expulsion of the Medici in 1494 and a brief theocratic regime until he was burned at the stake for heresy in 1498.

Before leaving Florence in 1494 after the fall of the Medici, Michelangelo had been a close associate of the family since 1489 and carved his early marble relief sculptures, the *Madonna of the Stairs* (1489–1492, Casa Buonarroti, Florence) and the *Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (c. 1492, Casa Buonarroti), which remain unfinished (like so much of his work). Both powerful and dynamic works, although modest in scale, illustrate Michelangelo's troubled psyche and his lifelong obsession with classical forms in a variety of complex postures.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Prior to the return of the Medici in 1512, Michelangelo, who had been in Bologna and Rome in 1494–1501, designed a fresco that depicted the Battle of

Cascina, a scene from the war of 1364 with Pisa (c. 1504-1506; abandoned in 1506 when Michelangelo left for Rome to work for Pope Julius II). The fresco was intended for the Florentine Republic's main assembly hall, the Salone del Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio, and was a reference to Florence's loss of Pisa in 1494 and its subsequent reconquest in 1502. The city was redecorating the Palazzo Vecchio (then serving as the seat of government of Florence) to emulate the lavish Doge's Palace (the principal government building) in Venice. Michelangelo was in direct competition with Leonardo (in Florence from 1500-1508), whose Battle of Anghiari (c. 1503-1506; destroyed in 1506) depicted the battle of 1440 against Pisa. Michelangelo's David (1501-1504; moved in 1873 to the Galleria dell' Accademia), originally commissioned by the Opera of the Cathedral to be placed on a buttress below the dome, was eventually placed at the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio, as a defiant symbol of the republic (the young underdog David against the evil giant Goliath, symbolizing in Florence's case Rome or Milan). Michelangelo had gained a reputation as an adept forger of classical antiquities; with David he laid claim for the first time to being superior to any of the Greco-Roman sculptors.

Before departing for Rome in 1505 to work for Pope Julius II, Michelangelo completed his only panel painting, the *Doni Tondo* (Uffizi), for the wedding of Angelo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi. The crisp sculptural style of the work and its twisting Madonna clearly illustrate Michelangelo's belief that the more painting resembles sculpture, the better it is. The bright, almost neonlike colors would be seen again in the Sistine ceiling (recently cleaned) and later in the disturbingly beautiful paintings of Pontormo.

After Michelangelo, Leonardo, and Raphael (born Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520; in Florence in 1504–1508) left Tuscany, the leading painter was by default Andrea del Sarto (born Andrea d'Agnolo, 1486–1530), whose aloof and somewhat eerie *Madonna of the Harpies* (1517, Uffizi) signaled the transition from the High Renaissance to mannerism. The High Renaissance (1500–1520) is generally considered the zenith of Italian art; the twentieth century became fascinated with the succeeding era, mannerism (1520–1600), because of its richer,

if somewhat frightening, psychological content. Sarto's pupil Jacopo da Pontormo (born Jacopo Carrucci, 1496–1557) emerged as the first leading mannerist during the 1520s; his bizarrely haunting Deposition (c. 1526-1528) in Sta. Felicita is deservedly the best-known early mannerist painting. Pontormo was further influenced by Michelangelo's New Sacristy in St. Lorenzo (1519-1534), commissioned by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (1478-1534), who became Pope Clement VII, for the duke of Nemours (Giuliano de' Medici, 1479-1516) and the duke of Urbino (Lorenzo de' Medici, 1492-1519). The depiction of the Medici dukes as elongated moody aristocrats typified the new mannerist ideal for the human figure. Michelangelo remained in Florence until 1534, when the Medici pope Clement VII died, and then the artist left permanently for Rome, where he died in 1564. His project for the facade of St. Lorenzo (1517), commissioned by Pope Leo X (born Giovanni de' Medici, 1475-1521), was canceled in 1520 (the model survives in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence), but he designed the addition to the Medici parish church of St. Lorenzo that houses the Medicis' private book collection, the Laurentian Library (1524-1534; stairway completed 1559), for Pope Clement VII.

In 1532 Alessandro de' Medici (1510–1537), a somewhat obscure member of the Medici family (he was the son of the duke of Urbino portrayed in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel in St. Lorenzo and the brother of Catherine de Médicis, who married King Henry II of France), became the first duke of Florence. After the marriage of his distant cousin Cosimo I (1519–1574), who replaced him as duke, to Eleonora of Toledo (1522-1562) in 1539, the Palazzo Vecchio became the new Medici residence in 1540. Pontormo's pupil Il Bronzino (born Agnolo di Cosimo, 1503-1572) emerged as the leading painter of the polished and aristocratic Maniera of the mid-sixteenth century and painted the most typical panels of this era, the haughty *Eleonora* of Toledo and Her Son Giovanni de' Medici (c. 1540, Uffizi) and the sophisticated and complex Allegory of Venus that was given to King Francis I of France by Duke Cosimo de' Medici (c. 1546, National Gallery, London). Giorgio Vasari, the famous historian of Italian Renaissance art, was appointed court architect and painter in 1554, and in 1565 he

stripped and refurbished Florence's two most important parish churches, the Franciscan Order's Sta. Croce and the Dominican Order's Sta. Maria Novella.

The Arezzeria Medicea was founded in 1554 to produce tapestries, and in 1563 the Accademia del Disegno, the world's first art academy, was established to raise the status of artists from the medieval guilds. In 1564 the academy's first assignment was to supervise the funeral of Michelangelo, whose body had been stolen from Rome by the Florentines; the following year the academy was placed in charge of the decorations for the wedding of Francesco I (1541-1587) and Joanna of Austria. Florence annexed Siena and in 1569 became the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (a reference to the Etruscans, who Florentines proudly noted had predated the Romans). Vasari signaled the transformation of Florence from the birthplace of the Renaissance to a tourist destination with his construction of the Galleria degli Uffizi (1560-1580), originally the offices of the Grand Duchy and now Florence's premier art museum, and his publication of the Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects (1550, revised 1568). Vasari also supervised the design and construction of the playful and highly decorative studio of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio (1570–1572), which has become a symbol of the overly precious nature of late mannerism in Florence. Because of the nature of the room, a small walk-in closet where the semiprecious jewel collection of the duke's son was stored, all the paintings were small and depicted obscure subjects. Vasari contributed images of Perseus and Andromeda, and Bronzino's pupil and Francesco's favorite painter, Alessandro Allori (1535-1607), created the *Pearl Fishers*, which is probably the most familiar painting of late-sixteenth-century Florence and unfortunately has become a symbol of the city's decline into relative insignificance in relation to Rome and Venice.

Perhaps the best-known example of mannerist sculpture is Benvenuto Cellini's elegant bronze *Perseus and Medusa* (1545–1554), commissioned by Duke Cosimo de' Medici and placed prominently on the Loggia dei Lanzi opposite Michelangelo's *David*. Bartolommeo Ammannati (1511–1592) also participated in the decoration of the Piazza della Signoria in front of the new Medici

residence with his elaborate Neptune fountain (1560-1575). After the religious climate changed in Florence, Ammannati in 1582 wrote a letter to the Accademia apologizing for the nudes created for the Neptune fountain and urging artists to paint and carve fully draped figures. Ammannati also designed the bridge downstream from the Ponte Vecchio, the Ponte Santa Trinita (1566; destroyed by the Nazis during their retreat in World War II and rebuilt by the American art historian Bernard Berenson after 1945), and the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti (1558–1570) that, coupled with the Boboli Gardens (begun during the second half of the sixteenth century behind the Pitti Palace), made the complex a prototype for the elaborate palace and garden estate of Versailles. Giovanni da Bologna or Giambologna (born Jean Boulogne, 1529-1608) anticipated the melodramatic style of Bernini with his proto-baroque Rape of the Sabine Women (1583, Loggia dei Lanzi); he was also commissioned to decorate Florence with equestrian statues of the Medici: Cosimo I in Piazza della Signoria (1587–1593) and Francesco I (1608) in Piazza SS. Annunziata.

Sixteenth-century painting after Bronzino has been largely ignored. Bernard Berenson, the pioneer of modern Italian Renaissance art history, ended his lists of the Florentine painters with Bronzino, and Heinrich Wölfflin, in his Classic Art, cavalierly dismissed the importance of central Italian painting in the last third of the cinquecento with a brief postscript to his chapter on the late Michelangelo that he labeled "The Decline." This period was one of crisis and transition for central Italian art. Although mannerism remained the dominant style until the emergence of the baroque school around 1600, it became increasingly controversial after 1563, the year the Council of Trent issued its decrees that launched the Counter-Reformatory movement in religious art. One of the first Italian artists to break openly with the Maniera and conform closely with the demands of the Counter-Reformation was the Florentine painter Santi di Tito (1536-1603), who, during the final third of the century, quietly yet thoroughly transformed the high Maniera of his master Bronzino. Santi's best paintings are the Resurrection and Supper at Emmaus (early 1570s, Sta. Croce) and the altarpieces that anticipated by a generation the ba-



Art in Florence. Judith with the Head of Holofernes by Cristofano Allori. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI/CORBIS

roque style that would emerge in Bologna and Rome. Even more progressive was Santi's pupil Lodovico Cardi Cigoli (1559-1613) who, in addition to mastering Santi's style, also discovered the proto-baroque painters Federico Barocci (1526-1612) and Correggio (born Antonio Allegri, c. 1494-1534). Zacaria Tonelli commissioned Cigoli's Martyrdom of St. Stephen (1597) for the Chiesa del Convento di Montedomini; it was moved in 1814 to various museums in Florence. From 1928 it hung in the Pitti, where it was greatly admired by Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669), who considered the painting to be the best in Florence. According to Filippo Baldinucci (1624–1696), the leading Florentine art historian of the seventeenth century, the work earned Cigoli the epithet "Correggio Fiorentino."

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The seventeenth century began auspiciously for Florence with the wedding of Henry IV, king of France, and Marie de Médicis (1573–1642; daughter of Grand duke Francesco de' Medici [1541–

1587]). Marie's children would be the future king of France (Louis XIII, 1601–1643) and the queen of England (Henrietta Maria, 1609–1669, wife of King Charles I). The collection at the then recently completed Uffizi was updated in 1608 when Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte gave Grand Duke Ferdinando I (1549–1609) *Bacchus* by Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, 1573–1610). The galleries of the Uffizi and Pitti that housed the Medici paintings especially benefited from the gifts of Grand Duke Ferdinando II (1610–1670) and his brother Cardinal Leopoldo (1617–1675).

Among the artists present in Florence in the seicento was Artemisia Gentileschi (c. 1597-after 1651) who resided in the city during the second decade of the seventeenth century. The most important paintings of the seventeenth century in Florence were the frescoes by Pietro da Cortona in the Palazzo Pitti (1637 and 1640–1647) that transferred the high baroque style of his ceiling painting in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (1633-1639) to Florence. The Neapolitan painter Luca Giordano (1632–1705) completed a similar baroque cycle in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, the Apotheosis of the Dynasty of the Medici (1682–1683), and also painted the cupola of the Corsini Chapel in the Carmine. The most spectacular example of baroque sculpture and architecture was created in the Medici parish church of St. Lorenzo adjacent to Michelangelo's new sacristy, the extremely ornate Princes' Chapel (1604-1610) by Matteo Nigetti (active 1604-died 1649).

The conservative sixteenth-century tradition of Florentine painting continued under the son of Alessandro Allori, Cristofano Allori (1577–1621), whose Judith with the Head of Holofernes (1616, Pitti) reflects the traditional branch of Florentine baroque painting that seems little changed since the time of Bronzino. Cristofano Allori and Artemisia Gentileschi were among the artists who participated in the decoration of the Sala della Gloria di Michelangelo in the Casa Buonarroti (1613), which was a Florentine baroque version of the late mannerist studio in the Palazzo Vecchio. Carlo Dolci (1616-1686), the miniaturist much beloved by Grand Duchess Vittoria, painted saints in adoration or ecstasy in a very similar tradition. The most important palace of the seventeenth century was the Palazzo

Corsini (1648–1656), which currently houses the best Florentine private art collection, begun in 1765 by Lorenzo Corsini, the nephew of Pope Clement XII.

In the eighteenth century the Venetian painter Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) worked in the Palazzo Marucelli (c. 1706), and Florence officially became the world center for art tourism in 1743 when Anna Maria Ludovica de' Medici (1667–1743), electress palatine and the final member of the Medici dynasty, gave the Medici art collection to the city. Luigi Lanzi modernized the Medici Museum at the Uffizi in 1780, and one of the city's top attractions, Masaccio's Brancacci Chapel, was miraculously spared by the fire that destroyed the Carmine in 1771. The rebuilt church (finished in 1782) is perhaps the best example of eighteenth-century architecture.

See also Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Cellini, Benvenuto; Florence; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Leonardo da Vinci; Medici Family; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Raphael; Vasari, Giorgio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andres, Glenn, John M. Hunisak, and Richard A. Turner. The Art of Florence. 2 vols. New York, 1988.
- Campbell, Malcolm. Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace. Princeton, 1977.
- Chiarini, M. The Twilight of the Medici: Late Baroque Art in Florence, 1670–1743. Florence, 1974.
- Cox-Rearick, Janet. Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio. Berkeley, 1993.
- Franklin, David. *Painting in Renaissance Florence*, 1500–50. New Haven and London, 2001.
- Freedberg, S. J. Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence. 2nd ed. New York, 1972.
- Goldberg, Edward L. After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence. Princeton, 1988.
- Guidi, Giuliana, and Daniela Marucci. *Il Seicento Fiorentino:*Arte a Firenze da Ferdinando I a Cosino III. Florence, 1986.
- Hall, Marcia B. Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta. Maria Novella and Sta. Croce, 1565–1577. Oxford, 1979.
- ——. After Raphael: Painting in Central Italy in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge, U.K., 1999.
- Pilliod, E. Pontormo, Bronzino, and Allori: A Genealogy of Florentine Art. New Haven, 2001.

JACK J. SPALDING

FLORIDABLANCA, JOSÉ MOÑINO, COUNT OF (1728–1808), Spanish statesman and minister to Charles III and Charles IV of Spain. Moñino was born the son of a notary in Murcia. He studied law at the University of Salamanca, and his skill as a lawyer attracted the attention of Charles III's minister Leopoldo di Grigorio, the marqués de Squillace (1700–1785). In 1764, Charles III (ruled 1759–1788) made Moñino a *fiscal*, 'ministerial official', of the Council of Castile, the supreme executive, legislative, and judicial body in eighteenth-century Spain.

Moñino was a proponent of regalism, which asserted the absolute authority of the sovereign over the temporal affairs of the church. The government of Charles III launched an aggressive regalist program to reform the Spanish church in the 1760s. The Jesuits were the most powerful religious order in Spain and were widely perceived to be most staunchly loyal to the authority of the pope. The order thus became a particular target of the crown, which used a domestic political crisis to expel them from Spain in 1767. As a fiscal of the Council, Moñino took an active role in eliminating the Jesuits. He was sent to Rome in 1773 to negotiate their dissolution, and he convinced the pope to issue the papal brief that suppressed the order entirely. For this success, Charles III granted Moñino the title of count of Floridablanca.

In 1777, Floridablanca replaced Jerónimo Grimaldi (1720-1786) as first secretary of state and became the principal minister to Charles III. His ministry was productive both abroad and at home. Floridablanca was a skilled diplomat who worked to build Spain's position in Europe and assert its independence from the influence of France in matters of foreign policy. He secured alliances with major powers Prussia and Russia. He improved relations with Portugal and secured Spain's sovereignty over the American colony of Sacramento in the Río de la Plata region, a territory that had sparked conflict earlier in the century. He negotiated peace and secured trade relations with the North African kingdoms and Turkey, stabilizing Spain's position in a Mediterranean plagued by decades of military hostility and escalating piracy.

Floridablanca was equally ambitious in domestic policy. Charles III was Spain's "enlightened"



José Moñino, count of Floridablanca. Portrait by Goya.

@Archivo Iconografico, S.A./Corbis

eighteenth-century monarch, the Bourbon reformer who introduced sweeping changes to the administration, economy, urban environments, and social practices of Spain and Spanish America. Floridablanca embodied this spirit of reform and led a circle of like-minded ministers. Like his friend and colleague Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723–1803), he believed in the importance of agriculture for the Spanish economy and promoted agrarian reform and innovation. He directed national projects of road building and irrigation, and was instrumental in founding the first national bank, the Banco de San Carlos. In addition, he worked to reform education and to modernize university curriculums, whose traditional focus under the intellectual control of the Jesuits had been theology and

canon law, by emphasizing science and the new ideas that were transforming Europe.

Through most of his political career, Floridablanca was a champion of enlightenment and reform, yet he was also an adamant defender of absolute monarchy. This determination guided his reaction to the political turmoil of the French Revolution, which began in 1789. As events unfolded in France, Floridablanca became increasingly fearful of the effects that revolutionary ideology might have in Spain and took steps to stem the "contagion." In 1791, he instituted strict border controls and prohibited the entry into Spain of anything that alluded to events in France.

While opinion in Spain was largely against the cause of revolutionary France, Floridablanca's rabid opposition nonetheless made him a target. In June 1790, a French priest who was a revolutionary sympathizer made an attempt on his life, stabbing him as he walked through the royal palace at Aranjuez. Of more lasting consequence, Floridablanca's hostile policies toward France accelerated the disintegration of its previously amicable relationship with Spain, finally forcing Charles IV (ruled 1788–1808) to succumb to pressure and dismiss him in February 1792.

His successor was Pedro Abarca, count of Aranda (1719–1798), who had long attempted to unseat Floridablanca through court intrigues. Aranda accused Floridablanca of criminal abuses of power and imprisoned him in Pamplona, but he was quickly replaced by Manuel de Godoy (1767–1851) in December 1792. Godoy exonerated Floridablanca of the charges against him in April 1794, whereupon he retired to his native Murcia.

Floridablanca reemerged briefly as a political actor during the crisis of 1808, when Napoleon invaded and divided Spain into anti- and pro-French factions. He was elected to the Supreme Central Junta of the new Spanish government that formed in opposition to Napoleon and his brother Joseph Bonaparte (1768–1844), whom Napoleon had placed on the Spanish throne. Shortly after his election, however, Floridablanca died in Seville, in December 1808.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Charles III (Spain); Charles IV (Spain); Jesuits; Revolutions, Age of; Spain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hernández Franco, Juan. La gestión política y el pensamiento reformista del Conde de Floridablanca. Murcia, 1984.

Herr, Richard. The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain. Princeton, 1958.

——. An Historical Essay on Modern Spain. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1971.

Lynch, John. Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808. Oxford, 1989.

JULIANNE GILLAND

FOLK TALES AND FAIRY TALES.

Fairy tales, folk tales, and learned literature have markedly different histories and characteristics.

FAIRY TALES

Fabulous transformations of creatures from one form to another, special numbers (3, 7, 12, 40), speaking animals, and fairy beings have existed as literary motifs since antiquity, as has the theme of a parallel but alternative world inhabited by gods, goddesses, or fairy creatures that impinges on human lives. In the later Middle Ages, individual romances incorporated such elements, as did the early and influential collection, *Gesta Romanorum* (midfourteenth century).

In Renaissance Venice, Giovan Francesco Straparola (c. 1480–c. 1555) reformulated existing romance materials into a handful of "restoration" fairy tales about princes and princesses who lose their royal positions, later regaining them through magical intervention. Straparola also invented a new kind of "rise" plot in which poor girls or boys—through magical intervention—marry princes, kings, or princesses, thereby gaining great wealth. Straparola's restoration and rise tales, together with recycled urban tales in his *Piacevoli Notti* (1550–1553; variously translated as The facetious, pleasant, or delectable nights), addressed the interests of literate readers of all classes and sold correspondingly well, as evidenced by frequent reprintings.

A second strand in the European fairy tale tradition emerged in Naples in *Lo cunto de li cunti over lo trattenemiento de li peccerille* by Giambattista Basile (c. 1575–1632). Initially published in 1634–1636, the collection's fifty stories had little immediate influence outside Italy. Straparola's collection, however, first translated into French in 1560 and pub-

lished in France a total of sixteen times, was repeatedly scavenged for plots by Mme Catherine d'Aulnoy (c. 1650–1705) and her circle, as well as by Charles Perrault (1628–1703) and his niece Mlle Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier (c. 1664–1734) from the 1690s onward.

Contemporary with one another, the fairy tales of Mme. d'Aulnoy (first published in 1690, 1697, and 1698) and the folk and fairy tales of Charles Perrault (initially published in 1691, 1693, 1694, 1696, and 1697) differed profoundly from one another. Mme. d'Aulnoy favored exuberant vocabulary and elaborate plots whose characters' jostlings with the fairy realm might benefit, but could sometimes destroy, them. Her tales quickly spread to England, where three successive translations and reworkings made them available to "the ladies of Great Britain," then to the middle class, subsequently to an artisanal readership, and in the 1770s in a format for children. Perrault, on the other hand, imitated the simpler plots and stories of the popular press (bibliothèque bleue), which a generation later began to publish them, spreading them to humble readers throughout France. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, J. A. Galland's multivolume Thousand and One Nights (1704-1717), drawn from Near Eastern tradition, vastly enlarged the European repertoire of exotic plots, characters, and motifs.

The sheer number of fairy tale collections in eighteenth-century France—in addition to those of individual authors, collected editions appeared in 1710, 1717, 1718, 1731–35, 1732, 1754, 1764–1765, and most famously in the *Cabinet des Fées* in 1785–1789—elicited fairy tale parodies, which ranged from amusingly ironic to licentiously erotic. The same collections provided German publishing houses with stories for a growing German readership, and by 1789 Germany was saturated with fairy tales that no longer bore identifying marks of their French origins. In sharp contrast, religious censorship of print publications in Spain emptied that country of the fairy tales shared by Italy, France, and Germany.

In Germany, fairy tales as reformulated by Clemens Brentano, Achim von Arnim, and above all, by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm exerted a powerful influence on later Romantics. Consequently, they became an integral part of early-nineteenth-century writing, notably that of Novalis, Ludwig Tieck, Carl Wilhelm Salice Contessa, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Christian August Vulpius, and even Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who composed an elaborate literary fairy tale. That literary tradition continued in the work of Wilhelm Hauff, Eduard Mörike, and Gottfried Keller.

Nation-forming imperatives in the nineteenth century used the widespread knowledge of fairy tales among the general population to postulate a theory of oral transmission among the folk. Although this view has been increasingly undermined by studies of literary transmission, a new consensus has not yet emerged.

FOLK TALES

In tales anointed with the name of Aesop, animals enact simple plots in ways that have been held to exemplify universal truths about human behavior. Attributed to a Greek slave of the sixth century B.C.E., this corpus now incorporates tales from Indic and Arabic traditions. Often part of Latin school curricula in the medieval, Renaissance, and early modern periods, Aesopic tales comprised one of the earliest components of children's literature in the vernacular.

Medieval Renard tales—mock courtly romances with stock characters (Renard the fox, Ysengrin the wolf), inverted plots, and parodistic characteristics—survived in early modern chapbooks, small, cheap pamphlet-like books. Both Aesopic material and the Renard cycle provided models for speaking animals in early modern magic tales.

A second body of folk material, *The Fables of Bidpai* or *Pilpay* (also known as *Kalila and Dimna*) derived from the ancient Indian *Panchatantra* and passed through Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Old Spanish, and finally Latin (as the *Directorium humanae vitae* of Johannes of Capua, c. 1270) before entering European vernaculars. Its stories, like those in the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus (c. 1065–1122 or later), were well suited to use in sermons, and in the baroque period both Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests introduced them into homilies, thus (re)familiarizing their listeners with folk tale plots and characters.

Folk tales with human characters follow characteristic social trajectories, with poor protagonists generally remaining in their low estate, though sometimes with a magic alleviation of their suffering. Documented as long ago as the mid-fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum*, the magic foodproducing pouch of the Fortunatus cycle is an ancient example of this kind of tale.

LEARNED TRADITION

Fairy tales, folk tales, and folk belief have frequently entered the learned arts. Opera repeatedly adopted folk tale plots, such as several Tom Thumb operas in England in the early eighteenth century, *Il paese della Cuccagna* (The Land of Cockaigne, 1750) as well as operas based on fairy tales, such as *Cendrillon* (Cinderella, 1759), *Zémire et Azor* (1771), *Raoul Barbe-bleue* (Raoul Bluebeard, 1789), and *Aladdin* (1789). Much the same is true of ballet. In England, folk belief also penetrated Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1595).

By far the more frequent phenomenon, however, is movement from learned literature to folk tradition. Giovanni Boccaccio's "Griselda" tale in the *Decameron* (1351–1353), his own creation, reappeared in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387–1400), but it was a Latin translation of Boccaccio's tale by Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) that disseminated this misogynistic tale throughout Europe in a single version that was subsequently translated into the folk literature of every European vernacular. Universal themes evident in "folk" fairy tales such as those of Perrault and Grimm sometimes mirror those in learned literature.

Between 1500 and 1789 fairy tales represented a novella-like subgenre in the evolution of the modern novel. Literary fairy tales (Straparola's restoration tales, and the fairy tales of Mme. d'Aulnoy and her circle) consist of serial adventures characteristic of picaresque novels. In contrast, "folk" fairy tales typically have fewer adventures and a simpler, repetitive vocabulary, characteristics that reflect the different audiences and readerships among which they flourished.

See also French Literature and Language; German Literature and Language; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Italian Literature and Language; Magic; Novalis; Opera; Romanticism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Basile, Giambattista. *The Pentamerone*. Translated by Benedetto Croce and N. M. Penzer. Westport, Conn., 1979. Translation of *Lo cunto de li cunti* (1634–1636).
- Grimm, Jacob, and Wilhelm Grimm. Grimms' Tales for Young and Old: The Complete Stories. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Garden City, N.Y., 1977. Translation of Kinder- und Hausmärchen (1857).
- Straparola, Giovanni Francesco. *The Facetious Nights of Straparola*. Translated by W. G. Waters. London, 1898. Translation of *Le piacevoli notti*. (1551, 1553).
- Zipes, Jack, ed. Beauties, Beasts and Enchantment. Classic French Fairy Tales. Translated by Jack Zipes. New York, 1989.

Secondary Sources

- Bottigheimer, Ruth B. Fairy Godfather: Straparola, Venice, and the European Fairy Tale Tradition. Philadelphia, 2002.
- ——. Grimms' Bad Girls and Bold Boys: The Moral and Social Vision of the Tales. New Haven, 1987.
- Canepa, Nancy. From Court to Forest: Giambattista Basile's "Lo cunto de li cunti" and the Birth of the Literary Fairy Tale. Detroit, 1999.
- Grätz, Manfred. Das Märchen in der deutschen Aufklärung: Vom Feenmärchen zum Volksmärchen. Stuttgart, 1988.
- Opie, Iona, and Peter Opie, compilers. *The Classic Fairy Tales*. Oxford and New York, 1992.
- Rölleke, Heinz. Die Märchen der Brüder Grimm: Eine Einführung. Munich, 1985.

RUTH B. BOTTIGHEIMER

FONTAINEBLEAU, SCHOOL OF.

The school of Fontainebleau takes its name from the château of Fontainebleau, located about thirtyseven miles southeast of Paris, the preferred residence of King Francis I (ruled 1515-1547). The term does not pertain to an educational institution. Rather, it refers to a cohesive group of artists engaged by the king, and after his death by his son Henry II, to decorate interiors of the château with frescoes, elaborately carved wood paneling and stucco sculptures, and by extension, the style of this décor and the prints (particularly those from c. 1542–1547) that reproduced the compositions of many of the frescoes. Indeed, Henri Zerner pointed out (The French Renaissance in Prints, p. 22) that the expression "school of Fontainebleau" was first used by Adam Bartsch (1818), one of the foremost authorities on graphic art, to classify the etchings and engravings produced by the artists employed at Fontainebleau, or in their style. (The "second school" of Fontainebleau was the next generation of artists who worked at Fontainebleau, around 1600.)

Led by the Florentine painter Rosso Fiorentino (born Giovanni Battista di Jacopo de' Rossi, or di Guasparre, 1494–1540) and the Bolognese Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), the artists of the school of Fontainebleau were not only French but also included a number of Italians and some Flemish painters and draftsmen (e.g., Luca Penni, Étienne Delaune, Geoffroy Dumoustier, Léonard Thiry, René Boyvin, Antonio Fantuzzi, Giorgio Mantovano Ghisi, Pierre Milan, and Domenico del Barbiere, also called Dominique Florentin, who was also a sculptor). They produced figures in a mannered style characterized by sinuous lines and

elongated proportions, frequently arranged in difficult, unrealistic poses. A sense of anguished urgency runs through nearly all of Rosso's compositions. His suicide called attention to the tormented quality of his work.

Rosso was recommended to Francis I by the Venetian poet Aretino, who was the painter's friend. Although the king's predecessors Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) and Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515) fostered a keen interest in the Italian revival of classical antiquity, Francis I had a single-mindedness of purpose that caused Italian mannerism to be directly transplanted into France. After his military campaigns in Italy met with disaster, he seems to have resolved to use the arts instead to become the rival of Charles V, the popes, and Henry VIII. He accomplished this through sophisticated alterations in his palace at Blois; the creation of a gigantic castle of Chambord; a new château ironically named



School of Fontainebleau. A view of the Galerie François I in the Château de Fontainebleau shows the elaborately carved dado and frescoes above. ©ROBERT HOLMES/CORBIS

"Madrid"; and the enlargement and embellishment of the old château at Fontainebleau.

The key ensemble at Fontainebleau is the Galerie François Ier (gallery of Francis I), a long, relatively narrow passageway constructed in 1528 to link the early château with a nearby abbey. Although the gallery was structurally altered over the years, the interior decoration (mostly completed in 1534-1536) continues to inspire fascination. The walls are lined by a high wood dado, originally created by Scibec de' Carpi, carved with Italianate decorative motifs called strapwork that imitate heavy coils of stiffened leather. The king's emblem, the salamander, appears throughout. Above the dado stretches a series of frescoes depicting classical myths and abstruse allegories related to the king's reign. Sumptuous stucco frames surround and link the frescoes. They comprise not only decorative moldings and reliefs (and subsidiary frescoes), but also nearly life-size, almost freestanding human figures of extraordinary intricacy and elegance. Rosso is credited with the entire design, but because Primaticcio had previously worked in stucco while employed in Mantua, he is believed to have collaborated on the stuccos. A series of tapestries begun during Rosso's lifetime (now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) reproduces scenes from the gallery, although with numerous variations. The strapwork of the famous stucco frames, where animate and inanimate forms seem interchangeable, was disseminated throughout Europe by engravings. In some of these, the mythological subjects of the frescoes were later replaced by landscapes, which had broader appeal.

Primaticcio was responsible for several outstanding decorative ensembles at Fontainebleau, among them the *chambre du roi* (king's bedroom, 1533–1535), the *chambre de la duchesse d'Étampes* (bedroom of the king's mistress, the duchess of Étampes, 1541–1544), the gallery of Ulysses (mostly 1541–1549), and most impressive of all, the *salle de bal* (ballroom, c. 1551–1557). In contrast with the gallery of Francis I, the ballroom has spacious proportions; its mythological frescoes depict festive subjects in keeping with its function. The muscular, superhuman proportions of Primaticcio's figures, inspired by Michelangelo's, decisively influenced French art of the time, not only in the paintings of Primaticcio's most important collaborator,

Niccolò dell' Abbate (and even later in the work of Ambroise Dubois and Toussaint Dubreuil, of the second school of Fontainebleau), but also in the sculptures of the great Germain Pilon, who may have been employed at Fontainebleau early in his career.

See also France, Architecture in; France, Art in; Francis I (France); Henry II (France).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blunt, Anthony. Art and Architecture in France 1500–1700. Harmondsworth, U.K., and New York, 1977.

L'École de Fontainebleau. Exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris, 1972.

The French Renaissance in Prints. Exh. cat., UCLA/Metropolitan Museum of Art/Bibliothèque nationale, Los Angeles, New York, and Paris, 1994.

Zerner, Henri. L'art de la Renaissance en France: L'invention du classicisme. Paris, 1996.

MARY L. LEVKOFF

FOOD AND DRINK. There are few easy generalizations about the diet of early modern Europeans. Perhaps the only safe one is that, for most Europeans, grain was the most important ingredient in most food and drink: it was consumed as bread, pasta, and gruel, and drunk as beer and ale. As such, it was the prime source of nutrition for the vast majority of the population. Beyond grain, a wide diversity of foods and beverages was consumed, but their significance within diets depended on several considerations. Of these, the single most important one was availability: for the mass of Europe's population, the food and drink that were locally available were likely to be the least expensive, and therefore the most popular. The price of imported foodstuffs (whether from other countries or from other regions within one country) was inflated by the costs of transportation, so that they were more likely to find their way only into the diet of the better-off classes.

Even within the range of more accessible foods and drinks, however, there were variations based on seasonality and the costs of production and methods of preparation. Food and drink were also a sensitive expression of culture, so that the substance of diet, and also the quantities of various elements in diets, varied according to class, religion, and gender.

The following description and analysis of food and drink in early modern Europe draws a broad picture of diet and its evolution over three-and-ahalf centuries (1450-1789) while recognizing the significance of regional, class, religious, and gender variations. It also takes note of the introduction of exotic foods and drinks to the European diet in this period of expansion to the Americas and Asia. Europeans were introduced to tea, coffee, chocolate, potatoes, tomatoes, and some new spices at this time. While these commodities remained largely confined to the elites during the early modern period, they later became common in mainstream diets. To this extent, the early modern period is marked not only by strong lines of continuity in patterns of food and drink, but also by significant changes.

GRAIN

The fundamental importance of grain is the dominant fact of European diet through to the nineteenth century and even the twentieth in some regions. Grain (especially wheat and rye) was generally consumed as bread, but it could also be eaten as gruel and, especially in the Mediterranean region, as pasta. Barley was used to make ale and beer.

The centrality of grain to diet is shown by its widespread cultivation throughout Europe, and by popular concern at the size of the harvest and at impending or actual shortages. It was grown even in regions where it was a marginal crop and in areas from which its cultivation later disappeared once cheaper transportation and greater diversity in diet developed. Throughout the early modern period, the most important event of the year was the grain harvest. A good harvest indicated a certain security of survival for the coming year, but a poor harvest promised shortages and high prices, especially during the summer, in the months preceding the following year's harvest. The most common form of collective disturbances in early modern Europe were grain or bread riots provoked by shortages or by increases in bread prices.

Estimates of the importance of grain in the daily diet vary, but as a general rule we can say that, in all its forms, it could account for between 75 and 90

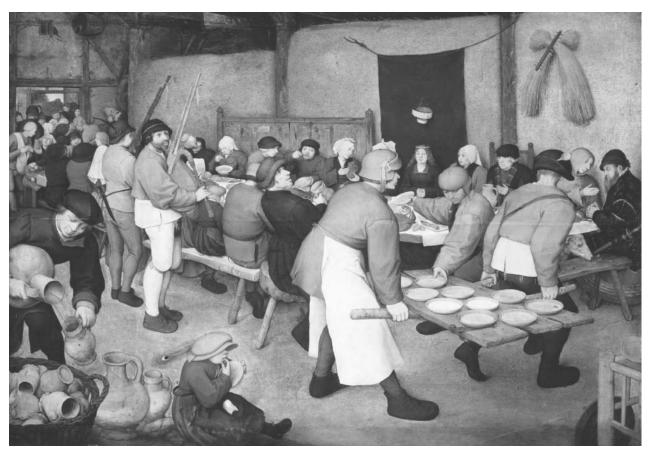
percent of the daily nutritional intake for vast numbers of Europeans. As a general rule, the better-off people were and the more varied their diet, the smaller the representation of bread in their nutritional makeup. For the rich, bread accounted for no more than 20 per cent of daily nutrition.

Bread came in many forms, most of it made from cereals (although it was also made from beans and chestnuts). One fundamental distinction was in color, as the better-off ate lighter-colored, even white, bread. This was usually made from wheat and was more thoroughly sieved to eliminate all but the finer, white grains of flour. As a result, it was more expensive. Further down the social scale, bread became darker and coarser, and it was made not only of corn, but also from rye, barley, millet, and oats, depending on the crops grown in the locality. Wealthier consumers were more likely to buy their bread on a daily basis, or several times a week, whereas the poor (especially in rural areas) tended to buy it far less often. Even when peasants baked their own bread, they avoided doing so frequently, so as to save fuel. The result was that the mass of European populations consumed what we would consider stale bread, but which was more often described as "hard" bread at the time. It was less easy to eat than fresh bread, and it was generally eaten with liquids like soup, beer, or wine to make it more easily digestible.

Cereals, especially those that made poor bread, were also consumed in liquid or semiliquid forms. Porridges, gruels, and mashes were common throughout Europe, made from cereals like oats, millet, and buckwheat. Examples are oatmeal porridge in Scotland and *kasza*, made from a variety of cereals, in eastern Europe.

MEAT

Diet in the early modern period was relatively meatless compared to both the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, and there were many complaints in the sixteenth century about the absence of meat from tables. A Swabian wrote that "in the past they ate differently at the peasant's house. Then, there was meat and food in profusion every day. . . . Today everything has truly changed . . . the food of the most comfortably off peasants is almost worse than that of day laborers and servants in the old days" (quoted in Braudel, p. 194). The deteriorat-



Food and Drink. The Peasants' Wedding, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1568–1569. The central role of food and drink in the celebration is highlighted in this painting. At left, a man dispenses beer; two others serve what appear to be pies or dishes of porridge. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, NY

ing diet was also noticed on feast days, when peasants typically ate more and better food than on ordinary workdays. A sixteenth-century peasant from Brittany longed for the times "when it was difficult for an ordinary feast day to pass by without someone from the village inviting all the rest to dinner, to eat his chicken, his gosling, his ham, his first lamb, and his pig's heart" (quoted in Braudel, p. 195).

Part of the explanation for the relative rarity of meat from the sixteenth century onward is that Europe's population grew rapidly in the 1500s. By 1600 there were about 110 million Europeans, more than the 90 million who had lived in Europe before the devastating Black Death of the 1300s. The production of many foods simply did not keep pace with demographic growth, and livestock herds were among them. Of course we must be careful not to take too literally those statements that meat had

disappeared entirely from the tables of Europe's masses. That might have been true in some regions (Sicily, for example), but meat was at least an occasional item throughout Europe. Overall, though, the trend in the early modern period was toward lower meat consumption. For example, in late-sixteenth-century Naples, about 30,000 cattle were slaughtered annually to provide meat for about 200,000 people. Two hundred years later, only 22,000 cattle were killed, but the population of the city had doubled. One of the implications of reduced meat consumption was an increase in the amount of grain consumed.

If meat was consumed at all levels of European society in the early modern period, there were huge variations by social class in the frequency with which it appeared on the table, and the amount that was consumed. It was relatively rare for the poor to eat

meat, but accounts of banquets at the other end of the social scale list daunting amounts of meat.

There was also a religious distinction following the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Church required its adherents to follow dietary rules, one of which was to abstain from meat during fast days, especially in the period of Lent. Overall, Catholics were required to abstain from meat or animal fats (butter, lard, cheese) for about 160 to 170 days a year, almost half the year. The Orthodox churches in eastern Europe were even more rigorous, demanding abstention from meat and animal products on as many as 200 days. But the Protestant churches rejected these dietary restrictions, and in regions where Protestants were the majority (northern Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Scotland, and England), meat consumption was probably more frequent and higher.

FISH

Fish and seafood were alternatives to meat and were often permitted when meat was forbidden for religious reasons. They were especially important in the diets of communities lying on the coast, not only for the fish that could be caught locally, but also because these communities were often homes of long-distance fishing fleets. Throughout the early modern period, Atlantic ports were the bases of fishing boats that traveled as far as the east coast of North America (especially off Newfoundland) in search of schools of cod while, closer at hand, boats from northern European ports trawled the North Sea for herring. Seafood, like oysters and mussels, was also harvested from the shoreline.

Freshwater fish were also caught and eaten in considerable quantities. Fishing was often a privilege, which prevented all and sundry from providing for themselves, but local markets often sold the legal catch. France's Loire River was well known for its salmon and carp, while the Rhine was famous for perch.

Overall, fish was not prized as highly as meat. While some locally caught fish and seafood might be sold fresh, everything else had to be preserved for lack of refrigeration. Preservation meant salting the fish, and there were recurrent complaints of fish that was too heavily salted and of fish that was not salted enough.

Misused it might have been from time to time, but salt was very important as a seasoning and preservative. Mined from rock salt or collected from salt pans on the coasts of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, it gave flavor to many dishes, including especially the fairly bland ones made of cereal and beans. But its greatest service was as a preservative, and without it most Europeans would not have been able to eat as much meat, fish, and vegetables as they did. So important was salt to the diet and to food preservation that some governments imposed heavy taxes on it. The French salt tax, or gabelle, was levied at different rates throughout the country (and not at all in some regions), which gave rise to a high rate of salt smuggling. Because it was a tax on such a basic item of the diet, it was much resented and was one of the first taxes abolished during the French Revolution.

The amount of salt consumed varied greatly from region to region and over time, but it was seldom less than three kilograms per capita a year, and in some places as high as nine. (For comparison, the consumption of salt from all sources in modern Western societies is a little over two kilograms.)

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Dairy products (milk, butter, cheese) were more associated with the diets of the better-off than those of the masses. Although some regionally identified cheeses, like Parmesan and Roquefort, were already well known, cheese was not widely used in cooking until the eighteenth century. It was an important source of protein, but not an inexpensive one, and it appeared infrequently in the diets of the peasants and the poor.

Milk also tended to be beyond the reach of the mass of Europe's people on any regular basis. It was consumed in some quantities by the middle and upper classes, however, as the milk supply to London shows. In winter, when the wealthy moved their houses to the capital, milk consumption rose dramatically. In summer, when these same people returned to the country, London's milk consumption fell. For such a small proportion of the population to have such an impact on milk consumption suggests that the mass of London's inhabitants, who lived there all year, consumed relatively little milk.

Butter was more common in northern Europe, where it was a valuable oil, than in the south where lard and olive oil were more frequently consumed. Butter was rarely found outside the houses of the well-off, however, and it was used extensively in the preparation of foods like sauces. It seems to have been regarded with some suspicion by southerners (some thought it caused leprosy), and some who traveled through northern Europe brought their own supplies of olive oil with them.

Eggs, on the other hand, seem to have been more common. They were relatively inexpensive, and one late-sixteenth-century commentary has it that seven eggs cost a tenth of the price of a fowl, half the price of a melon, and the same as all the bread you can eat in a day.

POTATOES AND OTHER EXOTIC FOODS

Cultural prejudices, like that of southern Europeans toward butter, were to be expected in the case of exotic foods, products imported from outside Europe. While some quickly found their way into the diets of some Europeans, depending on their wealth or location, others were accepted far more slowly. One was the potato, brought to Europe in the late 1400s and planted extensively by the 1700s, but not widely consumed as human food until the 1800s. For centuries after its arrival in Europe, the potato was regarded as fit only for animals, and it was widely regarded with suspicion as dangerous to humans. Like other vegetables that grew under the ground (such as turnips), potatoes were located at the bottom of the hierarchy of acceptable foods.

Some governments, wanting to wean their populations from reliance on cereal crops, launched campaigns to encourage people to eke out their diets with potatoes. They were only slowly successful, and in countries like France (which was later associated with a number of ways of preparing potatoes), there was strong resistance. As late as the end of the eighteenth century, some cases of insanity in France were attributed to consuming potatoes.

Other exotic foods were less problematic. Maize was imported from the Americas and was quickly adopted as an alternative cereal to those already being grown in Europe. It was generally considered a low-quality cereal, however, and was generally used to make foods like biscuits, porridge

and, in Italy, polenta. Rice also found a home in Europe, particularly in the valley of the Po River, and rice-based dishes became staples of the Italian diet.

One of the most popular imported foods, however, was sugar. Originally cultivated in south Asia and later planted on the island of Madeira and then in the European colonies in the West Indies, it was the subject of almost insatiable demand in some parts of Europe. The English embraced sugar eagerly, and by the end of the early modern period were consuming some 150,000 tons of it a year, fifteen times more than a hundred years earlier. It remained a luxury commodity in most parts of Europe, however, and entered common consumption only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

BEVERAGES

At the beginning of the early modern period, the main forms of beverage were water, beer, and wine. Historians generally argue that sources of drinking water were often unsuitable or polluted by nature or human activity. For this reason, alcoholic beverages were preferred because the process of fermentation (to make beer and wine) kills a level of bacteria by raising the temperature and producing alcohol. Even so, water must have been consumed in large quantities, and the supposed merits and dangers of its consumption were debated throughout this period.

Beer and wine. Alcoholic beverages are better documented than water, however, because their production and trade were increasingly regulated. Of the two main types, beer and wine, beer was more widely consumed because it could be made year-round from the grain that was grown throughout Europe. Wine, in contrast, could be made only once a year, in the fall when grapes ripened, and enough had to be made to last until the following vintage.

The beer consumed in the early modern period was a cloudy beverage, not the clear, sparkling drink that it usually is today. It was widely consumed at all times of the day, with the first meal and the last, and as a nutritious drink without food. Although it lost ground to wine in the sixteenth century, it rebounded in the seventeenth when hops became more widely used and more aromatic beers were

made. In 1662 the authorities of Bordeaux banned brewing in the city because of the threat that beer represented to sales of wine.

Wine was made wherever grapes could be grown, including not only most modern viticultural regions, but many regions where grapes are no longer cultivated for wine. In France, for example, there were many more vineyards in the north and fewer in the south than in modern times. Early modern wine was made without much attention to grape varieties, and techniques of wine making were such that the wine was unstable; most of it lasted for a year, at best, before it started to go "off," and in general, younger wines were more expensive than older wines.

Wine was an integral part of the daily diet in regions where vines were cultivated, but trading routes had been established in the Middle Ages, so that wine was available throughout Europe. Vast quantities of claret, a light red wine produced in the Bordeaux region of southwestern France, were shipped annually to England, the Low Countries, and the Baltic region. Wine from the interior of Germany was shipped down the Rhine and from there to the Low Countries and the Baltic. Wine from Mediterranean regions (Italy, Greece, Spain) was shipped to England and by river to eastern Europe and Russia.

The costs of transportation and excise duties meant that wine was always more expensive than locally produced beer, so that wine tended to be a luxury beverage, an everyday drink of the better-off. Where it was produced, however, it seems to have been consumed in considerable quantities. One of the highest rates is found in seventeenth-century Bologna, where annual per capita consumption was 300 to 350 liters, or almost a liter a day. If we bear in mind that women and children consumed less than adult males, and that a high proportion of the population was young, then it is likely that men consumed at least two liters of wine—almost three standard bottles—each day.

Beyond beer and wine, some other alcoholic beverages were popular in regions where the ingredients needed were plentiful. Cider was commonly consumed where apples flourished—Normandy in France and Devon in England, for example. And

mead, made from honey, was widely available where bees could collect pollen from wildflowers.

Water. Water was still problematic. It was needed for beer production (and was probably used often to "stretch," or dilute, wine), but it must also have been widely consumed. The poor within Europe's populations could not have afforded to satisfy their liquid needs by drinking beer or wine, and it is also likely that alcoholic beverages were consumed in diluted form. Ships on long-distance voyages took barrels of fresh water as well as barrels of beer for sailors to consume, although the water in the barrels tended to foul quickly, especially in warm temperatures.

The clearest indirect evidence that water was widely consumed is the general attitude that women and children should consume alcoholic beverages sparingly. In "Le bon vigneron" (The worthy winemaker), a late-sixteenth-century poem from Burgundy, the winemaker comments that he drinks only his own wine "and not water, which is only good for putting in soup. . . . I leave that for my wife to drink. . . . Women, children, and many of the poor can spend their whole lives without wine and drinking only water."

Various reasons for this were advanced, but whatever its justification, anyone who did not drink an alcoholic beverage at all, or did so only in small quantities, must have drunk water. The alternatives, like milk and fruit juices, were produced in relatively small quantities and were, of course, much more expensive than water.

Still, it is difficult to assess the extent of water consumption in early modern Europe because water was a free resource that was unregulated, unprotected, and untaxed. We should not take too literally commentaries like that of Sir John Fortescue (in the mid-1400s), to the effect that English peasants "drink no water unless it be . . . for devotion." By the 1600s there was a vigorous debate among doctors, scientists, and social commentators on the advantages and disadvantages of drinking water. Thomas Shortt, one of England's foremost physicians, argued that water was dangerous for English people because they were not accustomed to it. It was safer, he thought, for peoples whose constitutions were adapted to water and for populations that lived in hot climates, like Africa.

Even so, Dr. Shortt lent his name to a plan to install desalinization machines on board ships so that sailors would have a continuous supply of fresh water.

Distilled beverages. But if beer, wine, and water were Europe's main drinks at the beginning of the early modern period, others were added as the period progressed. One of the major innovations was the spread of distilled alcohol. Knowledge of distilling had entered Europe from the Middle East as early as 1000, but until the sixteenth century it was tightly regulated and in the hands of apothecaries for medicinal purposes. The alcohol in question was a high-alcohol drink made by distilling wine, which became generically known as brandy (from the Dutch for 'burnt-wine', brandewijn). During the 1500s, apothecaries lost their monopoly on distilling, and in the 1600s brandy quickly became a commercial product.

Charente, on France's west coast, became the first center of the distilling industry because it was rich in forests (needed to fuel the stills) and abundant poor-quality white wine. By the mid-1600s brandy was being taxed and Charente was the site of a massive distilling industry that produced brandy for the rest of Europe. It is estimated that in 1675, about 4.5 million liters of brandy were exported to England, and that that amount doubled within fifteen years. Nine million liters would have provided about two liters a years for every man, woman, and child, but in fact its consumption was limited to adult males of the wealthier middle and upper classes.

While brandy was not a major element in the European diet, it became common in many parts of northern continental Europe to begin the day with a shot of brandy or other distilled alcohol. Throughout the period, anxiety was expressed at the effects of drinking distilled alcohol. It was considered an entirely different type of beverage from wine or beer, and there was concern at its tendency to intoxicate much more rapidly than beer or wine. Regulations were quickly adopted in many parts of Europe to control production, sale, and consumption. In the German city of Augsburg, consumers were limited as to how much they could spend on brandy at one time, they were not permitted to sit or to consume food while drinking it, and the activities of

brandy merchants were limited to certain days of the week and times of day.

Over time, drinks made by distilling alcohol extended beyond brandy to include whiskey and gin (made from grain), vodka (made from grain or potatoes), and Calvados (from apples). It is notable that these drinks are more associated with northern Europe than the south. The possibility of distilling from locally available ingredients (like grain, potatoes, and apples) gave northern Europeans access to less expensive, high-alcohol beverages other than brandy, which was generally made in the winegrowing regions to the south. It is likely that distilled alcohol was especially popular in the cooler climates of northern Europe because of the warming sensation of the alcohol.

One of these beverages, gin, caused one of the few alcohol-generated moral panics of the period: the "gin-craze" in early eighteenth-century England. In the late 1600s the English Parliament virtually deregulated gin production, partly to compensate for interruptions in the import of French brandy, due to war between England and France, partly because gin was developed in Holland and in 1689 William III of Orange became king of England. Soon the production and consumption rose steeply and by the 1720s it was alleged that gin had become the staple diet of the poor in London and some other English cities.

The actual per capita consumption of gin at this time is not known, but social commentators created scenarios of men drinking away their wages and women neglecting their children. Sales of milk and meat were said to have dropped away as people spent their income entirely on gin, and children were said to be addicted at birth. There is no doubt that gin consumption in England did rise in the first half of the 1700s, but it is not clear how important it was in creating serious social disruption. The panic was a concentrated example of the concerns about the effects of distilled alcohol on the social order that had been expressed throughout the early modern period.

Coffee, tea, and chocolate. Other additions to the range of drinks available were nonalcoholic, but they were regarded with suspicion in some quarters because they were recognized as stimulants, even if their active ingredient, caffeine, was not identified.

Three beverages came into play here: coffee, tea, and chocolate (which was consumed as a drink, rather than in solid form, until the nineteenth century).

Coffee reached Europe from the Middle East early in the seventeenth century and by the mid-1600s, coffeehouses had opened in France, England, and Austria. By 1700 there were some two thousand in London alone. Although coffee was less expensive than tea, it remained beyond the means of ordinary people in the early modern period and was largely confined to the diet of the middle and upper classes, especially in the cities. By the eighteenth century, coffeehouses were widely associated with political radicalism.

Caffeine was not identified as coffee's active ingredient at this time, but its qualities as a stimulant were quickly recognized and, like tea, it was considered an alternative to alcoholic beverages. As with most newly introduced foods and drinks, there was a lively debate over the merits of coffee. In Germany and elsewhere, it was regarded with suspicion, and some doctors argued that it caused impotence in men and sterility in women. Johann Sebastian Bach's Coffee Cantata (1732) was a reaction to those views. It is not clear just how frequently coffee was consumed, but sales increased steadily during the period. In eighteenth-century Prussia, Frederick the Great tried to restrict coffee consumption and issued a decree urging his subjects to return to their traditional beer. Spies were employed to sniff out illicit coffee roasting, but in the end the campaign against coffee died in the face of the drink's popularity.

Like coffee, tea also made its appearance in Europe in the 1600s. The first shipments (from Java) arrived in 1610. Even so, it remained relatively rare outside royal courts and the homes of the wealthy until the eighteenth century. In 1660, the diarist Samuel Pepys noted, "I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I had never drank before."

Tea soon became a drink more associated with England than any other part of Europe. Quite why is not clear. Physicians and scientists debated the advantages and dangers of tea drinking, and there were the usual dire warnings about its effects on health and reproduction. But such warnings were ignored when it came to coffee, which was consumed throughout Europe, and it is not clear why they might have been given greater credence when applied to tea. Possibly it had to do with availability, for the British East India Company became the major transporter of tea from eastern Asia. And unlike coffee, which began to be cultivated in the West Indies and South America in the early modern period, tea remained a product of Asia. And when it was transplanted from its center in China, it was to India, then a British colony. (Russia, the other major society to adopt tea, imported it directly by land from China.)

VARIETIES IN DIET

The early modern period saw a vast range of diets, whether we look at them over time, region, or social class. Diets varied according to availability, which could be determined by seasonal or financial factors. All diets were relatively high in caloric value, simply because of the prominence of high-carbohydrate ingredients like bread and alcohol. But at some levels of society, diets were so calorie-laden that they cannot have been healthy. Senior courtiers at the court of King Erik of Sweden in the sixteenth century consumed an average of 6,500 calories a day, but they were outdone by the retinue of Cardinal Jules Mazarin in France in the next century. They consumed between 7,000 and 8,000 calories a day.

There were also important differences in how these diets were consumed. Peasants tended to eat four or five times a day, and perhaps even more often during the long hours of daylight in summer, but the upper classes ate less frequently. In the sixteenth century, members of Italy's elite strata were eating twice a day, once at about two in the afternoon, and again at about nine at night. Dining, of course, reflected the other occupations of the daily cycle. Those who could afford to sleep late in the morning might well have their first meal in the early afternoon. But peasants and urban laborers, whose work began at dawn, needed sustenance far earlier, and their hard physical labor called for replenishment at more frequent intervals.

It was, therefore, not only the content of diet that varied immensely, but also its role in the daily, monthly, and annual life cycle, and its meaning. The study of food and drink in early modern Europe is not simply about eating bread and drinking wine and beer; it is a window on the material and cultural life of the period.

See also Agriculture; Food Riots; Public Health.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Braudel, Fernand, Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century. Vol. I, The Structures of Everyday Life. Translated by Siân Reynolds. New York, 1981.
- Burnett, John. Liquid Pleasures. A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain. London, 1999.
- Drummond, J. C., and Anne Wilbraham. *The Englishman's Food: Five Centuries of English Diet.* London, 1939. Reprint 1994.
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis, and Massimo Montanari, eds. *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present.* English edition by Albert Sonnenfeld. Translated by Clarissa Botsford et al. New York, 1999.
- Martin, A. Lynn. Alcohol, Sex, and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. New York, 2001.
- Phillips, Rod. A Short History of Wine. London and New York, 2000.
- Sarti, Raffaella. Europe at Home: Family and Material Culture, 1500–1800. Translated by Allan Cameron. New Haven, 2002.
- Toussaint-Samat, Maguelonne. *History of Food*. Translated by Anthea Bell. Oxford, 1992.
- Wheaton, Barbara Ketchum. Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789. New York, 1996.

ROD PHILLIPS

FOOD RIOTS. From the sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century Europe witnessed increasingly widespread food rioting. These riots pitted vulnerable consumers against producers and merchants, and both sides invoked protection and support from their rulers. As part of a broad and long-standing tradition of collective bargaining by riot, food riots erupted when, faced with the threat of scarcity and rising prices, a crowd composed largely of consumers assembled to demand affordable, accessible subsistence (usually grain or bread). They confronted those who controlled this "item of first necessity"—bakers, merchants, millers, cultivators, and local authorities—and took and shared what provisions they needed, sometimes forcing sales at prices below market (or asking) prices. Those who needed food and those who controlled it clashed over transports on highways and rivers,

sacks displayed for sale in markets, supplies stored in farms and urban granaries, flour in mills, and bread in bakeries. Since households of the common people spent from one-half to two-thirds of their budgets on food, rioter declarations that "they would rather hang than starve to death" carried poignancy.

Food riots had erupted sporadically since the Middle Ages, but they peaked in intensity and sophistication in eighteenth-century western Europe, appearing earliest in France and England and later in central and eastern European states, such as Prussia. France had the longest tradition of food rioting: over one hundred in the 1690s, 1709-1710, and 1764–1768; over four hundred in the 1770s; and over two hundred in 1788-1789 by the time the Estates-General met in May 1789. English eruptions peaked after the mid-eighteenth century, becoming the most common form of popular protest: over one hundred erupted in 1756-1757, 1766, 1795-1796, and 1800-1801. Although widespread food rioting persisted over a shorter time span in England than in France, the English experienced as much if not more rioting per capita in the eighteenth century. In Prussia food rioting erupted only sporadically after the 1770s and slightly more frequently in the 1790s.

ORIGINS OF FOOD RIOTS

The origins of food riots lay beyond the short-term fluctuations associated with shortages. Rioters invoked long-standing communal norms to respond to larger economic, social, and political changes that menaced and outraged them. Despite the existence of market relations in early modern Europe, the assumption had widely prevailed, even among elites, that in times of food crises popular subsistence needs took precedence over property rights and local needs came before more distant ones. This "moral economy," or right to existence, was embedded in the local and royal consumer safeguards that had enveloped the production and distribution of grain and other foods since the late Middle Ages. Although never consistently implemented or entirely successful in stabilizing food prices and supply—and sometimes vitiated by royal, seigneurial, or guild privileges—these regulatory policies had served to mitigate some of the worst effects of widely fluctuating prices, to supply markets emptied by hoarding and speculation, or to impede the departure of grain to other markets. They also indicated political commitment and sensitivity to local welfare dictated by the knowledge that public order required that the people be fed.

The increased frequency of food riots coincided with accelerating commercialization of food, mounting numbers of market-dependent consumers, and centralizing states that turned increasingly from paternalist supervision of provisioning to laissez-faire economics and to favoring producers and merchants over consumers, urban over rural demands, and regional, national, and international markets over local ones. Stresses on the provisioning system intensified when governments and their agents plunged into local markets to feed growing armies and politically sensitive, hungry places, such as capital cities. Food riots thus ignited where the spark of local grievances encountered the tinder of national and international economic and political forces. When prices rose or supplies dwindled while commercially oriented grain producers, grain and flour merchants, millers, and liberalizing authorities ignored traditional norms and practices, consumers demanded that suppliers and authorities acknowledge and serve popular needs by lowering prices, assuring supplies, and activating emergency relief.

TIMING, GEOGRAPHY, PARTICIPATION, AND ORGANIZATION

The timing and geography of rioting depended on multiple factors, including the existence of communities capable of mobilization and some sort of trigger, such as skyrocketing prices, sudden market shortages, evidence of hoarding or speculation at consumer expense, or the refusal of authorities to activate crisis-related paternalist regulations and relief. Places most likely to react violently experienced a rapid shift in their ability to retain or attract food for their consumers: producing regions confronting new demands on resources, heavily traveled transit routes and junctions, and markets whose positions had eroded at the time of the crisis. In France after the mid-eighteenth century food rioting became the most frequent form of popular protest, and every province experienced some disorder. However, the most turbulent provinces in the early modern period-Île-de-France, Normandy, and Orléanais—were those most affected by large-scale changes in the provisioning process, exacerbated by the imperious pull of the Paris market.

Riots finally erupted only when vulnerable consumers could mobilize in concert to activate networks intertwined with work, neighborhood, friendship, and patronage for protest. Early modern riots erupted more frequently in medium-sized towns than in large cities or small villages because they nurtured the kinds of dense networks of social and political relations that underpinned early modern collective action. Although each crowd reflected the particular character of the community mobilized, most rioters came from early modern Europe's vulnerable common people, for whom a subsistence crisis threatened the household's capacity to provision itself: wage earners, shopkeepers, and artisans. England's food rioters largely came from the ranks of town artisans, proto-industrial workers, and industrial workers. In France artisans, microproprietor winegrowers, agricultural workers, and proto-industrial workers formed a majority of the crowds. The lowest ranks of the rural and urban poor participated rarely because the combination of charity and repression reserved for them by local and royal governments made collective action less likely.

As members of household economies, women as well as men played prominent roles in food riots, and most riots mobilized both. However, the gender balance of crowds reflected differences in regional dynamics and types of riots. In France, for example, women frequently led and participated in hometown market riots or neighboring spaces, such as bakeries and storage areas. More men ventured farther afield to lead and join crowds that marched in the countryside from producer to producer to demand supplies. Even when men and women appeared in the same riot, they at times played different roles.

By the eighteenth century riots had become more organized and purposeful. Although interceptions of grain shipments by locals for their own consumption remained the most common form of rioting during the early modern period, market riots grew in number, significance, and sophistication. Most strikingly, rioters more frequently invoked the *taxation populaire*—forced sales at lower, "just," prices that they fixed themselves. Rioters drew upon

a combination of accurate information about grain production and marketing (which helped them pick their targets); traditions of paternalist practices that included price-fixing, searches and requisitions, and charitable distributions; as well as their own heritages of previous food rioting. Indeed veritable riot traditions emerged in towns such as Caen, France, where fourteen riots erupted between 1631 and 1789.

FOOD RIOTS AND POLITICS

Early modern riots proved a relatively successful form of community politics to solve short-term problems during a crisis. They frequently produced results: reactivation of paternalist regulations, lower prices and more food in markets or bakeries, institutional purchases of additional supplies, food distributions for the needy, and chastised merchants who respected their social responsibilities at least temporarily. Early modern authorities responded to food rioting with an uneven mixture of forbearance and severe, "exemplary" repression. In most places local elites and administrators, and sometimes even the central government, created political space for food riots when they hesitated to definitively abandon intervention in favor of free trade, to repudiate local entitlements, or to enforce free trade at bayonet point.

Food riots intersected most directly with political debate in France. The monarchy vacillated over liberalizing the grain trade in the last decades of the eighteenth century, freeing it from intervention from 1763 to 1770, reregulating it from 1770 to 1774, freeing it again from 1774 to 1776, and reregulating it yet again. This interplay of royal policy and the dislocations associated with it coincided with harvest shortfalls to trigger widespread rioting. Such visibility made provisioning an object of public political debate, which in turn helped to desacralize and discredit the "Baker King," Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792). Further partial deregulation in 1787 preceded another wave of rioting that, together with debates over and meetings for the Estates-General, further politicized the debate about the people's right to subsistence and also contributed to the further politicization of many food rioters themselves. Food riots thus formed an important constituent of the political fabric of early modern life.

The era of the French Revolution witnessed extensive rioting in France and elsewhere. Although rioting ebbed swiftly in England after 1800, it continued to spread in France and Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its decline after the mid-nineteenth century reflected improvements in distribution, the success of relief and repression in quenching hunger and quelling tensions, and the transposition of the politics of provisions to other realms: to national assemblies, to the platforms of political parties that debated there, and ultimately to the welfare state. However, the late twentieth century witnessed the resurgence of food riots in South America, Africa, and Eastern Europe.

See also Economic Crises; Liberalism, Economic; Poverty; Revolutions, Age of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bohstedt, John. Riots and Community Politics in England and Wales, 1790-1810. Cambridge, Mass., 1983.

Bouton, Cynthia A. The Flour War: Gender, Class, and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society. University Park, Pa., 1993.

"Les mouvements de subsistance et le problème de l'économie morale sous l'Ancien Régime et la Révolution française." Annales historiques de la Révolution française 1 (2000): 71–100.

Charlesworth, Andrew, ed. An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain, 1548–1900. Philadelphia, 1983.

Gailus, Manfred, and Heinrich Volkmann, eds. Der Kampf um das tägliche Brot: Nahrungsmangel, Versorgungspolitik und Protest, 1770–1990. Opladen, Germany, 1994.

Nicolas, Jean. La rebellion française: Mouvements populaires et conscience sociale, 1661–1789. Paris, 2002.

Rudé, George. The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848. Rev. ed. London, 1981.

Thompson, E. P. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 76–63.

Tilly, Louise. "The Food Riot as a Form of Political Conflict in France." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 23–57.

Cynthia A. Bouton

FORESTS AND WOODLANDS. Wood was far and away the primary source of energy for heating, cooking, and all industrial processes in early modern Europe. It was the central component

in most parts of Europe in building construction, and for all means of transport (wagons, carts, boats), packing (barrels, boxes), agricultural and industrial production (plows, tools, canes, poles, fences, pitprops), and machinery. These uses required rather different qualities of wood or timber, and products were in demand to varying extents according to local conditions and needs. Wood was never an undifferentiated resource, but was required in many different forms for different and often competing uses. Shortages of wood in one form (such as curved timbers for shipbuilding) by no means meant that it was generally scarce. In western and central Europe, around 70 to 90 percent of wood was harvested in the form of young trees or coppice wood used primarily for fuel. In many regions perhaps the majority of trees stood in fields or hedgerows rather than woodland.

Woodland was not only a source of wood. Bark was used for tanning, sap for creating resin-based products, and woodlands were also a vital source of fodder. Leaves were systematically harvested, especially in upland parts of Europe, and the forest floor provided humus used as stall litter. More frequently, herds of cows, sheep, and pigs were brought into the woodlands to feed on grass, shrubbery, acorns, and beech mast. The most familiar of these uses is the masting of pigs, but this provided only a dietary supplement that added weight and improved the quality of the meat. Acorns and the nuts from chestnut and beech trees were, however, never able to provide a fully satisfactory diet for swine. Pasturing needs encouraged the development of very open woodland, with relatively few mature trees widely spaced to provide the mast and allow light to encourage lush grazing. In Mediterranean areas such as the Cévennes of France and upland central Italy, chestnut groves were harvested, the nuts ground into flour and used for making the staple bread. Some parts of Europe also had extensive populations of wild game, with the right to hunt them accorded almost exclusively to the nobility. Wild boar and deer were the most prevalent species, but in Iberia and eastern Europe wolves were also targets of the chase.

Determining the real extent of woodland across wide areas of Europe remains a problem for historians. This arises not only from lack of data, but also because of the variable quality of wooded land itself.

In parts of the Mediterranean, especially southern Spain and Portugal, extensive savannahlike land-scapes with scattered live or cork oaks existed, as well as denser stands of trees. At the end of the sixteenth century, around one-third of France, the German-speaking lands, Bohemia, and Poland were wooded. Most of northeast Europe and Scandinavia was somewhat more forested. Denmark had about one-quarter of its surface area under trees. Around 12 percent of Ireland may have been wooded, Britain a little less than a tenth, and the Netherlands less than a twentieth. Reliable figures for the Mediterranean lands at this time are not as yet available.

Given the universal need for wood, much woodland was divided into small patches on the less fertile soils in the vicinity of settlements, so that it remained easily accessible without excessive transportation costs. Depending on the local institutional framework, these woodlands were usually owned by local lords or by village communities, and the local population could exercise common rights of grazing and fuel gathering in them. Larger areas of upland forest were often claimed by rulers by regalian right, to control uncultivated or unused land. The Ardennes and Vosges, the Harz and Ore Mountains of central Europe, the Alps, Styria, and Carinthia in Austria, Swedish forests, and the Weald in southern England became centers of industrial processing. Iron, lead, silver, and copper production, potash and pitch making, saltworks, and glass manufacture required very large amounts of wood. These mining and industrial areas were far from marginal and often home to large settlements of skilled workers. In such regions large populations of charcoal makers and woodcutters supplemented the herders and forest wardens more usually found in village woodlands.

Complaints about wood shortages had already emerged in the late medieval period in a few parts of Europe. These grew in frequency and stridency with the expansion of population over the "long sixteenth century" (1450–1650) and especially after 1700. Inevitably, this was reflected in rising prices for wood. In many cases, however, these rose from an extraordinarily low base price, in a world where much wood was accessible for free as part of common rights. Very rapid price rises in centers such as Berlin reflected the very rapid expansion of those cities. The poor could be priced out of the market



Forests and Woodlands. Landscape with Peasants, seventeenth-century painting by Alexander Kerinex. The ART ARCHIVE/ SUERMONDT MUSEUM AACHEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

424

where wood was very scarce, so that they might be forced to rely on substitutes such as straw, reeds, and dried dung, or to go cold. London's expansion, and relatively easy access to the coalfields of northeast England, meant that coal became the cheaper and more popular fuel as early as the 1580s, despite reservations about its unpleasant smoke. The majority of England's heat energy needs were certainly met by coal before 1700. In this, England followed in the wake of the wood-poor Netherlands, whose western provinces predominantly utilized peat for heating throughout the period. The Netherlands and southeast England also imported huge quantities of timber for construction from Norway, Germany, the Baltic, and, by the later eighteenth century, the Americas. The bulk and relatively low value of wood meant it could only be transported far by water. Upland streams often had their flow regulated to permit the floating of logs downstream, which were then bound into rafts for long journeys to centers of demand. However, the market for wood was highly differentiated, and complaints about shortages of one form of wood, or indeed the relatively favorable price of fossil fuels, do not necessarily indicate a general shortage. In most parts of Europe, transport costs and the inaccessibility of deep seams limited coal use before the nineteenth century.

States and rulers responded to widespread concerns about wood shortage from the fifteenth century onward by passing legislation that often limited cutting and grazing rights in all woodlands, not just those owned directly by rulers. Often this legislation attempted to apply the best practices from private or communally owned woodlands, but implementation across the board proved slow, often caught between competing interests of woodland users who sought mature timber, firewood, or grazing. Much of the legislation responded to particular interest groups, and historians of France and Germany have disputed whether fears of "wood shortage" masked the appropriation of woodlands by the state for fiscal reasons or for industry, especially iron smelters, to guarantee cheap fuel supplies. Although this played its part, concerns for the welfare of the population were often genuine and well founded, and, in nearly all regions of Europe, domestic demand remained by far the largest part of consumption.

The acquisition of timber required for shipbuilding was a particular concern of maritime governments, especially for navies, although the merchant marine was far larger. This demand was small compared to that for other uses and did not, as has so often been supposed, prompt deforestation. The long time scale required to provide trees of the right type did lead governments, however, to attempt to protect such trees and encourage planting, as in Sweden in 1558, France in 1669, and Spain in 1748 (though the influence of shipping on these wideranging forest laws has been much exaggerated). Such measures sometimes prompted attacks on the protected trees from local peasants who could get no use from them, accelerating declines in supply. While many states had professional forest administrations from the sixteenth century onward, technical training in forestry did not appear until the mideighteenth century. Thereafter, woodland management increasingly became a theoretical and strictly applied art, leading to the dominance of "scientific forestry" under state guidance during the nineteenth century.

There is clear evidence of very extensive deforestation only from France, Ireland, and Denmark during the early modern period. However, yields in many areas were low. Eighteenth-century population expansion combined with large increases in iron production (which, because of technical difficulties, first began to use coal throughout the production process only in the 1780s) to lead to regional overexploitation and shortfalls of wood by the end of the ancien régime. This was compounded in turn by the desire of many states to remain selfsufficient in supplies. As wood was one of the few assets easily made liquid, financial pressure could lead to devastating and rapid felling of woodlands by both lordships and village communities during times of increasing military and fiscal burdens. In most places, a governmental right to regulate all woodlands was established in the sixteenth century, but extensive changes to woodland came only in the eighteenth. This saw limits on traditional woodcutting practices and especially grazing, the latter partly achieved by the transition of industrial areas from deciduous forests to faster growing conifer monocultures that restricted fodder growth. These changes led to increasing antagonism between foresters and peasants, expressed in widespread wood

theft and intense conflicts that endured beyond the revolutions of 1848. State control over wood as a resource and centrally directed woodland policy remains a legacy of the period.

Wood and woodland played a significant role in the lives of most Europeans. As a literary topos woodland often remained, however, fixed in the (sometimes inverted) stereotypes of classical literature as mediated by the humanist movement. These presented woodland as outside of civilization, and the home of the wild, though equally the uncorrupted forms of nature. As part of the uncultivated "waste," woodland was frequently viewed negatively until the Romantic period, although certain trees, primarily the oak, stood as symbols of national valor, steadfastness, or liberty. It remains unclear whether woodland had a genuinely broad symbolic importance in European culture before the late eighteenth century.

See also Agriculture; Enclosure; Hunting; Shipbuilding and Navigation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cavaciocchi, Simonetta. ed. L'uomo e la foresta secc. XIII– XVIII. Instituto Internationale di Storia Economica F. Datini, Prato. Serie II– Atti delle "Settimane di Studi" e altri Convegni 27. Prato, Italy, 1996.

Rackham, Oliver, and A. T. Grove. The Nature of Mediterranean Europe. An Ecological History. New Haven, 2001.

Rubner, Heinrich. Forstgeschichte im Zeitalter der industriellen Revolution. Berlin, 1967.

Schama, Simon. Landscape and Memory. London, 1995.

Sieferle, Rolf-Peter. The Subterranean Forest: Energy Systems and the Industrial Revolution. Cambridge, U.K., 2001.

Williams, Michael. Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis. Chicago and London, 2003.

Paul Warde

FORGERIES, COPIES, AND CASTS.

Two contemporary accounts illustrate the growing awareness of the issues circulating around forgeries and copies in the sixteenth century. In the first, Michelangelo's (1475–1564) life-size marble of a sleeping Cupid is described in 1553 by his biographer, Ascanio Condivi, as being deliberately treated in order to make it pass as ancient and sold as such in Rome to Cardinal Riario. The second was

recounted by Giorgio Vasari some thirty years later. Loath to surrender Raphael's (1483–1520) portrait of Leo X and his nephews (Palazzo Pitti, Florence), Ottaviano de' Medici had Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530) paint a copy right down to the stains on the back of the canvas; it was so convincing that Raphael's own student, Giulio Romano (c. 1499– 1546), was deceived (Museo del Capodimonte, Naples). Since forgery, as the intent to deceive, necessarily pertains to what is of value at a particular time, these two examples signal an expansion of a specific kind during the sixteenth century. The youthful Michelangelo's Cupid would have been desirable precisely because it was thought to be ancient. By the time Andrea del Sarto copied Raphael's painting, however, the conception of the modern artist, in which Michelangelo was seminal, had come into play, giving the work of contemporary artists a new kind of worth. Consequently, even an artist's name was worth forging and also protecting, as may be seen from the suit Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) is said to have brought against Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480-c. 1534) for copying not only his prints but also his monogram. In the seventeenth century the forging of antiquities, paintings, and prints, as well as signatures, by which the existing paintings of lesser artists could be elevated to more sought-after ones, were all to be found.

Similar values underlie casts and copies. Since "an essential aspect of modernity, as Italy conceived it, lay in antiquity" (Haskell and Penny), its dissemination became imperative. Books and prints facilitated this end, but casts played the major role. Although known in antiquity and described in the fourteenth century in Cennino Cennini's craftsman's handbook (c. 1390), the pivotal importance of casts largely begins with Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570). Born in Bologna, Primaticcio was working at the court of Francis I when he was sent to Rome about 1540 to draw and purchase antiquities for the palace at Fontainebleau. While there, he also made casts of important ancient sculptures, which were transported to France and cast in bronze. These established a precedent (even through the reproduction of the molds themselves) for royalty throughout Europe, for whom the imperial connotations of ancient Rome and the cultural domination of the contemporary capital held equal sway. A further result of this development was the establishment of a limited number of clearly recognizable works that came to serve as a canon for both artists and the development of taste. Innumerable copies and variations of these works, made large and small, carved in marble, cast in metal, and translated into media as diverse as ceramic and porcelain, were ubiquitous throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.

Casts also were fundamental to the education of artists. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) had already recommended that students learn to draw by copying sculpture, and Giovanni Battista Armenini (c. 1525–1609) recommended that they draw from casts of the most famous ancient works. Ideally this would occur before they began studying from life to ensure that they had acquired the judgment necessary to deal with nature. The practice, however, was institutionalized only slowly, even by the French, who gradually amassed an enormous collection of casts at their academy in Rome that eventually superseded the antiquities themselves as models to draw.

If casts represent the dissemination of the antique in the early modern period, copies demonstrate the growing stature of contemporary artists. It is true that copies of works of art filled various roles. Many served the desire for particular subjects (paintings of the Madonna, for example, or the effigies of the fashionable and famous), and copying works by the masters or others had long been and continued to be an important part of artistic training. Sometimes, as in the case of such artists as Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), who made copies throughout his life, the works have been called "creative copies," because rather than being exact, they bear the mark of his artistic personality. However, as inventories of the period unmistakably document, copies, as stand-ins for the work of admired artists, were made in increasing numbers over the course of the sixteenth century. These were produced by the artist himself (replicas) or his assistants, by other artists, as well as by ranks of professional copyists. Techniques to facilitate the production of copies included the tracing of finished pictures, and the results of the increased accuracy are often the connoisseurship problems of today.

See also Art: The Art Market and Collecting.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bauer, Linda Freeman. "A Letter by Barocci and the Tracing of Finished Pictures." *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1986): 355–357.

Haskell, Francis, and Nicholas Penny. *Taste and the Antique:* The Lure of Classical Sculpture. New Haven and London, 1987.

Jones, Mark, ed. Why Fakes Matter: Essays on the Problems of Authenticity. London, 1992.

Jones, Mark, Paul Craddock, and Nicolas Barker, eds. Fake? The Art of Deception. London, 1990.

Kurz, Otto. Fakes. 2nd rev. ed. New York, 1967.

Postle, Martin. "Naked Authority? Reproducing Antique Statuary in the English Academy, from Lely to Haydon." In *Sculpture and Its Reproductions*, edited by A. Hughes and E. Ranfft, pp. 79–99. London, 1997.

Preciado, Kathleen, ed. Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions. Studies in the History of Art 20. Washington, D.C., 1989.

Wood, Jeremy. "Raphael Copies and Exemplary Picture Galleries in Mid Eighteenth-Century London." Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 62 (1999): 394–417.

LINDA BAUER

FORTIFICATIONS. See Engineering: Military.

FORTUNE-TELLING. See Magic.

FORTY-FIVE. See Jacobitism.

FOUNDLINGS. See Orphans and Foundlings.

FRAGONARD, JEAN-HONORÉ

(1732–1806), French painter of the rococo period. Fragonard was born in Grasse, a Provençal town near the Mediterranean, where his father was a glove maker or merchant. The family is most likely of Italian origin and was composed primarily of artisans. They appear to have moved to Paris when Fragonard was six, possibly because of a lawsuit,

although no documents confirm its nature. According to his grandson, Théophile Fragonard, he was first a notary's clerk, but was dismissed because he drew constantly. His mother took him to see François Boucher (1703–1770), who sent him away because he did not yet know how to paint. Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779), however, appreciated Fragonard's sense of color, accepting him as an apprentice and letting him paint immediately. He worked with Chardin for six months and then returned to Boucher's studio.

Fragonard's first recorded presence in Boucher's studio is 18 May 1753; however, he won the Grand Prix in 1752, so he must have been there as early as 1749 or 1750. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Fragonard's nineteenth-century biographers, report that even though he had never studied at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, he was allowed to compete for the Grand Prix as Boucher's pupil. In 1753 Fragonard entered the newly established École Royale des Élèves Protégés (under the direction of Carle Van Loo) where he received training in art theory and technique as well as lessons in history and the liberal arts. He left for the French Academy in Rome in October of 1756, remaining there until 1761.

While Fragonard copied Old Master paintings and ancient sculpture as directed, his landscape drawings made during this period had a greater impact on the future course of his career. He spent a great deal of time sketching the gardens of Tivoli and the Villa d'Este, often alongside Hubert Robert, invited by an important patron of the arts, the abbé de Saint-Non. His drawings of this period are marked by their virtuoso execution and strength of viewpoint. The delicate handling of chalk and dramatic framing effects of his *Avenue of Cypress Trees* (Musée des Beaux-arts et d'Archeologie, Besançon) is just one example.

In 1765 Fragonard presented his morceau d'agrément (acceptance piece) to the Académie Royale—the much celebrated High Priest Coresus Sacrifices Himself to Save Callirhoë (Musée du Louvre, Paris). Art critics such as Denis Diderot lauded Fragonard as the future strength of the French school; yet they were sorely disappointed at the following salon when he failed to submit history paintings of similar strengths. Various sources claimed

that Fragonard had sold out and was working primarily on boudoir paintings. One such work is *Happy Hazards of the Swing* (1767; Wallace Collection, London), apparently painted on commission for a gentleman of court who wanted his mistress to be the subject of the scene. This delightful easel painting firmly positioned Fragonard as the leading artist of the last generation of rococo painters, heir to Boucher and Antoine Watteau.

For most of his career, Fragonard worked for private patrons who could pay him well. He demonstrated a tremendous capacity to change his style at will and worked in all the genres with equal facility. Many of his paintings were cabinet pictures, but he also received commissions for large-scale decorative cycles, although not all of these pleased his patrons. Most famously, the Louveciennes panels painted for Louis XV's mistress, Madame du Barry, were rejected and replaced by a series painted by Joseph-Marie Vien, who worked in a more neoclassical style. These paintings (now in the Frick Collection, New York) have been the subject of numerous and often conflicting analyses. Critics and scholars are in agreement, however, in their assessment of Fragonard's talents with the brush. The bravura that marks his so-called fantasy portraits has long been considered evidence of artistic genius, and such works were no doubt executed-reportedly in under an hour-to give this impression to the beholder.

Fragonard's impact on the late rococo lies in his reinterpretation of the fête galante and pastoral imagery of the previous two generations. His interest in picturesque effects took rococo landscape in new directions based largely on principles of opposition and escape. Some scholars have credited this change to Fragonard's study of nature during a second journey to Italy in 1773 and 1774, traveling in the company Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, a fermier général (tax farmer) whom he had known for ten years. He made drawings exclusively during this trip, which are characterized by his use of bistre wash and which show his fascination with light effects. It is this interest in using light to convey atmosphere and emotion that altered his approach to painting.

Fragonard's late works respond to the polish of neoclassicism. They are more controlled, less physi-

cally energized, but profoundly emotive. The tenor of these works, such as *The Bolt* (c. 1778; Louvre), relies on the tension of line, refined surface textures, and strong use of chiaroscuro. This is the period in which Fragonard began to work with his niece, Marguerite Gerard. Considerable confusion exists over the authorship of late works like *The Stolen Kiss* (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg), but recent research suggests that there was a genuine collaboration between master and student, each taking up parts of the canvas. They also executed numerous prints together.

The young Jacques-Louis David took a great deal of interest in Fragonard; his early works were clearly influenced by the compositions and techniques of the rococo master. During the 1790s, when revolutionary events all but prevented Fragonard from continuing to paint, David helped to secure positions for him as a curator and administrator. While commissions and sales were essentially nonexistent in these turbulent years, Fragonard was not excluded from working within the existing institutions of art. He played an essential role in founding what is now the Louvre. Between 1792 and 1797, he was one of six members of the Commission du Muséum Central, a body that oversaw every aspect of the new museum. In 1805 Fragonard was given a pension for life by the state, although he died less than a year later, on 22 August 1806.

The rococo fell out of favor during the first half of the nineteenth century. Not until the Goncourt brothers completed their biographies of important eighteenth-century artists would attention turn once again to the painterly magnificence of Fragonard's works. The impressionists, particularly Pierre-Auguste Renoir, were among those most influenced by his use of color and his technique. Subjects that we most strongly associate with Fragonard and the rococo, like women on swings, were also revived at that time.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Boucher, François; Chardin, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon; David, Jacques-Louis; Rococo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashton, Dore. Fragonard in the Universe of Painting. Washington, D.C., 1988.

Cuzin, Jean Pierre. Jean-Honoré Fragonard: Life and Work. New York, 1988.

Rosenberg, Pierre. Fragonard. Exh. cat. New York, 1988.



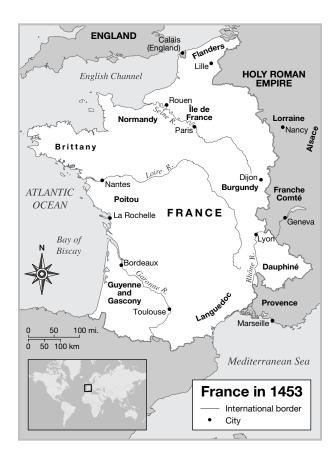
Jean-Honoré Fragonard. The Swing. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

Sheriff, Mary D. Fragonard: Art and Eroticism. Chicago and London, 1990.

Wildenstein, Georges. *The Paintings of Fragonard*. London, 1960. Also published in French, 1960.

JENNIFER D. MILAM

FRANCE. France was both the largest state in early modern Europe and the most centrally situated. Its population of roughly 20 million dwarfed all rivals: in 1620 the country had ten times the population of the Dutch Republic, four times that of England, twice that of Spain, and a third more than that of all the German states combined. On both north and south it bordered territories of the Habsburg kings of Spain, and it adjoined other Habsburg territories to the east; to the west there was Britain, which until 1544 maintained small outposts on the mainland, and even after could easily invade. The combination of size and centrality shaped much of French history during the early modern period. Given its proximity to other great powers, France could never avoid entanglements



and potential conflicts with its neighbors—but possessing resources so much greater than they, it rarely sought to avoid conflict. On the contrary, its kings repeatedly attempted to establish France as Europe's leading power, annexing territories of less powerful neighbors and bullying even loyal allies. As a result, France participated in most major international conflicts of the period and in the seventeenth century assembled the largest armies that Europe had ever seen. Organizing, justifying, and paying for military power on this scale encouraged the development of state organization, and for most of the period France was Europe's most intensively governed state, as well as its biggest. Its overdeveloped monarchy brought France important benefits but also placed heavy burdens on the nation's economy. By the eighteenth century, this form of government could survive only at the cost of radical reforms, efforts that in the end led to revolutionary upheaval.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICS OF DIVERSITY

Extending from the English Channel to the Mediterranean and from the Atlantic to the Rhine, early

modern France included a diverse, imperfectly integrated set of territories. Geography accounted for some of this diversity; different regions had different climates and qualities of soil, and thus different systems of agriculture. The plains of northern France were among the richest grain-producing regions in Europe, whereas the center of the country was mountainous and heavily wooded. Southern France had a Mediterranean climate, which limited grain harvests but allowed farmers to grow olives and a variety of fruits, while the north was damp and cold. But cultural differences also contributed to the country's diversity. As late as 1863, it has been estimated, 12 percent of French children spoke no French, and a much larger share of the population mainly used some form of dialect. Until 1789, laws varied from one province of the country to another, creating differences in family organization, inheritance, and landholding patterns.

Such differences reflected the fact that this territory was an artificial creation, assembled mainly by military force over a period of centuries; the process would end only in the mid-nineteenth century. The plains around Paris, known as the Île de France, constituted the original home of the French monarchs, and from it during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they had extended their power as far south as the Mediterranean, making medieval France already an immense territory for its time. Even then the English retained control over a small territory in the north and a much larger area in the southwest, around the city of Bordeaux. The English kings dramatically increased their holdings during the political chaos of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, enlarging their long-held territories in the southwest and conquering the rich province of Normandy. At the same time the duchy of Brittany reasserted its independence, acknowledging only nominal French overlordship; and younger branches of the royal house established semi-independent principalities for themselves, notably in Burgundy, whose dukes pursued an independent foreign policy aimed at establishing their full autonomv.

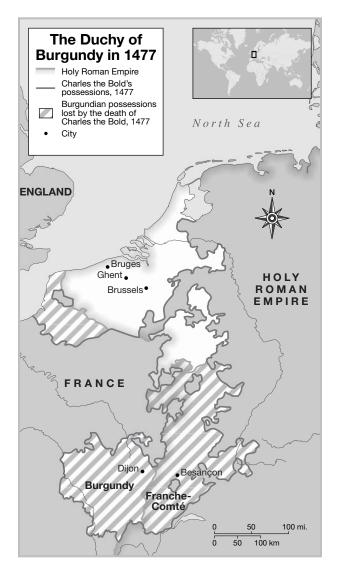
But this late-medieval tendency to dissolution reversed itself in the mid-fifteenth century, and thereafter French history was marked by new territorial acquisitions and tightening control over outlying regions. Charles VII (ruled 1422–1461),

goaded into action by Joan of Arc, supervised the expulsion of the English, who were finally driven out in 1453, retaining only Calais (even that was lost in 1544). His successor, Louis XI (ruled 1461– 1483), ended the threat of an independent duchy of Burgundy: when its last duke was killed in battle, in 1477, Louis immediately seized much of Burgundy's territory and set up a series of French institutions in the duke's former capital, designed to ensure that French influence functioned vigorously there. In the following generations, successive kings married heiresses to the duchy of Brittany, ensuring that it too would be integrated into the French state. In these and other peripheral regions of the kingdom, kings sought to ensure provincial loyalty by establishing institutions modeled on those in Paris, staffing them with a mix of locals and men drawn from the royal entourage. Sensitive to regional traditions and eager to secure loyalty, kings also permitted these new provinces to retain significant tax advantages and some forms of local autonomy.

After 1515, the pace of territorial expansion slowed. In the mid-sixteenth century, King Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) established a French presence in the eastern region of Lorraine; in 1589 the small kingdom of Navarre, in the southwest, along the border with Spain, became part of France when its king became Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610) of France. In the course of his wars, Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) added the Franche-Comté and Alsace to the east, Roussillon to the south, and part of Flanders and Artois to the north. Finally, after a long period of intermittent control, Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) took over the previously independent duchy of Lorraine in 1740 and the island of Corsica in 1768. By this point France had nearly reached its modern limits; thereafter it added only Avignon (taken from the pope in 1791) and Savoy and Nice, acquired in 1860 from Italy.

DISTANCE AND THE PROCESS OF UNIFICATION

Even travelers in a hurry might require three weeks to make their way across the territories thus assembled, and institutional barriers also helped ensure that the country's practical unity never matched its rulers' claims. Units of measure varied by region, and regional governments typically restricted trade across their borders in an effort to ensure local food



supplies. But over the early modern period there was significant progress toward effective unification of this vast territory, especially after the end of the civil wars that had marked the sixteenth century. The French state pushed throughout the period to improve communications across the kingdom, and they sought in other ways to reduce its variety of institutions and customs. Already in 1464 Louis XI had established a postal service that crossed France, allowing travelers to exchange horses at fixed points. In the early seventeenth century, as France rebuilt from the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), Henry IV's chief minister, the duke of Sully, assumed control of French road building, setting standards for new construction and encouraging new projects. The state's interest in such projects continued to grow through the later seventeenth



and eighteenth centuries, producing dramatic improvements in all forms of transportation. A specialized engineering service was established in the early eighteenth century to supervise construction, and in 1747 a state-run school was established to train its engineers. As a result of such efforts, between 1660 and 1789 travel times between Paris and the other major cities fell by about half, in some cases more: mid-seventeenth-century travelers had needed fifteen days to get from Paris to Bordeaux, but by 1789 this had fallen to only five days. Regularly scheduled coaches now served these roads, and the

combination of better roads and improved coaches allowed travelers to make the trip in relative comfort. The government also supported efforts at canal building, linking the country's natural waterways into an effective national system, especially well suited for the distribution of heavy agricultural goods. The Canal du Midi, which permitted navigation from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, was a wonder of the era when it opened in 1681.

Governments sought also to diminish the country's cultural and institutional diversity. Each province retained its distinctive law code, but successive

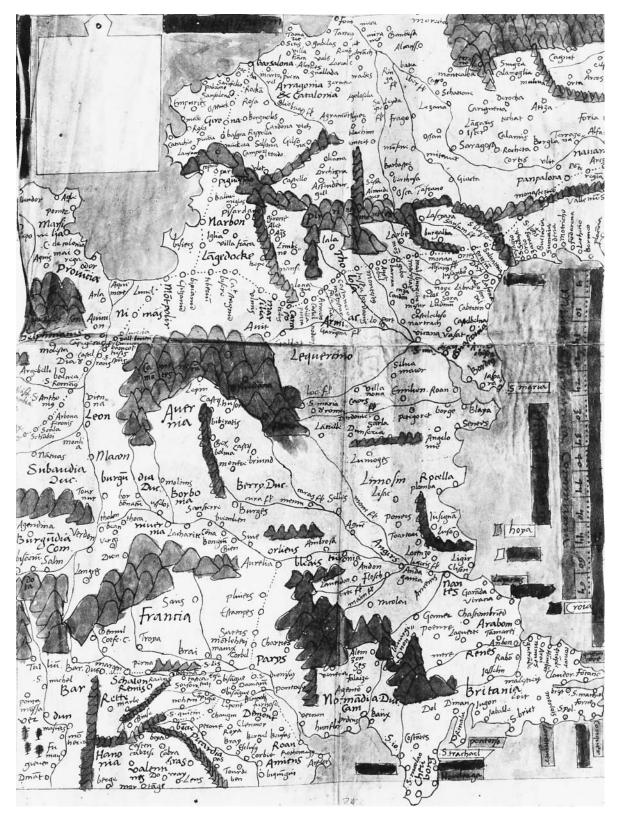
revisions—with royal commissioners sent to investigate local practices and compile new collections brought these more into line with one another. Other magistrates were sent into distant hinterlands to deal with reports of lawlessness and ensure compliance with the king's own laws. The later eighteenth century brought an attack on the political and economic barriers that divided the French territory. In the 1760s and 1770s, the governments of the Abbé Terray and of Turgot sought to end restrictions on free trade within the country, creating a single national market in place of the twenty or so distinct provinces. These efforts failed, partly because they provoked popular disturbances over higher food prices, but the direction of change was clearly toward national unity.

PHASES OF ROYAL POWER, 1453-1589

Even in their darkest moments, French kings enjoyed important advantages in comparison with their rivals elsewhere in Europe. The Salic law, supposed to be of ancient origins but in fact instituted in the early fourteenth century, proclaimed that women could not inherit the throne, ensuring that it would never go via marriage to a foreign prince. In the coronation ceremony, French kings were anointed with holy oil, and they enjoyed other markings of sanctity. The popes had conferred on them the title "Most Christian King," associating them with the work of the church, and long tradition accorded them the power to cure some diseases by touching the afflicted. In 1440, they had acquired the more practical advantage of levying taxes in most of the country without seeking the consent of any representative institution. These traditions of respect for royal power proved especially important in the years after 1453 as France rebuilt from the disasters of the Hundred Years' War with England. The war had devastated much of the country, and it was only around 1500 that population returned to what it had been in 1337, when the fighting began. Under Charles VII and Louis XI, the work of reconstruction advanced quickly. Rebellions by great aristocrats were put down, and the core of an effective civil service was established. In the next generation, this concern with reestablishing internal peace and order yielded to an urge for external adventures. In 1494 the sickly Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498), Louis's son, raised a large army and led it across Italy to conquer the kingdom of Naples; the venture expressed both dynastic ambition—the royal family's claim to Naples dated to a thirteenth-century ancestor—and crusading ideals, for Charles hoped to use Naples as a jumping-off point for a crusade to liberate Jerusalem. Neither he nor the aristocratic armies he led had relinquished medieval visions of politics; they fought not for national interest, but in the service of family and faith.

Charles's invasion inaugurated a half century of war over Italy, war that eventually ended in complete French defeat. Charles's army had easily conquered Naples, but Ferdinand, the king of Spain, quickly and effectively disputed his dominance, routing French armies and establishing Spain's dominance of the region. Charles died in 1498, but his successor (an elderly cousin who ruled as Louis XII) only widened these conflicts; he had his own claims to the duchy of Milan, in northern Italy, and thus French armies returned to Italy seeking to establish claims to both north and south. Francis I (1515-1547) and his son Henry II (1547-1559) continued these efforts despite repeated military disasters. Francis himself was captured in battle at Pavia in 1525, and his two sons were held hostage in Madrid for an enormous ransom. By the 1530s the Spanish had solidified their hold on Italy, and a last French defeat in 1557 (at St. Quentin, near the Netherlands border) finally ended French hopes. The drive for hegemony in Italy had produced only Spanish lordship over Milan and Naples and overwhelming Spanish influence elsewhere in the peninsula.

The peace settlement of 1559 brought its own problems. Without the distractions of foreign war, aristocratic clans competed with increased avidity for influence at court—the more intently because three of Henry II's weakling sons came in turn to the throne after his death in 1559. Neither they nor their mother, Catherine de Médicis, who exercised a large influence on royal policy over the next thirty years, had the personal authority to discipline these factions; despite the sacred trappings surrounding the French monarchy, kings' personal qualities still mattered to the success of their governments. But in the mid-sixteenth century the demands placed on kings had also become more difficult because of the arrival of Protestantism in France. Both John Calvin and his principal lieutenant Théodore de Bèze were French by birth, and they took considerable interest in bringing the Reformed religion to their native



France. An early-sixteenth-century manuscript map of France, oriented with south at the top. Because of this perspective, Normandy and Brittany appear at the bottom right, and the Pyrenees mountain chain separating Spain and France is at the top. The map may have been drawn during the reign of Francis I (1515–1547), a period that saw almost constant warfare against the Hapsburg Charles V, but also the introduction of the Italian Renaissance into France. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

land. Calvinist missionaries sought to reach all levels of French society, but their greatest successes came among elites. By 1562 significant minorities of the bourgeoisie and nobility had turned to Calvinism, and in that year they launched a coordinated uprising. The royal army and the Catholic factions among the nobility defeated these movements, but 1562 proved to be the opening phase of a long civil war, the Wars of Religion, that merely paused in 1598 and came to a definitive conclusion only in 1629. Over these years, efforts to achieve religious toleration, embodied in short-lived peace treaties, alternated with moments of extreme religious violence. In 1572 King Charles IX's plan to have the Protestant leader Gaspard de Coligny assassinated turned into the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Protestants, first in Paris, then in other cities throughout the country. Contemporaries believed that they were witnessing both the breakdown of order inside the country and the decay of French standing within Europe, for the Spanish king Philip II contributed both funds and troops to the Catholic side.

PHASES OF ROYAL POWER, 1589-1789

The crises of these years created broad support for stronger monarchy, and this became the dominant pattern of the seventeenth century. In 1589 the crown passed to Henry IV, a distant cousin of the previous kings and leader of the Protestant movement during the later Wars of Religion; his promise to convert to Catholicism secured the obedience of most of the country, and in 1598 the Edict of Nantes established a degree of religious peace. Rebellion, conspiracy, and civil war remained real threats, but they were brief interruptions of a trend toward stronger government—and of the revival of French efforts to dominate European power politics. As in the sixteenth century, Spain again provided the natural target of French ambitions as the dominant European power and as having several borders with France. Henry IV's sudden death in 1610, amidst plans to march against Spanish interests in the Rhineland, only postponed the fighting. His son Louis XIII (ruled 1610-1643) led French armies across the Alps in 1628 to establish a French duke in the small northern Italian principality of Mantua and then in 1635 launched France into full involvement in the Thirty Years' War against both Spain and its Habsburg ally, the Holy Roman emperor. The ensuing decades of war placed enormous burdens, both political and financial, on French resources. Rising taxes provoked popular rebellions in several provinces, and aristocratic plotting resumed, motivated by the eagerness of those around the king to attain more influence. The worst moments came in 1648, with the young Louis XIV on the throne and real power in the hands of his Spanish mother, Anne of Austria, and her Italian advisor, Cardinal Mazarin; during the four years of the Fronde, as the rebellions were called, a shifting coalition of urban crowds, royal judges, and great aristocrats twice drove Mazarin into exile and threatened to take over control of the government. But throughout this time France managed to sustain its armies against the still more severely strained Habsburg powers. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia (with the empire) and the 1659 Peace of the Pyrenees (with Spain) provided territorial gains and more broadly established France as the new dominant power in Europe.

Asserting and expanding that power became the government's primary concern over the next fifty years. After Mazarin's death in 1661, Louis XIV proclaimed himself fully in charge of French policy, and through the longest reign of European history (he died only in 1715, leaving the crown to his great-grandson) he devoted himself to asserting French supremacy, cultural and economic as well as military. Intermittent war resumed in 1666, with new military adventures coming in 1672, 1689, and 1702. The understanding of national ambition had evolved since the sixteenth century, however. By this point, expanding national territory and advancing trade had become the express motives of international policy, replacing the dynastic and crusading ideals of the sixteenth century. Spain had fallen to the second rank of European powers, and much of Louis's effort was directed to absorbing bits of Spanish territory; the last and greatest of his wars was directed to absorbing Spain itself, whose king had died childless. Parallel efforts asserted the place of French culture within Europe. Louis's new palace at Versailles was designed partly as an advertisement for French glory and elegance, and support for artists, writers, and musicians had the same goal, affirming French cultural supremacy within Europe and royal supremacy within France.



France. A map of France from a French atlas published circa 1760. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

These efforts brought some additions to French territory, and they secured for one of Louis's grandsons the Spanish throne as Philip V, though only on condition that the two crowns never be joined. Versailles and its courtly rituals impressed many other rulers, and imitations sprang up in several countries. But Louis's ambitions also united the rest of Europe against him, especially after 1685, when, with the Edict of Fontainebleau, he revoked the Edict of Nantes and banished all Protestants from France. To contemporaries, he seemed a menace to the religious peace of Europe as well as to his neighbors' territories. With most other European powers allied against it, French militarism exhausted the country's resources and produced only small gains. His subjects greeted Louis's death with relief.

Taking note of war's human and financial costs, his successors were more cautious about military adventures. Louis XV entered the brief War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735), the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1747), and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Louis XVI, only the American Revolution (1778–1783). The first and the last of these conflicts were French successes, but the Seven Years' War was a humiliating failure, which seemed to teach a lesson that Louis XIV's last wars had already suggested: despite its immense population (which had risen to 26 million by the late eighteenth century), France had lost its dominant position within Europe. It remained Europe's largest country, but others were proving better able to mobilize their resources, for both military and civic

ends. It had no equivalent to the Bank of England, which raised public loans for the government, nor could it match Prussia's extremely disciplined military organization. Already in the 1660s, government officials noted the superior economic performance of the Dutch Republic; in the eighteenth century, with the opening phases of the industrial revolution, England appeared to be growing far richer.

Diminished standing within the European state system produced a rising anxiety among French ruling elites, and led to a series of government-sponsored efforts at reform and modernization. During the last twenty-five years of the old regime, governments did away with guilds and established free trade in foodstuffs; they expelled the Jesuit order from France and instituted some toleration for Protestants; they funded agricultural societies throughout the country in hopes of improving farming techniques; they sought to reorganize the judiciary, and (immediately before the Revolution) set up an ambitious system of provincial legislatures. These were serious efforts at change, directed by thoughtful, strong-minded government ministers, who had been much influenced by their reading of Enlightenment political philosophy and economic theory. But several of these reforms lasted only briefly, falling victim to power struggles at Versailles, the kings' weakness, and the vocal opposition of groups whose interests they threatened. In the decades before 1789, the monarchy seemed incapable of sustaining a consistent policy.

So cumbrous and incoherent a system could not continue indefinitely, and in 1789 the sequence of increasingly radical government-sponsored reforms edged into revolution. By this point the crown found it difficult to finance even small successes in the competition among European states. To secure approval for new taxes, it called together a series of representative assemblies, culminating in the Estates-General of 1789. Though they believed in monarchical government, most members of the Estates from the outset demanded that radical changes be made in the country's organization. Within weeks of assembling, they had unilaterally declared themselves a National Assembly charged with creating a new constitution, and they made the king a mere executive of the nation, rather than its sovereign. Three years later, the monarchy was eliminated altogether.

THE CHARACTER OF GOVERNMENT

In 1515, France had few government officials, only one for every 4,700 inhabitants, according to one historian's estimate, but by 1665 the ratio had changed to one official for every 380 inhabitants, giving France one of the largest governments in early modern Europe. The state's massive expansion partly resulted from public demand. In the litigious world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both elites and ordinary people wanted more judges, and they wanted better control of public disorder; in response, Louis XIV established Europe's first professional police force. But the needs of royal ambition counted for more than popular demand for governmental services. The gigantic armies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries needed civilian officials to manage them, and they needed to be paid for, meaning that the number of tax officials grew as fast as the number of judges. In the seventeenth century, this effort to extract revenue merged with an additional governmental project, that of monitoring and stimulating economic activity. The idea that government should encourage economic development had circulated in the early seventeenth century, but it became especially prominent during the reign of Louis XIV, under the influence of his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert. At Colbert's urging, government tax offices expanded to keep closer track of economic changes, and new officials were created specifically to inspect and encourage commercial activity. The French navy was strengthened to protect overseas trade, and direct subsidies were given to some industries. Such ideas continued to influence French officials through the eighteenth century, and they retained through 1789 a lofty view of themselves as guiding the nation's economic activity.

As the early modern period advanced, professional civil servants of this kind faced steadily less competition from other institutions. National representative assemblies, known as Estates-General, had been an important element of medieval French government, and they continued to meet frequently during the sixteenth century. But both the king and his leading officials viewed the Estates with suspicion, and after 1615 they ceased to meet. Provincial

estates continued to play a role in governing some outlying regions, notably in Brittany and Languedoc, but in other regions these institutions too disappeared. Over most of the country, the French kings had established their right to levy taxes without consulting their subjects.

In some respects, this failure of French representative institutions added dramatically to the monarchy's power. But though French royal power was in some respects absolute, in other ways it faced significant limitations, many of them bound up with the character of its own civil service. Since the early sixteenth century, almost all offices in the French state had come to be articles of property, whose occupants could sell them or pass them on to their children. This system of venal office-holding was nearly unique in Europe. Probably it had originated from private bribery, but the government itself quickly began selling positions as a fundraising device. In 1522 Francis I established a bureau to sell new positions, and complicated rules were established giving the government a share in private sales. Both the government and potential buyers had an interest in the system's expansion, and expand it did. Numerous new offices were created, ranging from the loftiest judgeships to petty local positions, and individuals rushed to buy them, eager for the combination of status, power, and tax exemption they offered. Until the 1660s even this rising supply did not suffice to meet demand; office prices rose dramatically, and the most important offices cost enormous sums.

Venality complicated relations between royal officials and the king himself. Officeholders wanted to protect the value of their investments, and they reacted with hostility to royal plans that would diminish their importance or abolish outmoded positions; and they could oppose the king without risk of dismissal. Opposition was most vocal and most dangerous at the top of the official hierarchy, from the country's leading law courts. By 1789 these included fourteen parlements, appeals courts scattered across the country, each numbering dozens of judges, and about a dozen sister courts charged mainly with supervising tax collection. Though they spent much of their time deciding private litigation, the parlements also had important political and administrative functions. They regulated commerce and many other matters within their jurisdictions;

more important still, new laws from the king required their formal endorsement and registration, a process that often involved contentious debates about royal policies, and that often included magistrates offering their own amendments.

As a result, politics in early modern France was marked by repeated conflicts between the central government and its own officials. Henry IV argued with the magistrates over religion and finally had to enforce their compliance with his policy of toleration for Protestants. In the next generation, struggles primarily concerned royal fiscal policy, culminating in outright rebellion—the Fronde of 1648 led by magistrates of the Parlement of Paris. After 1661, Louis XIV bullied the magistrates into submission, but in the eighteenth century they returned to opposing royal plans in matters of religion, taxation, and economic policy. Such disputes echoed far outside the government itself, for the magistrates proved adept at mobilizing public opinion in support of their views, making effective use of pamphlets to reach middle-class readers. However absolute they were in theory, French kings could never ignore alternative centers of political power. Even Louis XIV combined intimidation and negotiation in dealing with the magistrates, offering financial advantages and policy concessions to those who went along with government plans.

THE CHARACTER OF SOCIETY

The rising number of royal judges and officials was the most important change that French society underwent during the early modern period. By the seventeenth century, officials formed the richest group in most French cities, and they dominated urban politics and culture. At the highest levels, judges from the parlements and other important law courts shaded into the aristocracy, forming a distinctive class known as the nobility of the robe. Tensions remained with the older military nobility, the nobility of the sword, and the most distinguished families of the old nobility would not have considered placing their sons in judicial careers. But even these families often intermarried with members of the robe nobility, and farther down the social scale the merger between robe and sword nobilities was almost complete. Partly as a result, French nobles tended to leave the countryside after about 1650. Those who could afford to bought houses in Paris, Versailles, and the regional capitals, where they could enjoy an increasingly sophisticated urban life. By the later eighteenth century, observers claimed, only poor nobles resided permanently in the country; others visited their country estates only occasionally, for brief periods of rural relaxation, before returning to the pleasures of city and court. Other elements of the French bourgeoisie showed less dynamism in the period, and families often preferred the safety of official careers to the uncertainties of commerce. As a result, some of the most successful entrepreneurs in early modern France were foreigners; Italian bankers settled in sixteenthcentury Lyon, making that city an important financial center, and Iberian merchants played an important role in the development of French commerce along the Atlantic seaboard. In the eighteenth century, however, French merchants became more adventurous, profiting from opportunities in the Atlantic colonial trade and investing in textile manufacturing and metallurgy. The Paris stock market was a relative latecomer, founded well after comparable institutions in Amsterdam and London, but it was a center of frenetic activity in the late eighteenth century. Even then, however, the greatest commercial fortunes tended to be associated with the state. Throughout the period, the French government desperately needed bankers who could supply loans to make up for inadequate tax receipts, and such figures increasingly took over tax collection themselves.

Because of the hesitant development of its commercial and manufacturing sectors, France remained an overwhelmingly rural society throughout the early modern period. In 1500, only thirty-two French cities had at least 10,000 inhabitants; only a dozen of these had 20,000 or more, and only three had 40,000. With a population of well over 100,000 inhabitants, Paris ranked as the largest city in northern Europe, and, as the capital of an increasingly powerful government, it expanded dramatically over the period, to about 600,000 on the eve of the Revolution. Other cities grew as well; by 1800 there were ten cities with at least 40,000 inhabitants and thirty-one with 20,000. But only a handful of commercial centers—Lyon, the Mediterranean port of Marseille, and the Atlantic ports of Bordeaux and Nantes—grew very quickly.

As a result, through 1789 at least three-fourths of French men and women lived in the countryside, in communities numbering only a few hundred residents. In settings of this kind, villagers necessarily had intimate knowledge of one another's lives, and many village institutions strengthened communal bonds. Many villages owned some communal lands, which residents could use for pasturing animals and collecting firewood, and in many regions villagers had common rights even to private land after the harvest had been collected. Religious rituals further strengthened community ties, since the village's borders followed those of the Catholic parish, and the parish church supplied the village's main public space. Bound together by so many ties, the village could form an effective political unit when its interests were threatened. The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed a wave of peasant rebellions against royal tax demands, and throughout the period villagers launched collective lawsuits against landlords and others. Despite such moments of collective action, however, the early modern village was also a deeply divided place, and divisions tended to become more serious as the period progressed. In the early sixteenth century, most French villages were dominated by a large middle class of farmers, most of whom controlled enough land to feed their families and produce a small surplus. Between 1550 and 1650, however, land came to be concentrated in very few hands as a result of multiple social pressures: population growth led families to divide parcels among their heirs; rising taxes and rents drove many middling farmers into economic difficulties; newly rich royal officials were buying up both large and small properties. By 1650, most villages were divided between a mass of impoverished agricultural laborers and a very small group of wealthy farmers.

These stark divisions within rural society were not a primary cause of the political explosions of 1789, and peasants played only marginal roles in the Revolution. But rural poverty contributed indirectly to the monarchy's collapse. At the end of the eighteenth century, France was a great power whose social problems stood in the way of its international ambitions. The men of 1789 believed that their nation required complete regeneration in order to return to greatness. The monarchy had visibly failed in the task of reconstruction; now representatives of the nation would undertake it.

See also Ancien Régime; Austrian Succession, War of the; Bordeaux; Bourbon Dynasty (France); Burgundy; Camisard Revolt; Catherine de Médicis; Charles VIII (France); Charles the Bold (Burgundy); Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Coligny Family; Condé Family; Devolution, War of; Estates-General, French; Francis I (France); Fronde; Guise Family; Habsburg-Valois Wars; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; League of Augsburg, War of the; Louis XII (France); Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Louis XVI (France); Lyon; Marie Antoinette; Marie de Médicis; Mazarin, Jules; Nantes, Edict of; Poisons, Affair of the; Polish Succession, War of the; Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Mme de; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Seven Years' War; Thirty Years' War; Valois Dynasty (France); Versailles; Wars of Religion, French.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beik, William. *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France:* The Culture of Retribution. Cambridge, U.K., 1997.
- Benedict, Philip, ed. Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France. London, 1989.
- Bloch, Marc. French Rural History: An Essay on Its Basic Characteristics. Translated by Janet Sondeimer. Berkeley, 1966.
- Bluche, François. *Louis XIV*. Translated by Mark Greengrass. Oxford, 1990.
- Briggs, Robin. Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France. Oxford, 1989.
- Collins, James. *The State in Early Modern France*. Cambridge, U.K., 1995.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays. Stanford, 1975.
- Doyle, William, ed. Old Regime France. Oxford, 2001.
- Holt, Mack P., ed. Renaissance and Reformation France. Oxford, 2002.
- Kelley, Donald R. The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation. Cambridge, U.K., 1981.
- Kettering, Sharon. French Society, 1589-1715. Harlow, U.K., 2001.
- Knecht, R. J. Francis I. Cambridge, U.K., 1982.
- Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *The French Peasantry, 1450–1660.* Translated by Alan Sheridan. Berkeley and London, 1987.
- Maza, Sara. Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France. Berkeley and London, 1993.
- Moote, A. Lloyd. *Louis XIII the Just*. Berkeley and London, 1989.

- Ranum, Orest. The Fronde: A French Revolution, 1648–1652. New York, 1993.
- -----. Paris in the Age of Absolutism. New York, 1968.
- Roche, Daniel. The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century. Berkeley and London, 1987.
- Schneider, Robert. Public Life in Toulouse, 1463–1789: From Municipal Republic to Cosmopolitan City. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1989.
- Van Kley, Dale. The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791. New Haven and London, 1996.

JONATHAN DEWALD

FRANCE, ARCHITECTURE IN.

French architecture of the early modern period is characterized by three main tendencies: the survival of Gothic technology and form, the influence of Italian and ancient models of classicism, and the effort to form a strong French architectural language. Political and social overtones varied in the Renaissance, with ancient and Italian classical influences gradually merging with a lively Late Gothic tradition to express cultivation and splendor. In the seventeenth century, French kings elaborated universal principles and state institutions to express their political and cultural ambitions. Finally, in the eighteenth century, architecture itself was redefined as an instrument of social change.

THE RENAISSANCE

After Charles VIII returned from his Italian military campaigns in 1495, strong Gothic traditions were given a new patina of Italianate structure and ornament. For example, on the court side of the Francis I wing of the château (residential castle) of Blois (Loire Valley, 1515–1524), a typically Gothic spiral staircase, disengaged on three sides, is covered with Renaissance ornaments such as medallions and balusters. Soon, a series of royal châteaus showed a more radical reorganization of plans and external forms, as seen in the château of Chambord (Loire Valley, 1519–c. 1559) and the seven châteaus in the Île-de-France region (including Madrid, Fontainebleau, and St.-Germain-en-Laye) built during the last years of the reign of Francis I (1515–1547).

In the last projects of Francis I, from 1540, and during the reign of Henry II (1547–1559), the

French digested Italian models and devised their own versions of them. Many French architects traveled to Italy, and some, such as Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (c. 1520-c. 1585) and Philibert Delorme (1514-1570), produced books. Other publications on ancient architecture, Renaissance buildings, and idealized architectural designs were translated into French or written by Italian architects invited to the French court. As in Italy, the new model for the architect of this generation was no longer the medieval mason but the cultivated man of ancient learning. The portion of the Louvre by Pierre Lescot (Paris, c. 1546-1578) and Delorme's Anet (Eure-et-Loire, from 1547) are two of the most remarkable and exemplary châteaus of the times. Because of its fundamental changes, this period, which closes with the reign of Henry IV (1589–1610), is called the "Second Renaissance."

Until early in the seventeenth century, churches resisted all but the most superficial changes. The massive vertical paired bell towers and deep-set porches of the facade of St.-Michel of Dijon (1520–1560) are reminiscent of Late Gothic churches, despite their classical ornaments. The same can be said for the overall Gothic plans and structures of the churches of St.-Gervais (1494–1621) and St.-Eustache (1532–1637) in Paris.

A pioneering *hôtel* (noble town house) called the Grand Ferrare (Fontainebleau, 1542–1546), completed by Sebastiano Serlio, set the standard for domestic architecture. Residences in towns and in the countryside were soon patterned on its biaxial symmetry and the en suite planning of its apartments. Classical forms became more prominent, as in Serlio's Ancy-le-Franc (Burgundy, from 1546), but medieval features persisted, as in the new design for the defensive towers, traditionally round but now squared into corner pavilions. The death of Henry II in 1559 was followed by a period of religious conflict (the Wars of Religion, 1562–1598) and economic strife during which little was built.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND THE BIRTH OF THE GRAND STYLE

The reign of Henry IV launched a two-hundredyear building boom in the private sector to satisfy the social ambitions of a rising middle class. While the symmetrical Grand Ferrare remained the ideal in domestic architecture, in Paris the Hôtel Lambert (Louis Le Vau, begun 1641) and the Hôtel de Beauvais (Antoine Le Pautre, 1654–1660) demonstrate how natural features and the constraints of the site could be ingeniously masked and turned to advantage. Elegant *places royales* (royal squares) attracted private building around them (in Paris, the Place Royale, today the Place des Vosges, 1605, and the Place Dauphine, from 1607). Designed with uniform facades framing a statue of the king, several of these squares were built in Paris as well as in many other towns from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century.

Two outstanding châteaus were built to express bids for political power—Maisons (Île-de-France, 1641-1660) for René de Longueil by François Mansart (1598–1666), and Vaux-le-Vicomte (1657-1661) for Nicolas Fouquet by Le Vau (1612-1670). Vaux-le-Vicomte imported from Italy the idea of one artist (in this case Charles Le Brun, 1619-1690) coordinating the décor, architecture, and garden design. Louis XIV (1643-1715) transplanted the entire artistic team, including the garden designer André Le Nôtre (1613-1700), and even the very trees of Vaux to Versailles (Le Vau, 1668–1670; Jules Hardouin-Mansart, 1678–1689), thereby announcing the royal cultural hegemony from the outset of his personal reign (from 1661). The Sun King's authority radiated from the palace, the satellite palaces, extensive gardens, hunting grounds, and the newly built town that constituted the country's new administrative and cultural capital.

An upsurge of religious building, mostly during the reign of Louis XIII (1610-1643), saw revitalized religious orders rebuild numerous monasteries and churches. Church facades followed two models: the pedimented portico of the Pantheon of Rome or the two-story facade of the church of Il Gesù in Rome (Giacomo della Porta, begun 1571). These were emulated in the street and court entrances of Jacques Lemercier's Church of the Sorbonne (Paris, 1630-c. 1648). In a more vertical French variation, the facades of St. Gervais (Paris, Salomon de Brosse, 1616-1621) and St.-Louis (Paris, today known as St.-Paul-St.-Louis, Étienne Martellange, begun in 1627) added a third level of orders (a system of proportions, columns, capitals and entablatures). Likewise, French domes were often more vertical than their Italian counterparts. They were placed

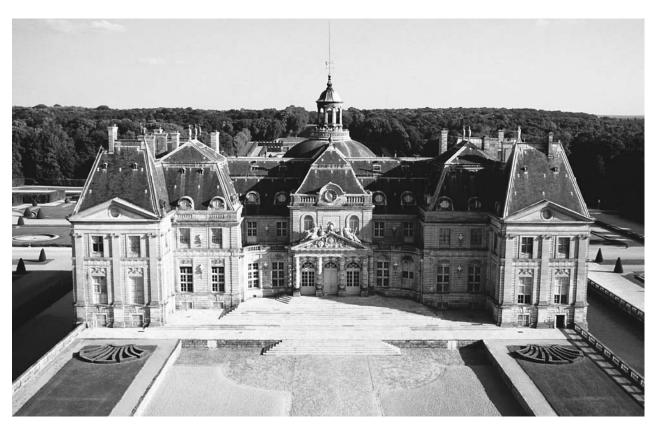
closer to the facades, as in the Dome of the Invalides (Paris, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, 1676–1706), with tall drums and wooden beams raising the external profile.

Architectural historians traditionally contrasted the "baroque" "exuberance" and "persuasiveness" of Italian architects with the "classical" "reserve" and "rectilinearity" of their French counterparts. However, recently historians have pointed out the cross-fertilization and common agendas between the two. Palladian and Roman influences abound in Le Vau's work, as in the curved wings and loosely connected pavilions of the Collège des Quatre Nations (Paris, College of the Four Nations, today the Institut de France, 1662-1670). As Claude Mignot (1989) aptly observes, the long-spanned entablature supported by freestanding columns on the east facade of the Louvre (projects from 1657; attributed to Claude Perrault, 1667) was no less "persuasive" than Gian Lorenzo Bernini's curvaceous colonnade in front of St. Peter's.

In the years 1640 to 1690 Lemercier, Pierre Le Muet, Le Vau, François Mansart, and Jules Hardouin-Mansart together reestablished the French "grand style." They shunned mannerist excess of ornament and embraced a clearer expression of volume and the relation of the parts to the whole. New royal institutions—the Royal Academy of Architecture, founded in 1671, and the offices of first architect to the king and the *surintendant des bâtiments* (superintendent of king's buildings), effectively a minister of culture—served as forums for articulating these rules of "good taste."

CLASSICAL REFORM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The rococo style developed in the first half of the eighteenth century in reaction to the oppressive court life of Versailles in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV. Primarily ornamental and used in interiors of domestic architecture, its forms were characterized by asymmetrical and sensual curves. Germain Boffrand (1667–1754) added a rococo masterpiece to the Hôtel de Soubise in the oval



Architecture in France, Aerial view of the Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte, @YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS

salons "de la princesse" and "du prince" (Paris, 1735–1739). Combining painting, gilding, sculpture, windows, mirrors, and multitudes of candles, he produced a bright and weightless effect. Here, all was sensual ease and luxury. Rococo set the stage for the rethinking of classical forms and the appeal to the senses on a deeper level that were characteristic of neoclassical architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Neoclassicism sought to reform architectural taste through structural rationalism, an ethnographic interest in antiquity, the sensory power of architecture in nature, and social reform. Marc-Antoine Laugier (Essai sur l'architecture, 1753) argued for simplified structures and thus proposed a return to origins through imitation of a mythical "primitive hut." Antique-style trabeation and long, unbroken entablatures seem to structure the Pantheon, Giovanni Nicolo Servandoni's facade design for the church of St.-Sulpice (Paris, begun in 1732), and Jacques Gondouin's School of Surgery (Paris, 1769-1775). Empirical knowledge of Gothic construction, however, underlay Jacques-Germain Soufflot's (1713-1780) church of Ste.-Geneviève (Paris, known today as the Pantheon, 1757–1789). A more technical interest in structure and functional building types was fostered by the strengthened institutions of civil and military engineering, the École des Ponts et Chaussées and the École du Génie de Mezières, founded in 1747 and 1748, respectively.

Leading French artists spent several years at the French Academy in Rome (founded in 1666), a major international art center at the time. The new archaeological discoveries of Paestum, Herculaneum (1738), and Pompeii (1748) fanned their enthusiasm for reexamining classical architecture. Mid-century publications about Greek ruins, by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett and by Julien-David Leroy and about Roman ruins, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, emphasized visual poetry and powerful forms through light, scale, and setting. Leroy underscored how architecture existed in historical and ethnographic contexts, thus encouraging architects to invent appropriate forms for their times.

Architecture parlante, a term associated with the next generation and with the approach of the

French Revolution (1789-1799), sought to mold form and ornament to express a building's purpose and thereby inspire social reform. Étienne-Louis Boullée's (1728-1799) striking project for a cenotaph to Newton (1784), in the form of an astronomical observatory, commemorated the scientist's genius. Its dramatic spherical form and lighting effects would awe the visitor who entered its orb via a long, dark tunnel. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806) used classical forms in a more expressive manner in a ring of tollhouses (1784-c. 1790) around Paris. Ledoux thought that new plans and building types would encourage social reform; a notable example of such a socially motivated project was his centrally planned industrial community, the Salt Works at Arc-et-Senans (1773–1779). New social agendas also meant that new building types emerged; one example was the freestanding monumental theater, such as Victor Louis's theater in Bordeaux (c. 1773–1780) and Marie-Joseph Peyre and Charles de Wailly's Théâtre de l'Odéon in Paris (1767-1782). Due to the Revolution, few buildings were built during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

See also Architecture; City Planning; Classicism; Ledoux, Claude-Nicolas; Mansart, François; Neoclassicism; Paris; Rococo; Versailles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bergdoll, Barry. *European Architecture*, 1750–1890. Oxford and New York, 2000. Includes an interesting discussion of theorists.

Blunt, Anthony. *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700.* New Haven, 1999. The seminal reference work in English.

Braham, Allan. *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment*. Berkeley, 1980. A solid survey book of the eighteenth century. Discusses foreign influence on France but omits rococo.

Hautecoeur, Louis. *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*. Paris, 1943–1957. Still the authoritative reference work, if somewhat dated.

Mignot, Claude. "Classique (Architecture)." In *Encylopaedia Universalis*. Paris, 1989. A thoughtful discussion of terminology.

Pérouse de Montclos, Jean-Marie. Histoire de l'architecture française: De la Renaissance à la Révolution. Paris, 1989. An excellent survey of breadth and depth, which attempts to define a French national style.

VICTORIA SANGER

FRANCE, ART IN. In the sixteenth century Italian artists and Italian styles dominated the visual arts in France. However, by the end of the eighteenth century it was French artists and French styles that dominated the European artistic arena. The major trends in French art during the early modern period (1600-1789) reflect the establishment of France as a nation-state and its rise to a position of international power. In the sixteenth century predominantly Italian artists developed a court-based art in an elegant, mannerist style; in the seventeenth century, although the Italian influence continued, reflecting the trends of realism and classicism practiced in Italy, an official state style was established during the reign of King Louis XIV that relied on a dignified visual vocabulary capable of expressing the ambition of the king, the chief patron of the arts; in the eighteenth century a distinctively French style emerged with rococo, which appealed to a public and to patrons well beyond the king and court, and in the latter part of the century a neoclassical style officially prevailed.

King Francis I of France (ruled 1515–1547) had visited Italy as part of his military campaigns, and he was impressed with the magnificence of the courts in Italy. When he returned to Paris in 1525 after the defeat of Pavia, he embarked on a cultural campaign to create a court and a court art that would rival those he observed in Italy. There were no French artists who were up to the task, so Francis I invited Italian artists to decorate his new palaces. Rosso Fiorentino (1494-1540) arrived in 1530 and Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570) in 1532 to work on the newly remodeled palace at Fontainebleau, just outside Paris. Referred to as the School of Fontainebleau, this new style became the hallmark French court style during the sixteenth century. As seen at the Gallery of Francis I at the palace of Fontainebleau, the decorative style combines stucco (plaster) framework in high relief surrounding a painting. Typical decorative motifs on the stucco frame include strapwork (resembling leather straps that are rolled on the ends), the forms of humans, fruit, and animals, and pure ornament. The paintings are in the mannerist style; they feature elongated, elegant figures in a compressed and energized space. They were intended to glorify the king through complex allegories that draw on classical mythology and history and Christian symbolism. Although the symbolism is

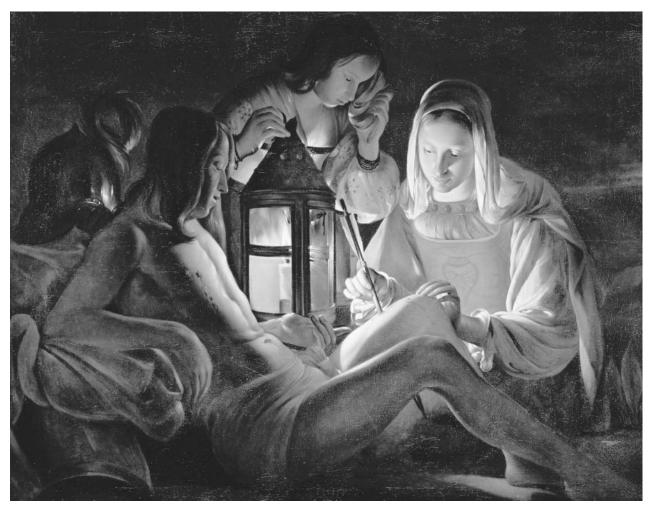
Christian, it occurs in a secular context; in France this represents a larger shift from medieval sacred art to a court-based profane art.

Despite the religious and civil wars in France in 1560–1589, which reduced much of France to a state of chaos, a Second School of Fontainebleau persisted as part of court culture during the reign of King Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610).

A new wave of Italian influence appears in French painting at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Numerous French and Dutch artists went to Rome, then considered the capital of the art world, where many discovered the style of Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi). Caravaggio painted moving religious scenes that featured ordinary people and dramatic contrasts between light and dark. We do not know if the French painter Georges de La Tour (1593–1652) went to Rome, but his work shows the influence of Caravaggio. La Tour was a provincial artist born in Lorraine; he more likely learned of Caravaggio's realism and light effects secondhand through Dutch artists who had traveled to Rome and upon their return had begun to work in the style of Caravaggio. La Tour's St. Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene (c. 1649, Louvre, Paris) depicts figures at close range dramatically illuminated by a candle. There is a stillness to his works that La Tour achieves in part through his simplified, almost lathelike geometric forms and an overall smoothness of texture.

The Le Nain brothers, Antoine (1588–1648), Louis (1593-1648), and Mathieu (1607-1677), also worked in a realist style. They were born in Laon but active as painters in Paris; attributing specific works to them individually has proved difficult and controversial. The brothers are best known today for scenes of peasant life, such as Peasant Family in an Interior (c. 1645, Louvre, Paris) in which common peasants are portrayed with dignity and objectivity. Previously, peasants had been depicted as objects of either derision or satire. Le Nain's peasants are poor, but clearly well fed and clothed. Some have interpreted these scenes as a citydweller's idealized vision of peasant life, and it was most likely a middle-class Parisian audience who purchased these works.

Simon Vouet (1590–1649) also practiced a realist style at the beginning of his career. Vouet was



Art in France. Saint Sebastian Tended by Saint Irene, attributed to Georges de La Tour, c. 1638-1639. ©KIMBELL ART MUSEUM/ CORBIS

the first artist to receive a royal stipend to make an artistic pilgrimage to Rome (1615–1627). His later style shifted from a dark realism to a lighter and more idealized style practiced by Italian painters such as Guido Reni. On his return to Paris, he decorated the townhouses of wealthy Parisians with bright allegorical figures and mythological scenes, such as *Allegory of Wealth* (c. 1630–1635, Louvre, Paris), and painted altarpieces for Parisian churches and monasteries. Vouet is an important figure in the history of French painting, for he established a large, successful studio where many artists apprenticed. He helped to create a taste for and train artists in a more classicizing style.

Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) further developed this classicism and infused it with rationalism. Poussin spent most his active career in Rome, yet his

work and theory greatly influenced French art; he had many patrons in Paris, and French artists worked with him when they came to Rome. Poussin cultivated a group of intellectually minded patrons who appreciated his composed and restrained art. In *The Arcadian Shepherds* (1650, Louvre, Paris) the classical subject exhibits a symmetrical and balanced composition. Poussin always sought a set of elemental guidelines to govern painting. He believed that the type of subject—heroic, lyric, melancholy, etc.—should dictate the stylistic treatment, and he formulated a theory based on these ideas.

The theorization and codification of art reached further heights with the establishment of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648. This institution was established to elevate the status of painting and sculpture from a manual art to a liberal

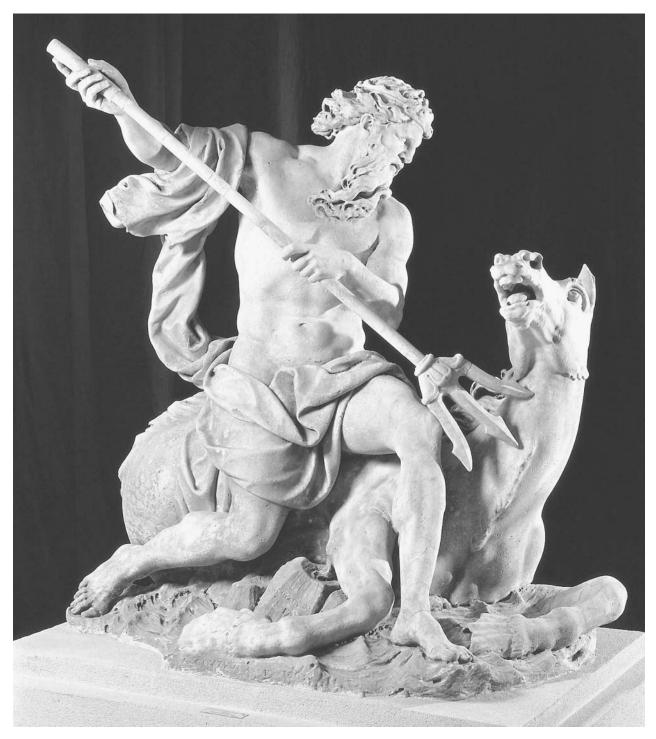


Art in France. The Arcadian Shepherds, by Nicolas Poussin, 1650. Louvre, Paris, France/Giraudon-Bridgeman Art Library

art. Poussin's rationalist approach to art reinforced the notion that art is an intellectual practice. The academy became part of the official state machinery in 1663 when King Louis XIV reorganized it to serve his interests and underwrote its funding. Under the directorship of Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), the academy and its membership became a powerful institution with a monopoly on all the most important royal commissions. The academy was organized around a series of hierarchies and rules that governed the standards of taste and evaluation and the creative process. The result was an art that was rather homogenous. Le Brun's The Tent of Darius (1661, Versailles) is typical of the academic subject and style. It is a "history painting" (scenes representing ancient history or mythology and biblical history) depicting the moment when the family of the defeated Persian king, Darius, presents itself to the victorious Alexander the Great. King Louis

XIV associated himself with Alexander the Great, so the painting is also a flattering reference to the king. The figures' pantomime-like poses, gestures, and expressions were intended to clearly convey their emotions and hence contribute to a clear exposition of the story.

Le Brun led teams of artists in decorating Versailles and other royal building projects; the academy provided an army of artists to glorify king, country, and God, and it also exercised royal control over the kinds of images that were produced. The Gobelins Manufacture, also royally sponsored, produced tapestries, furniture, and other luxury items to furnish these new buildings. The sculptor François Girardon (1628–1715) and others created large-scale sculptures of classical subjects, such as *Apollo and the Nymphs of Thetis* (1666), at Versailles, to decorate the grounds of royal palaces. However, by the end of the seventeenth century this



Art in France. Neptune, marble sculpture by Antoine Coysevox, 1698-1702. ©NIMATALLAH/ART RESOURCE, NY

great burst of state-sponsored art production came to a halt. King Louis XIV's wars had diminished the funds available for the arts and for luxury goods. When the monarch died in 1715, there was very little financial support for the academy.

With large prestigious commissions no longer available through the academy, artists turned to private patrons who preferred less weighty subjects and a lighter, less formal style. These private patrons preferred an art that was witty and that pleased the



Art in France. The Punished Son, by Jean Baptiste Greuze, 1778. @ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

eye to an art that was didactic and intended for public propaganda. In response to this shift in patronage, a new style, now referred to as the rococo, developed. Antoine Watteau is often credited with creating both this style and a new type of subject in painting—the fête galante, 'gallant party'. These are scenes of men and women at elite entertainments, often outdoors, engaged in flirtations and conversations. Watteau's Pilgrimage to Cythera (1717, Louvre, Paris) represents an imaginary pilgrimage to Venus's island where everyone is destined to fall in love. Rococo painting tends to be small in scale, playful in subject, witty and subtle in meaning, and intended for a discerning audience. Much rococo painting decorated the interiors of private townhouses in Paris, for after the reign of King Louis XIV, Paris supplanted Versailles as the center of society's universe.

During the reign of King Louis XV the rococo style did become a court style. Louis XV's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, was a great patron of the arts and fostered the careers of a number of painters working in a rococo style, such as François Boucher (1703–1770). Boucher painted decorative mythological scenes for Madame de Pompadour's châteaus and portraits of her. The flattering portrait in Munich (1756) represents her not only as beautiful (and beautifully dressed), but also as a woman of learning, alluded to through the books, letters, and sealing wax that appear in the painting. The popularity of portraits increased in the eighteenth century, although portraits had always been a staple of French painting and sculpture. Two women artists working later in the century, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755-1842) and Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), enjoyed great success as society portraitists. They were accepted into the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, filling two of the four memberships allotted to women within that institution. Theirs were exceptional cases because women were not allowed to practice painting professionally.

The rococo style remained popular through most of the eighteenth century although other subjects and styles of paintings coexisted with it. For example, domestic genre scenes of the middle classes that often featured children, such as Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin's (1699-1779) Grace at Table (1740, Louvre, Paris), began to achieve recognition in the 1730s. Chardin's work depicted a quiet, self-contained sphere of female domesticity. The medium of inexpensive prints helped to augment the popularity of these domestic scenes (and the still life paintings he did as well). Another painter who also depicted the middle-class domestic sphere, Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), emerged as a popular figure in the 1750s. Greuze's world, however, is one of emotion. His paintings, such as The Punished Son (1777, Louvre, Paris), remind us of contemporary soap operas in their unbridled emotions. Nonetheless, Chardin's and Greuze's works should be understood as part of a movement referred to as the cult of feeling. Authors such as the philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot called for an art that would move the viewer and impart a moral message. One was to experience emotions and trust them. Motherhood was extolled because it was seen as a woman's natural calling, and images of motherhood proliferated as a result.

Images representing the classical past also proliferated in the 1770s. This interest in antiquity was spurred by discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum. There was a great demand for luxury items in the "Greek taste," including furniture, porcelain, and decorative paintings of pretty Greek maidens. Vigée-Lebrun, mentioned earlier, often dressed her sitters in the Greek style. Neoclassicism was also fueled by a reform movement in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture instituted by Comte d'Angiviller, who was appointed director in 1774. D'Angiviller rejected rococo painting as immoral and wanted to restore dignity and virtue to art. The classical past served as a model, and artists within the academy began painting subjects from

Roman history that extolled what were believed to be the masculine moral virtues of civic duty and public responsibility. The work of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), such as his *Oath of the Horatii* (1784, Louvre, Paris), embodies this stoic type of neoclassicism. The Horatii brothers take an oath in the name of their father to protect their lands as part of civic responsibility. The setting is archaeologically correct; David, like many artists, had gone to Rome and studied the monuments of antiquity. David eventually became an artistic leader during the French Revolution, and the neoclassical style prevailed well into the nineteenth century in France.

See also Chardin, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon; David, Jacques-Louis; Fontainebleau, School of; France, Architecture in; Greuze, Jean-Baptiste; Le Brun, Charles; Neoclassicism; Painting; Poussin, Nicolas; Rococo; Versailles; Vigée-Lebrun, Élisabeth; Vouet, Simon; Watteau, Antoine.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blunt, Anthony. Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700. 5th ed. New Haven and London, 1999.

Chastel, André. French Art: The Ancien Régime, 1620–1775.

Translated by Deke Dusinberre. Paris and New York, 1994.

. French Art: The Renaissance, 1430–1620. Translated by Deke Dusinberre. Paris and New York, 1994.

Crow, Thomas. Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris. New Haven and London, 1985.

Levey, Michael. Painting and Sculpture in France 1700–1789. New Haven, 1993.

Lucie-Smith, Edward. *A Concise History of French Painting*. New York, 1971.

Mérot, Alain. French Painting in the Seventeenth Century. Translation of La peinture française au XVIIe siecle. New Haven, 1995.

Wakefield, David. French Eighteenth-Century Painting. London, 1984.

JULIE PLAX

FRANCIS I (FRANCE) (1494–1547; ruled 1515–1547), king of France. The only son of Charles of Angoulême and Louise of Savoy, Francis I was born on 12 September 1494. When his father died in 1496, Francis advanced in the line of royal succession behind Louis of Orléans (ruled 1498–1515), his cousin, who became king in 1498. Louis



Francis I (France). Portrait by Jean Clouet, c. 1530. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

XII had only two daughters; Francis married the older, Claude, shortly before Louis died on 1 January 1515. Claude and Francis had seven children before Claude's death in 1524. In 1530 Francis married Eleanor of Portugal, the sister of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), but had no children with her.

Upon becoming king, Francis embarked on the Third French Invasion of Italy to reclaim the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples that his two predecessors had held and lost. He defeated the Swiss, who had established a protectorate over Milan, at Marignano (Melegnano) in September 1515. Terrified that Francis would march to Rome and depose him, Pope Leo X (reigned 1513–1521) rushed to negotiate with him. The result was the Concordat of Bologna (1516), which established the governance of the French Church as it lasted to 1789. The king was given the right to appoint French bishops, subject to papal approval. The concordat enhanced royal control over the church in France and reduced the attraction for the monarchy

of the Protestant concept of the national church independent from Rome.

In 1519 Francis sought election as Holy Roman emperor but lost out to Charles of Habsburg, who already was the king of Spain and ruler of the Netherlands. Once elected, Charles V demanded that Francis give up Milan, which he proclaimed was an imperial fief. At Francis's refusal, Charles declared war, and the rest of Francis's reign saw almost constant war with the emperor. After an imperial army captured Milan in 1522, Francis led an army into Italy, only to be defeated and captured at Pavia in February 1525. He was taken to Spain and held for ransom. Agreeing to the ransom, Francis persuaded Charles to exchange him for his two oldest sons, since only he as king could impose the taxes and transfer of lands necessary for the ransom. Once freed, he resumed the war, which ended in 1529 with the Peace of the Ladies, negotiated by Francis's mother and Charles's aunt, Margaret of Austria. Besides requiring a payment of two million gold crowns, the peace acknowledged French rule over Burgundy and Habsburg control of Flanders. Intermittent war with Charles V continued to the end of Francis's reign but with no significant results.

Francis's Italian sojourns made him an advocate of Renaissance culture. He brought Italian artists and architects to France, including Leonardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, and Francesco Primaticcio. They designed and decorated royal residences, such as Chambord and Fontainebleau, which epitomize the Renaissance châteaus. He equally supported humanism, becoming the patron of Guillaume Budé and establishing the royal lectureships in the classical languages that became the modern Collège de France (founded in 1530 as the Collège Royal). His patronage of the new learning led the humanists to honor Francis as the "Father of Letters." Another aspect of the Italian Renaissance that Francis adopted was making the French court the center of fashion and beauty. Anne d'Estampes became his mistress in 1526; she was the first royal mistress to have broad influence on decision making.

Francis at first supported the moderate church reform called Evangelism advocated by the humanists; his sister Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549) was an ardent proponent. They believed the church

could be reformed and the pure Gospel preached without breaking with the Catholic Church. Francis protected its adherents against accusations of heresy from the theologians of the University of Paris. He was less tolerant of more radical views, however. When in 1534 placards printed in Switzerland denouncing the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist were posted in Paris and allegedly on his bedchamber door at Amboise, a flurry of persecutions followed, leading to John Calvin's (1509-1564) flight from France, although he had nothing directly to do with the "Day of the Placards." After 1534 Francis took a harsher tone toward religious dissent, and many were executed or exiled for heresy. Regarding Catholic reform, Francis's attitude was that the French Church did not need reforming, but if it did, he and his clergy would do it. He refused to support the Council of Trent when it was convoked in 1544.

The king's first son died in 1536, leaving his second son Henry (ruled 1547–1559) as his successor. Henry's anger at Francis for using him as a hostage in 1526 created a bad relationship between them, but they were reconciled on Francis's deathbed. Francis died on 31 March 1547.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Humanists and Humanism; Italian Wars (1494–1559); Marguerite de Navarre; Reformation, Catholic; Renaissance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jacquart, Jean. François Ier. Paris, 1981. Especially good on administrative developments of the reign.

Knecht, R. J. Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I. Cambridge, U.K., 1994. Fine biography, strong on Francis as a patron of art and literature.

Seward, D. Prince of the Renaissance: The Golden Life of François I. New York, 1973. Good popular biography, excellent set of illustrations.

Frederic J. Baumgartner

FRANCIS II (HOLY ROMAN EM-PIRE) (1768–1835; ruled 1792–1806). As Holy Roman emperor (1792–1806), emperor of Austria (1804–1835), and king of Hungary and king of Bohemia (1792–1835), Francis has a bad press among historians. He is mostly associated with the Metternichian system after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, when Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859),

his chancellor, created an international system aimed at inhibiting governmental change and preserving the monarchical structure of European countries.

Francis's reign can be divided into two parts, from 1792 to 1815, when Austria (and many other countries) struggled against the French Revolution and Napoleon, and from 1815 to 1835 when Metternich held sway. In both halves Francis is usually overshadowed (in historical works) by the men around him. In the first half, attention focuses on his brother and one of the rare military talents of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Archduke Charles, and on various advisers like Baron Johann Maria Thugut or Count Philip Stadion. In the latter part of the first half and in the entire second half of his reign, the center of scholarly attention is Metternich. Hovering over both is the overwhelming personality of Napoleon. Francis himself comes across as a stolid, mediocre, prosaic man in the background, fearful of allowing too much freedom to anyone, whether peasant or minister.

In his pre-emperor days, Francis spent much time with his uncle, Emperor Joseph II (co-regent 1765–1780; ruled 1780–1790), the great reformer. Joseph was not satisfied with his tutee's stubborn streaks and apparent lack of imagination but did admire his basic sense of justice and fairness. When Joseph died in 1790, Francis's father Leopold, a ruler considerably admired by historians, came to the throne, but Leopold only lived until 1792 when, upon his death, his eldest son, Francis, succeeded him.

Without doubt the overwhelming problem facing Francis from 1792 to 1815 was the French Revolution and Napoleon I (1769–1821). The first war of the French Revolution began just after Francis became ruler and, like all but the last, ended in Austria's defeat and cession of territory and influence. In the campaigns in Italy fought between Austria and France, the young general Napoleon Bonaparte achieved remarkable victories and in 1797 forced the Austrians to agree to the Treaty of Campo Formio, by which Austria gave up Belgium and agreed to French domination of the left bank of the Rhine River.

Further wars with Napoleon followed rapidly. The second began in 1799 and ended in 1801 with another Austrian defeat. In 1803 Napoleon com-

pletely reorganized the Holy Roman Empire, that venerable institution that had existed since the tenth century, in a way that forecast its demise. In 1804 he proclaimed himself emperor of the French, an act that encouraged Francis to declare himself emperor of Austria, both to make certain he had a title equal to that of Napoleon and to anticipate the demise of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1805 Austria went to war again, this time suffering total defeat at the famous Battle of Austerlitz, ceding as a result all of its possessions in Italy and Germany, and accepting the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

In 1809 Austria took on Napoleon by itself, but this time with a different approach. Francis and his advisers had little fear of the ideas of the French Revolution because they firmly believed that a political consensus existed in Austria sufficient to hold the various parts of the monarchy together. But they observed that France not only possessed political consensus but had mobilized it, sending its vast armies under astounding leadership throughout Europe. In 1809, inspired by the anti-French outpouring in Spain, Austria undertook an admirable but ultimately feeble effort to mobilize its own political consensus, appealing particularly (and inconsistently) to German nationalism, the idea of a fatherland, and provincial pride and loyalty. It was a good effort, but it could not overcome Napoleon's battalions, and the war ended again in defeat. Subsequently Metternich assumed his role as foreign minister, practicing a more traditional statecraft to help end Napoleon's sway over the monarchy and Europe. Napoleon's disaster in Russia in 1812 led to the complicated coalition that ultimately defeated the French emperor twice, the first leading to his exile to the island of Elba and the second to his expulsion to St. Helena.

Francis's role in these turbulent times has often been downplayed, just like his role in the post-Napoleonic era. But Francis's reign was not without progress. In fact, his and Metternich's basic principles were not the crushing of free speech or the paranoid search for real and potential revolutionaries (as critics have claimed), but the idea that, if people had good government—meaning a well-educated, fair, efficient, and incorruptible bureaucracy—they would not seek personal participation in government or see the need to change it. In fact, the best illustration of the second half of his reign was not the hunt

for subversives but life as reflected in the art and culture of the Biedermeier, a term that began as a description of furniture but which came to describe a comfortable, well-mannered, pleasant, successful (Francis never opposed economic improvements), even middle-class kind of life. It had a flavor of kitsch about it, but it was the kind of life Francis wanted his people to have. The problem was that there were forces at work within and without the monarchy that would overwhelm it after his death.

See also Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Monarchy; Revolutions, Age of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Palmer, Alan. Metternich. New York, 1972.

Roider, Karl A. Baron Thugut and Austria's Response to the French Revolution. Princeton, 1987.

Rothenberg, Gunther. Napoleon's Great Adversaries: The Archduke Charles and the Austrian Army, 1792–1814. Bloomington, Ind., 1982.

KARL A. ROIDER

FRANCK, SEBASTIAN (c. 1499–1542),

Reformation era heterodox theologian, chronicler, and printer. Sebastian Franck is one the more problematic figures of the Reformation era to categorize in the standard terms of the time. His refusal to associate with the mainstream movements of his era and the heterodox nature of his thought made him an isolated and persecuted figure and restricted the impact of his thought on his own time and on the eras that followed. On the other hand, Franck's tenacious individuality makes him of interest in the modern world and a significant figure for understanding the boundaries of sixteenth-century intellectual life.

Franck was born in 1499 in the small south German imperial city of Donauwörth and was educated in the universities at Ingolstadt and Heidelberg, where he first came into contact with humanism and the incipient reform movement. Of particular influence were the ideas of Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) and Martin Luther (1483–1546). In 1525 Franck formally aligned himself with the evangelical movement and took up a pastoral position near Nuremberg, but his formal association with the party of reform and with institutional

religion ended when he resigned his position in 1529. From 1530 onward his many writings presented a spiritualist theology that rejected the main premises of the theologies of Luther, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), and various Anabaptists. Because of his rejection of established institutions and theologies of the Reformation, Franck lived a peripatetic existence. From 1530 to 1532 he resided in Strasbourg, from whence he was expelled because of his publications. He eventually settled in Ulm, where he took up the trade of printing. He was granted citizenship in 1535, despite his controversial writings and the attempts of the pastorate in Ulm to have him expelled. Eventually, though, his continued publication of controversial works and the continued pressure of the ecclesiastical authorities led to his expulsion in 1539. From there he moved to Basel, where he died, probably as a result of the plague, in 1542.

Franck's ideas centered on the proposition that God communicated directly with humanity through his Word, which for Franck signified an image or spark of the divine being residing at the core of the human being. In his first major work, Chronica, Zeytbuch und Geschychtbibel (1531; Chronicle, book of time and historical bible), Franck chronicled the distressingly profane course of human affairs. He recorded the affairs of emperors, the church, and heretics and in so doing sought to show the absence of true divine being in the outward course of the world. Of particular interest is Franck's treatment of heresy and heretics, since it is only in the ideas of those rejected by the outward church that one finds God's true indwelling Word. For Franck the outer world was incapable of containing or recognizing the true spiritual inner Word of God, and thus all physical manifestations of religion were illegitimate. His many other publications, over twenty in all, sought to establish this central concept. Given his conviction that outward means are insufficient to contain God's spiritual Word, it makes sense that Franck's own work lacked systematic rigor. He typically composed by compiling and commentating upon the work of others. Probably the single best example of Franck's writing and ideas is his 1534 work Paradoxa Ducenta Octoginta (Two hundred eighty paradoxes), in which he collected numerous seemingly contradictory statements from the Bible and ancient authorities

and then provided the exegesis that shows only a spiritual understanding of the texts can overcome the apparent contradictions.

In many ways the reactions to Franck's writings is of greater interest than the ideas themselves. Given the unorthodox nature of his thought, it is not surprising that his printed works met with almost universal condemnation. More noteworthy is the provisional tolerance he found during his lifetime. Despite his initial expulsion from Strasbourg and the vehement opposition to his presence among Ulm's pastorate, Franck persuaded the magistrates in Ulm to grant him entry and citizenship. Franck's spiritualist theology actually resonated among some of Ulm's magistrates, many of whom sympathized with the teachings of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig (1489-1561), whose own spiritualism was broadly similar to Franck's inner Word theology. Franck's opposition to institutional religion was useful for magistrates who were seeking to emphasize their prerogative over religion, over and against Ulm's pastors. Such fissures in the administration of religion in the early Reformation provided the limited tolerance within which Franck was able to pursue his idiosyncratic intellectual enterprise. Even after his expulsion from Ulm, he was able to find refuge and citizenship in Basel. Franck's ideas were in many ways derivative, but his persistence and vehemence of expression define one of the margins of early modern intellectual life and consequently define and reveal the boundaries of political tolerance for heterodox thought in this era of upheaval.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Reformation, Protestant; Theology; Zwingli, Huldrych.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Franck, Sebastian. Chronica, Zeytbuch und Geschychtbibel. Strasbourg, 1531.

- ——. "A Letter to John Campanus." In *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, edited by George Huntston Williams and Angel M. Mergal, pp, 147–160. Philadelphia, 1957.
- 280 Paradoxes or Wondrous Sayings. Translated by
 E. J. Furcha. Lewiston, N.Y., 1986. Translation of Paradoxa Ducenta Octoginta (1534).

Secondary Sources

Hayden-Roy, Patrick. The Inner Word and the Outer World: A Biography of Sebastian Franck. New York, 1994. Ozment, Steven E. Mysticism and Dissent. New Haven, 1973.

PATRICK HAYDEN-ROY

FRANÇOIS DE SALES (1567–1622), French bishop. For some, the life and work of François of Sales explain the whole Catholic reformation of the seventeenth century. Remembered as the one who introduced religious devotion into daily life, he was also, during his lifetime, known for his holiness as well as his skills as a controversialist preacher, spiritual adviser, and cofounder of the Visitation of Holy Mary congregation. Beatified in 1662 and canonized in 1665, he was one of only two Frenchmen (along with Bishop Alain de Solminihac [1593–1659]) canonized during the seventeenth century.

Born in 1567 to a noble family of Thorens in the duchy of Savoy, François was educated first at the Collège de la Roche-sur-Foron (1574–1576) and then in Annecy, at a college reserved for sons of the nobility and high-ranking public officers. He left Savoy in 1582 for Paris, where he studied at the Jesuit college of Clermont and then simultaneously at the Sorbonne until 1588, preparing for law school while attending theology classes. Profoundly pious, he obeyed his father's wishes by moving in the fashionable circles of the court and the Parisian salons. Around December of 1586, while he was still in the college of Clermont, he underwent a spiritual crisis, which he ended by deepening his religious devotion, making the vow to say the rosary every day. In 1588, having received his master's degree, he left for Padua, a Renaissance center of the Venetian republic that attracted students from all over Europe. There he got his doctoral degree in law in 1591, while still pursuing studies in theology, and he became very close to many Tridentine reformers, such as the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, famous for his missionary experience, extensive travels, and papal missions. François also became close to members of several religious congregations and orders, including the Barnabites, the Capuchins, a reformed branch of the Franciscan order, the secular clerics called the Theatines, and the institutes founded by Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) and Filippo Neri (1515-1595). Along with the

Imitation of Jesus Christ (an anonymous work of the 15th century that is often attributed to Thomas á Kempis) and Mattias Bellintani da Saló's *Practice of Mental Orison*, François found his main inspiration in one of the Catholic best-sellers of the time, Lorenzo Scupoli's *Combattimento spirituale* (Spiritual fight), a work that went through fifty editions between 1589 and 1610. In this work, as in Desiderius Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503), the Christian is presented as a soldier of Christ whose weapons are self-suspicion, confidence in God, good use of one's powers, and prayer, especially meditation on Jesus Christ's life and passion.

After his return to Savoy, François expressed his wish to become a priest, against his father's will. To overcome this opposition, his cousin, the priest Louis de Sales, obtained for François a position of ecclesiastical dignity; François was named provost of the church of St. Peter in Geneva and received the orders in 1593. The following year, Claude de Granier, bishop of Geneva, sent him into the Chablais region, where the pope, the bishop of Geneva, and the duke of Savoy were trying to reestablish Catholicism despite the region's occupation by Protestants from Geneva and Bern. Over the following several years (until 1598), François worked with Capuchins and Jesuits to try to bring the fifty-two parishes of Chablais back into the fold through active preaching and extensive journalistic writings—with meager results. In 1598-1602, he was sent by Bishop Granier to Pope Clement VIII. While in Rome, he met such notable reformers as Cardinal Cesare Baronio and Robert Bellarmine and was made Granier's coadjutor. As such, he was sent to Paris to negotiate the reestablishment of Catholic parishes in the province of Gex, one of the Savoyard territories gained by French King Henry IV during his invasion of Savoy (1600–1601). This sojourn in Paris in 1602 is considered a turning point in François's religious and political career, for he joined Parisian spiritual groups that were close to power and took an active part in the renewal of French Catholicism.

After Granier's death in 1602, François became bishop of Geneva. During the next twenty years, he devoted himself to his diocese. Modeling himself on Borromeo's example of the good Tridentine bishop, he pursued, until his death in 1622, a multitude of activities in matters as various as administra-

tion, sacraments, teaching, catechism, and restoration of the diocesan clergy and the religious orders. He kept in close contact with the Parisian world of Catholic reformers (Pierre de Bérulle, Vincent de Paul, Jacqueline-Marie-Angélique Arnaud) and preached extensively outside his diocese. It was during one of these missionary tours that, in 1604, he met Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal (1572–1641), with whom he founded the Visitation of Holy Mary of Annecy (1610), an order of nuns that quickly spread throughout France.

His written work is impressive. Along with extensive correspondence, he wrote books that became classics of Catholic literature. In Chablais, during 1595-1596, he had daily flyers printed (known as Feuilles volantes, or Controversies) in order to influence the Protestants who refused to attend his preachings. He also wrote A Defense of the Standard of the Holy Cross (1600), a difficult monograph that contrasts with his masterpiece, the Introduction to the Devout Life (1609), in which he claims that religious perfection is attainable outside the cloisters and at all levels of society, including among the wealthy and privileged. This work was followed by L'entretien spirituel (Spiritual conferences), given at the Visitation of Annecy from 1610 onward (published in 1629), and Treatise of the Love of God (1616), in which he expounded the Christian humanism he had helped to create.

See also Arnauld Family; Bellarmine, Robert; Bérulle, Pierre de; Borromeo, Carlo; Reformation, Catholic; Savoy, duchy of; Vincent de Paul.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Angers, Julien-Eymard d'. L'humanisme chrétien au XVIIe siècle: François de Sales et Yves de Paris. La Haye, France, 1970.

François de Sales. *Introduction to the Devout Life*. Grand Rapids, Mich., 2002.

——. Oeuvres. Edited by Andre Ravier and Roger Devos. Paris, 1969.

Kermina, Françoise. Jeanne de Chantal, 1572-1641. Paris, 2000.

Kleinman, Ruth. Saint François de Sales and the Protestants. Geneva, 1962.

Lajeunie, E.-M. Saint François de Sales: L'homme, la pensée, l'action. 2 vols. Paris, 1966.

McGoldrick, Terence A. The Sweet and Gentle Struggle: Francis de Sales on the Necessity of Spiritual Friendship. Lanham, Md., 1996.



François de Sales. Painting by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.

@ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

Marceau, William. Optimism in the Works of St. Francis de Sales. Lewiston, N.Y., 1989.

-----. Stoicism and St. Francis of Sales. Lewiston, N.Y., 1990.

Palmer, C. H. *The Prince Bishop: A Life of St. Francis de Sales.* Ilfracombe, U.K., 1974.

Trochu, Francis. Saint Francois de Sales. 2 vols. Lyon, 1941–1942.

Wyrill, Hubert. Réforme et Contre-Réforme en Savoie, 1536–1679: De Guillaume Farel à François de Sales. Lyon, 2001.

DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

FRANKFURT AM MAIN. Frankfurt's position as a leading center of international commerce and finance as well as the site of the German emperor's election originated in the medieval period and remained the principal source of wealth and pride for the early modern city. Location on the Main River twenty miles east of its junction with the Rhine provided access to two major waterways at a point where, by 1450, some twenty-six land routes linked far-flung trading interests throughout Europe. Continental prominence of Frankfurt's two annual fairs dated from the decline of the Champagne fairs and lasted through the eighteenth century, with fluctuations that meant commercial preeminence among German cities in the fourteenth century, decline relative to Augsburg and Nuremberg from the fifteenth into the seventeenth century, then reinvigoration by Netherlandish and Jewish immigrants, whose commercial and financial operations combined with an already flourishing printing industry and book trade to produce a second major economic surge from the late sixteenth century into the 1630s. Relatively speedy recovery from the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) brought the city's third great boom in the century after 1670, when its importance and fame as a center of European trade and high finance were at their highest, even as Hamburg and Leipzig were overtaking Frankfurt's lead.

Similar fluctuations marked population developments: from a medieval high of about 10,000 (1385), fifteenth-century decline left 7,600 inhabitants (1499), then a long upswing raised totals to 12,000 (1555) and 20,000 (1620). Disease, death, and dislocation rather than warfare brought decline to about 17,000 (1655), but the city fared relatively well, recovered, and grew to 24,000 (1675) and 27,500 (1700). Compared with this impressive increase after the Thirty Years' War, eighteenth-century growth was more modest but probably brought the city to 36,000 by 1790. Demographic dynamics were strongly influenced throughout by immigration, which brought commercial opportu-

nities and wealth, internal economic rivalries, remarkable cultural and religious diversity (exemplified notably in a compulsory but contested toleration of 3,000 Jews in the local ghetto by 1709), and intermittent political conflicts.

Close ties to medieval German rulers had resulted in significant benefits, especially unchallenged status as a royal or imperial city (enjoying considerable self-governance under the emperor's direct authority) and the site for imperial elections. This special relationship with the ruler, further underscored in Frankfurt's choice as the normal location for imperial coronations after 1562, remained crucial, even when strained by the city's Lutheran Reformation, citizens' plundering of the ghetto (1614), and the council's attempt at unlimited governance over the seventeenth century. Often internal conflicts involved appeals for imperial intervention, which usually reinforced aristocratic rule against guild opposition (1366, 1525, 1612–1616) but sometimes modified oligarchical tendencies (1612, 1712-1732) by expanding the ruling elite and recognizing the claims and influence, however unequal, of diverse interests (artisanal and noncommercial as well as mercantile and financial) within the city. Thus Frankfurt absorbed gradual change while preserving an uneasy coexistence of social forces and a decidedly conservative cultural tone, perhaps exemplified best in a strong orthodox Lutheranism that, alongside a pietistic heritage from Philipp Jakob Spener's work there (1666–1686), meant late introduction of full religious toleration and of Enlightenment institutions.

See also Commerce and Markets; Free and Imperial Cities; Holy Roman Empire; Jews and Judaism; Pietism; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dietz, Alexander. Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte. 4 vols in 5. Frankfurt, 1910–1925. Reprint, Glashütten im Taunus, 1970–1974.

Frankfurter Historische Kommission, ed. Frankfurt am Main: Die Geschichte der Stadt in neun Beiträgen. Sigmaringen, 1991.

Koch, Rainer. Grundlagen bürgerlicher Herrschaft: Verfassungs- und sozialgeschicht-liche Studien zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in Frankfurt am Main (1612–1866). Wiesbaden, 1983.

Kracauer, Isidor. Geschichte der Juden in Frankfurt am Main, 1150-1824. 2 vols. Frankfurt, 1925-1927.

Soliday, Gerald L. A Community in Conflict: Frankfurt Society in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries. Hanover, N.H., 1974.

Voelcker, Heinrich, ed. Die Stadt Goethes: Frankfurt am Main im XVIII. Jahrhundert. Frankfurt, 1932.

GERALD L. SOLIDAY

FREDERICK III (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1415–1493; ruled 1440–1493), Holy Roman emperor. A scion of the Habsburg dynasty, Frederick III married Eleanora of Portugal, with whom he had a son and heir, the future emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519; ruled 1493–1519). Frederick was considered a handsome and placid individual; he had the appearance and bearing of a prince. Intellectually he was a gifted amateur astronomer, botanist, and mineralogist. Politically, however, he lived in reflected glory.

Frederick's career was marked by a striking combination of dramatic defeats and subtler victories. His election as king of Hungary by a faction of Magyar noblemen in 1439 plunged Frederick into an unequal conflict with Matthias Corvinus (1440/1443-1490; ruled 1458-1490). Despite being bought off in 1462, Frederick suffered military defeat at the hands of Corvinus's superior army, which conquered lower Austria, Moravia, and Silesia. He was ultimately driven from Vienna, where Corvinus established his capital in 1485. When Corvinus died in 1490, he left Hungary—not the Holy Roman Empire—the dominant power in central Europe. The rise of the Ottoman Empire, which conquered Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, however, reduced Hungarian might and made the country a battlefield for centuries to come. Frederick was never able to mount an effective resistance to Ottoman expansion, which continued for most of his reign. By 1493 the Turks had advanced steadily through eastern and central Europe to the very borders of the Holy Roman Empire. During his struggle with Corvinus, however, Frederick managed to strengthen Habsburg relations with Rome. He signed the Concordat of Vienna in 1448, thus bringing the conciliar movement to an effective end and strengthening the hand of the papacy in matters of church governance. As a further acknowledgment of papal authority, Frederick rode to Rome for his coronation in 1452. Papal recognition set a seal of sorts on Habsburg authority within the Holy Roman Empire, but Frederick had to struggle to make that authority real. His relations with the territorial princes of the empire were marked by conflict. The emergence of the Imperial Diet led by the electors gave them extraordinary influence in opposition to the emperor. Frederick played an active role in efforts at imperial reform, fostering the creation of regional confederations, such as the Swabian League, as a counterweight to princely pretensions. As on his eastern frontier, imperial policies to the south and west were similarly disputed. The nascent Swiss Confederation had long sought to throw off imperial—to say nothing of Austrian rule and establish its independence. Likewise relations with Burgundy, one of the great powers of the fifteenth century, were strained. Frederick decided to make common cause with the Swiss in their military campaign against Charles of Burgundy (1433-1477). In 1474 he signed the Perpetual Peace, renouncing all Austrian claims to Swiss territory. With Frederick's assistance, the Swiss defeated Charles, who was killed in 1477. That year Frederick mended fences with Burgundy by marrying his son Maximilian to Charles's daughter Mary. The alliance of Austria and Burgundy helped raise Habsburg fortunes to their absolute zenith.

Frederick's victories, though less striking in the moment, may have been more durable than his defeats. Though driven from his capital by Corvinus, Frederick managed to outlast him. When the great Hungarian king died and his country succumbed to the Turks, the Habsburgs shouldered the defense of Latin Christendom's eastern frontier with such power and prestige as accompanied that task. By fostering good relations with the papacy, Frederick strengthened both the hand of the emperor and the house of Habsburg as an ally of the Roman Church. It assured each a say in appointments to ecclesiastical office and a means to control church influence in European politics. By encouraging political reform in the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick made the emperor a protector of local interests. It did nothing, however, to halt the erosion of imperial authority to the advantage of the territorial princes. By settling with the Swiss and defeating the Burgundians, Frederick stabilized imperial frontiers and drew Europe's wealthiest principality into the Habsburg orbit. It did bring the house of Habsburg into conflict with the Valois kings of France, but it also laid the foundation for the great Habsburg empire that developed during the reign of Charles V (1500–1558; ruled 1519–1556). Frederick can be said to have given real meaning to the Habsburg motto AEIOU: "Austriae est imperare orbi universo" or "Alles Erdreich ist Österreich untertan." Whether or not all the world was indeed subject to Austria became a theme of European politics for centuries to come.

See also Austria; Burgundy; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Habsburg-Valois Wars; Hungary; Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Haller, Brigitte. Kaiser Friedrich III. im Urteil der Zeitgenossen. Vienna, 1965.

Hesslinger, Helmo. Die Anfänge des Schwäbischen Bundes. Stuttgart, 1970.

Kramml, Peter F. Kaiser Friedrich III. und die Reichsstadt Konstanz, 1440-1493. Sigmaringen, Germany, 1985.

Nehring, Karl. Matthias Corvinus, Kaiser Friedrich III, und das Reich. Munich, 1975.

THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

FREDERICK I (PRUSSIA) (1657–1713; ruled 1688–1713), as Frederick III elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia; from 1701, as Frederick I, king in Prussia. Frederick I was one of the great Hohenzollern rulers who contributed to the rise of the Prussian state. Whereas his father, Frederick William, the Great Elector (ruled 1640–1688), focused his attention on building administrative and military resources, Frederick I earned his reputation for stressing the cultural and artistic development of Prussia, particularly the enhancement of Berlin. Still, his greatest contribution to the rise of Prussia was his acquisition of the title of king, which placed his house in the elite company of German royals and was a necessary step toward Prussia's becoming the dominant German state of the nineteenth century.

Frederick's goal after his accession to his father's titles of elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia was to be a king. His wish became intense in the 1690s as he watched other German princely houses prepare for royal advancement. In 1692 it appeared that the neighboring house of Hanover would be in line for the throne of England, and in

1697 his neighbor to the south, Frederick Augustus, the elector of Saxony, assumed the title of king of Poland. The opportunity to become king came in the wake of the Spanish succession crisis in 1700. In November of that year Charles II of Spain died without an heir, and two sides, Louis XIV of France on one and Austria, Holland, and Britain on the other, put forward competing candidates for the Spanish throne. In 1701 the two sides went to war.

Austria solicited aid from the states of the Holy Roman Empire for its war effort, and Brandenburg was obligated to send its designated number of soldiers. But Frederick offered to send an additional eight thousand men if Emperor Leopold I would agree to his assumption of the title of king. The emperor initially balked at the request, since he assumed that, if he granted Frederick such a title, other German princes would request the same or perhaps more modest upgrades of their own status. After some negotiation, the emperor agreed to recognize Frederick as king as long as he was in his province of East Prussia, which was not part of the Holy Roman Empire. So, Frederick assumed the title of king in (not of) Prussia. On 18 January 1701 in Königsberg Castle Frederick placed a crown upon his head and another upon that of his wife, Sophie Charlotte of Hanover. By crowning himself in a secular setting, he made it clear that no church had the authority to invest him as king. Only afterward did the parties move to a chapel where two Lutheran bishops consecrated the proceedings. The assumption of the royal title was a major step in the enhancement of Prussia's reputation. Despite the restriction of the title "in Prussia," Frederick was commonly referred to as king, and all of the institutions of the monarchy became "royal." The title gave a new cohesion to the dispersed possessions of the House of Hohenzollern.

Those Prussian troops Frederick offered to secure his new title fought well in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), but the results did not lead to notable gains. Prussia acquired a few bits of territory that were part of the inheritance of the Dutch House of Orange, but nothing more. While that war went on, Frederick had to keep a wary eye on his eastern possessions, for on their borders the Sweden of Charles XII and the Russia of Peter the Great were fighting the Great Northern War. Although battles seemed to take place all

around, Frederick was able to avoid being drawn into that struggle. Wars, however, were not Frederick's forte. Enhancement of culture was. He built a variety of masterful baroque buildings in Berlin, including seven churches, a massive arsenal, and the glorious Charlottenburg Palace for his queen, Sophie Charlotte. Frederick added considerably to the library begun by his father, which in time was to become one of the great libraries of the world. He was greatly assisted in his efforts to improve the arts by Sophie Charlotte, who hosted a court that was lively, sophisticated, and highly intellectual. In 1701 Frederick established the Berlin Academy of Sciences, modeled after the Royal Society in London and the French Academy in Paris, and appointed as its first president Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), one of the great geniuses of the age and one of the inventors of calculus. In 1694 Frederick dedicated the University of Halle, which, while not the first university in Hohenzollern lands, became famous for its production of enlightened administrators, pastors, jurists, and judges. The jurist Christian Thomasius (1655-1728) lectured there in German rather than in Latin, which broke a long-standing tradition in German universities.

Frederick died in 1713 and was succeeded by his son Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740), who was most unlike his father. Whereas Frederick had pursued the arts and letters, Frederick William cared for the army. His hobby was not discussing philosophy but drilling his troops. Still, he did not completely neglect his father's work, and the qualities of both—the culture and sophistication of the grandfather and the military aptitude and strength of the father—would unite in Frederick's grandson and Frederick William's son, Frederick II, called Frederick the Great (ruled 1740–1786).

See also Berlin; Brandenburg; Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William (Brandenburg); Frederick William I (Prussia); Frederick William II (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Prussia; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dwyer, Philip G., ed. *The Rise of Prussia*, 1700–1830. Harlow, U.K., 2000.

Frey, Linda, and Marsha Frey. Frederick I: The Man and His Times. Boulder, Colo., 1984.

KARL A. ROIDER

FREDERICK II (PRUSSIA) (1712–1786; ruled 1740-1786), king of Prussia. In 1740 the years of general peace that had prevailed in Europe since the conclusion the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) came to an end. In May 1740 Frederick William I (ruled 1713-1740) died and was succeeded by his son Frederick II (Frederick the Great). In October 1740 Charles VI (ruled 1711-1740) of Austria died unexpectedly and was succeeded by his daughter Maria Theresa (1717-1780) as sovereign of the Austrian lands. The new Prussian king used the opportunity to seize the rich Austrian province of Silesia, beginning the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Frederick's victories in these wars raised Prussia to the rank of the great power that became, in the next century, the creator of a united Germany.

Frederick brought to his task of expanding and ruling Prussia an unusual temperament. As a youth he was interested in art and music. He played the flute, composed music, and admired the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), whose son Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) was the Prussian court composer. Frederick's relationship with his crude martinet of a father alternated between the explosively antagonistic and the coldly distant. But in the end he was his father's son. Flute and composition gave way to success in war and to a religion of the state, with the prince as its first servant. Reason of state became the cynical Frederick's secular creed, to which he consecrated both his life and the lives and fates of his subjects. After the wars Frederick became a misanthrope, nursing an almost pathological suspicion of everyone he knew and every report he read. But in spite of bad health and bad temper, he continued to work, spending endless hours alone reading reports and writing orders and comments, which he interrupted, when he felt up to it, with surprise inspections that terrified superior and subordinate alike. He held his officials to the same standards of diligence and honesty he maintained for himself, and the phrase "to work for the king of Prussia" became an eighteenth-century expression for working long and hard for low pay and no appreciation. But Frederick, the harsh and grim autocrat, saw it all as benefiting the one thing he loved, the Prussian state.



Frederick II of Prussia. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

THE WARS

In the autumn of 1740, seizing the moment, Frederick occupied Silesia. After securing it, he offered both payment and alliance to the outraged Maria Theresa, who rejected both and prepared for war. By 1741 all of Europe west of Russia was at war with someone. Although alliances shifted, as did military fortunes, in the War of the Austrian Succession, Prussia held onto Silesia. By the Treaty of Dresden (1745) Prussia retained Silesia, and in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) all other conquests were rescinded. Eight years of war had brought gain to Prussia and substantial destruction to all the rest.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle satisfied no one. Austria was not reconciled to the loss of Silesia, and Maria Theresa schemed to get it back. In May 1756 she engineered the Diplomatic Revolution, in which France, after nearly three hundred years of enmity toward Austria, joined Austria and Russia against Prussia. Frederick derisively called the new triple alliance the "petticoat plot," since it was negotiated by Maria Theresa of Austria, Empress Elizabeth (ruled 1741–1762) of Russia, and Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson (Madame de Pompadour;

1721–1764), mistress of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774), of France. Ridicule, however, was reserved for public consumption; privately Frederick worried about the new coalition sufficiently to begin the war himself in August 1756 by occupying Saxony and seizing its treasury and supplies. When the fighting began, Frederick, for one, would be in a favorable position.

Frederick needed every advantage he could grab, for the alliance was as strong as he had feared. Although Frederick had exceptional military skills and won more battles than he lost, he still could not win every time. He did defeat the French so decisively at Rossbach (1757) and Minden (1759) that they were effectively driven from the war. But Austria and Russia were more substantial foes. By 1759 Frederick had been thrown on the defensive, and in 1760 Austria took Saxony, while the Russians burned Berlin. In 1762, when it looked as if Frederick would lose the war, Empress Elizabeth of Russia died, and her successor Peter III (ruled 1762), who admired Frederick, concluded a peace treaty with him. Austria could not continue the war alone, and on 23 February 1763 signed the Treaty of Hubertusburg with Prussia. Frederick retained Silesia.

Although Frederick was pleased with the acquisition of Silesia and with the rise of Prussia as a great power, he also realized that marauding armies, including his own, had devastated every part of Prussia. Frederick continued expansion after 1763, taking the province of Posen (Poznan) in the first partition of Poland in 1772, but he engaged habitually in a diplomacy of peace, desiring to settle all international issues by negotiation. His attention turned to rebuilding Prussia.

THE SOCIETY

Frederick brought to administration the same ideals that animated his fellow enlightened despots in Austria, Savoy, Tuscany, and Spain. He too strove to increase royal centralization and to impose uniformity upon the varying local and class privileges in Prussia. The technique he used was cameralism, government by committees and councils of administrators. He retained the General Directory established by his father but undercut its broad authority by creating several independent and competing councils, beginning with Commerce and Industry

(1741), then War Supplies (1746), Excises and Tolls (1766), Mines (1768), and Forestry (1770). Cameralism fostered reports to the royal autocrat, secrecy in all deliberations and recommendations, and an incurable tendency toward caution and procedure (red tape). But efficiency was not Frederick's goal, autocracy was, and cameralism was well suited to deferring all decisions to the king.

Frederick's internal reforms were centered on three general areas, agriculture, commerce and manufacture, and law. In all of these areas Frederick followed the general ideals of enlightened despotism, the idea that a philosophical autocrat, with the best interests of his or her people at heart, could reform the inherited maze of medieval anomalies, privileges, exemptions, and class structures that stood athwart progress toward a more just, prosperous, and efficient state.

In the area of law Frederick and his successor Frederick William II (ruled 1786-1797) achieved what all other eighteenth-century monarchs, enlightened or not, tried and failed to do. They created a unified law code for the entire realm. In 1781 Frederick issued a general reform of civil procedure. Completed in 1794, this code made Prussian justice the most honest and efficient in Europe, no small achievement, and it guaranteed liberty of religion, again not insignificant. It secured private property but left serfdom untouched. Free persons (excluding serfs, of course) had guaranteed civil rights, but the legal predominance of the landed nobility was also established. It was a code that provided some liberty but with an emphasis on the rights of the state.

Frederick's agricultural policies were a combination of modern state support and retention of serfdom. He drained swamps, particularly in the Oder Valley and in Brandenburg. He settled immigrants on vacant lands that had been depopulated by war or reclaimed from swamps and forests. He gave peasants tax rebates, grain, fodder, animals, and timber to build or rebuild. To the landed nobility, who were the chief support of the Prussian monarchy, he gave money and tax rebates and support for the institution of serfdom. New crops, such as turnips and potatoes, were introduced through royal patronage, along with better cattle and improved crop rotation. In the end, as is so often the

case, the nobles with large farms benefited more than did the peasants with small ones.

Frederick's efforts in commerce and manufacturing complemented his agricultural policies and followed the standard mercantilist policies of the eighteenth century. He built canals to connect the Oder and the Elbe, thus opening north central Europe to Prussian products. He expanded the harbor at Szczecin (Stettin) on the Oder to increase northsouth trade from Silesia to the Baltic. Frederick invited textile workers from abroad to Prussia, abolished internal tolls to create a free trade area within Prussia, and established a state bank (1766) to extend credit to industrial enterprises. The investment of state funds, a basic mercantilist idea, reached the huge sum of sixty million talers by Frederick's death in 1786. The king also reorganized and rationalized the Prussian tax structure (1776) with the result that royal income rose. Frederick's general economic policies, both in industry and in agriculture, reflected standard Continental opinion concerning royal responsibility for national prosperity.

A general evaluation of the reign of Frederick the Great must center around his greatest concern, the state. Liberty for subjects was not important, nor was anything beyond liberty of religion granted. The state became more efficient, more powerful, and more competitive internationally, reflecting Frederick's mercantilist beliefs as an autocrat and a warrior who made peace rather than war a continuation of policy by other means.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Elizabeth (Russia); Enlightened Despotism; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Prussia; Serfdom; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carsten, F. L. The Origins of Prussia. Oxford, 1954.

Ergang, R. R. The Potsdam Fuehrer: Frederick William I, Father of Prussian Militarism. New York, 1941.

Gooch, G. P. Frederick the Great: The Ruler, the Writer, the Man. New York, 1947.

Rosenberg, Hans. Bureaucracy, Aristocracy, and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660–1815. Cambridge, Mass., 1958.

JAMES D. HARDY, JR.

FREDERICK WILLIAM (BRANDEN-**BURG)** (1620–1688; ruled 1640–1688), elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia. Frederick William, known as "the Great Elector," was the first of the great Hohenzollern rulers who established the Prussian state, which in turn created a united Germany in the late nineteenth century. The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) made Frederick William's early years turbulent ones. For months he lay unbaptized because there was no money for baptismal festivities and because no proper godparents could be found. At the age of seven Frederick William left Berlin to avoid approaching Catholic armies, and at the age of fourteen he was sent to Holland to study and to live with his relatives of the House of Orange. He developed an early taste for books, engravings, plants, coins, and all sorts of curios, which later led to the founding of a library,

museum, and botanical garden in Berlin.

When Frederick William became elector of Brandenburg in 1640, his lands were a wreck. Scholars estimate that the war had cost Brandenburg more than half its population, and by 1648 Berlin numbered only 6,000 people. His other two major possessions, Prussia in the east and Cleves and Mark in the west, had not suffered quite so much but had still lost population and treasure. To make matters worse, his father, George William (ruled 1619–1640), had turned over his authority to a military adventurer named Adam von Schwartzenberg, who had created an army of mercenaries that spent more time terrorizing the countryside than resisting the country's enemies. Frederick William began his rule with conciliatory gestures. He did not dismiss Schwartzenberg right away but waited until the representative Estates begged him to rid the country of his mercenaries. He also restored the traditional rights of the Estates of Prussia and Cleves and Mark and granted the Estates of Brandenburg additional privileges in exchange for a monetary contribution.

The conciliatory gestures ended in 1655 when he found his lands caught in the midst of a war between Sweden and Poland. Frederick William adopted a policy of strict neutrality, but, to defend that neutrality, he needed a modest army to fend off bands of Swedish and Polish soldiers. He had created a force of about two thousand from Schwartz-

enberg's mercenaries, but he need more, especially to defend East Prussia, which was close to the fighting. To raise those forces, he asked the Estates of Brandenburg to provide him with funds. They refused, arguing that they had no responsibility to protect East Prussia. When Frederick William responded that this increased force would protect Brandenburg too, they remained unmoved.

This confrontation with the Estates of Brandenburg triggered the effort for which Frederick William is most famous—reducing the authority of the Estates and substantially increasing the authority of the prince—in other words, bringing absolutism to Brandenburg-Prussia. He began by ignoring the decision of the Estates and using his small army to collect the proposed taxes anyway. The Estates were horrified, but the people paid. Finally the Estates granted the sums requested because they could not think of any way to resist.

From his taming of the Estates of Brandenburg, Frederick William turned to the Estates of Cleves and Mark and Prussia. Between 1655 and 1666 Frederick William whittled away at the powers of the Estates of Cleves and Mark until he reduced them to impotence. Prussia was more of a challenge because resistance to his absolutism was led by the city of Königsberg, the greatest urban center in the elector's realms. In 1674 Frederick William forced a showdown with Königsberg, occupying the city with military force and compelling it to accept his taxes and his officials. By then Frederick William was absolute in all of his lands. The Estates of Brandenburg and Cleves and Mark ceased to meet at all, and the Estates of Prussia met but had little power. As he was reducing the power of the Estates, Frederick William built the authority of his central administration. After all, he needed to replace the tax-collecting structure of the Estates with a structure of his own. This began as the General War Office in 1655 with soldiers serving as tax collectors, and slowly but surely that office became the government. With name changes, it took over the treasury and then administration in general, becoming by 1679 responsible for maintaining the army, collecting taxes, fostering economic development, encouraging immigration (most notably French Huguenots fleeing Louis XIV), and controlling municipal government. In 1668 he laid the foundations of the Prussian General Staff that would evolve into the German

General Staff of nineteenth- and twentieth-century notoriety.

Frederick William did not carry out his centralizing reforms as part of a long-term plan or governmental philosophy. Each time he moved against an Estate's privilege or instituted a tax, he did so because he believed it was needed at that time. His reforms had specific, limited targets, but over time they coalesced into a system that many other states would emulate. On his deathbed he still had no overall concept of a future Hohenzollern state but instead expressed his wish to divide his lands into three states, one for each of his sons, an act that would have annulled all of his centralizing reforms. Only resistance from his senior advisers and his sons prevented the Hohenzollern inheritance from becoming three petty German states. Frederick William himself did not realize that he laid the foundations of the greatest German state of the modern

See also Berlin; Brandenburg; Frederick I (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Prussia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carsten, F. L. *The Origins of Prussia*. Oxford, 1954. McKay, Derek. *The Great Elector*. London, 2001.

KARL A. ROIDER

FREDERICK WILLIAM I (PRUSSIA)

(1688–1740; ruled 1713–1740), king of Prussia. On 25 February 1713, Frederick William succeeded his father Frederick I as king of Prussia. He arrived on the throne in the midst of both war and peace, as the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) was drawing to a close, and the complex peace negotiations among all the European powers had begun while the fighting still continued. He ascended the throne at a difficult time, one filled with both danger and opportunity.

Frederick William I, who became known as the *Soldatenkönig* ('soldier king'), brought to the difficult task of rule the personality of a drill sergeant—including a bad temper combined with general vulgarity. A born autocrat, he enjoyed drilling his palace guard and playing crude practical jokes. His happiest hours were spent with military cronies in

the Tabakskollegium, where the men talked shop, smoked and drank, and told bawdy jokes. But to this he added an immense capacity for work and an acute understanding for the real foundation of the scattered and impoverished territories of Prussia. That foundation was the army. He inherited an army of about 30,000 ill-equipped and badly trained troops, and he gradually built this up to a superbly equipped, housed, and trained army of over 80,000 men. It was, at his death, the best army in Europe and one of the largest. To pay for it Frederick William I cut expenses to the bone and managed the royal fisc, or treasury, carefully. By a tax collection machine that gradually became the most efficient in Europe, Frederick William doubled his income from 3.5 million thalers in 1715 to over 7 million in 1740. He managed expenses with such ruthless care that the royal domains moved from loss to gain, and even the postal system turned a profit. This increased income supported an everincreasing army. He had inherited a bankrupt state and a depleted military from his father, but he left his son Frederick the Great (ruled 1740-1786) a full treasury and a mighty army. Few European monarchs would ever receive so useful an inheritance.

Frederick William's main contributions to the growth of Prussian power involved the unglamorous and daily drudgery of administration. To bring all of the major functions of government under centralized supervision, Frederick William created in 1722 the General-Ober-Finanz-Kriegs- und Domänendirektorium, known as the Generaldirektorium (General Directory). It functioned as an administrative board, all of whose decisions were examined by the king. The continuing royal policy, which the General Directory both administered and initiated, followed the standard model of eighteenth-century absolutism: centralization of administrative and policy decisions in the hands of the king and uniformity of application of law and administration across all classes and provinces. These were the goals of government everywhere during the eighteenth century, but nowhere in Europe were they so successfully and relentlessly pursued as in Prussia. By the time of his death in May 1740, Frederick William I had pulled together by sheer determination, persistence, and attention to the

main elements of royal power the most efficient and best organized state in Europe.

In foreign policy, Frederick William I was equally tenacious in increasing the size and power of Prussia, but he tried to do this through diplomacy. His army constituted a constant potential threat to his neighbors, but Frederick William much preferred peace. He loved his army too much to see it damaged in a prolonged war. The goal of the diplomacy was always the same. Frederick William wished to annex as much of the Baltic possessions of a declining Sweden as possible, particularly the port of Stettin and the province of Pomerania. He allied himself with Russia, he deserted Russia, he made raids on Sweden, and he made peace with Sweden. He threatened Sweden and he finally, in 1720, bought Stettin and Pomerania from Sweden for two million thalers. He could afford it.

The policies that Frederick William I followed, although rigidly and often harshly applied, were nonetheless necessary for the welfare of both Prussia and the Prussians. Foremost among the state's needs was peace. In the decade before 1713 Prussia had been part of the Great Northern War, and suffered all the destruction that marauding armies and bands of deserters could inflict. Frederick brought nearly a quarter century of peace to a poor country, giving it a chance to recover. Beyond peace the king gradually made Prussian government the most honest and efficient in Europe. Nobles lost privileges, but many gained positions in the army or civil administration. Finally, Frederick William laid the foundations of the power of Prussia, which he built around the army, and which became the basis for the creation of a unified Germany in the next century.

See also Frederick II (Prussia); Germany, Idea of; Hohenzollern Dynasty; Northern Wars; Prussia; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dorwart, Reinhold August. The Prussian Welfare State before 1740. Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

Dwyer, Philip G., ed. *The Rise of Prussia: 1700–1830*. New York, 2000.

Oestreich, Gerhard. Friedrich Wilhelm I: Preussischer Absolutismus, Merkantilismus, Militarismus. Göttingen, 1977.

Walker, Mack. The Salzburg Transaction: Expulsion and Redemption in Eighteenth-Century Germany. Ithaca, N.Y., 1992.

Wilson, Peter H. German Armies: War and German Politics, 1648–1806. London, 1998.

JAMES D. HARDY, JR.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II (PRUS-SIA) (1744–1797; ruled 1786–1797), king of Prussia. Frederick William II was what one might call a transitional monarch in Prussia. As king, he followed his uncle, Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786), renowned as a military leader, administrative reformer, and cultural icon, and preceded his son, Frederick William III (ruled 1797–1840), who reigned during the turbulent Napoleonic years and oversaw the reforms that laid some of the foundations for the Prussian political and economic juggernaut of the later nineteenth century. Compared to those two, many historians consider Frederick William II unimportant.

One of the weaknesses of late-eighteenthcentury enlightened absolutism was that its effectiveness depended a great deal on the ability and dedication of the ruler. Frederick the Great had created a remarkable state in large part because he paid attention to so many details. His nephew, however, was not as focused on his royal duties. While Frederick at first had confidence in his nephew, as time went on he was less sure that Frederick William would be the sovereign Prussia needed, and he predicted that, after his own death, "women will rule and the state will come to ruin." Anticipating that his nephew's son, Frederick William III, would have to reconstruct the Prussian state after the neglect his father seemed bound to display, Frederick the Great assumed responsibility for his grand-nephew's upbringing, selecting his teachers and issuing them detailed instructions.

The atmosphere in Berlin certainly changed when Frederick the Great died. Frederick William II became widely popular, in part because one of his early acts was to end the state monopolies on tobacco and coffee, which cut the price of both considerably, but also reduced their substantial contributions to the state coffers. He was a great patron of the arts and enjoyed fine paintings, good theater,

and music; he even played the violoncello. During his reign, salon society, intellectual life, and tolerance flourished in Berlin. Rahel Levin and Henriette Herz, both Jewish Berliners, hosted two of the most popular salons, and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's play *Nathan the Wise*, which encouraged religious toleration, was first performed in 1799.

Women may not have ruled in Berlin, as the old Frederick had predicted, but they did play an important role in Frederick William II's life. He married twice, first to Elizabeth of Brunswick, with whom he had a daughter, and then to Princess Frederica of Hesse, with whom he had seven children. Besides his wives, he had numerous mistresses and two morganatic marriages to his queen's ladies-in-waiting. His true love was probably Wilhelmine Enke, the daughter of a horn player in the royal orchestra. He had fallen in love with her twenty years before he came to the throne, had five children with her, and, although he ended the physical relationship before becoming king, he enjoyed her company until the end of his life. It was she who introduced him to the architect Johann Carl Gotthard Langhans, who designed and built the Brandenburg Gate (1788-1791), now considered a symbol of Berlin.

The most important domestic act of his reign was the publication of the Prussian General Civil Code of 1794, a codification of laws that Frederick the Great's jurists had been working on for some time. This code reflected the struggle between the two powerful political ideas of the time: the preservation of the traditional separation of society into nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasantry and the Enlightenment principle that everyone should be equal before the law. The writers of the Code declared that, whereas society would retain its tiered structure, each person within his tier would be granted the widest freedom possible and would be assured security of life and property. In his comments on the Civil Code, Alexis de Tocqueville noted its contradictions, even calling it a "monster," but he added that in many respects it embodied the principles of the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789).

In foreign affairs Frederick William II embarked on a number of adventures. Whereas early in his reign he regarded Austria as the traditional enemy of Prussia, he joined with Austria in 1792 to resist Revolutionary France. In 1793, still in the midst of that struggle, Frederick William II participated in the second partition of Poland, along with Russia but without Austria. This acquisition added to Prussia the important cities of Gdańsk and Toruń, plus over 22,000 square miles of territory and over one million subjects. When the Poles rebelled against this violation of their country, Frederick William in 1795 joined with Austria and Russia in the third partition of 1795, which eliminated Poland as an independent state for over a century and gave Prussia Warsaw and its environs, although these were ceded to Russia after the Napoleonic Wars.

The military campaigns in France and the campaigns in Poland exacted a physical toll on Frederick William II. After their conclusion his health deteriorated, and he died in November 1797, cared for by his first love, Wilhelmine Enke.

See also Enlightenment; Frederick II (Prussia); Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Prussia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dwyer, Philip G., ed. *The Rise of Prussia*, 1700–1830. Harlow, U.K., 2000.

Koch, H. W. A History of Prussia. London and New York, 1978.

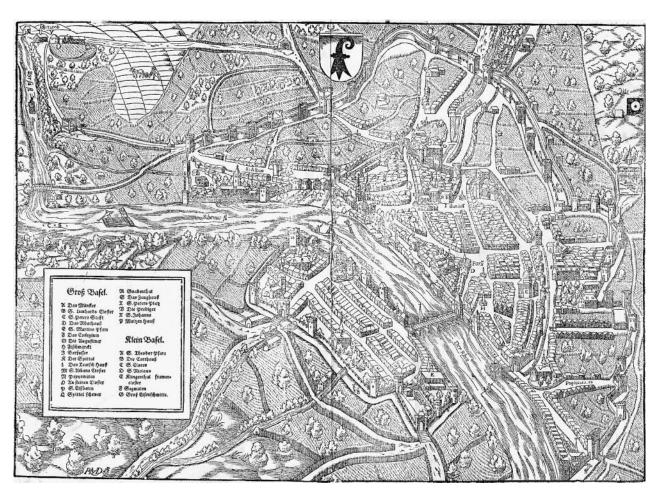
KARL A. ROIDER

FREE AND IMPERIAL CITIES. The

free and imperial cities (Freie und Reichsstädte) were a privileged elite among the 2,500 or so towns within the Holy Roman Empire. The term "free city" originally applied to towns founded by a bishop that later won self-governance, whereas "imperial cities" dated back to royal settlements established by the emperor or developing under his immediate protection. This distinction lost most of its original meaning by 1500 as the free and imperial cities became characterized by their common status of immediacy (Reichsunmittelbarkeit) under the jurisdiction of the emperor, to whom they paid annual tribute. The other municipalities were all territorial towns (Landstädte) under the authority of their local lay or secular lord, and only indirectly subject to imperial jurisdiction. This crucial distinction elevated the imperial cities to part of the "Imperial Estates" (Reichsstände) that emerged by the 1480s

and governed the empire with the emperor through institutions like the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*).

No more than one hundred towns ever possessed this special status. Most were concentrated in Swabia and Franconia in the southwest, which had been the centers of the emperor's power at the time of the cities' foundation in the twelfth century. Others developed in the Rhineland and northern Germany, either by escaping the control of local bishops or by emerging independently from below as trading centers that subsequently acquired imperial privilege and protection. Each city was a self-governing commune controlled by a council (Rat) elected by the enfranchised citizens (Bürger). Citizenship had to be applied for and was dependent on paying specific taxes and serving in the urban militia. The latter requirement was used to deny women citizenship from the seventeenth century. Citizens rarely comprised more than a third of the total inhabitants. Generally, the social structure of the imperial cities mirrored that of the territorial towns, with a small proportion of the population owning most of the wealth. Urban trades were organized into guilds that regulated their own affairs under the council's jurisdiction. Many cities experienced violent upheavals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the guild leaders sought greater representation on the city councils. This process was largely over by 1450, and urban government generally became more oligarchical with the key positions on the council controlled by a semi-hereditary patriciate. Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519-1556) encouraged this trend by rewriting the constitutions of thirty cities, strengthening the magistrates' power, and restricting the franchise.



Free and Imperial Cities. A sixteenth-century bird's-eye view of the city of Basel from Sebastian Münster's Cosmographia showing the growth of the city on both sides of the Rhine River. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

Many princes resented the cities' autonomy and sought to integrate these dynamic urban centers into their territories. All urban alliances ended in military defeat between the early thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. Although the cities kept pace with advances in military technology, improving their fortifications and acquiring large arsenals stocked with artillery, they could not overcome their underlying weakness. Unlike the northern Italian city states, German cities lacked large surrounding territories and only a few like Nuremberg, Ulm, or Rottweil had sufficient dependent villages to supply their urban populations with food. They depended on trade and exchange to survive. Resistance quickly collapsed once the princes blockaded them. Shortage of food and disruption of trade usually triggered internal tensions, and a faction generally emerged to force the city council to capitulate. More fundamentally, none of the medieval leagues could force their often-scattered membership to pull together. Closer integration in the empire saved the cities and enabled them to ride out the storms of the Reformation. The cities held regular congresses (Reichstädtetage) after 1471 to coincide with the meetings of the emperor, electors, and princes, and acquired voting rights in the new imperial diet by 1582.

Many historians have identified the early Reformation as an urban phenomenon since Lutheranism spread rapidly to many southern and western imperial cities in the early 1520s. Dissatisfaction with Charles V's economic policies and existing trading and cultural links to the south raised the possibility that many cities might "turn Swiss" and leave the empire. Only five actually did this: Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Grüningen, and Mulhouse. Others were too far away or fearful of Swiss radicalism. Eleven remained Catholic despite social and economic similarities with those that embraced Lutheranism, while four were officially recognized as biconfessional by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. While this treaty also confirmed civic voting rights in the diet, it placed them as a distinctly inferior third college behind the electors and princes. Civic attendance at the diet declined in the eighteenth century, but the cities remained active in other imperial institutions. The empire was the best guarantee for their autonomy. The imperial courts protected them against the princes and intervened to stabilize their internal politics and finances.

Of the eighty-six cities recognized by the diet in 1521, only fifty-one remained in the late eighteenth century. The general shift of European trade to the Atlantic seaboard in the sixteenth century had little to do with this decline, although it did adversely affect the economy of the remaining cities, as did the Thirty Years' War. The fall in numbers is misleading as the original list included ten smaller cities that reverted to the status of territorial towns to escape imperial taxation in the sixteenth century, and sixteen that were lost to France by 1681. These losses primarily indicate the empire's difficulty in defending its outer perimeter, rather than a weakness of its internal hierarchy. Very few cities remaining within the empire lost their autonomy, and imperial sanction was necessary in each case. Austria itself annexed Constance in 1548, and the emperor permitted Bavaria to seize Donauwörth in 1607. The other cases involved cities that lacked firm foundation for their imperial privileges, such as Erfurt (1664), Magdeburg (1666), or Brunswick (1671), which were all ex-Hansa towns, rather than imperial cities, or Emden and Münster, which were already territorial towns. The empire also acted to preserve the autonomy of the Hanseatic cities Hamburg and Bremen, saving them from Danish and Swedish encroachment in the 1650s and 1660s by recognizing them as imperial cities. The remaining fifty-one cities had a combined population of 820,840 in 1800, of which 150,000 lived in Hamburg alone. Only Bremen and Cologne numbered over 50,000, while the tiny Swabian city of Buchau had only 860 inhabitants. Six imperial cities were retained in the reorganization of the empire in 1803, but only Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck retained political autonomy beyond 1806.

See also Augsburg; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Cologne; Frankfurt am Main; Hamburg; Holy Roman Empire; Lübeck; Münster; Strasbourg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bader, Karl Siegfried. "Die Reichsstädte des Schwäbischen Kreises am Ende des Alten Reiches." *Ulm und Oberschwaben* 32 (1951): 47–70.

Baron, Hans. "Religion and Politics in the German Imperial Cities during the Reformation." *English Historical Review* 52 (1937): 405–427, 614–633.

- Blickle, Peter. Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1992.
- Brady, Thomas A., Jr. *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire* 1450–1550. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1985.
- François, Etienne. *Die unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg, 1648–1806.* Translated from the French by Angelika Stiner-Wendt. Sigmaringen, 1991.
- Friedrichs, Christopher R. *Urban Society in an Age of War:* Nördlingen, 1580–1720. Princeton, 1979.
- Lau, Thomas. "Die Reichstädte und der Reichshofrat." In Reichshofrat und Reichskammergericht: Ein Konkurrenzverhältnis, edited by Wolfgang Sellert, pp. 129–153. Cologne, 1999.
- McIntosh, Terence. Urban Decline in Early Modern Germany: Schwäbisch Hall and its Region, 1650–1750. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997.
- Moeller, Bernd. *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays.* Translated by H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr. Philadelphia, 1972.
- Ozment, Steven E. The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland. New Haven, 1975.
- Press, Volker, "Die Reichsstadt in der altständischen Gesellschaft." In Neue Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Reichsgeschichte, edited by Johannes Kunisch et al., pp. 9–42. Berlin, 1987.
- Schmidt, Georg. Der Städte Tag in der Reichsverfassung: Eine Untersuchung zur korporativen Politik der Freien und Reichsstädte in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Stuttgart, 1984.
- Schmidt, Heinrich R. Reichsstädte, Reich und Reformation: Korporative Religionspolitik 1521–1529/30. Stuttgart, 1986.
- Sea, T. F. "Imperial Cities and the Peasants War in Germany." Central European History 12 (1979): 3–37.
- Soliday, Gerald Lyman. A Community in Conflict: Frankfurt Society in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries. Hanover, N.H., 1974.
- Strauss, Gerald. Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life between Middle Ages and Modern Times. Rev. ed. Bloomington, Ind., 1976.
- Wallace, Peter G. Communities in Conflict in Early Modern Colmar: 1575–1730. Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1995.
- Walker, Mack. German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate, 1648–1817. Ithaca, N.Y., 1971.
- Wolfart, Johannes C. Religion, Government and Political Culture in Early Modern Germany: Lindau, 1520– 1628. Basingstoke, U.K., and New York, 2002.

PETER H. WILSON

FREE CITIES. See Free and Imperial Cities.

FREE WILL. Belief in human free will was challenged by two intellectual developments at the beginning of the early modern period in Europe, the Protestant Reformation and the development of the mechanical theory of matter. The challenges were not entirely new. Medieval theologians had long wrestled with the question of whether human free will was compatible with God's omnipotence and providence and with the theory of nature they had inherited primarily from Aristotle. But challenges to the belief in free will became particularly sharp in early modern Europe.

DESCARTES AND THE CARTESIANS

The notion of free will was central to the thought of René Descartes (1596–1650), who included among acts of will not only the choice to pursue or shun an attractive object, but also judgment, the act of mind by which we affirm or deny that something is the case. Descartes relied on the principle that God, being wholly good, cannot deceive us. Yet we are deceived. Descartes explained this fact by saying that our mistakes arise when we misuse our free will, affirming what we do not know to be true or denying what we do not know to be false.

Descartes reconciled free will with the new mechanical physics by distinguishing between mind and body. Since the will pertains to the mind, freedom of will is not directly challenged by mechanical physics. Descartes's position raised the problem of mind-body interaction, in particular how the mind, by its free choices, could cause motions in the human body. Descartes's own position is subject to scholarly dispute. But it is clear that the philosophers influenced by Descartes tended strongly toward theories of mind-body parallelism, according to which the histories of a mind and its associated body are causally independent but coordinated, perhaps by God. Indeed, the Cartesians Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), Louis de la Forge (1632–1666), Géraud de Cordemoy (1614– 1684), and Arnold Geulincx (1624–1669) held a general theory of causation, known as "occasionalism," according to which God is the only true

cause, and other "causes" provide no more than the occasions for God's causation.

Descartes's epistemological use of the notion of free will also raised the question of how human free will is consistent with God's omnipotence, which implies that God preordains all things. In his Principia Philosophiae (1644; Principles of philosophy) Descartes answered this question by saying that we can "get out of" the difficulty by noting that the finite human mind cannot comprehend what an omnipotent God is capable of. Here Descartes was drawing on concepts prominent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century debates among Protestants and Catholics. To the general problem of the relation of human free will to God's omnipotence, Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Calvin (1509-1564) had added a further difficulty by claiming that human free will was destroyed or at least greatly diminished by original sin, and that all good and meritorious human actions are the results solely of divine grace. Luther's position was attacked by Desiderius Erasmus (1466?-1536) in De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe (1524), to which Luther replied with De Servo Arbitrio (1525). The Council of Trent (1545-1563) reaffirmed that freedom of will was not destroyed by original sin, and at the same time that postlapsarian human beings are incapable of meritorious acts without the aid of supernatural grace. Disputes about the relation of free will to original sin and grace abounded in the sixteenth century, initiated especially by Luis de Molina's Concordia Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donis (1588-1589; The harmony of free will with gifts of grace) and by the posthumous publication of Cornelius Jansen's Augustinus (1640). This work served as the background for the famous written controversy between the Cartesians Antoine Arnauld (1612-1694) and Malebranche, which began with the publication of Malebranche's Traité de la nature et de la grâce (1680; Treatise of nature and grace).

BRITISH PHILOSOPHERS

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) set the tone for subsequent discussion of human freedom among English-speaking philosophers with his declaration that "a *free man* is he that in those things, which by his strength and wit he is able to do, is not hindered to do what he has a will to do." Hobbes urged that

only human beings and their actions, and not a supposed faculty called "the will," should be termed "free." He was a thoroughgoing materialist and mechanist. Hence he held that volitions, like all other human actions, are in the end movements in the human body. He pointed out that even inanimate things are said to act freely when they move without external impediment, as when water is said to descend freely in a river bed. But he allowed a special sense of freedom for human beings: They act freely when they do what they will to do without hindrance. Hobbes's position is a classic example of "compatibilism," the position that an action's being determined by antecedent causes is consistent with its being free. Hobbes denied that willing is among the things one can will to do or do voluntarily. Hence, only human actions other than volitions are free, and an action is free whenever it is what the agent wants to do.

Like Hobbes, John Locke (1632–1704) believed that only human beings and their voluntary acts (which are other than acts of will) can correctly be said to be free. Again like Hobbes, he maintained that a human action is free only if it is what the agent wants to do. But he added a second condition: a human action is free only if the agent could have refrained from performing the action simply by willing not to perform it. Suppose a man is locked in a room where he wants to stay. For Hobbes, the man's remaining in the room is free; for Locke it is not.

The most important eighteenth-century compatibilist was David Hume (1711–1776). In Section VIII of An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding (1748), he defines liberty as "a power of acting or not acting, according to the determinations of the will; that is, if we choose to remain at rest, we may; if we choose to move, we also may." He argues that the "operations of the will" are just as much subject to external causal determination as the operations of matter, and indeed that this fact is recognized by "all mankind . . . in their general practice and reasoning," but that people hesitate to acknowledge it openly because they are in the grips of the false belief that causal determination amounts to constraint.

The most important critic of compatibilism was Thomas Reid (1710–1796), the founder of the

Scottish school of common sense philosophy. Reid argued that the sort of freedom that is central to moral responsibility is located precisely in the will: "By the *liberty* of a moral agent, I understand, a power over the determinations of his own will. If, in any action, he had the power to will what he did, or not to will it, in that action he is free." Reid developed the notion of agency, or agent causation. In his view, free acts of will are caused not by some antecedent event inside or outside the agent, but rather by the agent himself or herself.

SPINOZA, LEIBNIZ, AND KANT

Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) were proponents of the principle that there was an explanation for everything that happened and existed. For Spinoza this principle implied that all human actions occur with logical necessity. He was a pantheist and held that, strictly speaking, only "God or Nature" is free. Nevertheless, he said, the actions of a human being are free to the degree that they are independent of finite causes or reasons outside the human being.

Leibniz shrank from this position and emphasized the distinction between necessary and contingent truths. In Section 288 of the *Theodicy* (1710) he writes, "Freedom . . . consists in intelligence . . . in spontaneity, in virtue of which we determine ourselves; and in contingency, that is, in the exclusion of logical or metaphysical necessity." He held that human choices and actions are intelligent, spontaneous, and logically contingent. At the same time, they are determined by God's choice to create the most perfect of all possible worlds. Leibniz's position thus amounts to a complex version of compatibilism.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) brought to a climax the efforts of early modern philosophers and theologians to make belief in human free will consistent with their other intellectual commitments. His position on free will depends on his distinction between the human self considered as an object of empirical knowledge and the human self considered as a thing-in-itself. In the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781/1787; Critique of pure reason), he writes that freedom is "the power of beginning a state spontaneously." Kant held that all operations of the human self considered as an object of empirical knowledge are determined by external causes,

and hence are not free. Yet for him the self-in-itself is self-determining and autonomous, and hence free.

See also Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Liberty; Locke, John; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Philosophy; Spinoza, Baruch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kane, Robert, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Free Will*. Oxford and New York, 2002.

Nadler, Steven, ed. A Companion to Early Modern Philosophy. Malden, Mass., and Oxford, 2002.

Rowe, William L. Thomas Reid on Freedom and Morality. Ithaca, N.Y., 1991.

Schneewind, J. B. The Invention of Autonomy: A History of Modern Moral Philosophy. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1998.

Sleigh, Robert, Jr. Leibniz and Arnauld: A Commentary on Their Correspondence. New Haven, 1990.

Sleigh, Robert, Jr., Vere Chappell, and Michael Della Rocca. "Determinism and Free Will." In *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Edited by Michael Ayers and Daniel Garber. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1998.

Elmar J. Kremer

FREEMASONRY. Organized locally in secret societies known as lodges, freemasonry attracted adherents in every major European state over the course of the eighteenth century. Freemasonry, with its humanitarian emphasis on moral improvement, religious toleration, and universal brotherhood, showed clear traces of Enlightenment influence. Although freemasons were avowedly nonpolitical in their aims, some scholars have linked them in France and elsewhere with proto-democratic movements of the later eighteenth century.

ORIGINS

The origins of freemasonry are shrouded in colorful myths passed down by generations of masons. Some masons traced their beginnings back to the building of Solomon's temple in biblical times. Others dated their order back to the Templars, the knightly crusading order of the twelfth century. But most historians now see eighteenth-century freemasonry as evolving out of English and Scottish stonemason guilds of the seventeenth century. Master stone-

masons were highly skilled craftsmen whose trade demanded considerable technical knowledge in engineering and architecture. Taking pride in their craft, they had developed over the centuries a rich repository of legends and rituals highlighting their history as the builders of palaces and churches. In the seventeenth century their myths and ceremonies began to attract the attention of individuals outside the guild, including those with philosophical and scientific interests who saw masonry as a fount of ancient wisdom. By the early eighteenth century masonic organizations had begun to lose their identity as occupational associations and had evolved into fraternal lodges devoted to charitable activity and the provision of fellowship and mutual aid to their members. As such, the rise of freemasonry was symptomatic of the more general proliferation of clubs, reading societies, salons, and other institutions of sociability that occurred throughout Europe in the age of Enlightenment. Those from the middling ranks of society, especially merchants, comprised a large segment of British freemasons, although members also included aristocrats and even royalty (at the end of the eighteenth century almost all male members of the royal family were members). By 1725 London lodges, which in 1717 had confederated themselves into the Grand Lodge of London, numbered thirty-seven, and by 1780 England as a whole boasted almost four hundred.

EXPANSION

With a social base that was urban, mercantile, and hence geographically mobile, freemasonry spread quickly to the Continent. A Parisian lodge was in existence by 1725, and on the eve of the French Revolution there were an estimated 600 lodges in the monarchy as a whole. In 1770 Paris alone had some 10,000 freemasons, and in 1789 France's masonic population ranged between 50,000 and 100,000. In the Dutch Republic lodges were established in The Hague and in Amsterdam in the 1730s, and in Germany some 450 lodges were founded between 1737 and 1789. Freemasonry took root somewhat later in Austria, where the devoutly Catholic Maria Theresa (ruled 1740-1780) was hostile to the order after the papacy formally condemned it (1738) on the grounds of its alleged deism. But her son and successor, Joseph II (ruled 1780-1790), himself joined a lodge and encouraged the movement during the early, liberal years of his reign. By 1784 there were sixty-six lodges in the monarchy, although Joseph's successor, the archconservative Francis II, outlawed freemasonry in 1794 as a subversive Jacobin import. The spread of freemasonry was also belated elsewhere on the European periphery. Madrid's first lodge was founded relatively early (1728) by an exiled English Jacobite, but opposition by the church curbed the growth of Spanish freemasonry until the enlightened reign of Charles III (ruled 1759–1788). Russia's first lodges were founded by and for foreigners, but under Catherine the Great (ruled 1762-1796) freemasonry for a brief time became fashionable among enlightened circles at the University of Moscow. But by the 1790s Catherine, like her Austrian counterpart, had begun to suppress freemasonry as politically subversive.

SIGNIFICANCE

Such official persecution has led some to see freemasonry as a proto-democratic, egalitarian, and even revolutionary movement. In her 1991 study of British, Dutch, and French freemasonry, Margaret Jacob argued that masonic lodges served to spread British constitutionalist ideas and practices throughout the Continent. Masons called the rules of their lodges "constitutions" and practiced principles of majority rule in elections of officers and members. Masonic sociability and ceremony also had a distinctly egalitarian flavor. Masonic meetings, where titles were dropped and members referred to each other as "brother," momentarily suspended differences in social rank. Inspired in part by the work of the Catholic royalist historian Augustin Cochin, who found organizational and ideological parallels between pre-Revolutionary French lodges and post-1789 Jacobin clubs, other scholars have viewed freemasonry in a more ominous light. Reinhart Koselleck and François Furet have seen the abstract moralism and egalitarianism of freemasonry as foreshadowing a modern totalitarian quest for ideological purity and unity.

These interpretations vary in details, but all tend to see freemasonry as inherently antagonistic to the social and political structures of the Old Regime. Yet freemasonry looked to the past as well as to the future, and its political manifestations were varied. Like the Old Regime itself, lodges were hierarchical in structure, with members advancing from a lower



Freemasonry. Engraving of a French Freemason ceremony for the reception of a master, 1745. The candidate lies at center; other candidates awaiting reception lie covered at right. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

to a higher rank through service to the order and mastery of its secrets. Admission to and advancement within the order were ostensibly based on merit, but initiation fees, membership dues, and literacy requirements in practice made membership a preserve of the propertied. Freemasonry was also overwhelmingly male in composition, although there is evidence that some French lodges admitted women as well as men. The more traditional features of eighteenth-century freemasonry are also evident in the order's quasi-religious character. In some ways lodges hearkened back to lay confraternities and religious orders in providing members with fellowship, mutual aid, and outlets for charitable work. As with a church, freemasonry's elaborate ceremonies and esoteric symbolism fostered a sense of spiritual mystery as well as a belief that members had access to a higher wisdom closed to those outside the order. Finally, lodges could be found across the political spectrum. In the 1760s many British masons became associated with the cause of popular radicalism through their support of John Wilkes and his demands for parliamentary reform, but by the 1790s British lodges had become solidly loyalist and

conservative in character. In France, not all lodges were sympathetic to the Revolution: in Toulouse about one-third of the 250 individuals who can be identified as freemasons were royalist in their sympathies, and some Parisian lodges were hostile to the Revolution from its very inception.

Eighteenth-century freemasonry was innovative not so much for its politics, but rather as a prototype for the voluntary associations and clubs that democratic political theorists have viewed as defining features of modern civil society. Freemasonry was the first secular, voluntary, and pan-European association in modern times, and as such became a model for civic organizations and clubs throughout the West.

See also Enlightenment; Guilds; Revolutions, Age of.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dülmen, Richard van. The Society of the Enlightenment: The Rise of the Middle Class and Enlightenment Culture in Germany. Translated by Anthony Williams. New York, 1992.

Furet, François. *Interpreting the French Revolution*. Translated by Elborg Forster. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1981.

Halévi, Ran. Les loges maçonniques dans la France d'ancien régime: Aux origines de la sociabilité démocratique. Paris, 1984.

Jacob, Margaret C. Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry in Eighteenth-Century Europe. New York, 1991.

Koselleck, Reinhart. Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society. Cambridge, Mass., 1988.

JAMES VAN HORN MELTON

FRENCH COLONIES

This entry includes three subentries: THE CARIBBEAN INDIA NORTH AMERICA

THE CARIBBEAN

From roughly 1500 to 1800, France was far more important as a Caribbean imperial power than is commonly recognized today. Its economic and military might were effectively lost in 1804, when the most important French Caribbean colony, Saint Domingue, became the independent nation of Haiti. Today France retains a handful of territories from its early modern New World empire, and the largest of these islands became full-fledged French departments after 1948.

PROCESS OF COLONIZATION

Like England, France established no Caribbean colonies until the early seventeenth century. But its importance as a naval power in the region began in 1523, when pirates from Normandy captured Spanish treasure ships. Such attacks were the greatest threat to the Spanish Caribbean in the first half of the sixteenth century, culminating in the sacking of Havana in 1555. Yet Spain's imperial vigilance held off the French for nearly a century, ensuring that the kingdom's first Antillean colony would only be founded in 1625. In that year the Norman nobleman Belain d'Esnambuc formally established a French colony on Saint Kitts. This tiny island served as a seedbed for further settlements until coming under full British control in 1713.

In 1635 French expeditions successfully claimed the larger islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Lesser Antilles, after a delay caused partly by the hostility of resident Carib Indians. Early colonialists produced tobacco, relying on indentured servants for labor. By the middle of the 1640s about half of the five to seven thousand French colonists in these islands were serving out labor contracts. Yet by this time the price of Caribbean-grown tobacco had plummeted. From 1638 colonists were being urged to plant cotton or indigo instead of tobacco. In the early 1640s royal officials sponsored the establishment of the first sugar plantations and mills in Martinique and Guadeloupe. In the 1670s, as sugar became the primary export of these islands, planters increasingly purchased enslaved African workers, and European servants fled.

A number of these Europeans imigrated west to the Greater Antilles territory that would become France's most profitable Caribbean colony, Saint Domingue. In the early 1600s the uninhabited western coast of Spanish Santo Domingo was teeming with wild cattle. The livestock attracted a population of rootless men who sold leather and smoked meat, or boucan, to passing ships. In the 1640s French officials from Saint Kitts managed to establish their authority over these boucaniers, though it was not until 1697 that Spain formally recognized the land as a French colony. With a land area ten times larger than Martinique and Guadeloupe combined, Saint Domingue would become the Caribbean's largest slave plantation colony by the middle of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the colony retained a distinct identity as the most violent, as well as the most valuable, of France's New World possessions.

Other early modern French Caribbean colonies, which never attained much economic or demographic weight, include the Lesser Antilles islands of Grenada, Dominica, and Saint Lucia, all three lost permanently to Britain by the early nineteenth century. France did retain other smaller Caribbean islands, including Saint Martin, shared with the Dutch after 1648, and Saint-Barthélemy, traded to Sweden in the late 1700s and repurchased a century later. The territory known as Cayenne (today, French Guiana) on the South American mainland, was important strategically, but never developed the profitable sugar fields or fearsome slave conditions

of neighboring Dutch Surinam. In 1788 Cayenne had fewer than two thousand free inhabitants and about ten thousand slaves.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

By the end of the eighteenth century, France's Caribbean colonies were its most precious overseas asset, yielding roughly half of Europe's sugar and coffee, as well as large quantities of indigo and cotton. Acre for acre, by the 1750s these territories outproduced Britain's island possessions. By itself Saint Domingue generated some 75 percent of French tropical commodities. The value of these goods was multiplied by the additional commerce they generated. France re-exported half of its sugar and coffee to other European markets, allowing the kingdom to maintain a favorable balance of trade in the eighteenth century. Moreover, Saint Domingue's insatiable demand for labor helped make France the second largest slave-trading nation in the eighteenth century, after Britain. Trade with Africa and the islands fostered a variety of auxiliary industries in France, including the manufacture of cotton textiles.

FORMS OF DOMINATION

France's seventeenth-century island colonies were administered by a series of unsuccessful royal companies. By the eighteenth century the secretary of the navy ruled these territories, selecting nearly all colonial officials from the royal navy and army. The crown did name prominent colonists to the so-called superior councils, which functioned as courts of appeal and legislative bodies on the model of France's regional parlements. Nevertheless, elite planters had little of the control over local taxation that characterized the British islands, with their colonial assemblies.

Established and aspiring planters deeply resented the military priorities of colonial governors, especially mandatory militia service and the trade monopoly that Versailles imposed on Caribbean trade from the 1660s. Colonists argued that militia work distracted them from their plantations. Over time they transferred the most onerous of these duties, such as the search for escaped slaves, to freeborn men of color and ex-slaves. Colonists also maintained that free international trade would greatly increase the islands' economic value to the kingdom. Unable to curb colonial contraband, by

the end of the eighteenth century Versailles was beginning to loosen its mercantilist restrictions.

Although the Code Noir of 1685 established the basic legal principles of French Caribbean slave society, the colonial government left control of the slave population to individual masters. Officials ignored royal laws protecting slaves from malnutrition and torture. The Code Noir also proclaimed that ex-slaves were legally equal to other free colonists, but by the early eighteenth century racial prejudice had already become an important means of social control. From the beginning of French Caribbean slavery, colonists commonly freed their slave mistresses and mixed-race children. Such manumissions amounted to no more than 1 percent of all slaves every year. Nevertheless, over time this population of free blacks and mixed-race people grew increasingly large, wealthy, and familiar with French culture. To maintain their own French identity, in the second half of the eighteenth century, colonial judges and planters installed an increasingly rigid set of discriminatory laws, separating "white" from "nonwhite" persons.

The Catholic Church was relatively unimportant as a form of social control over white society in the French Caribbean. Many of the most important religious orders, such as the Jesuits, maintained large and profitable slave plantations in the colonies. The Church's influence over colonists was strongest in the Lesser Antilles, where missionaries played an important role in early colonization. Saint Domingue was notoriously irreligious, however, and its priests were described as the most decadent in the kingdom. Many masters refused to Christianize their newly purchased slaves, citing the expense and threat to plantation discipline. As thousands of new African workers arrived each year, slaves developed new forms of spirituality, the forerunners of modern Haitian vodou.

NUMBER OF FRENCH COLONISTS

Despite their commercial importance to the kingdom, France's Caribbean territories were never significant population centers for French colonists. In fact, from 1650, as colonial sugar planters imported more and more enslaved Africans, many poorer colonists fled. This was less true in Saint Domingue, where poor whites could still find hillside land for farming and ranching up to the 1760s. Even here,

however, cheap land became scarce with the expansion of coffee plantations into the hills after midcentury.

Whether whites had land or not, they were a distinct minority in all of France's Antillean territories. In 1788 the French Caribbean had approximately 56,000 white residents and over 693,000 slaves. A third group, the so-called free population of color, numbered roughly 32,000. By this date, many of these individuals had been born free and owned some property, including slaves. Throughout much of French Caribbean history, the wealthiest and lightest-skinned members of this group were acknowledged to be "French." However, after 1763, new racial laws categorized these individuals as nonwhites, defining them as ex-slaves, despite their birth and wealth.

PLANTATION SYSTEMS

In the eighteenth century, France's Antillean plantations were the most productive institutions of their kind in the Atlantic world. Because sugarcane requires over twelve months of carefully tended growth to reach maturity, but must be crushed within forty-eight hours of harvest, planters using early modern grinding and refining technology needed their own mills and boiling houses. Such investments were more profitable for larger estates, with more sugarcane to process. Saint Domingue's sugar plantations were the largest in the eighteenthcentury Caribbean, employing, on average, between 150 and 200 slaves, with the largest plantations far exceeding this number. Leading Dominguan sugar growers also invested in elaborate irrigation systems, built sugar mills driven by wind and water, and developed complex crop rotations. British planters in Jamaica claimed that the French earned returns of close to 10 percent on their plantation investments. Modern calculations based on plantation records vary from 4 percent to 18 percent annual profit.

In part because of these capital improvements, many of Saint Domingue's great planters were heavily indebted to European merchants. Moreover, despite the high price of buying new Africans, many estates systematically overworked or undernourished their slaves to maximize short-term profits, causing annual mortality rates of 5 percent and higher. The brutality of French Caribbean planta-

tion society and the wealth it generated were among the reasons that the biggest planters often left their properties in the hands of managers and returned to France. Approximately 30 to 40 percent of French colonial plantations were managed in this absentee style.

Sugar plantations were the largest and most influential institutions in Caribbean agriculture. However, the early modern French Caribbean colonies produced a number of other commodities with their own distinct plantation technologies. Coffee was the most important of these, with European demand increasing markedly around the middle of the eighteenth century. In the 1780s Saint Domingue's coffee shipments to France were as valuable as its refined sugar exports. Because this crop required far less processing and labor, it cost about one-sixth as much to establish a coffee estate as to build a sugar plantation in Saint Domingue. Other crops were accessible to planters who did not have the capital to found a sugar estate. Indigo dye was an important product in many parts of Saint Domingue and, by the end of the eighteenth century, so was cotton, though these commodities were frequently smuggled into British or Dutch markets.

LOSS

The French Revolution (1789-1799) forever altered France's presence in the Caribbean. The issue that first destabilized Saint Domingue in 1789 was citizenship, not slavery. From 1789 to 1791, colonial men of color living in Paris convinced the revolution's National Assembly to recognize them as French citizens. In 1791, when colonial whites refused to accept the racial reforms legislated by Paris, civil war broke out in Saint Domingue, pitting whites against free blacks and mulattoes. Taking advantage of this conflict, in August 1791 slaves planned and executed a revolt that spread throughout the colony. Racial tensions prevented whites and free men of color from forging an effective island-wide army to defeat the uprising. In 1793 exslaves were still in rebellion. By this time, France was at war with Spain and England. As these enemies attacked the French Antilles, conservative colonists joined them to fight the revolution.

By the middle of 1793 the twin threats of counterrevolution and foreign invasion forced French officials to offer Saint Domingue's rebel slaves free-

dom in exchange for military assistance. On 31 October of that year, the French commissioner to Saint Domingue, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, declared slave emancipation throughout the colony. On 4 February 1794 legislators in Paris, responding to this fait accompli, declared slavery illegal in all French territories. The British had already captured Martinique, but emancipation transformed Guadeloupe, where ex-slaves served as sailors and soldiers alongside whites and former free men of color, attacking foreign shipping and raiding nearby British colonies from 1794 to 1798. In Saint Domingue free colored and ex-slave officers, most notably Pierre Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, emerged as the leading figures in the French army.

With Napoléon Bonaparte's ascension to power in 1799, and temporary peace with Britain in 1802, France attempted to restore its Caribbean plantations to profitability. In Guadeloupe a French expeditionary force killed approximately 10 percent of the population in the process of reestablishing slavery. Many of the dead were black and mulatto soldiers who had fought loyally for the republic. In Saint Domingue in 1803, however, approximately forty thousand European troops were unable to defeat the colony's former slaves. Fighting first as guerrillas, and then under the leadership of black and mixed-race generals, the ex-slaves also benefited from an outbreak of yellow fever that severely weakened the expeditionary force. On 1 January 1804, rejecting France while proclaiming their allegiance to the ideals of the French Revolution, the leaders of Saint Domingue's ex-slave armies declared their independence as the new American nation of Haiti.

See also Colonialism; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Dessalles, Pierre. Sugar and Slavery, Family and Race: The Letters and Diary of Pierre Dessalles, Planter in Martinique, 1808–1856. Edited and translated by Elborg Forster and Robert Forster. Baltimore, 1996.
- Labat, Jean-Baptiste. *The Memoirs of Père Labat, 1693–1705.*Edited and translated by John Eaden. London, 1970.
 Abridged translation of *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique* (1742).
- Moreau de Saint-Méry, Médéric-Louis-Elie. A Civilization That Perished: The Last Years of White Colonial Rule in Haiti. Edited and translated by Ivor D. Spencer. Lanham, Md., 1985. Abridged translation of Descrip-

tion topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'isle Saint-Domingue (1797).

Secondary Sources

- Boucher, Phillip P. Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492–1763. Baltimore, 1992.
- Dubois, Laurent. A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804. Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003.
- Fick, Carolyn E. The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below. Knoxville, Tenn., 1990.
- Geggus, David P. *Haitian Revolutionary Studies*. Bloomington, Ind., 2002. An important collection of articles by the foremost scholar of prerevolutionary Saint Domingue.
- James, C. L. R. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. 2nd ed. New York, 1963. The classic account of the Haitian Revolution and its preconditions.
- King, Stewart R. Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint Domingue. Athens, Ga., 2001.
- Moitt, Bernard. Women and Slavery in the French Antilles, 1635–1848. Bloomington, Ind., 2001.
- Parry, J. H., P. M. Sherlock, and A. P. Maingot. A Short History of the West Indies. 4th ed. New York, 1987.
- Peabody, Sue. "There Are No Slaves in France:" The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime. Oxford and New York, 1996.
- Rogozi'nski, Jan. A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the Present. New York, 1992.
- Stein, Robert Louis. The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century. Baton Rouge, La., 1988.

JOHN D. GARRIGUS

INDIA

The European quest for a direct sea link to the source of Indian spices had begun in the fifteenth century with the Portuguese voyages directed by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) had "discovered" the sea route to the pepper-rich Malabar Coast of India during his epic first voyage of 1497–1499, and for the next century the Portuguese had dominated the spice trade. The desire of France to share in this rich trade had begun as early as the reigns of Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) and Henry III (ruled 1574–1589). In 1527 a Norman ship reached Diu; the next year the *Marie de Bon Secours* was seized by the Portuguese; and in 1530 two French ships reached Sumatra. Yet it was only after the chaos of the Wars

of Religion ended that the Compagnie des Mers Orientales was formed in November 1600 by merchants of Saint-Malo, Laval, and Vitré. Although two ships were sent to Asia, this company was soon moribund. In June 1604 Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610) issued letters patent granting a trading monopoly in Asia to a "Société . . . pour le voyage des Indes orientales." A promising beginning for this company, however, was soon undermined by a lack of private investment, Portuguese and Dutch opposition, the continued preeminence of continental foreign policy aims, and the internal strife of Louis XIII's (ruled 1610-1643) minority. In vain the crown attempted to instill new life into the project in July 1619 by transferring monopoly privileges to a reconstituted concern, the Compagnie des Moluques. Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) also tried his hand at creating a viable East India Company. Between 1633 and 1637 several ships were sent to Asia by a Société Dieppoise, and monopoly privileges were granted to a Compagnie d'Orient by letters patent of June 1642. Nevertheless the cardinal's scheme to colonize Madagascar (Isle Dauphine) eventually bankrupted the company. Private attempts to break into the trade between 1655 and 1662 under the auspices of the *maréchal* (marshal) de la Meilleraye and Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680) were also failures.

Louis XIV's (ruled 1643-1715) finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) was responsible for the greatest French attempt of the early modern period to break into the Asian trade. Colbert, a firm disciple of mercantilist theories, believed the key to the kingdom's economic prosperity rested in its ability to destroy the burgeoning trade of the Dutch East India Company while establishing a strong French presence in that trade. In 1664 he formed the Compagnie royale des Indes orientales, based on the Dutch model, with a formidable capital pool and the firm support of the king. During the next few years twenty ships were sent out and three million livres were spent on the project. As a result, Fort Dauphin on Madagascar was reoccupied and a factory was established at the Gujarati entrepôt of Surat. By 1669 Colbert had resolved on a more bellicose approach. A powerful royal fleet, the so-called Persian Squadron, consisting of nine well-armed ships and twenty-three hundred men, was dispatched under Viceroy Jacob Blanquet de La Haye in March 1670 to finally establish French power in India. Nevertheless, flawed command decisions in Asia and a lack of interest in the project on the part of Louis XIV after the beginning of the Dutch War in Europe in 1672 doomed this campaign. The only territorial legacy of 150 years of French efforts to establish a position in the Indian trade was the coastal town of Pondicherry, which La Haye received from Sher Khan Lodi in late 1672 in the midst of his campaigning on the Coromandel Coast of India. From 1674 to 1763, French efforts in India were consistently undermined by increased competition from the English East India Company, along with a lack of support from the French crown. The Royal East India Company was incorporated into John Law's grandiose Company of the Indies in 1719, and also shared in the collapse of his Mississippi scheme the following year. During the 1740s and 1750s, Joseph François Dupleix, governor in Pondicherry, skillfully exploited the declining power of internal Indian states to build significant French power in south and central India. Nevertheless, a lack of support from Paris resulted in his eventual defeat by the British under Robert Clive, followed by his recall in 1754. Bankruptcy resulted in the dissolution of the French East India Company in 1769.

See also British Colonies: India; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Mercantilism; Trading Companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, Glenn J. Colbert, Mercantilism and the French Quest for Asian Trade. DeKalb, Ill., 1996.

Cole, Charles Woosley. Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism. 2 vols. New York, 1939.

Malleson, G. B. History of the French in India. Edinburgh, 1909.

Sen, Siba Pada. The French in India: First Establishment and Struggle. Calcutta, 1947.

GLENN J. AMES

NORTH AMERICA

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, France's North American colonies stretched westward from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes and southward from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The early proprietary governments gave way to a royal regime in the mid-seventeenth century, although the proprietary model was

resuscitated on a limited basis in the eighteenth century. Forms of social organization varied from colony to colony, but everywhere there were new realities, belying the characterization of New France as an archaic feudal society. Economically the colonies differed from one another as well, but in general the absence of a labor-intensive staple such as tobacco or sugar precluded large-scale immigration. Recent estimates of the volume of immigration range from 33,500 for the St. Lawrence Valley to 7,000 for the Canadian Maritimes and 14,000 for Louisiana (half of them African slaves). While these figures are larger than was originally thought, the staying power of the immigrants most often single young men from urban backgrounds—was notoriously poor. At the time of the British conquest, New France in its entirely had fewer than 100,000 European or African inhabitants, compared to nearly 2 million in British North America.

THE PROCESS OF COLONIZATION

Although there were abortive attempts to found colonies in Canada and Florida in the mid-sixteenth century, the first permanent French settlements in North America were Acadia in 1604 and Quebec in 1608. The initiative for both came from Pierre Du Gua de Monts, an officer who was then the exclusive proprietor of New France. The charter he received from Henry IV granted him seigneurial rights and a commercial monopoly over eastern North America from Philadelphia to Newfoundland, in return for which he agreed to shoulder the expenses of colonization.

De Monts abandoned the settlement of Port Royal (today Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia) in 1607; however, French Acadia survived owing to the first subinfeudation practiced within a proprietary colony. Using his authority as proprietor, De Monts granted the land as a seigneurie to Jean Biencourt de Poutrincourt, a nobleman who had accompanied the first expedition to Port Royal. With Poutrincourt, settlement resumed and colonization entered a new phase. From the responsibility of a single overlord in possession of a commercial monopoly, it became the shared responsibility of the overlord and his seigneur. The return on the latter's investments would come not from trade but from seigneurial revenues (feudal rents collected

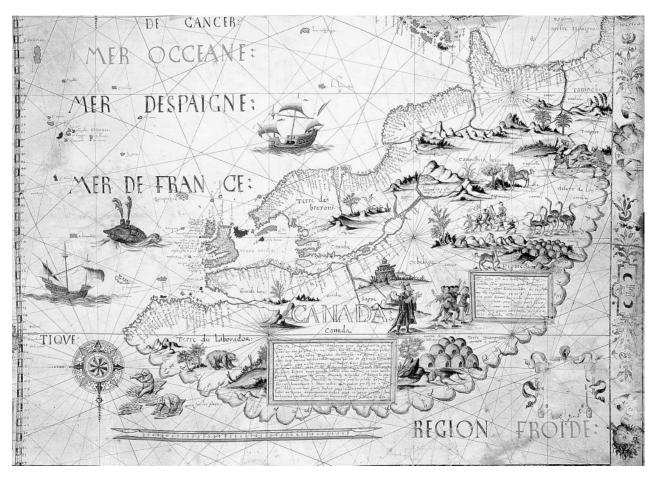
from peasant farmers), so a successful enterprise would require agricultural settlement.

Unfortunately for the colony, Poutrincourt died a pauper in 1615, bequeathing his seigneurie to his equally impoverished son Biencourt. At Biencourt's death in 1623, Port Royal remained a trading post with no more than twenty year-round residents, none of them women.

Meanwhile the Canadian monopoly passed from de Monts, who lost it as the result of merchant complaints, to a succession of members of the upper nobility. All but one of the new proprietors (now known as viceroys) worked in tandem with a company of merchants, but colonization proceeded slowly nonetheless. In 1627, when Cardinal Richelieu revoked the most recent charter, Quebec had a total population of eighty-five, of whom only two dozen were true settlers.

Richelieu, who was anxious to transform the fledgling settlements into an important colony, created the Company of New France, more commonly known as the Company of the Hundred Associates. Differing from earlier companies in scope rather than structure, it received a perpetual monopoly on the fur trade and a fifteen-year monopoly on all other trade except the fisheries. During those fifteen years, it agreed to transport four thousand French Catholics of both sexes to New France. Yet the new proprietors experienced disastrous luck from the beginning. Their first fleet, which departed France with three hundred colonists, was captured by the British, who went on to occupy Quebec from 1629 to 1632. After the occupation, financial constraints obliged the company to subcontract the monopoly. Colonization continued under the aegis of subcontractors and seigneurs, but in 1663, when Louis XIV revoked the company's charter, New France had barely 3,500 French inhabitants. Moreover, several hundred of them lived in Acadia, under British occupation since 1654.

Louis XIV, seconded by minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, brought the colony directly under royal administration. In the first ten years of royal control, Canada received about four thousand new colonists at the king's expense, after which funds and interest waned again. Nonetheless, New France continued to expand geographically in the first half of the eighteenth century. Acadia, returned to France by treaty



French Colonies: North America. A 1550 French map by Pierre Desceliers shows the east coast of North America. The ART ARCHIVE/BRITISH LIBRARY

in 1667, was ceded back to Britain in 1713. In reaction France moved to colonize her remaining territories in the Gulf of St. Lawrence: Cape Breton Island and Île Saint-Jean, now Prince Edward Island. At the same time, the French moved westward into the Great Lakes, founding Detroit in 1701, and southward into the Mississippi Valley. The Illinois country, an extension of the Great Lakes via the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, was the only French colony in North America established spontaneously by colonists rather than as a result of royal policy. Louisiana, on the other hand, was a royal creation designed to prevent the British or Spanish from controlling the mouth of the Mississippi. Founded in 1699 by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, it was conceded to a proprietor, financier Antoine Crozat, in 1712, then transferred to John Law's Company of the Occident (later called the Company of the Indies) in 1717. The collapse

of Law's system saw the return of royal rule in the 1720s as well as the transfer of the seat of government from Mobile to New Orleans.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

New France arose coincidentally with France's absolutist state and had substantially the same architects. Both Richelieu and Colbert wanted to increase the power of France by means of a dynamic colonial empire. As a result of their attentions, New France would become a laboratory of state-of-theart political and social practices.

The government of French North America was always authoritarian. Before 1627 there were five different proprietors or viceroys, all of whom delegated their powers to the same individual in Quebec, Samuel de Champlain (c. 1567–1635). Champlain continued to administer New France until his death in 1635, in the final years as Richelieu's lieu-

tenant. His successors (appointed by the king upon recommendation of the Hundred Associates) gained the formal title of governor of New France. There were also regional governors in Acadia, Three Rivers, and Montreal, the latter appointed by the Notre Dame Society, the missionary organization that founded the settlement and served as its seigneur. Finally, in 1647 the crown established a Council in Quebec consisting of the governor general, the governor of Montreal, and the Jesuit superior; it was expanded to seven members the following year.

With the imposition of royal rule in 1663, the government acquired the contours it would retain until the end of the French regime. The king appointed not only a governor general whose primary tasks were military and diplomatic, but an intendant responsible for civil administration. A new Sovereign Council (later called Superior Council) became the highest court in the land. It brought together the governor general, the intendant, the bishop, and five (later seven, then twelve) additional councillors. In theory the authority of the governor general and intendant extended beyond the St. Lawrence, but as New France expanded, the outlying colonies gained de facto administrative independence. In Île Royale (Cape Breton) and Louisiana the governors took orders directly from France, the commissaires ordonnateurs were intendants in all but name, and the Superior Councils filled the same function as the council in Quebec.

Because venality of office did not exist in New France, all high-level administrators served at the king's pleasure. The colonial government was thus a purer expression of French absolutism than its metropolitan counterpart. Some historians have judged this regime harshly for stifling freedom and initiative, while others have praised its efficiency and paternalism. Yet it is noteworthy how often arbitrary power worked, in the colonial context, to level the traditional orders of the *ancien régime*. Indeed, many administrative decisions reflect the almost physiocratic repugnance for intermediary bodies and paternalist regulation that historians associate with enlightened despotism.

COLONIAL SOCIETY

Traditionally, historians portrayed New France as a backward feudal society, but that interpretation has been challenged, or at least qualified significantly, in recent decades. To be sure the three estates clergy, nobility, and commons—were recognized in French North America, but privilege was largely meaningless there since even commoners owed no taxes. Social advancement could also be more rapid in the colonies. Nicolas Juchereau, the son of a merchant turned Canadian seigneur, acceded to the nobility in 1692, a century before his cousins in the French branch of the family. In the St. Lawrence Valley, the seigneurial system did siphon off a larger part of the agricultural surplus as time went on. On the other hand, seigneurialism in Acadia existed largely on paper before succumbing to British occupation. There was no seigneurial system and virtually no agriculture on Île Royale, while Louisiana and the Illinois country had plantations worked by African and Indian slaves.

Despite their seigneurs, Canadian habitants (a term adopted by colonial farmers to distinguish themselves from mere peasants) managed to speculate in land, practice a highly individualist agriculture, and even occasionally achieve upward social mobility. In the towns tradesmen were free to pursue their own interest, since there were no guilds, and corporatist association was strictly limited. New France boasted a number of successful businesswomen, not all of them widows or religious.

New France was also a multicultural society. There were reserves for Christian Indians right in the heart of the St. Lawrence Valley, where domiciled Indians made up about 10 percent of the colonial population. Several hundred slaves of either Indian or African origin labored in Montreal, as did hundreds of captives taken from the British colonies during the French and Indian Wars.

Beyond the St. Lawrence Valley, much of New France remained, in essence, Native-controlled territory. In the Great Lakes, French sovereignty was represented only by the young agricultural settlement at Detroit, together with widely scattered trading, missionary, and military outposts. Although Louisiana had a population of four thousand Europeans and five thousand Africans by the mid-eighteenth century, at that time there were still some seventy thousand Indians living in the lower Mississippi Valley. Intercultural relations were numerous and are symbolized by the *coureurs de bois*, French fur traders who ventured into Indian coun-

try to obtain their wares. Numbering in the hundreds as early as the 1680s, the *coureurs de bois* were Frenchmen who voluntarily adopted an Indian way of life. During their voyages they relied upon Native technologies, Native languages, and the services (sexual as well as economic) of Native women. It was the *coureurs de bois* who initiated French settlement in the Illinois country, through their marriages to Indian women beginning in the 1690s.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMMIGRATION

Despite the importance of the fur trade (a vogue for felt hats created demand for beaver pelts in Europe), New France never met the economic expectations of its promoters. Neither fur nor cod, the other Canadian staple, required a large colonial labor force, so from the outset transporting immigrants was a financial liability rather than a source of profit. Only when the state or state-supported companies intervened did immigration attain significant proportions. Even then the rate of permanent settlement was low, so demographic growth was gradual. In the absence of large colonial populations, agricultural and industrial development occurred slowly, limiting demand for further immigration.

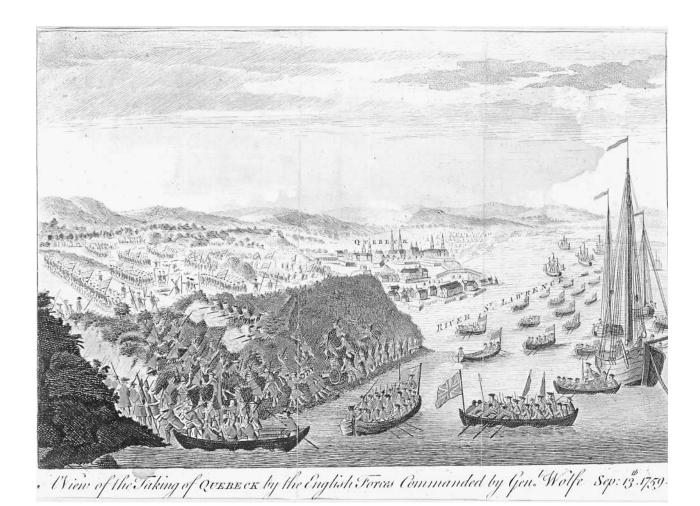
At Richelieu's behest, the Company of the Hundred Associates arranged for the passage of an estimated 7,300 people to New France, probably 4,700 to the St. Lawrence Valley and 2,600 to Acadia. Many of them, however, moved on to other destinations, roughly half of those sent to the St. Lawrence and nearly everyone in Acadia. While the unstable political situation was a factor, especially in Acadia, so was the nature of the labor supply. Apart from a few of the seigneurs, who recruited in situ among people known to them in France, most of the company's recruiting agents worked out of La Rochelle, Dieppe, or Rouen, major towns with large populations of single migrant laborers. What historians call "metropolitan migration," the sort least likely to have staying power, clearly predominated in this migration stream. (The typical metropolitan migrant was a young urban tradesman seeking employment.)

The immigrants of the period 1663–1673 included eight hundred marriageable women, recruited largely from charity hospitals. Thanks to these *filles du roi* (king's daughters), the immigrant

sex ratio became more balanced, fostering population growth through natural increase. In the eighteenth century, most royal recruits for Canada were either soldiers or prisoners. The St. Lawrence Valley received perhaps 33,500 immigrants in all, of whom no more than 10,000 founded families in the colony. An estimated 7,000 French immigrants passed through the Canadian Maritimes, yet today's Acadians descend from only a few hundred founding families.

In Louisiana, John Law's Company of the Occident pursued the most dynamic immigration policy in the history of New France. From 1717 to 1720, it deported over 1,400 men and women from prisons and large cities, where they had been arrested as vagabonds. Although deportations ceased in response to riots against "Louisiana slavery" (an ironic reference since the first African slaves were also shipped to Louisiana in these years—two thousand between 1719 and 1721), the company blanketed France with propaganda promoting immigration. The campaign had limited success there due to the colony's already poor reputation in the Atlantic ports that were the natural reservoirs of colonial migration. On the other hand, translated into German, Law's brochures created a sensation in the Rhine Valley, where four thousand people packed their bags for Louisiana. These recruits were "provincial migrants" fleeing rural areas undergoing agricultural modernization. They were more likely to travel in families and, like religious refugees, more apt to settle than footloose urban laborers. Had Richelieu and Louis XIV been as tolerant of foreigners and Protestants as the Company of the Occident, perhaps the return rate of immigrants to Canada would have been lower.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the St. Lawrence Valley was a land of self-sufficient family farms that exported surplus wheat to Île Royale and the Caribbean. Acadian farms were also prosperous, although they no longer belonged to New France. Illinois farmers, who produced foodstuffs for Louisiana, used the labor of African slaves, as did Louisiana's fledgling tobacco and indigo plantations. Yet most of Louisiana's small population still participated in the frontier exchange economy, a patchwork of commercial and subsistence endeavors. The most vigorous colonial economy was that of Île Royale, whose capital, Louisbourg, quickly became



French Colonies: North America. Engraving by J. Bowles depicts the taking of Quebec by the British, 13 September 1759. The ART ARCHIVE/GENERAL WOLFE MUSEUM QUEBEC HOUSE/EILEEN TWEEDY

both a major base for the North Atlantic fishery and a busy entrepôt in the triangular trade among Europe, North America, and the West Indies, in rivalry with New England.

BRITISH CONQUEST

After the loss of Acadia to Britain in 1713, the next military setback for New France occurred during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). In 1745 New England forces, with the help of the Royal Navy, laid siege to Louisbourg, which surrendered after a seven-week bombardment. Although Île Royale was returned to France by treaty in 1748, New Englanders were furious, and their complaints helped bring about an all-out British offensive against New France during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The most controversial act of the conquest was actually a prelude to it. In 1755 the British expropriated and deported the Acadians, despite their declared neutrality. Some deportees landed in England, while others were scattered across the thirteen colonies. More than one thousand victims of this *Grand Dérangement* (Great Disturbance) eventually made their way to Louisiana after the war.

Louisbourg fell a second time in 1758, and Quebec followed suit after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, a dramatic but successful gamble on the part of British commander James Wolfe, in 1759. By the Treaty of Paris (1763), the French ceded Louisiana to Spain and the rest of New France to Britain. They retained only fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast and two tiny islands, St. Pierre

and Miquelon, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Today these two islands, still under French sovereignty, are all that remains of France's empire in North America

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); British Colonies: North America; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Colonialism; Fur Trade: North America; Law's System; Louis XIV (France); Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Boleda, Mario. "Trente mille Français à la conquête du Saint-Laurent." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 23 (1990): 153–177. The author has raised this estimate of immigration to 33,500 based on his current research.
- Carpin, Gervais. Le réseau du Canada: Étude du mode migratoire de la France vers la Nouvelle France (1628– 1662). Sillery, Quebec, and Paris, 2001.
- Charbonneau, Hubert, et al., with the collaboration of Réal Bates and Mario Boleda. *The First French Canadians: Pioneers in the St. Lawrence Valley.* Translated by Paola Colozzo. Newark, Del., and London, 1993.
- Choquette, Leslie. Frenchmen into Peasants: Modernity and Tradition in the Peopling of French Canada. Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1997.
- Dechêne, Louise. *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*. Translated by Liana Vardi. Montreal and Buffalo, 1992.
- Eccles, W. J. France in America. New York, 1972.
- Greer, Allan. The People of New France. Toronto and Buffalo, 1997.
- Griffiths, Naomi E. S. *The Contexts of Acadian History*, 1686–1784. Montreal and Buffalo, 1992.
- Krause, Eric, Carol Corbin, and William O'Shea, eds. Aspects of Louisbourg: Essays on the History of an Eighteenth-Century French Community in North America. Sydney, Nova Scotia, 1995.
- Moogk, Peter. La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada. A Cultural History. East Lansing, Mich., 2000.
- Moore, Christopher. Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town. Toronto, 1982.
- Usner, Daniel. Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992.
- White, Richard. The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1991.

Leslie Choquette

FRENCH LITERATURE AND LAN-

GUAGE. From the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Revolution, French literature reached heights of quality and range unequalled by any other literature of the time. After the destruction of the court culture of Languedoc in the thirteenth century, and the consequent end of Provençal troubadour poetry, French had become the dominant literary vernacular in Europe throughout the High Middle Ages, thanks largely to the French courtly or chivalric romance. These texts combined learned allegorizing with encyclopedic digressions and, at least in the case of the immensely influential Roman de la rose (c. 1225-1275; Romance of the rose) of Guillaume de Lorris (fl. early thirteenth century) and Jean de Meun (d. 1305), an often salacious misogyny. This text, and responses to it such as Christine de Pisan's (1364/65-1434?) Cité des dames (1404; City of women), continued to be read and discussed well into the sixteenth century. However, even by the time of the great debate over the Rose, in the early fifteenth century, the genre of the romance had already exhausted itself, and other modes of literary expression were coming to the fore. One medieval genre that had provided both material and counterpoint to the romance was that of the fabliaux, unabashedly worldly, graphic, often obscene comic stories in verse, which offered a decidedly nonidealized view of sex and society. Although most of the fabliaux had been written down in the thirteenth century, they continued to influence the literature of the centuries that followed, both in France and elsewhere (for example, in Italy, Boccaccio's Decameron [1348-1351]), while the medieval romances of chivalry became a dead letter, resurfacing only rarely, and then usually in parodic form.

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The latter half of the fifteenth century has often been viewed as a period of decadence, even sterility, in the history of French literature, but this is not an entirely fair assessment. It was certainly the case that, in the ongoing cultural exchange between France and Italy, this was a time in which Italy gave more to France than vice versa, but French theater and, especially, lyric poetry were productive genres. The last poet in the medieval "courtly love" tradition is one of the finest: Charles d'Orléans (1394–

1465), who, in his lyrics, manipulates the commonplaces of *l'amour courtois* with a gentle and graceful irony. It was a younger writer, however, one who was briefly in Charles's entourage, who became the greatest poet of the fifteenth century, and one of the most original and moving voices in all of French literature. François Villon (1431–1463?) was a violent criminal—armed robbery, burglary, theft, and murder were all on his rap sheet, and he narrowly missed being hanged more than once—but he somehow found time to write lyrics of extraordinary beauty and depth. The apparently autobiographical mode in which he writes of his misadventures and his disreputable acquaintances, together with what little we know of his unedifying life, have combined to produce the legend of a kind of thug genius, which may obscure our understanding of the poetry. The voice of *Le lais* (c. 1456) and *Le testament* (c. 1461) is indeed intensely personal, but it is a consciously constructed voice, and one that speaks of universal experience: of desire, of suffering, of the impermanence of pleasure, and above all of death. Yet he does not wallow in despair or self-pity; his attitude is instead one of a grimly cheerful irony, expressed in language of piercing directness. If he allows the reader little comfort, his dark, skeptical humor provides an attractive alternative, and makes of this shadowy figure from the underworld of medieval Paris the first recognizably modern poet in French literature.

A similar (if somewhat sunnier) kind of humor predominates in the theater of the second half of the fifteenth century, whose isolated masterpiece is the anonymous Farce de Maistre Pathelin (first performed in the 1460s; first known printing in 1486). Medieval farces were short, semi-improvised plays, like the fabliaux using stock situations and characters in the service of a fairly raw brand of humor. While Pathelin is clearly part of this tradition, in scale and sophistication it goes far beyond the genre's limits, so that to call it a "farce" is hardly adequate. Revolving around the collective chicanery and mutual deception of a cloth merchant, a lawyer, the lawyer's wife, a peasant, and a judge, the minimal plot is mainly an excuse for the play's acutely observed comic representation of bourgeois mores and character. Its humor, both situational and verbal, makes for brilliantly effective comic theater, whose like will not be seen again until Molière.

We find another perspective, more cold-hearted if no less ironic, in the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Commynes (c. 1447–1511). This powerful nobleman was for a time the chief advisor to Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483), the "Spider King," and seems to have been just as ardent a practicioner of devious realpolitik as his master. Under Louis's successor, Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498), Commynes suffered the consequences of his loyalty, but after weathering imprisonment, expropriation, and disgrace, he managed to work his way back into public life, and indeed into the favor of his new sovereign. The *Mémoires* present, under the guise of a chronicle of Commynes's political and diplomatic career, a kind of manual for the would-be courtierstatesman, and as such found a wide readership in France and elsewhere, being translated into every major European language. Seemingly direct, even flat, in style, the Mémoires in fact enact the kind of careful adjustment of facts they describe, being a highly selective, self-promoting, and ironic version of the events they narrate. In this they look forward to the writings of Commynes's younger contemporaries from south of the Alps, Niccolò Machiavelli and Baldassare Castiglione.

After Villon, lyric poetry took a turn toward formalism with the work of the so-called grands rhétoriqueurs, a loosely constituted group of poets who, in the last years of the fifteenth century, produced short lyrics and longer poems characterized by technical virtuosity and learned linguistic playfulness. The most important of these authors are Jean Molinet (1435-1507), Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473–1524), and Guillaume Crétin (d. 1525). Their work, for which they often deliberately chose the most trivial of subjects, is full of alliteration, puns, and other forms of sonic and verbal humor, which did not always endear them to subsequent generations of readers. Du Bellay, for example, heaped scorn on the rhétoriqueurs in the mid-1500s, and they were mostly ignored or forgotten up through the first half of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, both their humor and their erudition, in which we may see the beginnings of a new, more historical appreciation of Classical Latin poetry, influenced Marot and Rabelais, and in the latter years of the twentieth century they began to find a new audience, who shared the rhétoriqueurs' appreciation for formal and linguistic play.

THE RENAISSANCE

It was left to another lyric poet, Clément Marot (1496?-1544), to take French literature in a new direction. Without entirely abandoning the playfulness of rhétoriqueur poetry (like that of his father, Jean Marot, d. 1526), he wrote with greater simplicity and directness, using both medieval forms (ballades, rondeaux) and more classicizing ones (verse epistles, epigrams, elegies) to produce a poetry at once personal and engaged with the political, social, and religious issues of his day. Less selfconsciously erudite than the poets of his father's generation, Marot nonetheless absorbed considerable classical and Italian influences from his time at the court of Francis I, where such things were greatly in vogue. Marot was also a Protestant at a time when (particularly after the "affaire des placards," 17-18 October 1534) it was becoming increasingly dangerous to profess Protestantism openly. Marot's sympathies, and his translations of the Psalms, got him into serious trouble more than once, and even a temporary return to Catholicism (in 1536) was not enough to keep him from being forced into exile at the end of his life. However, this did not dampen the lively humor and directness of his poetry; in fact, some of his best work (L'enfer [1526; Hell], Epistre au roy [1535; Letter to the king]) took as its subject his difficulties with the Catholic authorities.

Marot's troubles help to explain why the real literary heart of France in the second quarter of the sixteenth century was not Paris but Lyon. Far enough from Paris to be relatively safe from the watchful censors of the Sorbonne, and close enough to Italy to feel its cultural influence, Lyon became home to several of the most important poets of the time. We know little of the life of Maurice Scève (c. 1501-c. 1560); he may have studied for a time in Italy, and he achieved a kind of paraliterary notoriety when, in 1533, he found in Avignon the alleged tomb of Petrarch's Laura. Scève's own poetry abounds in typical Petrarchan gestures: paradoxical conceits, violent contrasts, the idealization of the beloved, all find a place in Scève's Délie (1544), whose eponymous Laura-esque dedicatee was probably fellow poet Pernette du Guillet. Where the sonnet form had already imposed on Petrarch considerable economy of expression, Scève opted for an even briefer form; the 449 dizains (ten-line poems, rather than the fourteen lines of the sonnet) of his *Délie* are highly compressed, elliptical, often opaque expressions of the desire of the poet for his beloved. Scève's opacity is intensified by his Italianate, even Latinate vocabulary and syntax, and by the complex patterns of allusion that simultaneously create and obscure the collection's large-scale structure. The torments undergone by the lover as he pines for his Délie are mirrored in the work's tortured obscurity, and perhaps also in the reader's experience of the text.

Less extreme in her explorations of Petrarchism, but nonetheless fluent in the genre's language, was the poet to whom Scève was writing, Pernette du Guillet (1520?-1545). As with Scève, we know little of her too-short life, but contemporaries described her as a prodigious musician as well as a scholar and poet. Her work (Rymes, 1545), too often read in Scève's shadow, is less willfully obscure, and therefore perhaps more engaging; yet she remains fascinated by the linguistic and formal possibilities opened up by the manipulation of Petrarchan tropes. Of the poets of the "School of Lyon," the most accessible to the modern reader is Louise Labé (1524?-1566), whose elegies and sonnets (published in 1555) combine a learned Neoplatonism with a directness and personal intensity that speak to the reader in a distinctly non-Petrarchan way. She celebrates love as an experience both spiritual and physical, while giving voice to a specifically feminine subjectivity impatient with the arbitrary constraints her society imposes upon women. However, while she is conscious of her identity as a woman, she is even more aware of her identity as a poet, and her work refuses to allow the reader to reduce her to one or the other. Her outspokenness may have been the cause of scurrilous attacks on her personal life by some of her (male) contemporaries, but in any case her poetry speaks for itself and has rightly attracted considerable critical attention in recent years.

Another writer who found in Lyon a refuge from intolerance was François Rabelais (c. 1483–1553). While his exact dates may be open to question, what is not in doubt is his stature as one of the major figures of the Renaissance and indeed of Western literature. Monk, secular priest, jurist, and doctor, Rabelais was very far from being the hard-drinking buffoon of popular legend. He was in fact

one of the most brilliant and learned men of his day, famed for, among other things, his ability as a scholar of Greek and his prowess as a physician. It is, however, to his comic novels (Pantagruel, 1532; Gargantua, 1534; the Tiers livre, 1546; the Quart livre, 1552) that he owes his permanent fame. In them, he offers a view of the human experience at once critical and generous, but above all comic. He satirizes ignorance, intolerance, and fanaticism with ruthless abandon while celebrating an honest joy in things of this world, humanist learning, and a faith based on the humble acceptance of human imperfection. His work is overwhelmingly rich in allusive erudition, topical satire, linguistic invention, and humor both high and low. This polyphony makes him one of the most difficult of authors, but his work amply repays the effort it demands. His transformative effect on the French language and on Western literature is immeasurable.

One of Rabelais's patrons and protectors was Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), the older sister of Francis I. Until her brother's death in 1547, she was the most powerful woman in France, and she used her considerable influence to help artists and (especially) religious reformers with whom she was in sympathy. Her own profound piety, of an evangelical, quasi-Protestant bent, gave direction to much of her writing: the Miroir de l'âme pécheresse (1531; Mirror of the sinful soul) and the Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses (1547), poetry full of a joyous, sometimes other-worldly mysticism. Some of the same spirit infuses the so-called Dernières poésies (Last poems), not published until 1896. These works stand in seeming contrast to the Heptaméron (1558-1559), a collection of often worldly, sometimes racy tales modeled on the Decameron. The stories are generally set in the France of Marguerite's day and are often about people known to her personally. They run the gamut from tragic to comic, and are told with verve, economy of expression, and an eye for the telling detail. They are united by a fierce sense of justice particularly as regards the tyranny of men over women—and a moral sensibility perhaps not so remote from that of Marguerite's explicitly religious writings.

As we have seen, much of French literature in the first half of the sixteenth century is beholden in various ways to the Italian Renaissance. Nowhere is this influence more pervasive—or more strenuously resisted—than in the poetry of the Pléiade, a group of poets who, proclaiming themselves to be an ensemble of literary stars, sought to emulate and surpass both Italian and classical models. Their explicitly stated goal was to prove the French language to be a vehicle of literary expression equal. if not superior, to Italian, Latin, and even Greek. The two most important poets of this movement were Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585) and Joachim du Bellay (c. 1522-1560), friends, rivals, and in many ways polar opposites. Ronsard saw himself as the semiofficial poet laureate of the nascent nation-state of France, and even his lyric love poetry, to say nothing of his longer work, manifests immense ambition, both literary and historical. He appropriates Petrarchan tropes and vocabulary into a French vernacular that he does much to shape; in such collections as the Odes (1550), the Amours (1552, 1555-1556), and the Sonnets pour Hélène (1578), he deploys his considerable learning and technical skill in the service of a powerful poetic subjectivity sometimes bordering on the narcissistic, not to say megalomaniacal. Ronsard's ego is always front and center, and the dedicatees of his love poetry are often reduced to projections of his generative desire. He conceives of the poet not as an artisan but as an artist: a divinely inspired creator to be honored and respected above the common herd. For this ambition to be fully realized, merely writing amorous sonnets was insufficient; Ronsard could not claim to rival the great poets of antiquity without meeting them on their own ground, the exalted terrain of epic poetry. Therefore, urged on by du Bellay and other Pléiade poets, Ronsard attempted to write a French national epic, along the lines of Virgil's Aeneid, which he called La franciade (1572). Perhaps conscious of the work's inadequacies, he never managed to finish it, and it remains an intriguing Promethean failure, representing both the scope and the hubris of Renaissance artistic ambition.

To Ronsard's egomania we may contrast the ironic humility of Joachim du Bellay, who claimed (perhaps somewhat disingenuously) to be setting his sights much lower, writing a humbler, more homely sort of poetry. He does begin his career with a typically Petrarchan collection, *L'olive* (1549), but then develops a more individual voice, writing with eloquent artlessness in *Les regrets* and *Les antiquités*

de Rome (both 1558) of his own experience of exile and loss, as refracted through the contrast he draws between the Rome of his own day, decadent and corrupt under papal rule, and the glorious Rome of the ancients. For du Bellay there seems to be little hope that the moderns will ever rise to the heights reached by their forebears; and yet he hints that his ironic perspective may itself be an advance beyond anything the ancients could achieve. This idea is made slightly more explicit in his Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse (1549; Defense and illustration of the French language), which combines theory and polemic into a manifesto of the Pléiade program. In it du Bellay aggressively condemns most pre-Pléiade poetry as shallow, silly, and semiliterate. The true poet, he says, diligently studies and internalizes the best ancient and modern authors, so that his own work becomes both an imitation and a transcendence of those precursor texts. Du Bellay thus theorizes what he, Ronsard, and the other poets of the Pléiade thought they were doing and sometimes actually accomplished.

We should not suppose that the Pléiade poets were mere aesthetes, solely concerned with pursuing ever-more-recondite developments of the Petrarchan tradition. Like Marot, they neither could nor would escape the religious and political issues of their time. The Roman poems of du Bellay, as well as Ronsard's Discours des misères de ce temps (1562-1563; Discourse on the miseries of these times), directly engage—and proclaim themselves agents in—the debates occasioned by the Reformation, the Gallican controversy, and the French Wars of Religion. Another author thus engaged was Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592), jurist, courtier, and philosopher. His Essais (1580, 1588, 1595) have their ancestry in the moral essays of Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch, but he radically expands the possibilities of the form, making it a vehicle for autobiography, political and historical analysis, literary criticism, and philosophical speculation, all expressed with an unassuming, protean eloquence. Montaigne's multivocal text articulates an ironic, tolerant skepticism, questioning rather than answering, and as such is one of the most enduring expressions of the Renaissance mind.

To Montaigne's generous tolerance may be opposed the fierce intransigence of the warrior-poet Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630), some-

one not merely marked but scarred by the Wars of Religion. Totally committed to the Protestant side, he never fully accepted the compromises that put an end to the conflict. His quasi-epic poem, *Les tragiques* (1616), is therefore a passionate threnody for a cause d'Aubigné felt had been betrayed and lost, unfolding in a series of tableaux notable for the baroque violence of both their imagery and their language.

LE GRAND SIÈCLE

The seventeenth century, the so-called Grand Century, is undoubtedly a period of extraordinary achievement, but the traditional image of a world dominated by the court of Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) and its grandiose classicism is, if not misleading, at least incomplete. Even for the Sun King's reign in the last third of the century, the literary landscape of the period was much more diverse and strange than we are accustomed to think. Even the supposedly "classicizing" reaction against the noholds-barred exuberance—formal, linguistic, and aesthetic-of a Rabelais or a Ronsard is more complex than it seems. Certainly François de Malherbe (1555–1628), in both his poetry and his theoretical writings, aspired to sanitize and elevate a literature too crude for the post-Henry IV generation, but this move toward refinement took other forms as well. By far the most influential and widely read work of the first half of the century was Honoré d'Urfé's (1568-1625) Astrée (1607-1627), an immense, sprawling novel set in an idyllic pastoral world (strongly resembling the author's native region of Forez) in which amorous shepherds and shepherdesses (or rather nobles in rustic disguise) pursue one another endlessly through intrigues, enchantments, and adventures of all sorts. The book's representation of desire as a passion that elevates the soul set the tone for court and urban society, not to mention literature, for the next several decades. We find in it the roots of the notion of the honnête homme (roughly, the 'honorable man'), the person perfectly adapted to every situation and circumstance; this ideal of conduct became the model for society—and literature—for the rest of the century, not only in France but throughout Europe. It was also the founding text of the related phenomenon known as préciosité, an aestheticization of social and literary discourses of desire meant to bring refinement and decorum to the interactions between the

sexes. Poets such as Vincent Voiture (1597–1648) and Honorat du Bueil, seigneur de Racan (1589-1670) wrote *précieux* lyrics whose occasional and stereotyped content should not prevent the modern reader from appreciating their high degree of poetic craftsmanship. In the wake of the Astrée, the novel enjoyed a period of immense fertility; among the many authors who expanded on the possibilities opened up by d'Urfé was Madeleine de Scudéry (1607-1701). She went far beyond the limits of Astrée's pastoral world to create the genre of the roman héroique ('heroic novel'); her multivolume extravaganzas (Les femmes illustres, 1642 [Famous women]; Artamène, ou le grand Cyrus, 1649-1653; Clélie, 1654-1660) recounted their heroines' and heroes' elaborate and seemingly interminable adventures, amorous and otherwise, in ever more exotic settings. Her works, and others like them, found a wide readership among women and men in salon and court alike, and like the Astrée may be said to have conditioned both literary and social discourse for much of the century.

At the same time, a very different sort of novel, the so-called *roman libertin* ('libertine novel'), descended both from Rabelais and from the Spanish picaresque novels of the sixteenth century, was being written by such authors as Charles Sorel (c. 1600-1674), Paul Scarron (1610-1660), and Savinien de Cyrano de Bergerac (1619–1655). Irreverent, earthy, sardonic, Sorel's La vraie histoire comique de Francion (1623; The true comic history of Francion), Scarron's Roman comique (1651; Comic novel), and Cyrano's L'autre monde (c. 1650; pub. 1657; The other world) represent an alternative set of voices in the first half of the century, voices unafraid to ridicule either literary tradition or religious or social pieties. The skeptical rationalism of these texts had its counterpart in the philosophical writings of René Descartes (1596– 1650). His Discours de la méthode (1637; Discourse on method) and Traité des passions (1649; Treatise on the passions), besides being of immense philosophical importance, were also a major influence, thanks to their clarity and precision of language, on the development of French prose.

The centralization of political power under Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642), and Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) was not an untroubled process; the

resistance of disaffected nobles and others culminated in the Fronde (1649–1653), a series of sometimes violent episodes of rebellion that ended in a qualified victory for the crown. The salons of Paris had been incubators for the Fronde, and one can read the romans héroiques, with their idealized aristocratic protagonists, as both reflecting and producing the frondeur sensibility. The same can be said for a range of other texts from the middle of the century, from the brilliant if self-serving Mémoires (1675-1677) of the Cardinal de Retz (1613-1679), to the Maximes (published in several versions between 1664 and 1693) of one of the most important of the aristocratic frondeurs, François VI, duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680). The Maximes, mordant, lapidary aphorisms, were perhaps the most lasting product of the mid-century literary salons. While La Rochefoucauld seems to have been principally responsible for their final form, the Maximes were in fact a collaborative effort, the precipitate of conversations between La Rochefoucauld and his friends, particularly Madame de La Fayette (see below). Articulated around the ideal of the honnête homme, their elegant pessimism reflects both the disappointments of the Fronde and the influence of Jansenism.

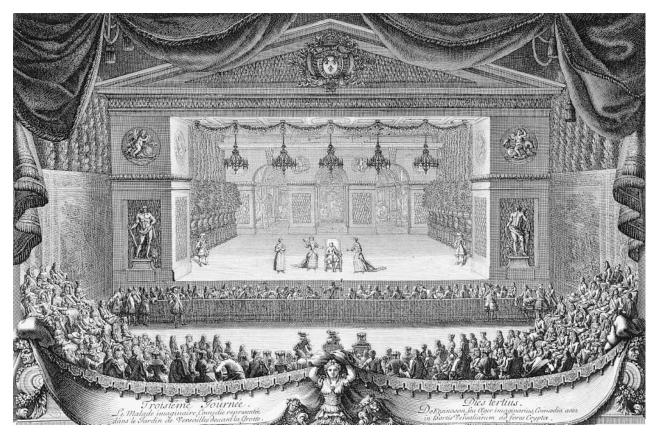
The rigorous Augustinian theology of the Jansenists was even more important to the most profound of the moralistes, Blaise Pascal (1623–1662). In his early years a fixture on the Parisian social scene, and one of the most important and original mathematicians of his century, in 1654 he underwent a religious conversion and turned from mathematics to philosophy and theology. His Lettres provinciales (1656-1657; Letters to a provincial), a series of polemical essays, written with dazzling ironic wit and ruthless logic, constituted a scathing attack on the elastic moral philosophy of the Jansenists' greatest enemies, the Jesuits. Even more important were the Pensées, a collection of sometimes cryptic fragments from a few words to several pages in length, that were posthumously published by his family in 1670. Pascal seems to have meant them as sketches toward a work proving the truth of Christianity. They range in subject from the trivial to the cosmic; informed with crystalline brilliance of thought and style, they are the fullest expression of his literary and philosophical genius.

While the novel, the essay, and even the lyric poem were for the reader of the time genres of great importance, to the modern mind one area of seventeenth-century literary production stands out: theater. A crowded, intensely competitive field, it was nonetheless dominated by three playwrights whose careers overlapped, sometimes uneasily: Pierre Corneille (1606-1684), Jean-Baptiste Poquelin de Molière (1622-1673), and Jean Racine (1639-1699). Trained in rhetoric by the Jesuits, and immersed in the literature of préciosité, Corneille brought to the theater an ear for verse that could charm, persuade, or overwhelm—sometimes all at once. While he drew his subjects mainly from antiquity, and claimed to be adhering strictly to classical theory in constructing his plays, he combined these classical influences with a précieux vocabulary of love and a heroic sense of proportion to produce a theater of larger-than-life heroes and heroines that dominated the French stage for more than two decades. His work also had important political resonances, linked to the Fronde and the rise of Louis XIV. If Le Cid (1637) was a celebration of the aristocrat as free agent, Cinna (1640-1641) staged the apotheosis of the ideal ruler, nobler than any of his potential rivals, while La mort de Pompée (1642-1643; The death of Pompey) and the plays that followed offered a more pessimistic vision of the triumph of raison d'état over the nobility.

Molière had aspirations to write (and act in) heroic drama in the style of Corneille, but fortunately he realized that his talents lay elsewhere. He began with slapstick comedies rooted in popular genres like the Italian commedia dell'arte and medieval French farce, but his skill as a Latinist enabled him to draw on Plautus and Terence as well, to create comedies that for intelligence, wit, and sheer theatrical effectiveness have never been surpassed. Whether ridiculing foolish old men in love (L'école des femmes [1662; The school for wives], L'avare [1668; The miser]), the foibles of his own society (Les précieuses ridicules [1659; The ridiculous précieuses], Le misanthrope [1666]), religious hypocrisy (Tartuffe, 1664), or murderous medical malpractice (Le malade imaginaire [1673; The hypochondriac]), Molière's comedy is both hilarious and humane, generously reminding us that the faults we find so ridiculous in an Orgon or an Alceste are, after all, our own. Molière has been variously described as an apologist for a complacent bourgeoisie, as a tool of Louis XIV's propaganda machine, and as a radical critic of both; the truth is probably a combination of the three, but we would do well to remember that a comedy as sharply ironic as that of Molière lends itself ill to any sort of propaganda.

We find irony of a sharply different kind in the theater of Jean Racine, whose tragedies are both more strictly "classical" and more baroque than those of his older rival Corneille. Racine, like Pascal, was strongly influenced by Jansenism, and his plays manifest a grimly pessimistic view of human nature, according to which transgression and consequent misery are not only likely but inevitable. The pure beauty of Racine's verse, and the austere restraint of his vocabulary, serve only to intensify the violence and depravity of the passions they express. He is especially fond of showing us great-souled women in torment. Whether they are noble victims, like the title characters of Andromaque (1667) or Iphigénie (1674), or monstrous sinners driven to crimes by their irresistible passions, like the protagonists of Phèdre (1677) or Athalie (1691), they suffer unbearable agonies, of which the greatest may be their intense awareness of their own helplessness. Like Corneille and Molière, Racine enjoyed great commercial and critical success during his lifetime, and like theirs his reputation has remained exalted ever since.

A friend of both Molière and Racine, Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695) was perhaps the finest pure poet of the century. His Contes (1665-1674; Stories), racy, often satirical stories told in graceful, fluent verse, earned him a somewhat scandalous reputation. The Fables (1668-1693), brief tales about animals à la Aesop, are denser and more sophisticated than the Contes, full of elegant twists and layers of meaning. They simultaneously celebrate and criticize the reign of Louis XIV, but they do so with such subtlety that La Fontaine can be called neither a subversive nor a flatterer; he remains, thanks to his art, independent. The theoretician and propagandist of this group of authors was Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711); writing both poetry and literary criticism, he aspired to be the Horace of his day. His Satires, written from 1660 to 1705, and his Art poétique (1674) codify the aesthetic of seventeenth-century classicism: balance,



French Literature and Language. A production of Molière's La malade imaginaire in the gardens of the Château de Versailles, 1674. Engraving by Lepautre. The ART ARCHIVE/Musée DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

order, restraint, and grandeur tempered with critical distance. His work gives us a valuable sense of how the seventeenth century wanted to read itself.

An author somewhat less enthralled with the absolutist state of Louis XIV was Madame de Sévigné (Marie de Rabutin Chantal, 1626–1696). Born into a family of the high nobility, and married at eighteen, she found herself widowed at twentysix with two small children, her husband having gotten himself killed in a duel over his mistress. She counted among her close friends her cousin the Cardinal de Retz, La Rochefoucauld, Madame de Lafayette, the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet, and the widow of Scarron, later Madame de Maintenon. Her fame rests on her voluminous correspondence, especially with her daughter, in which she writes of her aristocratic world with great intelligence, critical acumen (directed especially at the king and his circle), and style. Her letters, well known to her family and friends, did not begin to be published until 1725, but they have enchanted readers ever since. Marcel Proust was one of her most enthusiastic admirers. Her friend Madame de La Fayette (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, 1634–1693) was one of the great innovators of seventeenth-century literature. She transformed the genre of the novel; instead of writing at enormous length about fantastical adventures in faraway lands, she wrote with refinement, focus, and profound emotional insight of love, loss, and renunciation in the world she knew, the world of court and salon. La princesse de Clèves (1678) is a work of great subtlety and depth, and with it Madame de La Fayette may be said to have invented the modern psychological novel.

The dazzling surfaces of Louis XIV's court society were critically examined in the work of another of the major *moralistes*, Jean de La Bruyère (1645–1696), whose *Caractères* (1688–1694) are a series of aphoristic vignettes of that society, portraits of the "characters" or types that inhabit it. La Bruyère lacked the philosophical depth of La Rochefou-

cauld, let alone Pascal, but he was an extremely acute observer of his milieu, and his work is a nuanced vision of a society based on artifice and perfomance. La Bruyère was also one of the principal anciens in the Querelle des anciens et des modernes, a literary debate at the end of the century that pitted defenders of the classics of antiquity, such as Boileau, against advocates (such as Charles Perrault [1628-1703], whose famous Contes de ma mère l'oye [1697] are familiar to every French child, and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle [1657–1757], author of the skeptical Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes [1686; Conversations on the multiplicity of worlds] and Histoire des oracles [1687]) of the superiority of modern authors. The querelle was the natural result of the contradictions inherent in the idea of classicism as an imitative rivalry with the ancients, and ultimately something of a tempest in a teapot. The modernes won the battle, but at least in literary terms they lost the war, in that the canon of modern authors they held up as equal or superior to the ancients was precisely the list formulated by the arch-ancien Boileau; this list of Boileau's friends (Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, et al.) has determined our idea of the seventeenth century ever since.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

On a larger scale, however, the modernes definitely had the last word. Writers like Fontenelle and the Protestant Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), in their critical interrogations of religious and social dogmas, continued the rationalist project begun by Descartes, which would come to dominate eighteenthcentury literary discourse. One author swimming against this tide, however, was Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675-1755), whose voluminous memoirs of his time at the court of Louis XIV displayed both stylistic brilliance and a nostalgia for the good old days of the feudal nobility. He therefore heaped scorn on the king and his court, and on the Jesuits, whom he saw as abetting Louis's demolition of aristocratic power. Very remote indeed from Saint-Simon's reactionary vision was the Olympian historical perspective of Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755); through the fictional device of letters written home by foreign visitors, he turned a calmly critical gaze on his own society in the Lettres persanes (1721; Persian letters). His L'esprit des lois (1748; Spirit of the laws) is an exhaustive examination of the origins and development of social and political institutions, considered as the result not of divine will or providence but of human needs and desires as conditioned by the material circumstances of their existence. He seeks to understand laws and institutions as they are, with the idea that a clear and rational understanding of them may lead to their improvement. In this way, and before Rousseau or Voltaire, he lays the foundation for the American and French Revolutions.

It is even possible to think of the Encyclopédie (1751-1780) as an attempt to extend Montesquieu's pragmatic vision to all areas of knowledge: not just history, but mathematics, the natural and physical sciences, all areas of technology, even the manual arts, all find a place in the volumes of the Encyclopédie. For the encyclopédistes, headed by Denis Diderot (1713-1784), the rational understanding of the world was the necessary first step toward making it better. This is the so-called "Enlightenment project," often denigrated in the later years of the twentieth century for its supposedly oppressive consequences; but it is crucial to remember that it was conceived not to repress, nor even to control, but rather to liberate humanity from oppression, from unjust institutions, and from humanity's own ignorance. Diderot did much more than oversee (and write considerable portions of) the Encyclopédie; he also somehow found time to write philosophy, aesthetic theory, literary criticism, and novels, among which Le neveu de Rameau (c. 1765; Rameau's nephew) and Jacques le fataliste (c. 1780; Jacques the fatalist) are the most important. He writes with humor and a cheerful naturalism, which does not preclude often daring formal experiments. His work, more profound than that of Voltaire, more generous than that of Rousseau, has remained enormously influential down to the present day, perhaps more within the French-speaking world than outside it.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778) was, if anything, even more prolific than Diderot; in his long life, he went from being a young Turk to being the Grand Old Man of European letters, writing plays, poetry (he even tried his hand at epic), essays philosophical and polemical, history, literary journalism, novels, and an immense correspondence that by itself fills many volumes. He involved him-

self in public controversies of all kinds, simultaneously ingratiating himself with the powerful and doing his best to shake up the institutions that gave them power. While not a genuinely original thinker, he wrote with unequalled facility and a brilliant, sardonic wit, and he did more than anyone else to explain and popularize the most progressive, even radical, ideas of his contemporaries. In works like the *Lettres philosophiques* (1734), *Zadig* (1747), *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1751; The century of Louis XIV), *Candide* (1759), and the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), he brought the ideals of the Enlightenment to a pan-European audience.

The most revolutionary and influential of French Enlightenment authors was in many ways not an "Enlightenment" author at all. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was at once a trenchant critic of the social problems of his day and deeply suspicious of rationalist solutions to those problems. These two poles of his thought were already manifest in his Discours sur les sciences et les arts (1750; Discourse on the sciences and the arts), which made him famous literally overnight, and the Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité (1755; Discourse on the origin and foundations of inequality), and it is possible to see in these two relatively brief essays the germ of all his subsequent work. The Contrat social (1762; Social contract), fundamental to the subsequent development of democracy, expanded upon and completed the thought of the second Discours, and his two novels—Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse (1761), and Émile, ou traité de l'éducation (1762)—elaborated his vision for the reformation of humanity through a return to nature. Human nature, claimed Rousseau, is essentially good, and it is only society that renders it corrupt. The task of the philosopher is therefore to show the path to the restoration of this original goodness. Rousseau's Confessions (1782) cannot be said to exemplify this process; simultaneously soulbaring and mendacious, they established the modern genre of autobiography while calling into question the very possibility of writing truthfully about oneself. His work had and continues to have an immense influence on political philosophy and practice, on philosophies of education, and on ideas about humanity's relationship to nature; the antirational strain in his thought lies at the origin of Nietzsche's critique of Western rationalism and of

the extension of that critique in much of twentiethcentury continental philosophy.

By the end of the century, the novel had moved away from the optimistic naturalism of Diderot and Rousseau. Les liaisons dangereuses, by Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741-1803), is an epistolary novel of sexual manipulation, in which some readers have seen liberating possibilities in the freedom enjoyed by the female protagonist; however, this is to some extent undercut by the way in which the book's intrigues work themselves out with a cold, calculated determinism. Seemingly far more subversive were the pornographic novels of Donatien Alphonse François, Marquis de Sade (1740–1814), whose Justine, the least graphic of his works, was published in 1791. Sade proclaimed that the overwhelming obscenity of his work would liberate the reader from the repressive strictures of ancien régime society, but in the end his detailed and systematic catalogues of violent (only secondarily sexual) transgressions were no less rational or tyrannical than the conventions they claimed to destroy.

It is perhaps in the theater that we find the most genuinely subversive literature in the years leading up to the Revolution. Even in the comedies of Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux (1688–1763), written in the first half of the century, we find heroines remarkable for their intelligence and spirit, who at least partially transcend the conventional framework of the plays. But it is in *Le barbier de Seville* (1775) and *Le mariage de Figaro* (1784) of Beaumarchais (Pierre-Augustin Caron, 1732–1799) that we find the French Revolution in miniature. The resourceful Figaro and Suzanne, conspiring to outwit their employer, Count Almaviva, are projections of the emancipatory ideals of the Revolution that was about to begin.

Figaro and Suzanne spoke what had become, by the 1780s, the language of revolution, both historical and literary—a language that had evolved through the humanist-influenced exuberance of the sixteenth century, through not one but several waves of classicizing restraint in the seventeenth, to become in the eighteenth century an instrument of almost limitless expressive capacity: flexible, precise, and, above all, clear. The French of Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Beaumarchais had become the literary lingua franca of Europe; French literature

was, in a very real sense, the international literature of the Enlightenment. It transformed the cultural landscape of the period and continues to give shape to the literary cultures of the present day.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Ancients and Moderns; Bayle, Pierre; Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; Corneille, Pierre; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; Encyclopédie; France; Fronde; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Jansenism; La Fayette, Marie-Madeleine de; La Fontaine, Jean de; La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de; Laclos, Pierre Ambroise Choderlos de; Marguerite de Navarre; Molière; Montaigne, Michel de; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Pascal, Blaise; Perrault, Charles; Philosophes; Rabelais, François; Racine, Jean; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Sade, Donatien-Alphonse-François de; Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy; Salons; Scudéry, Madeleine de; Sévigné, Marie de; Voltaire.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Apostolidès, Jean-Marie. Le prince sacrifié: Théâtre et politique au temps de Louis XIV. Paris, 1985.
- Defaux, Gérard. Marot, Rabelais, Montaigne: L'écriture comme présence. Paris, 1987.
- DeJean, Joan. Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France. New York, 1991.
- Didier, Béatrice. Histoire de la littérature française du XVIIIe siècle. Paris, 1992.
- France, Peter, ed. The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French. Oxford, 1995.
- Goodman, Dena. The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment. Ithaca, N.Y., 1994.
- Hampton, Timothy. Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature. Ithaca, N.Y., 1990.
- Harth, Erica. Cartesian Women: Versions and Subversions of Rational Discourse in the Old Regime. Ithaca, N.Y., 1992.
- Hollier, Denis, ed. A New History of French Literature. Cambridge, Mass., 1989.
- Langer, Ullrich. Divine and Poetic Freedom in the Renaissance: Nominalist Theology and Literature in France and Italy. Princeton, 1990.
- Lanson, Gustave. *Histoire de la littérature française*. Edited by Paul Tuffrau. Paris, 1951.
- Lyons, John D. Kingdom of Disorder: The Theory of Tragedy in Classical France. West Lafayette, Ind., 1999.
- MacPhail, Eric. The Voyage to Rome in French Renaissance Literature. Stanford, 1990.
- Marin, Louis. *The Portrait of the King*. Translated by Martha Houle. Minneapolis, 1988 (1983).

- Miller, Nancy K. French Dressing: Women, Men and Ancien Régime Fiction. New York, 1995.
- Mornet, Daniel. Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française, 1715-1787. Paris, 1933.
- Posner, David M. The Performance of Nobility in Early Modern European Literature. Cambridge, U.K., 1999.
- Reiss, Timothy J. Tragedy and Truth: Studies in the Development of a Renaissance and Neoclassical Discourse. New Haven, 1980.
- Rigolot, François. Le texte de la Renaissance: Des Rhétoriqueurs à Montaigne. Geneva, 1982.
- Rohou, Jean. Histoire de la littérature française du XVIIe siècle. Paris, 1989.
- Rousset, Jean. La littérature de l'âge baroque. Paris, 1985.
- Scherer, Jacques. La dramaturgie classique en France. Paris, 1986.
- Starobinski, Jean. Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago, 1988 (1957).
- Weber, Henri. La création poétique au XVIe siècle en France de Maurice Scève à Agrippa d'Aubigné. Paris, 1955.
- Zumthor, Paul. Le masque et la lumière: La poétique des grands rhétoriqueurs. Paris, 1978.

DAVID M. POSNER

FRENCH REVOLUTION. See Revolutions, Age of.

FRONDE. The civil wars that divided France from 1648 to 1653 are known as the Fronde (from the French for 'sling' or 'slingshot'). They erupted when Anne of Austria (1601–1666) was governing the kingdom as regent for her minor son, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). Although the various movements that formed the Fronde lacked clear unity, they had in common a defiance of the government of a foreign queen—Anne was Spanish by birth—and her principal minister, the Italian Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661). The Fronde was also a last attempt by some of France's leading political actors to bend the absolute rule established over their realm by previous monarchs.

The Fronde began, as did many revolts in the early modern period, for fiscal reasons. Louis XIII's death in May 1643 left France in a precarious financial situation. Since 1635 the kingdom had been

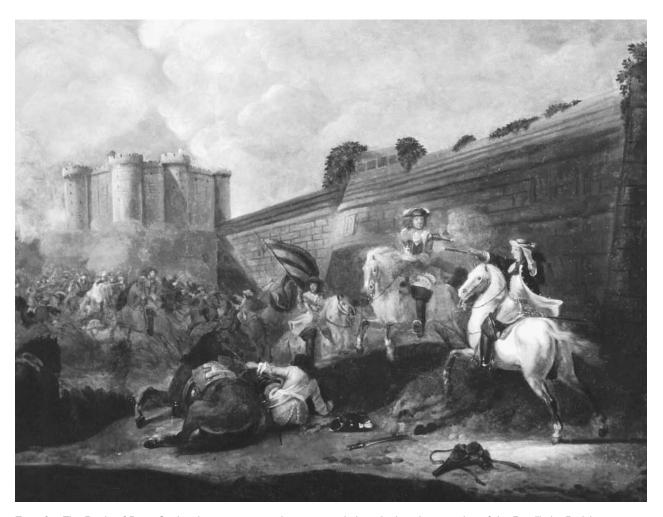
involved in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), in which its principal enemy was Spain. This translated into the doubling of expenditures between 1630 and 1640, chiefly because of the exigencies of warfare, which, by the early 1640s, was consuming about 70 percent of revenue. To meet the military needs, Louis XIII and his principal minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), had borrowed money on the national and international money markets and dramatically increased taxes. The regent showed no intention whatsoever of adopting a different policy. Not only did her government continue to collect the usual direct impositions from the peasantry, it targeted some privileged groups by creating new indirect taxes. Unfortunately, the kingdom's financial apparatus was not able to raise the money needed by the government, which had to adopt exceptional measures in order to continue functioning. Many of the realm's future revenues were mortgaged far in advance: to give one example, in 1646 the receiver general of Poitou was asked by the king's council to forward 962,850 livres from the receipts of 1651! Moreover, the political situation after the deaths of both Louis XIII and Richelieu made governing the kingdom more difficult. First, the infant Louis XIV was not yet able to establish personal ties with members of the aristocracy, which were an essential part of the personal nature of power in France. Second, the patronage network constructed by Richelieu, in which the provincial governors played an essential role, simply disappeared after his passing. Third, many provincial institutions hoped that the centralization of power orchestrated by the late king and his predecessors would come to a halt. In short, the government had to be reconstructed in the middle of a war, at a time when the population was exhausted by the fiscal demands of the crown. And two foreigners, one of them a Spanish woman and the other an Italian ecclesiastic, inherited this enormous task.

Between 1643 and 1648, the situation in France worsened slowly but surely. In the provinces, local officers were fighting representatives of the central government—the intendants—for power. Nobles who asked for more personal benefits had to be silenced in 1643 by the arrest of their leader, the duke of Beaufort. Municipal revolts broke out over fiscal demands, and peasants took arms regularly to protest against taxes. Amid this chaos Paris was

spared any discontent for several years. Anne had managed to gain the support of the principal institutions of the capital, especially the four sovereign courts, by adopting edicts in favor of their members. Everything changed in January 1648 when the regency held a *lit de justice* in front of the Parlement of Paris in an effort to force the adoption of new fiscal devices. The Parisian *parlementaires* thought of themselves as the people's representatives and their protectors from a—sometimes—arbitrary royal power. They rejected the fiscal edicts, arguing that the population was simply not able to produce the effort demanded by the government. In doing so, they also refused to adopt some new taxes that targeted them specifically.

The magistrates did not do anything revolutionary. In early modern France, everybody expected to see the parlement resist any new fiscal innovation more or less strongly in the name of the people. The magistrates never dreamed of establishing a limited monarchy instead of an absolute one, and they had no desire to change the way France had been governed for centuries. As such, it seems exaggerated to speak, as some historians have, of a revolutionary attempt or climate. But in 1648 the Parisians noticed and appreciated the magistrates' opposition to a new tariff on goods entering the capital. When the parlementaires voiced their opposition to the government's policies more loudly, they were able to count on the support of the population. In mid-May, the four Parisian courts established what became known as the Chambre Saint-Louis. The regent's opposition did not prevent them from writing twenty-seven articles to be submitted to the king, aimed at controlling Anne's regency, particularly her financial administration. The government had no other choice but to temporize, negotiate, and agree to some of these measures. But the pill was impossible to swallow for the queen and Mazarin, who waited for an occasion to humble the magistrates. It came in late August when Louis II de Bourbon, the prince of Condé, won a decisive battle at Lens over the Spaniards.

During the Te Deum celebrated in honor of this victory, some of the leaders of the parliamentary movement were arrested. When the crowd learned that Pierre Broussel, a senior judge respected for his honesty, was in jail, some 1,200 barricades were erected throughout the capital during the night of



Fronde. The Battle of Porte St. Antoine, a seventeenth-century painting, depicts the storming of the Bastille by Parisians demanding the release of Claude Broussel. The ART ARCHIVE/Musée DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

26-27 August. The magistrates could not control the movement they had helped to nurture. Sent by Anne to pacify the city, the chancellor of the realm, Louis Séguier, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the populace. The parlementaires then asked the queen to free Broussel. When their delegation came back empty-handed, it had to face the Parisians' anger as well and was forced to go back to the Louvre and plead with the regent. Shaken by the people's reaction, the magistrates engaged in negotiations with the regent that led to an accord in which most of the parlementaires' grievances were met. The peace did not last long. On 5 January 1649, the royal family and Mazarin fled the capital. Troops led by Condé besieged Paris. Unexpectedly, some grandees sided with the Parisians. The peace of Rueil (March 1649) restored the situation to the

status of October 1648, and those who had joined the revolt received a full pardon.

If the peace of Rueil settled the Parisian scene for some months, it did nothing to pacify the kingdom as a whole. In many provinces the situation was completely chaotic. For instance, in Provence a provincial civil war erupted between the parlement and the governor, the count d'Alais. Troops were raised, and murders were committed. It all ended with the arrest by the parlement's troops of d'Alais, the intendant and the commander of the royal Mediterranean Navy. In other parts of the kingdom the climate was not as explosive, but tensions were growing rapidly, fueled by the quarrels that were plaguing the king's council. Condé believed that he had saved the regent when his troops besieged Paris in the first months of 1649, and he expected to

receive the fruits of his actions. His clients were also asking for more benefits. He started to threaten the authority of the regency by attacking Mazarin's hold on power more and more loudly. But his attitude did not serve him well. Not only did it isolate him at first from the other members of the king's council, it also led to his arrest in January 1650.

The Parisian events of 1648 were known as the Fronde of the parlement. The Fronde of the princes started with the jailing of Condé, his brother, the prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law, the duke of Longueville. The arrested nobles had many clients in the provinces. This was particularly true in Condé's governorship of Burgundy, where, according to the king's attorney general at the Parlement of Burgundy, every important officer and ecclesiastic was a client of the Condé family. Not surprisingly, a revolt started there as soon as the news of the prince's arrest reached Dijon. In Normandy it was Condé's sister, the duchess of Longueville, who raised the locality in defense of her brother. In other parts of France, in Guyenne for example, local feuds were incorporated into national ones. The governor there, the duke d'Epernon, was a loyal client of Mazarin. But as no one in his province loved him, he was quickly expelled from the region when the princely Fronde broke out. The patronage network of the aristocrats was instrumental in the spreading of the revolt.

Rebellions were quite frequent in seventeenthcentury France. Nobles took arms in the name of their "right to revolt," arguing that it was their duty to protect the population against a government that gave the impression of becoming more and more authoritarian. Never was the king personally attacked. Their fury was directed against his ministers, who were accused of lying to him and of hiding from him his people's true situation. Many aristocrats who took part in the Fronde wrote their memoirs—which were not published until long after the events they describe—in which they reflected on their actions. The Cardinal de Retz, for instance, tried to explain that the princely frondeurs were attempting to restore the kingdom to its "authentic" sociocultural conditions after decades of ministerial absolutism. But the consequences of a rebellion could be dramatic. Louis XIII did not hesitate to send to the scaffold important members of the aristocracy who had plotted against Richelieu. The

princely frondeurs therefore had to convince the population of the corrupt nature of Cardinal Mazarin. Thousands of pamphlets were written in which he was depicted as the sole source of France's misery. But Mazarin never lost Anne of Austria's confidence, and the young Louis XIV always trusted his mother. The king was the most powerful weapon in the government's arsenal. Louis was sent to many provinces between 1650 and 1652: Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, Guyenne. Garrisons surrendered, and towns opened their gates. The effect of the king's presence in the provinces can be measured by what happened in Bordeaux. This city was governed by a coalition formed by the enemies of d'Epernon and his patron Mazarin, but this group collapsed when the royal army reached the region. The officers of the parlement could not envisage the consequences of refusing the king's entry into one of his towns. The common people were more willing to stay firmly behind the party of the princes, but the city finally opened its gate to the king on 1 October.

Bordeaux did distinguish itself the next summer when a group of merchants, lawyers, petty judges, and artisans took control of the city in the name of Condé. Their assembly was called the Ormée, after the elm grove in which it held its first meeting. To many, and especially to Mazarin, these radicals were republicans influenced by the recent events that had shaken England. While it is true that some pamphlets produced in Bordeaux presented vague democratic and republican sentiments, the Ormée's principal demand, voiced in its program (Les articles de l'union de l'Ormée en la ville de Bordeaux), was that its members receive a deliberative voice in the city's general assemblies. Once again, we are far from a revolutionary attempt. But the movement went too far for many and when the royal army came to besiege the city, many of its inhabitants helped its liberators. The leaders of the Ormée were executed. For having openly resisted the king, Bordeaux lost several of its privileges, and its parlement was sent into exile at Agen for many years.

The divisions that we have seen in Bordeaux plagued the Fronde all over France, even when it seemed that the movement was winning. In February 1651, pressed from all sides, Mazarin fled Paris for Germany. The *frondeurs*' many chiefs started to fight one another to see who would be acting as

principal minister. Condé thought naturally that the place was his. But others, such as the coadjutor archbishop of Paris, the future Cardinal de Retz, had ambitions. Condé, whose character had not changed, slowly but surely lost many of his supporters. The proclamation of Louis XIV's majority on 5 September 1651 dramatically altered the political scene. The ending of the regency made the complaints against Anne of Austria superfluous, and Mazarin had been in self-imposed exile since earlier that year. Condé fled Paris for Bordeaux. Mazarin returned to France three months later and was reinstated in his former post as principal minister. This turn of events did not satisfy the Parlement of Paris and Cardinal Retz, who continued to plot against Mazarin. Moreover, it led to an alliance between the parlementary and princely Frondes.

The first half of 1652 was dramatic for the kingdom. The civil war caused extensive physical destruction and economic distress. The loathing of Mazarin, who, according to the pamphlets, had concentrated immense political power in his own hands, conducted a costly foreign policy that failed to secure peace with Spain, and amassed a fortune, was cementing the Fronde. But other elements were still dividing the frondeurs, the most important being the military and economic supports given to their party by the Spaniards. To resist the king or his minister was more and more perceived as fighting against France. There was only one way to end the crisis, and it was to send Mazarin out the kingdom again, which he reluctantly agreed to in August 1652. Now that the evil minister was gone, the rebels had no more credible reason to remain in arms. It took only a few weeks for the Fronde to collapse. Members of the parlement sought reconciliation with the king, Condé fled the country, and the princely Fronde disintegrated. Its members understood that they had to once again identify their own interests with those of the crown. Louis XIV made his entry into Paris on 21 October 1652. On 22 October, he issued a general amnesty in which he pardoned all but the most notorious frondeurs: Beaufort, Retz, La Rochefoucauld, Condé, and some other leading figures were excluded though the majority of them later received royal pardons. Condé himself, deprived in November 1652 of his governorships and other offices and proclaimed guilty of lèse-majesté in March 1654 by

the Parlement of Paris, was allowed to reenter France after the Peace of the Pyrenees was signed with Spain in 1659.

Louis XIV's reign was deeply marked by the events that shook his youth. A conscious policy of reconciliation and stabilization had to be undertaken after 1652. As the religious and political practices of the time asked him to do, the king took the opportunity to humiliate publicly some of his former enemies in order to impress on them his greatness and his authority. Many aristocrats were not invited to his coronation, which took place on 7 June 1654, and Paris was deprived of the accustomed royal entry that followed every coronation; Louis did not formally enter the city until his wedding celebration in 1660. But the Sun King was to develop policies that were to show that the nobles, the parlement, and even the capital city were still major players on the political scene. Louis was able to adopt such policies, for it was now clear that the crown was the only possible focus for national unity in France.

See also Anne of Austria; Condé Family; France; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mazarin, Jules; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source

Retz, Jean François Paul de Gondi de. *Memoirs*. 2 vols. London and New York, 1917.

Secondary Sources

Beik, William. *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France:* The Culture of Retribution. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1997.

Jouhaud, Christian. Mazarinades: La Fronde des mots. Paris, 1985

Kleinman, Ruth. Anne of Austria, Queen of France. Columbus, Ohio, 1985.

Moote, A. Lloyd. The Revolt of the Judges: The Parlement of Paris and the Fronde, 1643–1652. Princeton, 1972.

Ranum, Orest A. The Fronde: A French Revolution, 1648–1652. New York, 1993.

——. Paris in the Age of Absolutism: An Essay. Rev. and exp. ed. University Park, Pa., 2003.

Treasure, Geoffrey. Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France. London and New York, 1995.

MICHEL DE WAELE

FUGGER FAMILY. The Fugger family was a commercial, patrician, and aristocratic dynasty in southern Germany. Its earliest origins remain obscure. It first appeared as a family of weavers who migrated from the town of Graben, near Schwabmünchen, south of Augsburg, to the city of Augsburg around 1367. By the end of the century the Fuggers had expanded their commercial horizons from the production to the sale of textiles. It was the beginning of a long process of expansion and diversification. Accordingly Johannes I (1348–1409) is considered the initiator of the family's rise to fortune.

Johannes Fugger's sons Andreas (d. 1457) and Jakob (d. 1469) carried on his business until 1454– 1455, when they dissolved it in order to pursue separate interests. Two lines developed as a result. The elder, Fugger vom Reh, did not prosper, in part owing to the early death of its founder Andreas in 1457. Its bankruptcy dramatically affected the status of Andreas's descendants, removing them from the ranks of Augsburg merchants and encouraging some to emigrate. By contrast, the younger line, Fugger von der Lilie, flourished and became not merely a branch of the family but the root of its later greatness. Its founder, Jakob I, expanded the family's business interests and in 1466 achieved membership in Augsburg's merchant guild. When he died in 1469, his widow and sons Ulrich (1441-1510), Georg (1453-1506), and Jakob (later known as "the Rich"; 1459-1525) pursued his business. So great was their success that Ulrich Fugger and Brothers became the leading mercantile firm in Augsburg. By 1473 they had received an imperial patent, allowing them to bear a coat of arms.

The early rise of the Fuggers was marked essentially by sharp business sense and fortuitous marriage alliances. The family successfully expanded the volume and range of their business and allied their interests with those of well-placed merchant and patrician families. Under Jakob the Rich, who played an ever more central role in the business after the end of the fifteenth century, the tactics changed. He established lasting business connections with the Habsburg dynasty by supplying credit to the profligate Sigismund (1427–1496), archduke of Tyrol. Offering similar services to Emperors Freder-

ick III (1415-1493; ruled 1440-1493) and Maximilian I (1459-1519; ruled 1493-1519), he received interests in mining enterprises in Tyrol, Carinthia, Thuringia, and Hungary. Without abandoning their traditional trade in textiles and other commodities, the Fuggers now used political connections to enter the most speculative and profitable enterprises of the age. In addition to providing banking services to the Habsburg dynasty and the Roman Church, they joined syndicates to monopolize the production of copper, to organize voyages to the Indies, and to colonize the forests of Brazil. Their financial might enabled them to control political destinies, as when they provided funds to purchase the election of Charles V (1500-1558; ruled 1519–1556) as Holy Roman emperor. Most spectacularly the Fuggers managed financial transfers for the sale of indulgences that financed the construction of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome and, incidentally, unleashed the reforming spirit of Martin Luther (1483-1546).

It was also under the leadership of Jakob the Rich that the Fuggers assumed the position of social elites. They acquired numerous landed estates; they were raised to the status of imperial nobility (1511) and imperial counts (1514); they expanded their palaces in Augsburg into truly magnificent, representative buildings; and they created numerous pious and charitable foundations, including the Fuggerei (1516), a housing development for the poor and elderly.

When Jakob died childless, his estate passed to the sons of his brother Georg, Raymund (1489-1535), and Anton (1493–1560). Jakob named Anton the head of the Fugger businesses, thus continuing a form of business organization that he created and that became emblematic of the family. The firm was led by a single male "ruler," and partnership was limited to male members of the family. Anton continued his uncle's successful strategy of close cooperation with the Habsburgs as the basis of an international enterprise that centered on banking and mining. For example, he provided funds for the election in 1531 of Ferdinand I (1503–1564, ruled 1556-1564) as king of the Romans. During this period the Fuggers began their long retreat from the affairs of Augsburg, though they retained their property within the city walls and were elevated to its patriciate (1538). The city's commitment to the Reformation, which conflicted with the family's Catholic convictions, may have been a cause, but the family's own aristocratic ambitions played a role as well. Anton spent most of his time on his estate in Weissenhorn and was raised to the status of imperial count and imperial councillor.

After Anton's death, leadership of the family and its businesses passed into less successful hands. Anton's son Marcus (1529-1597) was an able businessman who kept the family's interests intact despite a decreasing volume of trade, increasing difficulties in Spain and the Netherlands, and increasing strife within the family. One source of strife was the indebtedness of his cousin and partner, Hans Jakob (1516-1575), the son of Raymund. Hans Jakob was no businessman—he was forced out of the family firm in 1564 because of personal financial difficulties—but rather an aesthete of international reputation. Given a humanistic education, he became a renowned bibliophile, whose collections were eventually sold (1571) to Albert V (1528-1579) of Bavaria and became the core of the Munich Court Library, now the Bavarian State Library. He also served Albert as a counselor in matters of art patronage and collection. Further difficulties involved confessional tensions between the Catholic Marcus and his Lutheran cousins Philip Edward (1546–1618) and Octavian Secundus (1549-1600). These two eventually withdrew their capital from the family firm to form a concern of their own, Georg Fugger's Heirs, which entered into ventures with some of the Fugger's competitors, such as the Welser family.

The days of the Fuggers as commercial and financial giants were drawing to an end. Increasingly members of the family pursued the lifestyles and occupations of landed aristocrats. Another son of Anton, Hans (1531–1598), inherited the estate and castle of Kirchheim. He undertook a complete rebuilding that included a great hall with the most elaborate and important Renaissance wood ceiling in all of Germany. He also ordered the renovation of Fugger palaces in Augsburg. Ottheinrich Fugger (1592–1644) served as a general in the imperial armies during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The Thirty Years' War concluded the long dissolution of the family's association with Augsburg and their integration into the aristocracy. The connection to Augsburg never disappeared entirely.

The family's foundations and their administration continued to be located inside the city's walls. Nonetheless its center shifted. The financial resources of the family were no longer drawn from urban enterprise in Augsburg but rather from rural estates in Swabia that, since the days of Anton, were operated on behalf of the entire family as a fideicommissum. Beginning in 1620 the family was allowed to bear the title "count." Through the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, its members filled high-ranking offices in the Habsburg and Wittelsbach courts and assumed the office of bishop, for example, in Regensburg and Constance. In this the Fuggers appeared to conform to the stereotype of early modern capitalistic entrepreneurs, who used their commercial success to fuel upward social mobility that, over generations, took them out of the daily trading of the marketplace and into the more refined occupations of the court.

In their long history the Fugger family differed but slightly from other highly successful merchant dynasties. Like the Welsers or the von Stettens of Augsburg, the Imhofs of Nuremberg, or the Vöhlins of Memmingen, to name but a few, their business success enabled them to serve princes and eventually elevated them to a higher social stratum. Yet the Fuggers remained singular in the degree of their success. Their fortune allowed them to climb higher and endure longer than any other merchant family of southern Germany.

See also Augsburg; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Nuremberg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ehrenberg, Richard. Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance: A Study of the Fuggers and their Connections. Translated by H. M. Lucas. Fairfield, N.J., 1985.

Fried, Pankraz. Die Fugger in der Herrschaftsgeschichte Schwabens. Munich, 1976.

Herre, Franz. Die Fugger in ihrer Zeit. Augsburg, 1985.

Hildebrandt, Reinhard. Die "Georg Fuggerischen Erben." Berlin, 1966.

Jansen, Max. Die Anfänge der Fugger bis 1494. Leipzig, 1907

Kellenbenz, Hermann. Die Fugger in Spanien und Portugal bis 1560. Munich, 1990.

Lieb, Norbert. Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der hohen Renaissance. Munich, 1958.

— . Octavian Secundus Fugger (1549–1600) und die Kunst. Tübingen, 1980.

Mathew, K. S. Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany. New Delhi, 1997.

Mörke, Olaf. "Die Fugger im 16. Jahrhundert." Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 74 (1983): 141–162.

Pölnitz, Götz Freiherr von. *Anton Fugger*. 3 vols. Vol. 3 with Hermann Kellenbenz. Tübingen, 1958–1986.

. Jakob Fugger. 2 vols. Tübingen, 1949–1951.

Strieder, Jacob. *Jacob Fugger the Rich: Merchant and Banker of Augsburg, 1459–1525.* Translated by Mildred L. Hartsough. Westport, Conn., 1984.

THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

FUR TRADE

This entry includes two subentries: NORTH AMERICA RUSSIA

NORTH AMERICA

Between 1500 and 1789 the trade in North American furs and hides was profitable in western Europe for various people: furriers, hatters, and leather workers; makers of ornaments, tools, and firearms; distillers; investors and financiers; and governments of nation-states. Medieval Europe had met its own demand for furs until the supply of suitable animals was exhausted and buyers resorted to common pelts such as rabbit or expensive furs from the East. And in the rising nation-states the demand for leather, particularly by standing armies, outgrew the supply of hides from domestic markets.

From modest beginnings the North American trade developed by 1650 into a large-scale business. Native traders wanted ornaments and European clothing, metal tools for a variety of purposes, and firearms for hunting and warfare. For them trade was an exchange of gifts, and even when they demanded more European goods for their furs, their purpose was not to amass capital. Europeans therefore could buy furs relatively cheaply and sell them dearly, unless the supply of furs outran demand. Financiers invested in acquiring and shipping goods fashioned and assembled in Europe by small-scale entrepreneurs and bartered for furs with Native North Americans through individual traders, small

companies, or large monopolies licensed by nationstates.

In the north France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain were most actively involved. There was a great demand for marten, muskrat, mink, otter, wolf, bear, and lynx, but the best-known fur was beaver. It was preferred for making the felt hat that, in varying styles, was immensely popular throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the Saint Lawrence Valley a series of French monopolies, ranging from the Company of One Hundred Associates (1628-1629 and 1632-1664) to the Company of the Indies (founded 1719), were obliged to accept at a fixed price all the marketable pelts brought to them by French traders. These traders ventured from their base at Montreal by way of the Great Lakes-Saint Lawrence drainage basin first to that of the Mississippi and subsequently across the Canadian Prairies almost to the foothills of the Rockies. The Netherlands West India Company (chartered 1621), based in the Hudson Valley, competed with them until 1660 and was succeeded by English entrepreneurs. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), an English monopoly founded in 1670, set up posts at the mouths of rivers flowing into Hudson and James Bays in Canada. As French traders penetrated those regions, American Indians could either travel to the HBC posts for English goods or deal with coureurs de bois ('woods runners') or voyageurs from Montreal, who brought them French goods until 1763 and British goods thereafter. Although British entrepreneurs after 1763 competed as briskly with the HBC as the French had, they were forced by the size and efficiency of the HBC to cooperate with one another until by 1787, after a series of smaller mergers, they were consolidated into the North West Company.

After 1713 the French converted the fur trade from an economic purpose into the means to a strategic end. Their chain of fortified trading posts from New Orleans to Montreal, intended to bar the western expansion of the British seaboard colonies, brought them into conflict with British traders not only from New York but also from Georgia to Pennsylvania, where entrepreneurs undertook to harvest and market the hides of deer, elk (wapiti), bison, and moose. By 1680 in Virginia and the Carolinas the deerskin trade had developed from Tidewater beginnings into lucrative enterprises featuring long

packhorse trains carrying goods across the Appalachians and returning with hides. After 1720, even when Britain and France were at peace, their commercial rivalry engendered continuous, devastating warfare between their respective American Indian client nations.

Traders from New Spain (Mexico) had dealt in deerskins and buffalo hides as early as 1580 in New Mexico, appropriating trade that had been carried on among aboriginal nations and developing it into a thriving business from 1600 until at least 1780. On the Pacific Coast, in California after 1750 Spanish Franciscan friars developed a prosperous trade in hides. Russian traders, whom the Spaniards regarded as competitors, sent home from the Aleutians and Alaska enormous quantities of furs, especially sea otter.

It would nevertheless be inaccurate to believe that any European country depended on the fur trade as its economic mainstay. Notwithstanding the large volume of trade in North American furs and hides, national economies benefited much more from other fields. In the North the cod fishery thrived on a steady demand; in the South slave labor harvested such lucrative products as sugar, tobacco, coffee, chocolate, and indigo. In comparison with those commodities, furs and hides represented an insignificant fraction of the entire trade.

See also British Colonies: North America; Commerce and Markets; French Colonies: North America; Spanish Colonies: Other American Colonies; Trading Companies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Eccles, W. J. *The Canadian Frontier*, 1534–1760. Rev. ed. Albuquerque, 1983.

Rich, E. E. *The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870.* 3 vols. Vols. 1–2. New York, 1960.

Robinson, W. Stitt. *The Southern Colonial Frontier*, 1607–1763. Albuquerque, 1979.

Frederick J. Thorpe

RUSSIA

The fur trade involved exploiting a finite resource (fur-bearing animals) and cultivating new populations when supplies were depleted below sustainable numbers. Russians served as middlemen between fur-producing northern boreal zones and the

main markets for furs, which were situated along the rim of Eurasia (Europe and the Middle East). Novgorod played a critical role in the medieval fur trade, but by the fifteenth century Moscow began to displace Novgorod and competed with Kazan' for trade routes and supplies of furs.

The heyday of the fur trade began in the sixteenth century with the conquest of Siberia. The Stroganov family established trading posts across the Ural Mountains and sent their agents into Siberia to purchase furs with European wares and iron goods. The Stroganovs marketed their furs to English and Dutch merchants and also acted as purchasing agents for the Russian court. In 1574 they were granted a charter to develop the Tura and Tobol river basins extending into Siberia and were authorized to build forts, use cannons, and outfit a private army. As a result of increasing friction with the native peoples and the Khanate of Siberia, the Stroganovs hired a band of Cossacks from the Don to defend and expand their holdings. Yermak Timofeyevich and his men set out in 1582 and soon conquered Sibir' (or Isker), the capital of the Khanate. Word of Yermak's conquest reached Moscow, and reinforcements were sent to complete the conquest.

After establishing a garrison and provisioning system at Tobol'sk, small bands of Russians with firearms and small artillery advanced across the river systems of Siberia in lightweight boats to set up forts at portages and other strategic points. Much of the subsequent conquest of Siberia was carried out by private entrepreneurs and small armed bands who took oaths from natives, imposed tribute, and sent reports and furs back to forts and administrative centers. Rivalries among indigenous populations also facilitated conquest, as native peoples under Russian jurisdiction expanded control over more distant groups. In only a few decades almost all of Siberia came under Russian control.

The fur trade was linked to the *yasak* system of tribute collected from native tribes of Siberia. Although the Russian government preferred to extract tribute in furs, it also accepted reindeer skins, grain, walrus ivory, etc. Native populations (termed *inozemtsy*) were divided into districts and assigned annual tribute quotas, usually five to ten sables (or an equivalent in other goods) per male. In order to

keep natives from simply picking up and leaving, the Russians procured hostages from native chieftains. While sedentary groups were recorded in meticulous tribute books according to households or tribal units, tribute was only collected irregularly from mobile, non-settled groups. Native elites were coopted into Russian service through regular gifts and supplies of liquor.

The Russian government espoused paternalistic policies in order to maintain the ability of natives to pay tribute. Russian hunters and trappers were ordered not to enter native hunting grounds. The forced baptism of natives, sale of alcohol to them, and the buying and selling of native women and children were prohibited. Officials were admonished not to extort more furs than established by the quotas, and they were banned from engaging in private trade. In reality none of these policies was strictly enforced. Degradation of native social structures and endemic corruption resulted from the trade.

To secure for itself the lion's share of the profits from the trade in luxury furs, the Russian government set up a purchasing system to acquire the best furs for the state coffers. In addition to a generous markup on high-quality furs destined for export, the government also made money on the differential between fur prices in Siberia and Moscow. While European merchants were generally shut out of Siberia, Tatar and Bukharan traders were allowed to participate in the trade. In order to tax and monitor the flow of goods between Siberia and central provinces, the government set up checkpoints along main routes to examine cargo and travel documents.

In the seventeenth century well over a thousand Russian entrepreneurs and trappers journeyed to Siberia annually. Many of them settled permanently, and their numbers were supplemented by soldiers, exiles, and forced migrants sent by the government. In the late seventeenth century there were over 25,000 Russian households in Siberia. By the early eighteenth century settlements in Siberia began to produce enough grain for subsistence and in many areas mining and manufacturing surpassed the fur trade in economic importance.

Market demand and local greed fueled intensive hunting, which resulted in the exhaustion of animal breeding populations. Russian innovations in traps, nets, and hunting dogs also contributed to a rapid depletion of fur supplies. In a good year Russian and native hunters harvested more than half a million squirrels, 100,000 sables, and more than tens of thousands of black foxes. Government income from the fur trade peaked in the 1640s and amounted to over 100,000 rubles, about 10 percent of state revenue. By the early eighteenth century revenues had declined to less than half of their peak. As supplies became rare in the vicinity of the major river basins of Siberia, hunters and trappers began exploiting more distant sources of furs, eventually reaching Alaska and the North American coast.

See also Black Sea Steppe; Imperial Expansion, Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fisher, Raymond H. *The Russian Fur Trade*, 1550–1700. Berkeley, 1943.

Martin, Janet. Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia. Cambridge, U.K., and New York, 1986.

Pavlov, P. N. Pushnoi promysel v Sibiri XVII v. Krasnoyarsk, 1972.

Brian Boeck





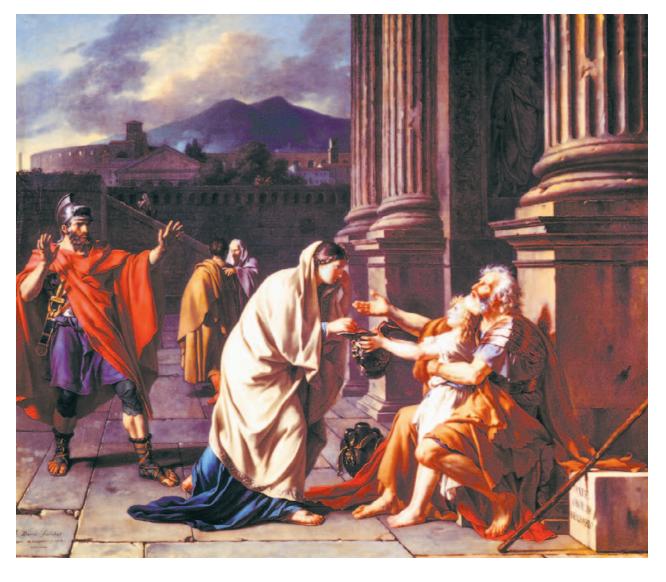
Correggio. Assumption of the Virgin, detail of the fresco in the cupola of the Parma Cathedral. Correggio's powerful illusionism served as a model for subsequent ceiling decoration. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE



RIGHT: Daily Life. A game and bread market in Paris, painted by an unknown French artist, seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

BELOW: Jacques Louis David. Belisarius Receiving Alms, 1781, one of David's great masterpieces of the 1780s. @GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.









LEFT: Albrecht Dürer. Self-Portrait, 1500. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y

BELOW: Decorative Arts. Tapestry Room, Osterley Park, Middlesex, England, designed 1775 by Robert Adam, with tapestries from the Gobelins factory in Paris. THE ART ARCHIVE/VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM LONDON/DAGLI ORTI









OPPOSITE PAGE: El Greco. Assumption of the Virgin, c. 1613. El Greco's unique pictorial style, which synthesizes elements of Renaissance and Byzantine art, is manifest in this painting. The subject matter is also typical; one of the artist's most famous works is a large version of the Assumption done as an altarpiece for the cathedral in Toledo. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

LEFT: Art in Florence. The Golden Age, one of the frescoes by Pietro da Cortona decorating the Pitti Palace in Florence.

@ALINARI/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Festivals. Carnival Scene, or, The Minuet, 1756, by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI





RIGHT: School of Fontainebleau. Stucco figures in high relief, Gallery of Francis I, Château de Fontainebleau. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

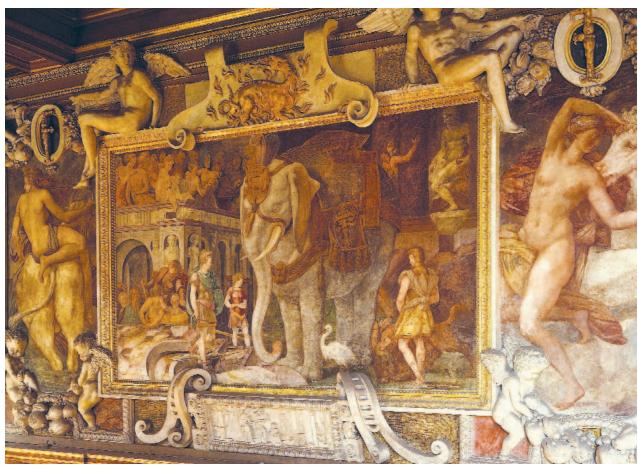
BELOW: School of Fontainebleau. The Triumphal Elephant fresco in the Gallery of Francis I in the Château de Fontainebleau. The ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

ABOVE LEFT, OPPOSITE PAGE: Food and Drink. Interior of a Middle-Class Kitchen by Jean-Baptiste Lallemand. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS DIJON/DAGLI ORTI

ABOVE RIGHT, OPPOSITE PAGE: Art in France. The Tent of Darius, by Charles Le Brun, c. 1660. As director of the French academy and official painter to Louis XIV, Le Brun exerted enormous influence in the development of French art. He was also responsible for many of the lavish decorations in Louis's palace at Versailles. In this history painting, typical of his style, Le Brun depicts the surrender of the Persian King Darius to Alexander the Great. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW, OPPOSITE PAGE: Jean-Honore Fragonard. The Bolt, c. 1778. This later work by Fragonard, who is regarded as one of the primary exponents of the rococo movement, reflects the influence of neoclassicism in its more restrained style, yet it remains powerfully emotive. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

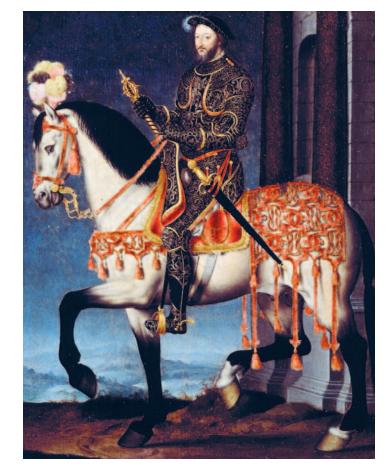














RIGHT: Francis I. Equestrian portrait by François Clouet.
©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Frederick II of Prussia. A view of the facade of Schloss Sans Souci, Potsdam, designed by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff and built 1745–1748. Frederick took an active role in the design of the palace, which served as his personal residence and refuge from the responsibilities of governance. His tastes are reflected especially in the French-influenced rococo style and the relatively modest scale of the structure. ©WOLFGANG KAEHLER/CORBIS

