# EUROPE 1450 to 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



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# EUROPE 1450 to 1789

#### ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

# Volume 4 Macau to Pope

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief







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

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief

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**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.

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# 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



MACAU. Macau (Macao), the "City of the Name of God" in China, was the second largest in Portuguese Asia. Founded in the mid-sixteenth century on an isolated peninsula at the western edge of the mouth of the Pearl River, Macau prospered, since such a commercial center was in the mutual interests of both the Portuguese and the Chinese. Macau was the focus of a trade nexus extending throughout the South China Sea to Malacca (Melaka), south to Macassar (now Ujung Pandang, Indonesia), and north to Nagasaki (in Japan). The most famous and lucrative example of these trade routes was Chinese silk traded for Japanese silver. A state-awarded annual monopoly conducted the trade with very high annual profits. Mexican silver also entered this system via Manila in the Spanish Philippines.

Macau was governed by its senate (municipal council). Officials were selected to serve on this board from the local elites. Given the tremendous distance from the Portuguese viceroy in Goa, a state in India controlled by the Portuguese until 1961, the council had a great deal of independence and power.

Macau grew slowly from its origins as a cluster of fishing villages. The Portuguese were always a small percentage of the total population, which was largely Chinese. In 1583, there were a reported 900 Portuguese present in Macau. By 1640, in a population of 26,000, of which 20,000 were Chinese, only 1,200 were Portuguese.

Perhaps the best indicator of Macau's wealth and importance were the unsuccessful efforts by the Dutch to capture the city in the period 1604–1627. Economics alone did not drive the city, however. It was also a base for Jesuit missions to China and Japan and had a number of impressive churches, monasteries, and convents.

See also Goa; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia.

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Macau. The facade of St. Paul's Church, built by the Jesuits in 1602 and partially destroyed by fire in 1853. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/CORBIS

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TIMOTHY J. COATES

**MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ** (1469–1527), political theorist. Niccolò Machiavelli was

born on 3 May 1469, the son of a lawyer of modest means from an old Florentine family. He received an excellent humanistic education in the classics, but nothing else is known about his early life until he was appointed head of the foreign policy chancery of the Florentine government in June and July 1498. He spent much of the next fourteen years

traveling, negotiating agreements, and reporting to his government. This gave him the opportunity to visit Italian and foreign states and to observe rulers, statecraft, and military actions. He also organized and trained a militia that helped Florence reconquer the neighboring city of Pisa in 1509.

In 1512 the republican government that employed Machiavelli fell, and the Medici family came to power. Machiavelli was dismissed, and he moved to his small farm outside of Florence. Out of office, he wrote in the next fifteen years all the works that made him famous.

Machiavelli gradually worked his way into favor with the Medici by undertaking small tasks and commissions. In 1525 he became friends with the Florentine Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), a statesman and the most important historian of the

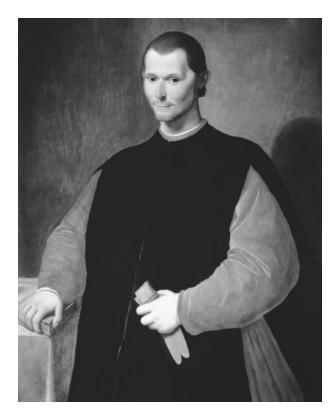
Italian Renaissance. In 1526, as war neared Florence, the Medici rulers of Florence employed Machiavelli to help defend the city. But in the spring of 1527 the Florentines threw out the Medici and reestablished a republican regime. Machiavelli asked for a position in government but was turned down because of his association with the Medici. He died on 21 June 1527.

#### THE PRINCE

Machiavelli wrote *Il principe* (The prince) in the second half of 1513, but it was not published until 1532. It is probably the best-known work in political theory of all time. Machiavelli employed the advice-to-princes genre, which usually advised a prince act honorably and to work for the good of his people and state. *The Prince* is a manual on how a ruler should gain and hold power. It is based on what Machiavelli had witnessed of politics and war plus reading in ancient history. He wanted to understand politics, what succeeded and what failed, what actions and principles produced a successful ruler.

Several themes dominate the work. Machiavelli believed that politics could be understood through observation, study of the past, and the application of reason to uncover rules. He endorsed the use of force against internal and external foreign enemies to achieve desired ends. He emphasized the importance of the ruler's personal ability or virtù, a combination of manipulation, boldness, and stealth that brought success. He insisted that the prince must base his actions not on what people ought to do but what they were likely to do in the pursuit of selfinterest and without concern for what was morally right. He viewed the bulk of the inhabitants of the state as fickle, selfish, and easily duped. But Machiavelli also recognized that rulers were not completely masters of their own destinies, but were at the mercy of necessity and fortune. Necessity was the accumulation of adverse circumstances so great that no ruler or state could withstand it. Fortune was luck, chance, even opportunity, the unpredictable in politics. Machiavelli offered numerous examples drawn from contemporary politics and the ancient world in support of his views.

A great part of Machiavelli's appeal and influence came from his brilliant and memorable language. Numerous phrases (here paraphrased) leap



Niccolò Machiavelli. Portrait by Santi di Tito. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

from the pages to drive home his points. "It is better to be feared than to be loved." "A good man will come to ruin among so many who are not good." "The prince must learn how not to be good." "Fortune is a woman who yields to the young and the bold." "A man will sooner forget the loss of a father than the loss of his fortune."

#### THE DISCOURSES

The *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (Discourses on the first ten books of Livy) was probably written between 1515 and 1517, although some scholars believe Machiavelli began it in 1513, dropped it to write *The Prince*, then returned to it. He used the first part of the famous history of the Roman Republic from its foundation in 753 B.C.E. to 194 B.C.E. written by Titus Livy (59 B.C.E.—17 C.E.) as the starting point. Machiavelli offered analyses of the principles and institutions of successful, enduring republics, that is, states in which the people have greater or lesser participation in government.

In the Discourses, Machiavelli paid less attention to individuals but focused on groups, such as the nobles and the people, and especially the political, religious, and military institutions and laws needed for a successful republic. Using even more examples from the ancient world, especially Rome, and current events than he used in The Prince, he argued that a successful republic must have good laws that the people respect. Indeed governments should engender respect by severely punishing transgressors. He endorsed civil religion with the argument that ancient Roman religion strengthened the state by encouraging its inhabitants to fight for the state. By contrast, Christianity, with its ideals of humility and peace, weakened the state. Machiavelli also criticized the papacy for dividing Italy through its politics and wars.

#### OTHER WORKS

Machiavelli also wrote Dell'arte della guerra (1519–1520; The art of war), which discussed military organization and tactics. Machiavelli believed strongly that states should develop citizen militias, which would be much more reliable than the untrustworthy and fickle mercenary soldiers. His *Istorie fiorentine* (1520–1524; Florentine histories) used episodes from Florentine history to illustrate political principles and to criticize Florentine factionalism. But he carefully avoided either praising or criticizing the Medici. His play La mandragola (c. 1517; The mandrake root) is a thoroughly amoral and hilarious masterpiece. The best comedy to come from Renaissance Italy, it is still performed in the twenty-first century. He also wrote another comedy, Clizia (c. 1525), the short story Belfagor (written between 1515 and 1520), poetry, shorter historical works, numerous personal letters, plus diplomatic reports during his active political career.

#### INFLUENCE

Machiavelli's works had enormous influence from the moment of the printing of most of his works in 1532 through the eighteenth century. Although the Index of Prohibited Books forbade the publication, holding, or reading of all of Machiavelli's works, numerous printings and translations, some of them under fictitious names, appeared in the sixteenth century and the following centuries. And writers responded to Machiavelli because he posed the basic political question, can political success and the moral law be reconciled? The view that they could not was expressed in terms of "reason of state" (an expression Machiavelli did not use), the argument that for the good of the state a ruler or government may commit evil actions, such as killing innocent family members of political rivals, an action Machiavelli endorsed in *The Prince*.

The French Huguenot Innocent Gentillet (c. 1532–1588) in his *Discours contre Machiavel* (1576; Discourse against Machiavelli) was the first to condemn Machiavelli for separating politics from morality, although some of his political recommendations were equivocal. The term *Machiavellian*, meaning the use of immoral means to achieve political power, soon came into use. The English playwrights Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616) several times used such expressions as "murderous Machiavel." King Richard III of England (ruled 1483–1485), who lived before Machiavelli wrote, was seen as Machiavellian, because it was believed that he murdered several people in his ruthless ascent to power.

Political theorists tried to come to terms with the issues Machiavelli raised. Giovanni Botero (1544-1617) in his Della ragion di stato (1589; Reason of state), which saw many reprints and translations, argued that rulers could reconcile political ends and Christian morality, especially if the state's actions benefited religion. When in doubt, the ruler should consult his confessor. Some seventeenth-century English Puritan casuists also endorsed the principle that the state's actions in defense of true religion were morally defensible. Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786), king of Prussia, did not completely condemn Machiavelli in his Anti-Machiavel (1767). Machiavelli's republican theories also influenced such English political theorists as James Harrington (1611–1677), Henry Neville (1620–1694), and Algernon Sidney (1623– 1683), and perhaps the founders of the American Republic in the late eighteenth century.

See also Florence; Guicciardini, Francesco; Index of Prohibited Books; Medici Family; Political Philosophy; Political Secularization; Republicanism; State and Bureaucracy.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

#### MADNESS AND MELANCHOLY.

When we think of madness and melancholy in the Middle Ages and early modern period, a number of prejudices often obscure our vision. It has been common, for example, to assume that in the age before the European Enlightenment, Christian faith so completely dominated that all mentally ill people were regarded as demonically possessed or that the mentally ill were frequently persecuted as witches. It has also been easy to conclude that the mad were basically neglected until they were confined in a massive roundup starting in the seventeenth century. Other scholars, looking for the origins of modern problems, have emphasized major gender differences, arguing that women were regarded as mentally more unstable than men or that women's cold nature was thought to preclude exalted states and genius. These and other images are either

wrong or misleading, but quite common. They survive in part because we moderns often prefer to regard earlier periods as simpler and less sophisticated than ours.

#### THE COMPLEXITY OF MADNESS

A better approach to the history of mental troubles begins with the recognition that during the early modern centuries (as in our own time), men and women had complex ideas that did not always harmonize easily with each other or foreshadow our concerns. Professional men, for example, usually tried to bring together the medical theories of the ancient world with the teachings of the Bible and the Christian tradition. Ordinary villagers, too, often tried to combine traditional folk wisdom with whatever their priest or pastor might tell them. When these sets of ideas clashed, as they necessarily did, professionals and villagers alike often tried to specify where and when one should think of madness as a medical problem and when as a religious disorder. Or else, they might try to smooth over the discordant features of both pagan and Christian notions so that they might mesh more seamlessly.

## GALENIC IDEAS OF MADNESS AND MELANCHOLY

The legacy of Galen, the greatest late-ancient physician (c. 129-199 C.E.), survived in this way into early modern times. Revived first by Arab physicians (from the ninth to the twelfth centuries) and then in the West (from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries), Galen became the core of the medieval medical curriculum. Renaissance physicians edited, published, and studied his numerous works along with the major Arab and Latin commentaries on him, making Galen even better known in the sixteenth century than he had been earlier. His medical theories were philosophical efforts to reconcile the competing claims of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and a host of lesser thinkers, but he was also an avid empirical investigator with a great interest in psychological and neurological disorders. For Galen, mental disturbances were sometimes due to accidents (such as a blow to the head), sometimes to brain fevers ("phrenitis"), and sometimes to hereditary flaws (which might produce retardation). In other instances, madness was the product of disturbances of the four basic bodily juices or humors: phlegm, bile, blood, and black bile (which was called melan-

choly, using the term in Greek). Renaissance physicians revived Galen's thought about melancholy ailments because they presented the opportunity for attractive theorizing about the place of temperament (natural or morbid) in the context of the four elements (water, fire, air, and earth), the four seasons, the four ages of human life, and four of the planets (the moon, Mars, Venus or Jupiter, and Saturn). Good health meant keeping one's humors in balance through diet and daily regimen (sleep, play, exercise, human company, sexual activity, and intellection). Too much heat or cold, too much smoke or moisture, too much study or worry, the wrong foods, too much drink, or the wrong music could all untune one's temperament and disorder one's juices, making one "unbalanced," overly fearful or sad, foolishly confident or belligerent, apathetic, raging, sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholy, the last terms revealing even today their historic ties to the humoral system. Early modern philosophers also drew on a pseudo-Aristotelian work called Problems to conclude that the melancholy humor often prompted poetic or philosophical genius and religious prophecy. Writers as diverse as Desiderius Erasmus, Miguel de Cervantes, and William Shakespeare deployed melancholy disorders to evoke wisdom and folly. Albrecht Dürer used the image of melancholy as a figure for genius.

More commonly, however, bad habits and a bad diet were thought to produce an artificial black bile (melancholia adusta) that in turn caused deep depressions, optical and aural hallucinations, visions, sudden outbursts of wrath, weeping, and general madness. So melancholy meant much more than just sadness or depression; it was a physical condition that could include digestive disorders and flatulence, but it regularly led to illusions, delusions, the inability to test reality, and to insanity. The longer these conditions lasted, the harder they were to cure by means of changing the diet, the air, the regimen of sleep, sex, friendship, and music. One might need to add the therapy of vomits, sweats, and bleeding—indeed, many Galenists advocated bleeding with each change of the seasons so that one's physical and psychic system would be reset for each season's conditions.

#### THE MEDICAL EXCLUSION OF DEMONS

It is worth emphasizing that the strictly medical literature of medieval and early modern universities regularly excluded demonic and magical interpretations of madness. This exclusion of demons was part of what it meant to have a separate faculty of medicine, and straight through the Renaissance, physicians usually cultivated a "know-nothing" or even a skeptical approach to spirits. Medieval and early modern university life depended upon tacit (or sometimes explicit) rules of engagement so that medical thinking could be insulated against ideas and even words whose religious or folk origins might contaminate what was conceived of as a thoroughly natural pursuit. After all, physicians were those who studied and understood physis, or nature. Physicians were naturalists.

An example of this sort of thought is provided by André du Laurens (1560?–1609), who wrote a much-cited work on "Melancholike Diseases" (1599). As the chief court physician to King Henry IV of France, he was eager to affirm his royal master's charismatic power to heal the scrofulous, using the traditional English and French practice of "touching for the king's evil," a power that might look magical or miraculous. In the hands of Du Laurens, however, melancholy was a great naturalizer. All sorts of strange, wondrous, or even miraculous conditions might be unmasked as the workings of black bile:

The melancholike man, properly so called (I meane him which hath the disease in the braine) is ordinarilie out of heart, alwaies fearefull and trembling, in such sort as that he is afraid of every thing, yea and maketh himselfe a terrour unto himselfe, as the beast which looketh himselfe in a glasse. . . . To conclude, hee is become a savadge creature, haunting the shadowed places, suspicious, solitarie, enemie to the Sunne, and one whom nothing can please, but onely discontentment, which forgeth unto it selfe a thousand false and vaine imaginations.

Drawing on the Arabs and the ancients, Du Laurens described several well-known melancholy delusions, such as the man who feared he had become a rooster or the man who feared that if he urinated, he might flood the world. Another famous melancholy madman thought himself made of glass, and yet others thought they had swallowed a serpent or a frog. Interestingly, the standard cure for such ailments often required the physician to play along with the

fantasy rather than trying to argue with the patient. In this therapeutic drama, a sick fantastic might come to recognize the absurd contradictions in his or her mind.

In rare instances, Du Laurens claimed that the cold and dry humor (black bile) might grow hot, causing "a kinde of divine ravishment, commonly called Enthousiasma, which stirreth men up to plaie the Philosphers, Poets, and also to prophesie: in such manner, as that it may seeme to containe in it some divine parts." With a suggestion like this, Du Laurens showed how dangerous it was to mix medical and religious ideas, for if the humor of melancholy could explain the pretense of having direct access to God, more radical interpreters might move on to argue that all revelation, all prophecy, was the product of a sick mind. During the seventeenth century, this line of argument became a polemical weapon to debunk "fanatics" and "enthusiasts" religious writers or leaders who based their essentially personal, mystical, or charismatic authority upon some supposed special access to God. During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, this strategy was sometimes employed even against the supposed irrationalities of revealed religion.

Usually, medical thinkers avoided speculating about religious matters, but by 1600, a few medical writers were developing theories of magic, spirits, demons, or preternatural forces as a way of updating their understanding of illness, and especially of madness. Physicians began to write treatises on demonic pathologies; students now defended theses such as the 1650 Leipzig dissertation entitled "Diseases Arising in Spells and Witchcraft." Even when they accepted the role of demons and their power to cause all manner of illness, however, physicians strove to understand demons as part of nature, applying Aristotelian categories to their theories of what spirits could actually do. Most often in these discussions, the devil was thought to act through nature, disordering the humors, stirring up the natural passions, disturbing the sense of vision or of hearing so that while the illness or madness might originate in witchcraft or in demonic possession, these disorders remained natural in the important sense that they were caused immediately by the familiar disorders of humors and vital spirits that were entirely physical and natural.

#### **PARACELSUS**

Perhaps the only physician to coordinate demonic theories with a whole system of thought was Theophrastus of Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus (1493-1541). He developed an astrological and religiously infused medical theory that paid close attention to the parallels and connections between sin and madness. He was such a medical heretic, however, that he lost his teaching position at the University of Basel and spent the rest of his life as an itinerant preacher and healer. In his view, demons were as real as humors, and one's physical and mental health mirrored one's spiritual condition. Orthodox university medicine could not easily integrate Paracelsus's strangely religious and experiential doctrines, but most sixteenth-century academic physicians were usually ready to admit that demons could indeed infest a person.

#### THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF MADNESS

Michael MacDonald has explored these overlapping areas of theory and expertise by studying the life and work of a seventeenth-century Anglican priest and medical practitioner, Richard Napier. Napier deployed a full range of Neoplatonist therapies—judicial astrology, alchemy, amulets, and even angelic consultations—to help him treat his far-flung clientele. Even among the orthodox, remedies for madness usually included purges, sweats, vomits, and bleeding as well as herbal concoctions, changes in diet, hot or cold baths, travel to different climates, music, alcohol in moderation, and sometimes prescribed doses of sex. University-trained physicians did not usually prescribe verbal therapies, talk sessions, amulets, magic, pilgrimages, or prayer.

On the other hand, when their methods failed, patients tried a host of nonmedical and unorthodox therapies. In the case of the last duke of Jülich-Cleves, Johann Wilhelm (1562–1609), for example, orthodox Galenic physicians first tried to heal him of his madness, but after several years of fruitless efforts, his councillors authorized a series of highly irregular cures: a regimen of astrology, magic, holy water, consecrated salt, Latin prayers, and exorcisms, herbs soaked in beer, and amulets sewn into his waistcoat and the soles of his shoes. Two women provided folk remedies and homemade potions, to no effect. An English "wonder doctor" managed to establish rapport with the prince, but the underlying melancholy remained, and so the

university-trained doctors turned to concoctions of alkermes (ground insects), bezoar stone (a calculus from the stomachs of goats or other ruminants), and theriac (a mixture of seventy drugs used to combat poison). Finally, they concluded that their duke was either bewitched or possessed; therefore, priests began to deploy elaborate exorcisms, including some that Rome might well have condemned. For example, they engraved a devil on a lead plate and beat it with rods; they fitted out Johann Wilhelm's mattress with blessings and crosses and fumigated his chambers with incense. By late 1605, however, the exorcists were also giving up.

This example shows how difficult it can be to speak of early modern medical imperialism, the process in which overconfident physicians claim competence over disorders that are moral or legal. Around 1600, orthodox physicians agreed that they could hope to heal only natural illnesses and that if natural remedies weren't working, it might be worth trying spiritual cures. But when exorcisms failed, Catholic confessors and priests concluded that their failure was due not to the weakness of spiritual remedies in general but to the fact that the mad duke was really insane, and thus beyond their ministrations.

# MICHEL FOUCAULT AND THE CARE OF THE MAD

It is also difficult to generalize about the care provided for the poor. Most families, however impoverished, were expected to take care of afflicted or disabled family members, but increasingly from the sixteenth century onwards, they could send suffering or incompetent relatives to newly founded hospitals. There they might receive room and board or even certain modest kinds of therapy. Forty years ago, Michel Foucault argued that a "Great Confinement," beginning in the seventeenth century, incarcerated the mad along with other "unproductive" or "immoral" segments of society, but it has become clear that in many countries, hospitals, private asylums, and small urban work-houses remained the favored receptacle for those of troubled mind. A large-scale confinement of the insane really began in the nineteenth century under circumstances rather different from those sketched by Foucault. Rab Houston and Roy Porter have also shown that in Scotland and England religious motives and explanations remained important well into

the eighteenth century, that "madness" was hardly a mere label attached to the undesirable, and that healing the mad remained the goal of physicians throughout the early modern period. The so-called Age of Reason did not produce a novel intolerance of "unreason," and did not treat the mad as brute animals. Foucault's work has stimulated a great deal of fresh research, but many of his conclusions have been sharply revised.

#### **GENDER**

Despite the fact that early modern society enforced a wide range of gender distinctions and often placed women under the control of men, there is little evidence that madness was seriously "gendered." Most mental disturbances were suffered as commonly by men as by women; men were as likely to be incarcerated or mistreated as a result of their madness; and even hysteria (which because of its supposed origins in the womb pertained only to women) was balanced by other madnesses that were thought to afflict men more often. A close analysis of these comparisons reveals, however, that they rely too often upon a hopelessly inadequate statistical base. We rarely have good evidence of the numbers of persons of either gender diagnosed as mentally disordered; and so, at this time, many ingenious comparisons are little better than guesses.

# ROBERT BURTON AND MELANCHOLY

Probably the best introduction to early modern attitudes toward madness is Robert Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621). This Oxford Anglican was a solitary, often depressed, academic, whose great book is a treasure of the English language but also a massive monument to the richness of melancholy as a diagnosis and as a metaphor for life. Despite his familiarity with the vast medical literature, Burton was also steeped in the Platonic tradition, in which melancholy could be the source of genius, prophecy, and poetry. Thus, Burton was careful to maintain a difficult balance between the biomedical Galenic model of madness as a physical illness and the mental or spiritual model of madness as sin but also the source of exalted mental states. From this balanced perspective, Burton was well equipped to criticize what he thought were the two scourges of his day: infatuated love and religious enthusiasm. His lengthy sections on love madness were perhaps a response to the growing value placed

by some on love as the one true good required for happiness. Burton's critique of religious enthusiasm stemmed from his conservative sense that Scripture and church would not long survive if mystics, prophets, and other inspired spokesmen made good their claim to have direct links with the divine. Burton's critique of love and religious enthusiasm surely did not curb infatuated lovers or Godbesotted fanatics, but his treatise robbed these figures of some of their self-proclaimed license, their claim to special authority and unique insight. As Michael Heyd has shown, this style of analysis became a common means during the Enlightenment of debunking the special claims to religious insight of Pietists, mystics, and even the advocates of traditional religion.

Madness has always been entwined with the social and philosophical problems of its age. As the most malleable early modern source of madness, melancholy, the black humor, found itself deployed to explain genius as well as folly and was used to justify a wide range of medical and social responses. Even though anatomists and physicians from the mid-seventeenth century onwards had increasing trouble locating black bile in the human body, melancholy remained a powerful concept down to the nineteenth century.

See also Anatomy and Physiology; Cervantes, Miguel de; Enthusiasm; Erasmus, Desiderius; Hospitals; Medicine; Paracelsus; Passions; Shakespeare, William.

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H. C. Erik Midelfort

**MADRID.** Since 1561, Madrid has been the capital city and administrative center of Spain. At an elevation of 2,100 feet (640 meters), the city is located in the interior, near the Guadarrama and Gredos mountain ranges in an area of sparse rainfall (17 inches, or 460 mm, per year) and of hot summers and cold winters by Mediterranean standards.

Prior to the reign of Philip II, Madrid had no particular significance as a city. Muslim rulers constructed a fortress, or alcazar, at the site, and a system of underground wells supplied water. Under Christian rule, Madrid developed to the east of the alcazar. It was among the places visited regularly by the rulers of Castile, who had no fixed capital city. Chronicles report that Queen Isabella I (ruled 1474-1504) held public audiences and dispensed justice in Madrid's alcazar, and the first Habsburg ruler of Spain, Charles I (1516-1556; also ruled as Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, 1519–1556), imprisoned Francis I of France in Madrid after his capture at the Battle of Pavia in Italy. East of Madrid, overlooking the fields, the Monastery of San Jeronimo stood, supported in part by royal donations.

By 1560, Madrid had grown to about 2,500 homes, or about 12,000 to 14,000 inhabitants. In 1561, Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) abandoned the

tradition of a traveling court and settled in Madrid in the refurbished alcazar. He built the Escorial, at once a summer residence, monastery, and mausoleum, at a higher elevation northwest of the city to escape Madrid's summer heat. The complex, restrained in design, was the work of Juan de Herrera, and Philip II personally supervised its construction. Madrid itself was crowded with courtiers and administrators, and the people of Madrid were initially required to house them on the upper floors of their own residences. By the 1580s, the early theater works of Lope de Vega and Cervantes were being performed in Madrid; theater grew in popularity under the rule of Philip III (ruled 1598–1621), who briefly relocated the capital of Spain to Valladolid (1601–1606).

Although nobles were ordered to leave an increasingly crowded Madrid in 1611, the population had grown to over 100,000 by 1621. Madrid had no medieval city walls to limit its size, and it continued to expand. The San Jeronimo monastery was the eastern boundary of the city until Philip IV (ruled 1621-1665) constructed his own new palace, the Buen Retiro, outside the city proper and to the east of San Jeronimo. Philip IV departed from the more severe style of his grandfather Philip II; the elaborate grounds housed gardens, a lake, a theatre and a zoo. The first Bourbon ruler of Spain, Philip V (ruled 1700–1746), attempted to remodel the Buen Retiro in the French style. Later rulers settled in the Royal Palace, constructed at the site of the alcazar, which was destroyed by fire. Charles III (ruled 1759–1788) was the first to occupy the Royal Palace. An Enlightenment-era ruler, he opened the grounds of the Buen Retiro to the public and created an observatory, a botanical garden, and a Museum of Natural Science within the city.

Madrid played an important role in the development of Spain's economy from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The heart of the Spanish empire, Madrid was nonetheless remote from the coastal cities that provided for and profited from imperial trade. Madrid, in fact, had to be supplied overland, having no navigable rivers nearby. Transportation costs thus made Madrid's own production of any goods other than merino wool too expensive to be profitable. It was said that Madrid manufactured only reputations.

From 1561 forward, Madrid's consumption of both subsistence and limited luxury goods also affected the economic development of other cities of the interior, notably Toledo. This effect was not immediate; as late as 1615, when Part II of Cervantes's Don Quixote was published, Sancho Panza's wife could request a hoop skirt from either Madrid or Toledo. But Madrid's population grew significantly during the reign of Philip III. By the 1630s, the city reportedly held more than 200,000 inhabitants and was the only interior city of this size in Spain. Madrid's demand for foodstuffs caused shortages and high prices in Toledo and elsewhere, driving migration to the capital. Madrid became a consumer of both goods and people, yet its demand for goods was not sufficiently deep or varied to encourage the economic growth of the interior. In the seventeenth century, even within Madrid, 75 percent of the population lived at subsistence level.

Madrid was first and foremost a political city, a capital deliberately chosen to be an administrative center, and if it acted as an economic link between coastal and interior Spain, it also undermined the economic development of the interior. Madrid can thus be considered a contributor to Spain's economic decline in the seventeenth century, rather than an engine of growth.

See also Charles III (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Spain.

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MARY HOYT HALAVAIS

MAGELLAN, FERDINAND (Fernão Magalhães; c. 1480–1521), Portuguese navigator. Magellan was born into a Portuguese noble family of French origin, possibly at Ponte da Barca in



Ferdinand Magellan.

northern Portugal. In 1492, he became a page in the queen's court. In March 1505 Magellan and his brother enlisted in the fleet of Francisco de Almeida, bound for India down the Atlantic coast of Africa to the Cape Verdes Islands and around the Cape of Good Hope. Almeida sailed in East African waters for more than two years, sacked Mombassa, and established a string of Portuguese forts to serve as trading centers and to guard the sea lanes to India, where Magellan arrived from Mozambique in October 1507.

By the time of his arrival he had served first on a brigantine, then on a caravel in combat in the Arabian Sea. Under the command of Nuno Vaz Pereira on the caravel *Santo Espirito*, he participated in the Portuguese defeat, at the hands of a huge Egyptian Mamluk fleet fortified by Venetian gunships, which broke the Portuguese blockade of the Red Sea. Soon afterward he was dispatched, under Pereira's command, to the Maldive Islands, but made instead for the port city of Colombo, having been blown by a storm to the coast of Ceylon (present-day Sri

Lanka). Magellan participated in the great sea battle of 2 February 1509, in which Almeida's fleet defeated the Mamluk-Venetian coalition at Diu (which became a Portuguese colony), a battle in which Pereira was killed and Magellan seriously wounded. Magellan was involved in intelligence on the Malabar coast, along with his cousin Francisco Serrão, to assess both the strength of local navies and the organization of local trade, which they found to be in the control of Arab merchants. Each of them was given the command of a caravel and promoted to the rank of captain. Magellan was again wounded in the botched attempt, under the command of Affonso de Albuquerque, architect of Portugal's Asian empire, to take Calicut.

Magellan was present at the capture of Malacca in August 1511. Serrão subsequently became director of the Portuguese factory at Ternate, a small town on the island of the same name that the Portuguese fortified and held 1522-1574, and which was used most importantly as a base for the clove trade, and invited Magellan to join him there. Instead, Magellan is thought to have made an illicit voyage, most likely northeast from Malacca to Amboyna, possibly coasting the Philippines. He was relieved of his command and, after eight years in the East, returned to Portugal. He served in a Moroccan campaign under the duke of Braganza in 1514, as a result of which he became embroiled in a corruption scandal which landed him in the bad graces of King Manuel I (ruled 1495-1521).

Like Columbus before him, Magellan thought he might have better success in Spain. He arrived in Seville in October 1517 and, working through the merchant community, eventually secured royal approval for a voyage westward to the Indies. He thought the Moluccas (Spice Islands) were close to South America and thus within the Spanish sphere of influence. His idea was to follow up on Amerigo Vespucci's (1454–1512) third voyage and seek a passage to the Indies around the tip of South America. Magellan had interviewed survivors of Juan de Solis's ill-fated voyage to the Río de la Plata in 1515 and deduced that the continental tip of South America lay within the area assigned to Spain.

The primary motive for the voyage was economic. Spain wanted to trade in the East Indies, but Charles V did not know (as Magellan surely did)

that the Moluccas were already in Portuguese hands. Perhaps Magellan thought there were other islands as potentially lucrative but as yet unclaimed. His fleet skirted Brazil to avoid any clash with the Portuguese and, at the mouth of the strait now called by his name, two of his five ships were lost, one by shipwreck, the other by mutiny. The remaining ships navigated the straits in thirty-eight days. Magellan reached Sebu in the Philippines in April 1521, where he became involved in a local war and was killed, along with forty of his men. He was succeeded by his second-in-command, the Spaniard Juan Sebastián del Cano (or Juan de Elcano), who continued on to the Moluccas and became the first captain to have sailed around the world.

The geographical impact of the circumnavigation was enormous, not only because of the new geographical data that it produced, but also because it demonstrated irrefutable proof of the sphericity of the Earth as well as the preponderance of water over continental masses on the Earth's surface, in contrast to what many geographers and explorers of Columbus's generation had believed.

See also Columbus, Christopher; Exploration; Portugal; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia.

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THOMAS F. GLICK

**MAGIC.** Modern historians have reclaimed the term *magic* from anthropologists and social scientists who question its utility as a category and its existence as a phenomenon. Although an admittedly ambiguous and elastic term, *magic* was used by early modern Europeans to describe a complex of thought and practice involving the apparently disparate fields of religion, science, and language. Many

of the most sophisticated intellectuals and theologians of the early modern period include magic in their discussions about the nature of physical reality, the causes of suffering and misfortune, the rationale of history, the foundations of political authority, the institutions of the church, and the basis of morality and ethics. Consequently, magic is a legitimate and important field of study, and understanding such pivotal events as the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment, and Romanticism will remain incomplete until historians investigate the complex and varied attitudes toward magic that emerged between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF MAGIC

Magic is best defined as a form of esotericism based on a view of the world as an integral whole composed of interacting spiritual and material forces that human beings can understand and manipulate for good or evil purposes. It encompassed a wide range of activities, such as astrology, alchemy, medicine, divination, necromancy, and conjuring. While this definition holds true for magic over the millennia, only during the early modern period was "black" magic equated with demonic witchcraft and made into a serious criminal offense. At the same time there was a growing interest in and respect for "natural," or "spiritual," magic that began in the twelfth century, reaching its apogee during the Renaissance and early modern period. Scholars agree that this type of elite magic contributed to developments in science, although they disagree about the nature and extent of these contributions. The traditional idea that magic disappeared with the triumph of science overlooks the fact that the decline in witchcraft prosecutions occurred in the mid-to-late seventeenth century, before Enlightenment thinkers embraced the new science and while a magical worldview was still valid for most people. Magistrates and judges, not philosophers and scientists, were the first to doubt the reality of demonic magic and to put a stop to witch prosecutions. While it is true that demonic magic lost its credibility among most European intellectuals and professionals, ordinary Europeans continued to explain misfortune in terms of the evil acts (maleficia) of evil individuals. Furthermore, alchemy and astrology appealed to many intellectuals throughout

the eighteenth century, and new forms of occult and esoteric thought (mesmerism, phrenology, physiognomy) emerged to answer questions mechanical and atomic scientific theories could not.

Much of early modern magic represented a continuation of traditions and practices that developed in the medieval period from a synthesis of classical, Jewish, Islamic, and Christian concepts of magic with indigenous Celtic, Germanic, Scandinavian, and Slavic traditions as these groups were converted to Christianity. It is difficult—though in some cases possible—to separate these various strands because they were so thoroughly mixed with Christian elements. Although some scholars continue to distinguish magic from religion on the grounds that magic attempts to manipulate supernatural forces, while religion is directed at divine entities who can be supplicated but not controlled, this distinction is untenable. Saints' prayers often have coercive force, while magical charms and rituals have a supplicatory element. Furthermore, Christianity shared many assumptions that were basic to a magical worldview. Foremost among these was that of a vitalistic universe divided into three levels, the super-celestial, celestial, and terrestrial, each of which was intimately linked to the others through a series of correspondences, sympathies, and antipathies that might be hidden (occult) but that were regular, rational, and discoverable. Christianity and magic also agreed on the existence of invisible, spiritual entities (angels, demons, devils), who interacted with humans in many ways, including sexually. Christianity and magic both emphasized the power and efficacy of words, a belief that was intensified by the Christian reliance on the spoken and written word and by the notion of Christ as the incarnate word of God. Many magical prayers and formulas were simply adaptations of Christian formulations. A further link between Christianity and magic was the belief that hidden powers and virtues existed in natural objects (amulets, talismans, relics, holy water, the sign of the cross, the Eucharist, church bells), which could be tapped for human use. Given these similarities, one can conclude that "[a]cross Europe, throughout the centuries ... magic often seems indistinguishable from religion" (Clark, p. 110).

#### VARIETIES OF MAGIC

On a popular level, magic was practiced extensively to deal with problematic events or situations from childbirth and childcare to animal husbandry, sickness, misfortune, lost or stolen objects, divination, business affairs, traveling, falling in or out of love, counteracting witchcraft, and even such mundane activities as shutting windows at night. Magical remedies, rituals, and formulas can be found in necromancer manuals, medical textbooks, scientific texts, the lives of saints, and courtly romances. Since magical practices were so varied, one way of categorizing them is by their intended results: healing, protection, divination, obtaining a desired object, the acquisition of occult knowledge, or simply entertainment. While astrology was a recognized part of academic medicine, magical healing was reserved primarily for diseases that were considered "unnatural" (madness, possession, nightmares) or whose causes were unknown (sudden strokes, heart attacks, seizures) and consequently attributed to the evil machinations of sorcerers, witches, demons, elves, or dwarfs. In these cases, magicians and healers patterned their actions after those of Jesus and the saints and conjured spiritual forces by ritual actions, prayers, blessings, exorcisms, and the use of amulets, talismans, relics, the sign of the cross, holy water, and nostrums made variously from herbs, animal parts, stones, or gems. Next to healing, the most popular form of magic was divination, a practice emphatically rejected by Christian authorities. Charts and manuals existed for reading signs about the future in the sky or in animals, plants, parts of the human body, and dreams. Love magic was used both to seduce and to cause impotency, a common theme in both courtly romances and inquisitor's manuals.

Like popular magic, "spiritual" and "natural" magic were concerned with issues of healing, protection, and divination, but there was a greater emphasis on the acquisition of occult knowledge as a prerequisite to successful magical practices. Broadly, one can say that "spiritual" magic was a form of religiosity whose goal was to attract beneficial divine and spiritual forces into the soul of the operator. Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) was the most famous Renaissance practitioner of this kind of magic. Language was an important element in Ficino's magic because he believed words had intrinsic powers. A

similar emphasis on the power of words appears in the work of Jewish Cabbalists like Abraham Abulafia (1240-after 1291) and Joseph Gikatilla (1248after 1305) and their Christian counterparts, Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) and Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), who believed that Hebrew was a repository of secret wisdom. In his De Verbo Mirifico (1494), Reuchlin claimed that Jesus' name in Hebrew had the power to revive the dead, cure the sick, exorcise demons, turn rivers into wine, feed the hungry, repulse pirates, and tame camels. A similar kind of magical power was attributed to Egyptian hieroglyphs by Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680). It is not always easy to distinguish between "spiritual" and "natural" magic, nor between "spiritual" and "demonic" magic, for all three were concerned with the spiritual state of the practitioner and were thought to have transitive effects. Necromancy and black magic were an established part of medieval magic and continued throughout the early modern period. The Picatrix, derived from an Arabic source, mixed spiritual and demonic magic with astrology and was widely influential. This kind of synthesis comes out clearly in the work of Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535), whose De Occulta Philosophia (enlarged edition 1533) discusses astrology, mathematics, mechanical marvels, numerology, universal harmony, the power of music and incantations, images for talismans, and the occult virtues in natural things. Agrippa claims that whoever wishes to be proficient in magic must study natural philosophy, mathematics, astrology, and theology. Only when he has mastered these disciplines will he attain the highest level of understanding through an act of mystical illumination and become a true magus. A characteristic feature of this kind of magic is its "intense religiosity and sense of piety" (Clark, p. 150). Giambattista Della Porta's Magia Naturalis (1588) was another popular work on natural magic that described procedures for such diverse things as transmuting metals; producing exotic plants and animals through grafting and crossbreeding; cutting, conserving, and cooking meat; staving off baldness; eliminating wrinkles; and engendering beautiful children.

#### **CHANGING ATTITUDES**

Around 1400 there was a radical change in attitudes toward magic on the part of religious and secular authorities. No longer seen as a body of supersti-

tious and largely illusory practices that could be eradicated through a combination of missionary activity and the counter-use of Christian ritual—a view characteristic of the Middle Ages-magic and magicians came to be viewed as a demonic fifth column threatening the very existence of Christian civilization. This negative view of magic was reinforced by the Protestant attack on Catholic sacraments, rituals, and miracles as demonic. For the most part, however, Catholic and Protestant authorities distinguished between "popular" magic, whose practitioners were prosecuted as witches and sorcerers in league with the devil, and "learned" or "spiritual" magic, which was generally tolerated and widely practiced at European courts because of its promise of wealth and prestige and its sheer entertainment value. But even when tolerated, magicians inspired ambivalent attitudes, for beneficent "white" magic might easily be perverted into "black" magic. For this reason, two of the foremost demonologists of the sixteenth century, Jean Bodin (1530-1596) and Martin Del Rio (1551–1608), condemned all magic as demonic.

The increased concern with demonology and witchcraft in the early modern period has been attributed to the religious conflicts stirred up by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Recent research has shown, however, that it was not religious conflict per se that encouraged witch hunts but the new age of "confessionalism" that accompanied reform movements, heightening religious fervor and the concern with eradicating religious deviance. In more general terms, the increased fear of magic and sorcery was a response to increasing political and religious insecurity and social unrest. The Black Death, the Great Schism, the proliferation of heretical movements in the high Middle Ages, the discovery and dissemination of new texts, printing, trade, travel, and the discovery of the New World all undermined established truths and called into question the idea of divine providence and God's omniscience and benevolence. Misfortune, uncertainty, and insecurity called for a new theodicy, and this was supplied by demonologists and witch theorists. Neither irrational nor unscientific, they deployed all the resources available from natural philosophy and theology to vindicate the goodness of God and the truth of the Bible. Witchcraft theory was a kind of "theological damage control" (Stephens, p. 366) that let God off the hook for seeming injustice by attributing evil and misfortune to the activities of men and women in league with the devil.

The fact that the fear of sorcerers and witches was most intense during the period of the so-called scientific revolution (1570 to 1680) undermines the idea proposed by Enlightenment thinkers (Comte, Condorcet) and nineteenth- and twentieth-century social anthropologists (Edward Tylor, James Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski) that magic represented an early stage of human development superceded first by religion and finally by science. Modern scholars reject this progressive view in favor of a conceptual history of magic that emphasizes it as an inextricable element in the religious, political, and scientific discourse of various time periods. In the early modern period, attitudes toward magic and witchcraft have been shown to correlate with political and religious views. For example, those committed to the divine right of kings and Tridentine Catholicism had a greater tendency to support the persecution of magicians and witches than humanists, libertines, and skeptics, who took the Machiavellian position that the magic and witchcraft were delusions manipulated for the benefit of those in power.

#### SKEPTICISM ABOUT MAGIC

There was also a correlation between magic and science. The argument that magic was a substitute for real science and technology is simply wrong. The widespread practice of magic suggests that it was considered effective, and the lively debate about the efficacy of magic is now recognized as a contributing factor to the development of science. Lynn Thorndike described magicians as the first experimental scientists. Frances Yates emphasized the role played by "occult" philosophy in stimulating science. Although her claims have been modified, it is clear that the natural magic tradition influenced important scientific figures such as Paracelsus (1493-1541), Daniel Sennert, Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1579-1644), Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), Francis Bacon (1561-1626), John Dee (1527-1608), and members of England's Royal Society. The paradox was that as demonologists debated with their critics about whether the effects of witchcraft, sorcery, and magic were natural or diabolical,

they promoted the very skepticism they were at pains to allay. Among the skeptics were Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), who offered naturalistic explanations for the power of incantations; Johann Wever (1515–1588), who turned to medicine, arguing that witches were simply insane old women; and Reginald Scot (1538-1599), who denied that incorporeal spirits could have contact with humans. Even more damaging were those like John Wagstaffe (1633-1677), who concluded that witchcraft was simply a politically useful tool, an idea that led Francis Hutchinson to conclude in 1718 that beliefs about witches and sorcerers were products of their historical contexts. Witch-hunting was therefore not an anomaly in the age of the socalled scientific revolution but a constituent part of it. Underlying the debate over magic and witchcraft were fundamental issues concerning the authority and credibility of the Christian revelation; the physical constitution of the created world; the nature of causality; and the basis of politics, ethics, and morality. Every one of these involved the more general problem of what constitutes valid evidence and how knowledge may be obtained. But however beneficial this kind of scientific questioning and skepticism was in the long term, it was not immediately responsible for the decline of witch-hunting. That fell to the judicial skepticism—created largely by the excesses of witch-hunting—which led those in charge of witch trials to demand more restraint in the use of torture and stricter standards of evidence. As a result of changes in judicial procedures, mass panics ended, more of the accused were acquitted, and courts became increasingly reluctant to initiate prosecutions. This did not happen because judges, magistrates, and inquisitors denied the reality or possibility of witchcraft but because they increasingly came to believe that witchcraft was not a crime that could be proven by law.

See also Astrology; Catholicism; Occult Philosophy; Reformation, Protestant; Ritual, Religious; Scientific Revolution; Witchcraft.

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MALPIGHI, MARCELLO (1628–1694),

Italian physician and anatomist. Malpighi was born in Crevalcore, near Bologna, on 10 March 1628. He graduated in medicine and philosophy at the University of Bologna in 1653, and he taught logic at the same university until 1656, when he was called to the chair of theoretical medicine at the University of Pisa. Three years later he returned to Bologna, lecturing in theoretical and practical medicine. From 1662 to 1666 he held the chair of primary professor of medicine at the University of Messina. He then returned once more to Bologna, where he taught practical medicine until 1691, the year in which he moved to Rome in the capacity of chief physician to Pope Innocent XII. He died in Rome on 30 November 1694. These institutional settings are of a special importance in understanding his development as an anatomist, physician, and natural philosopher. Although he was trained at Bologna in the traditional course of scholastic disciplines, he also attended with other select students the private dissections and vivisections conducted by the university professor Bartolomeo Massari. In his time at Pisa he met Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608–1679), professor of mathematics there, and their ensuing collaboration was crucial in bringing Malpighi closer to corpuscularianism (the idea that the visible properties of matter derive from the interactions of minute particles of matter), to mechanical philosophy (the view that every natural phenomenon can be explained through matter and motion), and to Galileo's natural philosophy. In Messina he found a congenial environment for his investigations on marine animals and the sensory organs. Finally, from 1667, correspondence with Henry Oldenburg and the relationships that he established with the Royal Society brought Malpighi into closer contact with English experimental physiology.

Malpighi's works display a wide range of interests. In De Pulmonibus (On the lungs; Bologna, 1661), composed in the form of two letters addressed to Borelli, he announced his discovery of capillary circulation and gave a detailed account of the vesicular structure of the human lung. In Epistolae Anatomicae de Cerebro ac Lingua (Anatomical letters on the brain and the tongue; Bologna, 1665) and in De Externo Tactus Organo (The external organ of touch; Naples, 1665), he made his discovery of the sensory receptors of the tongue and cutaneous papillae part of a far-reaching project in neuroanatomical research. De Viscerum Structura (The structure of the internal organs; Bologna, 1666) and De Structura Glandularum Conglobatarum (The structure of the conglobate glands; London, 1689) present Malpighi's main theoretical view of the gland as the building block of the body's mechanical structure. In De Bombyce (On the silkworm; London, 1669) he investigated the anatomy of insects, and he gave an accurate description of the development of the chick in De Formatione Pulli in Ovo (The development of the chick in the egg; London, 1673), adding new evidence in support to the preformationist hypothesis, that is, the idea that the organism is already present and fully developed in the seed or egg. In Anatomes Plantarum (Anatomy of plants; London, 1679), Malpighi made use of the microscope and its related techniques in the

study of animal and vegetable anatomy with great dexterity and profit. In *De Polypo Cordis* (On the polyp of the heart; 1666), he argued that the examination of pathological states, natural anomalies, and monstrosities could shed light on the normal functioning of organs and on the general processes of nature, thus laying the foundations for a research program centered on localizing the anatomical seats of disease.

From an anatomical point of view, Malpighi's work is a clear example of experimental investigation conducted in the wake of William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. Philosophically speaking, the main influence comes from Galileo's redefinition of matter, motion, and nature. Distancing himself from Descartes's extreme views on the mechanization of the body and the thorough identification of natural productivity with mechanical agency, Malpighi did not rule out the animate and sentient character of the body, and he emphasized the unattainability of perfection in the natural mechanics of living beings. Being both a theoretical anatomist and a physician—his Consultationes Medicinales (Medical consultations; Padua, 1713; Venice, 1747) are evidence of his clinical expertise—Malpighi represents the intriguing case of an early modern practitioner confronted with the need to harmonize theory (a new image of the body) and practice (the continuing success of traditional therapy) in the context of the new medical discourse.

See also Anatomy and Physiology; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Harvey, William; Medicine; Natural Philosophy; Oldenburg, Henry.

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Guido Giglioni

# 1733), satirical writer and medical doctor. A specialist in nervous disorders, Bernard Mandeville was a Dutchman whose family had included physicians for generations. He received a classical education at the Erasmian school in Rotterdam. At the University of Leiden he studied medicine but also wrote a philosophical treatise on the ancient question of whether or not animals had souls. His cosmopolitan background led to a close knowledge of French skeptical literature and particularly the writings of Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), which influenced him considerably. Mandeville emigrated to London around 1691, possibly because of his involvement in local political disturbances, known as the Coster-

man Tax Riots, in Rotterdam in 1690. He settled

down to a successful medical practice and married

an Englishwoman, Ruth Elizabeth Laurence. Man-

deville counted among his friends the eminent phy-

sician Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753).

MANDEVILLE, BERNARD (1670-

Mandeville's literary career began with the publication of a Hudibrastic poem entitled The Grumbling Hive; or, Knaves Turned Honest (1705), in which he began a satirical attack on Puritan asceticism that lasted his whole life. With the addition of prose essays, the poem grew into the first part of The Fable of the Bees (1714). A second part appeared in 1729. One of the appended essays dealt with the subject of charity schools, which, Mandeville controversially argued, would create discontent among the poor by overqualifying them for the (menial) tasks that they needed to do to make a living and that society needed them to do for its survival. The polemical subtitle, Private Vices, Publick Benefits, pithily encapsulated what later became known as the Mandevillean paradox, a questioning of the effects of adhering to an ascetic morality in a materialistic society.

The Addition of the essay on charity schools to *The Fable of the Bees* led to a sometimes bitter public controversy engaging clerics and theologians like William Law (1686–1761), Joseph Butler (1692–1752), and Bishop George Berkeley (1685–1753), who all attacked Mandeville's work as morally corrupting. The Grand Jury of Middlesex condemned *The Fable of the Bees* to be burned by the public hangman, which added to Mandeville's notoriety and reputation as a freethinker. But the Mandevil-

lean paradox became a focal discussion of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), David Hume (1711–1776), and Adam Smith (1723–1790) in Britain and Voltaire (1694–1778) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) on the Continent felt the need to examine Mandeville's assertion that luxury, far from being harmful, was the foundation of a flourishing, commercial society.

Mandeville wrote a number of other works, including one on nervous disorders and several on the subject of religion and its effects upon war. He also wrote pamphlets on important and topical social subjects, such as prostitution (A Modest Defence of Publick Stews; 1724) and hanging (An Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn; 1725). On these social questions his views, expressed journalistically, could be radical, in the English context, suggesting, for example, that prostitution should be regulated by the state. But his lasting fame and the critical attention he has received is primarily based on the ideas expounded in his Fable of the Bees.

See also Bayle, Pierre; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Smith, Adam; Voltaire.

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MALCOLM JACK

MANILA. Spaniards founded the distinguished and ever-loyal city of Manila in 1571, after early settlements in the central Philippines proved economically weak. In 1565 Miguel López de Legazpi (c. 1510–1572) sailed from Mexico and settled in Cebu. Manila, however, was a better location for the Spaniards because of its magnificently protected bay on the southwest coast of Luzon, closer to the wealth of China. Upon arrival, they destroyed a

Muslim settlement under a Rajah Sulayman. The Spaniards resided within a fortress, known as Intramuros, on the banks of the Pasig River, while the Tagalog and Pampango natives lived in villages with a marketplace and a Catholic church. The Spanish governors, known as "the City and Commerce," hoped that trade would flourish with riches from American silver and Chinese goods. The trade with China usually gave Manila prosperity and stability. Merchants with silks, porcelain, and manufactured items came to the entrepôt to trade for American silver brought by galleons from Acapulco. An average of 128 tons of silver a year crossed the Pacific Ocean between 1565 and 1815, when the last galleon put into Manila Harbor.

The forty-two thousand people of the city embodied many different histories. There were significant numbers of Japanese Christian refugees, possibly fifteen thousand *sangley* (Chinese), seven thousand Spaniards, and a majority of twenty thousand *indios* (natives) from Tagalog, Pampango, and Visayan groups. Manila faced constant threats from Muslim raids, Chinese piracy, and Dutch attacks. The British captured the city in 1762 but returned it to Spain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris.

See also Spanish Colonies: The Philippines.

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James B. Tueller

**MANNERISM.** The definition of the style of mannerism was the subject of scholarly debate in the mid-twentieth century, but no consensus was

reached. The term is most helpful when used to identify one style of art in central Italy between the High Renaissance and the baroque, c. 1520–1600. It has been used more loosely, and less effectively, both in art history and other disciplines, such as cultural history, music, and literature.

# SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY USAGE

The word maniera was used in the sixteenth century by the historian Giorgio Vasari and others to mean simply "style." Although it usually has positive connotations, it can be used negatively to mean routine, as in Vasari's reference to the late works of Perugino (born Pietro di Cristoforo), where monotony resulted from his excessive reliance on maniera. Giovanni Pietro Bellori associated maniera with a lack of proper invention and dependence upon habit or convention. For him, the interval between the High Renaissance and the renewal of art brought about by Annibale Carracci was a deviation in which artists departed from the model of nature and followed their imaginations instead, straying into fantasy. When Bellori says that artists vitiated art with la maniera, depending on pratica, 'routine', it calls to mind Vasari's condemnation of Perugino.

# MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

In its departure from the norm, maniera acquired a positive value in the climate of the early twentieth century, when the dismantling of the academy and of the authority of classicism was being celebrated. Walter Friedländer undertook a reexamination of mannerism in his influential essay on the anticlassical style (1925), interpreting the paintings of Jacopo da Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino, Parmigianino (born Girolano Mazzola), and (selectively) Michelangelo Buonarroti as expressing a rejection of classicism and a rebellion against it. In its conscious rejection of the norm and search for a new ideal of beauty, the mannerist painters stretched the proportions of limbs, elongated the body, narrowed the depth of space, and pressed figures against the picture plane. Together with his contemporary Max Dvorak, Friedländer found in mannerism relationships to the spiritual expressionism of their own time, especially German expressionism. Dvorak defined mannerism as an artistic means to express spirituality. He identified the deformations of Jacopo

Tintoretto and El Greco with mannerism; their styles are better explained, however, as Counter-Reformation responses to the call of the post-Tridentine church for affective sacred images.

Friedländer's essay was not translated until 1957, but well before then the "anticlassical style" had established a firm foothold in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. He had focused on the Florentines of the 1520s, but Frederick Hartt applied his analysis to Giulio Romano (born Giulio Pippi de'Gianuzzi) and the other artists of Rome, and extended Heinrich Wölfflin's exclusion of the last half-decade of Raphael's career from the canon of classicism (see Wölfflin's Classic Art). Hartt found evidence of anticlassicism in Raphael's late workshop projects, where the overextended master had to rely heavily on his assistants, led by Romano, beginning in the Stanza dell'Incendio. Some scholars were skeptical of Hartt's conclusions, and S. J. Freedberg, in particular, restored to Raphael and classicism much of what Hartt and Wölfflin had taken away.

By the 1950s scholars had recognized that anticlassicism could not explain the works of the second generation of artists, like Francesco Salviati, Il Bronzino, and Vasari. As a result of a proposal by Luisa Beccherucci calling for refinement of the definition of the style, a distinction was made between mannerism, which was applied to the first generation, and maniera, the second generation. A session of the International Congress of the History of Art in 1961 produced two seminal papers by Craig Hugh Smyth and John Shearman. Smyth deduced from a study of the period's works "conventions of the figure" that were frequently repeated and constituted a set of rules for the maniera method of constructing images. Marcia Hall further developed Smyth's brilliant insight that these conventions were derived from late antique relief sculpture, and she found the precedent and model for this "relieflike style" in the late work of Raphael (particularly, the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, 1520–1524, Stanza di Constantino, Vatican).

John Shearman's paper was later developed into a book (1967). He undertook to redefine the style by uncovering the sixteenth-century meaning of *maniera* and restricting its definition. His examination of texts from that time determined that *maniera* could always be translated as 'style', so his defi-

nition excluded the expressive and the anticlassical, in fact the whole first generation of mannerism. It focused on style itself as an end, and maniera became "the stylish style" characterized by refinement, grace, sophistication, elegance, and artificiality. This has proved the most durable of the definitions offered in the twentieth century, although objections have been raised by Henri Zerner and Jeroen Stumpel. Zerner found fault with Shearman's exclusion of all meaning. He credited Freedberg's analysis of maniera (1965), which pointed to an "underlying anxiety" apparent, although masked, also in Vasari. Freedberg saw the stylization of maniera as a mask for a generation that recognized that "there was no longer any virtue in a simple statement." Layered complexity of meaning was suggested by layered artistic reference, and quotations from earlier art were intended to be recognized and appreciated by a cultured audience. Stumpel (1988), insisting that mannerism is an invention of the twentieth century, held that no definition can be reconstructed from sixteenth-century usage.

Recently, Philip Sohm has successfully argued that conceiving and naming mannerism as a period style was a seicento invention. Vasari's definition of *maniera* includes five terms indicating three kinds of qualities: technique or procedural routine (*modi*, 'methods', and *tratti*, 'brushstrokes'); the intellective, imaginative, or psychological generation of style (*arie* 'expressions' and *fantasie* 'imaginations'); and *maniera* that refers to transcendent, aestheticizing beauty.

The mannerist style has had the greatest appeal during periods of social unrest because of its association with anticlassicism and, therefore, rebellion against the establishment. Today, the "anti" character of mannerism is largely discredited; efforts to interpret it as continuous with High Renaissance classicism receive more attention. In sum, there is little agreement in basic texts on the definition of mannerism.

See also Central Europe, Art in; El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos); Michelangelo Buonarroti; Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti); Vasari, Giorgio.

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MARCIA B. HALL

# MANORIALISM. See Feudalism.

MANSART, FRANÇOIS (1598–1666), French architect. The brilliant François Mansart, though praised as the "God of architecture" by the professor and theorist Jacques-François Blondel (Architecture françoise, 1752-1756), attained the international reputation he deserved only in the mid-twentieth century, thanks to Anthony Blunt. Mansart's buildings synthesized the French and Italian classical heritage in an original and subtle play of volumes and sculpted surfaces. The numerous sketches and alternatives for his projects testify to his irrepressibly fertile imagination. Yet his design process also made him costly and difficult to work with. He was willing to tear down portions of his buildings two and three times during construction. He therefore rarely saw his designs completed, and his surviving buildings are often in fragments or have been greatly altered. The greatest monument to his art consists of approximately forty manuscript drawings that have been preserved.

Mansart's commissions from the royal circle were thwarted or curtailed. His hopes of completely rebuilding the château (residential castle) of Blois for the presumed royal successor Gaston d'Orleans (1608-1660; brother to Louis XIII) were defeated with the birth of Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) in 1638. Only one wing was completed (1635–1638). In 1645-1646 he managed to build only the foundations and the facade, up to the first order (columns and entablatures), for the church of the Valde-Grâce, when the exasperated Anne of Austria (1601-1666; wife of Louis XIII) replaced him with Pierre Le Muet (1591-1669). In 1664, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the surintendant des bâtiments (royal superintendent of buildings) solicited Mansart's designs for the expansion of the Louvre and, c. 1664-1665, for a mausoleum for the Bourbon dynasty at the abbey of St.-Denis. But Colbert soon abandoned Mansart because the latter was unable to settle on one of his multiple proposals.

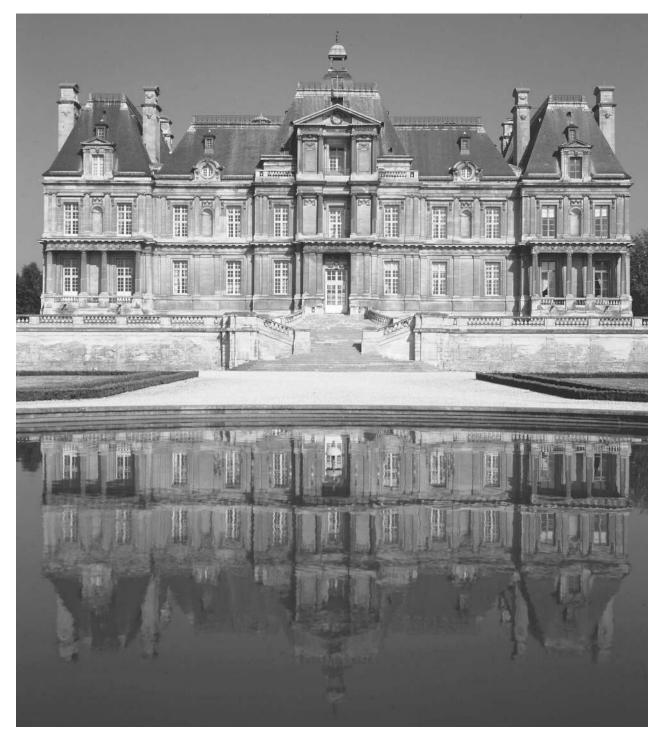
Most of Mansart's completed buildings are in the area of residential architecture, often built for the new socially ambitious class of financiers and royal officers. These include the châteaus of Balleroy (Normandy, from 1631); Berny (Val-de-Marne, 1623–1627); Maisons, built for René de Longueil (Île de France, 1641–1660); Fresnes-sur-Marne (rebuilt by Mansart with the addition of a chapel

1644–1666); and a series of Parisian *hôtels* (noble town houses), the Hôtel de la Vrillière (1635–1650), Hôtel de Jars (1648), Hôtel Guénégaud du Plessis, (expanded 1648–c. 1660), and Hôtel Guénégaud-des-Brosses (1651–1653).

As was typical of architects of his time, Mansart came from a family involved in various building crafts. His father Absalon, who died when François was twelve, was carpenter to the king. François was trained by his brother-in-law Germain Gaultier, an architect and sculptor (and nephew of one of the greatest sculptors of the French Renaissance, Germain Pilon, c. 1525-1590), and by his uncle Marcel Le Roy, a master mason and civil engineer. Mansart did not travel to Italy, yet his collection of books attests to keen study of ancient monuments and French and Italian architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Born the same year as Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and considered his equal by his French contemporaries, he also shared with his Italian colleague dual sensibilities in both sculpture and architecture.

Mansart's buildings are often formed in overall pyramid-shaped masses, as exemplified by the Parisian churches of the Val-de-Grâce and the Minimes (1657–1665) or the châteaus of Balleroy and Maisons. Although some compositions did not employ orders (for example, Balleroy or the church of the Visitation, 1632–1634), Mansart typically used classical orders or ornament, down to the smallest molding, to create a tectonic system, which evoked its support structure and volumes. For example, on the Val-de-Grâce facade, the orders are superimposed vertically, while advancing and receding from pilasters to engaged columns and exquisitely articulating its volumes.

Although he did not invent the mansard roof, it is aptly named after him. Mansart used it to good effect, and it became widespread in his time. The roof's truss system spanned wider building units than would otherwise have been possible. Thus Mansart's Hôtel de Jars (1648) and Louis Le Vau's Hôtel Tambonneau (1642–1646) were the first to have double-depth *corps de logis* (main residential areas of a hôtel), allowing for more complex floor plan, variety in size and function of rooms, and even diagonal axes (as in the Louvre). Mansart designed staircases with particular virtuosity, suspending



François Mansart. The Maison Lafitte, built 1642-1651. The ART ARCHIVE/CHATEAU LAFITTE FRANCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

them from walls with an open well in the center, lit by a ceiling dome.

On a large scale, Mansart was sensitive to the placement of his buildings in their urban context; he proposed forecourts and designed his facades and domes with urban vistas in mind. The low entry wall and elegant classical entrance of the Hôtel de la Vrillière emphasized its placement, unique for its day, on an axis from the street behind it (the rue des Fossées). Mansart's designs of châteaus such as Blois and Maisons influenced the garden designer André Le Nôtre (1613–1700) by aligning the garden, the château, and the road approaching it in one long axis stretching out to the horizon. Mansart anticipated the collective work of architects and garden designers (for example, at Versailles) in his harmonious integration of building and landscape.

See also Architecture; City Planning; Classicism; France, Architecture in.

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VICTORIA SANGER

MANTUA. Surrounded on three sides by lakes formed by the Mincio River, the city of Mantua was almost impregnable militarily. The duchy of Mantua spread across the fertile Lombard plain. The prosperity of the city came from textile manufacturing, that of the countryside from agriculture. The city, which had a vibrant Jewish community, had about 40,000 people in 1550, which declined to 31,000 in 1600. Plague and siege between 1627 and 1630 devastated the city, whose population only recovered to 14,000 in 1650, then rose to between 21,000 and 24,000 in the eighteenth century. The duchy as a whole had some 300,000 people in 1600, but fewer after 1630.

The Gonzaga family, rulers of Mantua from 1328 to 1707, intermarried with other princely families of Italy. They also produced several cardinals and one saint, the Jesuit Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591). In the 1530s the Gonzaga acquired through marriage the marquisate of Montferrat in Piedmont, not contiguous with the duchy of Mantua. This included the town and fortress of Casale Monferrato, a coveted military position some 120 miles west of the city of Mantua. The Gonzaga family supported the Habsburgs in the dynastic struggles of sixteenth-century Europe, and individ-

ual Gonzagas served them as military commanders and administrators.

Mantua had one of the most splendid courts of Italy and Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries. As many as eight hundred persons—writers, artists, musicians, and even a troop of commedia dell'arte actors—enjoyed Gonzaga patronage in the early seventeenth century. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) came to paint. Mantua also played a key role in the development of opera; Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) lived there from about 1590 to 1612, and his Orfeo (1607) and other works were first presented there. In 1625 Duke Ferdinando (1589-1626; ruled 1613-1626) founded the University of Mantua, where Jesuits taught humanities and philosophy, while laymen taught law and medicine. In order to pay for their splendid court, Gonzaga dukes sold assets. In 1627 Duke Vincenzo II (1594-1627; ruled 1626–1627) sold the family collection of Renaissance paintings (works of Titian, Andrea Mantegna, Correggio, Raphael, and others) to Charles I of England.

Gonzaga dukes seldom lived long, and they produced few heirs. On the death of Vincenzo II on 26 December 1627 without an heir, rival claimants to the duchy appeared. Carlo I Gonzaga-Nevers (1580-1637; ruled 1628-1637) of the French branch, with strong support from the French crown, slipped into Mantua to claim the title ahead of the leader of a branch of Italian Gonzagas, who accepted the traditional alliance with the Habsburgs. The French held the fortress towns of Mantua and Casale Monferrato, key military positions threatening Habsburg control of northern Italy. The Habsburgs sent an army to take back Mantua, and the War of the Mantuan and Montferrat Succession (1628-1631), an episode of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), began.

Unfortunately, the foreigners—most likely the imperial army—brought the bubonic plague with them. Because bad harvests had already weakened the duchy's population, the plague of 1629–1631 killed one quarter to one third. The historical novel *I promessi sposi* (1825–1827; The betrothed) of Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873) described the devastation and social dislocation in northern Italy as well as any historian could. The Habsburg army



Mantua. The Ducal Palace in Mantua, eighteenth-century painting by an unknown Emilian artist. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO CIVICO MODENA/DAGLI ORTI (A)

overwhelmed the duchy in October 1629 and blockaded the city of Mantua. After a long siege, the army sacked and looted the city on 18–20 July 1630. At least two-thirds of the city's inhabitants died as a result of plague, lack of food, and violence. The university closed, and the city and duchy never recovered their former glory. Carlo I and his heirs retained the duchy, now shorn of Casale Monferrato, as minor Habsburg clients.

In 1707 the Habsburgs exiled Ferdinando Carlo (1652–1708; ruled 1665–1708), the last Gonzaga duke, for helping the French in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) and incorporated duchy and city into the Austrian Empire. The Austrian government of Empress Maria Theresa

(1717–1780; ruled 1740–1780) instituted governmental reforms and supported Mantuan learning and the arts to some extent. After the Austrians were driven out of northern Italy, the duchy of Mantua joined the kingdom of Italy in 1866.

See also Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Plague; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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MANTUAN SUCCESSION, WAR OF THE (1627-1631). The death in 1627 of Duke Vincenzo II without immediate heirs plunged the Gonzaga duchies of Mantua and Monferrato into crisis. Vincenzo's closest relative was Charles, duke of Nevers, from a branch of the Gonzaga who had established themselves at the French court. Despite his earlier involvement in revolt against the crown, contemporaries assumed that Nevers's succession would increase French influence in northern Italy. However Nevers's title was challenged by Charles Emmanuel I, duke of Savoy, whose family had long sought the second Gonzaga duchy of Monferrato. In Mantua itself, Nevers was opposed by another Gonzaga cadet, Ferrante, duke of Guastalla. Charles Emmanuel appealed to Spain and agreed to a partition treaty with the Spanish governor of Milan for the occupation of Monferrato, which would place the key fortress of Casale in Spanish hands. In Vienna, Guastalla raised doubts about the legitimacy of Nevers's inheritance, and in March 1628 the Gonzaga territories, as imperial fiefs, were sequestrated pending the emperor's adjudication. Although committed to suppressing Protestant revolt at home, France provided military support for Nevers, and in early 1629 French forces broke a Spanish siege of Casale. In 1630 the war swung in favor of Spain and the emperor, with the siege and sack of the city of Mantua, but the Swedish invasion of Germany weakened imperial commitment to Italy, and in late 1630 the Spanish were obliged to concede terms. The Treaty of Cherasco (April 1631) ratified Nevers's inheritance, though providing territorial compensation for both Savoy and Guastalla. French success, and Spanish resentment at the outcome, paved the way for the resumption of open war between the two powers in 1635.

See also Louis XIII (France); Military; Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimental, Count of; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

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DAVID PARROTT

MANUFACTURING. See Industrial Revolution; Industry; Proto-Industry; Textile Industry.

MARBURG, COLLOQUY OF. The Colloguy of Marburg (1 October to 5 October 1529) was a series of meetings designed to end the religious quarrel between the Lutheran and Zwinglian theologians and to make a political agreement between their Protestant states possible. The Hessian landgrave, or prince, Philipp the Magnanimous (1504–1567), organized the colloquy, which was ended prematurely by the threatening epidemic known as the English sweats (possibly chronic fatigue syndrome). After establishing many areas of agreement, the religious discussions focused on the nature of the Lord's Supper, the main item of disagreement between the feuding theologians. Martin Luther (1483–1547) and Philipp Melanchthon (1487–1560), both from Wittenberg in Electoral Saxony, were the main speakers for the Lutheran cause, while Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) from Zurich and John Oecolampadius (1482–1531) from Basel represented the Zwinglian side. There were also delegates from Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Schwäbisch-Hall.

Landgrave Philipp's strategy of using small group meetings as well as the large disputation format did produce a compromise agreement called the fifteen articles of faith, also known as the Marburg Articles. The theologians all agreed to articles on original sin, the Word of God, grace, baptism, infant baptism, and confession, and Luther was willing to compromise on his wording concerning the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. Zwingli, however, could not accept any understanding of the Presence other than a symbolic one. Zwingli held that Christ's words, "this is my body," mean 'this signifies my body'. Hence, on the fifteenth article, concerning the Lord's Supper, they stated their differences, but agreed not to continue to attack one another.

While the religious discussions continued, some of the politicians began separate political discussions in order to create a defensive Protestant alliance against possible hostile actions by their Roman Catholic opponents. From the start, the political desire for a defensive alliance had driven demands for a colloquy and religious agreement because Luther insisted that a defensive alliance of Protestants must hold the same religious views. The Lutheran princes of Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg-Ansbach, however, who were opposed to a defensive Protestant alliance with the Lower German and German-speaking Swiss cities, schemed to sabotage the Marburg Colloquy. Elector John sent Eberhard von der Tann to Marburg with instructions to prevent an agreement. Hence, failing to create an all-Protestant alliance, Hesse, Strasbourg, Zurich, and Basel drew up the Marburg Sketch of an Alliance to serve as the basis for one in the future.

Significantly, the religious discussions proved that Lutheran and Reformed theologians could compromise and reach agreement under favorable circumstances. Thus, the colloquy remains a subject of more than historical interest to this day. Landgrave Philipp's contention that the religious dispute was only over words—that the theologians simply misunderstood one another—was accepted by some of the theologians. Hence, it led to broader theological agreements, for example, the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, which included the Upper German towns (considered Zwinglian by the Lutheran party in 1529) in common communion with the Lutheran principalities. The Marburg Sketch of

an Alliance materialized in the Schmalkaldic League (1531), which defended the German Protestant states until Luther's death.

See also Bible: Interpretation; Catholicism; Hesse, Landgraviate of; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Melanchthon, Philipp; Nuremberg; Reformation, Protestant; Saxony; Theology; Zurich; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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W. J. Wright

# MARGINAL PEOPLE. See Crime and Punishment; Poverty; Roma (Gypsies); Vagrants and Beggars.

# MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE

(Marguerite d'Angoulême, Marguerite de Valois; 1492–1549), French author, humanist, and religious reformer. The sister of the French King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547), Marguerite became duchess of Alençon through her first marriage and queen of Navarre by her second, to Henry d'Albret in

1527. Marguerite was also a peer of the realm, duchess of Berri, countess of Perche, Armagnac, and Roddez, and held several smaller territories within France. Educated by some of the leading humanists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Marguerite was an intellectual who corresponded with many European humanists during her lifetime. Like many French humanists, Marguerite was a devout Catholic interested in religious reform who supported translating the Scriptures into the vernacular and believed in a doctrine known as French Evangelism. Unlike the Protestants, French Evangelicals were interested in reforming the church from within. The French Evangelical agenda focused on specific clerical abuses, such as pluralism and absenteeism, and reforming convents and monasteries.

Marguerite, who attempted to interest the king in church reform, supported the most important group of French Evangelicals, led by Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux. For a short period in the early 1520s, when the French king and the pope were at odds, it looked as if Marguerite might convince her brother to support French Evangelism. However, when Pope Adrian VI died and was succeeded by Pope Clement VII, French-papal relations were restored, and the French king turned his attention to his claims to territories in Italy. The moment to gain royal support for Evangelical reform of the Catholic Church in France had passed.

Although Marguerite no longer pushed her brother to reform the French church after 1524, she did maintain a lifelong interest in religious reform, which led her not only to insist on the reform of corrupt convents and monasteries in her own farreaching territories but also to support reformers inside France who were suspected of heresy. As a powerful patron, she defended many well-known French Evangelicals such as Gérard Roussel and Michael d'Arande from heresy charges, and she protected others by sending them to her court in Navarre, where they were no longer under French jurisdiction. The most famous of the reformers who fled France with Marguerite's help was John Calvin, who left in 1534. Marguerite continued to assist a number of other reformers both inside and outside of France throughout the 1530s and 1540s. In part because of her defense of such reformers, Marguerite was seen by many as a heretic and a woman who



Marguerite de Navarre. Portrait by François Clouet. ®Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

meddled in matters that should be left to men, and until the mid-twentieth century, scholars debated whether or not she remained a Catholic.

At the same time that she was bringing French Evangelism to the attention of the king in the early 1520s, Marguerite was also embarking on a writing career that would gain her an international reputation. Her earliest works were mystical poetry, such as "Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse" ('The mirror of the sinful soul'), which espoused Evangelical ideas and combined them with a mysticism that portrayed Marguerite's relationship with God in familial as well as spiritual terms. By the 1530s, Marguerite had begun a collection of short stories that would be published after her death as the Heptaméron, many of them composed in her litter as Marguerite made her frequent journeys across France. Patterned on Boccaccio's Decameron in structure, Marguerite's work rejected his misogynist view. Rather than portraying women's weakness and sinfulness, Marguerite's stories depicted women's strength and

piety, and many of them condemned men for behavior that led to the ruin of women. In her later years, Marguerite wrote a number of short "closet" plays, meant to be read by her immediate circle but not to be staged and produced. These works also reflected her spiritual ideas.

Marguerite was more than a devout Christian humanist and author, however. Devoted to her brother, Marguerite often acted as a political representative for the king. The first instance of this was in 1525, when she negotiated with Emperor Charles V for the king's release after the Battle of Pavia. Over the next two decades, Marguerite advised her brother on political and military matters, served on the king's Grand Council, and entered into negotiations with the English for a peace treaty with France. While at times her influence with her brother waned, she always retained the king's favor, and exercised a great deal of political authority within her own territories and those of her husbands.

See also Calvin, John; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Francis I (France); French Literature and Language.

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BARBARA STEPHENSON

MARIA THERESA (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (Maria Theresa; 1717–1780; ruled 1740–1780), empress of Austria. Many historians regard the eighteenth century as a time when monarchical government represented the most progressive force in economics, politics, and society. Maria Theresa was one of the greatest of these eighteenth-century monarchs, but no one would have anticipated her success when she came to the throne. The Habsburg Monarchy was not a single

entity, but a conglomeration of provinces stretching from Belgium in the west to Transylvania in the east and Silesia—now in Poland—in the north to Tuscany in the south with many spaces in between. Many historians agree that, when she ended her reign, these disparate lands had achieved a unity they had never known before.

In the early eighteenth century, many of these provinces had no provision for a female ruler. As it became increasingly apparent that the Habsburg family might be running out of males, in 1713 Maria Theresa's father, Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740), made public an internal family document called the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed the right of succession to female family members. After 1720 Charles worked hard to persuade first his crownlands and then the other European powers to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction so that his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, could inherit the Habsburg patrimony. By the time Charles died in 1740, he seemed to have succeeded.

Within two months of his death, Charles's carefully crafted diplomatic effort to assure his daughter's succession fell apart. In December 1740 the new king of Prussia, Frederick II (later known as "Frederick the Great"), invaded the Austrian province of Silesia, claiming it for his crown. Maria Theresa's advisers, including her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, recommended that she seek an accommodation with Frederick because Austria was in no condition, militarily or financially, to resist.

Maria Theresa rejected that advice peremptorily. She vowed to fight to preserve her inheritance and to use every resource to do so. She rallied support from all parts of her realm, inspired her soldiers and officers with stirring words, and set out to crush Frederick, whom she would later refer to as the "monster." Thus began the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), which became a European-wide affair with Prussia, Bavaria, and France fighting on one side against Austria and Britain on the other. It took many twists and turns, finally ending in 1748 with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) between Austria and France. The Austro-Prussian war had ended in 1745 with Maria Theresa ceding Silesia to Frederick II.

The Prussian seizure of Silesia was the driving force in Maria Theresa's reign. From the outset, she



Maria Theresa. Getty Images

was determined to right this terrible wrong that Frederick had inflicted upon her, and her reform efforts for the rest of her reign always had that leitmotif running through them. Maria Theresa was not a theorist; she had no compelling vision of what she imagined her possessions should become. Rather, she was practical, authorizing reforms she believed were needed and adjusting their impact to the expected and unexpected results they invariably generated.

The reforms began at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession to answer the fundamental question: how does one raise an army that can defeat the Prussians and provide it with the financial support necessary to do so? To deal with this issue, she adopted the plan of a noble but impoverished refugee from Silesia, Count Friedrich Wilhelm Haugwitz, which called for ending the annual negotiations with the monarchy's estates for human and financial resources and replacing them with negotiations every ten years. The estates would grant the

central government an annual revenue for a ten-year period, along with the authority to collect it. With these funds and by combining many functions of government under the authority of a new central General Directory, Maria Theresa was able to raise a peacetime army of 110,000 men to prepare for war with Frederick II.

The opportunity to begin that war came in 1756. In that year Frederick concluded an accord with Britain, thereby pulling this old ally from its association with Austria. Instead of bemoaning the loss, Maria Theresa's master of foreign policy and brilliant adviser for many years to come, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, arranged an alliance between Austria and its age-old enemy, France, in what has come down in history as the Reversal of Alliances (or the Diplomatic Revolution). The adherence of Russia to the alliance seemed to give it overwhelming power in relation to Prussia. In August Frederick launched a preemptive strike against Saxony, and thus began the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), called at times in central Europe the Third Silesian War.

Maria Theresa fought this war with all her heart. This was the war that she hoped would rectify the harm that Frederick had inflicted upon her in 1740. But Austria just could not pull off the necessary victories. Haugwitz's reforms had substantially improved the financial condition of the monarchy and the army, but they had been designed for peacetime, not for war. The monarchy had to resort to a number of financial gimmicks to keep the war going, and a number of favorite economic projects had to be abandoned. Austria's allies, France and Russia, were not at their peak in terms of military efficiency, while France especially was sidetracked by its war against Britain in Europe, America, and India. And Frederick was a formidable enemy. A master of the use of interior lines, Frederick kept his many enemies at bay until the war finally came to an end in 1762 when Russia dropped out of the coalition.

The Seven Years' War was the last true conflict Maria Theresa fought against Prussia or any other state. In 1778–1779 the War of the Bavarian Succession, encouraged primarily by her son and co-ruler, Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), seemed about to become another war for Silesia, but she intervened personally to stop it. Her reforms did not

stop, however, nor did their intent to strengthen the Habsburg state. In the post-war period, Maria Theresa's reforms reflected the prevailing idea of Enlightened Absolutism, namely that the strength of a state did not rest in the size of its army or the amount of land it controlled but in the health and well-being of its people and the wealth they generated.

This second period of reform caused Maria Theresa some spiritual angst. She was a devout and conservative Roman Catholic who deeply opposed religious pluralism as a threat to the souls of her subjects. She also bore a number of prejudices that came out every now and then, one notable example being her expulsion of the Jews from the city of Prague in 1745 and another her forced emigration of crypto-Protestants either to Transylvania or out of the monarchy altogether. But, in keeping with her reforms, she wanted her church to be of practical benefit to her people and instituted a number of policies to make it that way. She insisted that the church reduce the number of monks, allow taxation of the clergy, create more parishes, and strengthen existing parishes. When the pope abolished the Jesuit Order in 1773, she secured papal permission to convert its property in the monarchy to use by the state in order to establish a system of public education. These policies reflected Maria Theresa's pragmatic desire to improve the lot of her subjects and her pious wish to strengthen the role of the church at the parish level. They also hinted at Josephinism, her son and co-ruler's more thorough endeavor to use the church's resources for the good of the state.

Other reforms included her efforts to improve the lot of the peasantry. In response to peasant unrest, she alleviated the condition of the serfs on crownlands and imposed restrictions on lords' treatment of their peasants. She advocated the conversion of work dues to rent in order to encourage the peasants to be more productive, which in turn would bring in more revenue to the state and offer a higher quality recruit for the army. Maria Theresa likewise determined to revise the civil and criminal codes of the monarchy. She abolished the use of torture in 1776, but wide-scale reforms were delayed in part because Joseph II and some of her ministers regarded what she wanted as not liberal and far-reaching enough.

Maria Theresa was famous not only for her successful reforms and her vigorous foreign policy but also as a wife and mother. Reflecting on the lack of Habsburg males as a reason for triggering the Prussian invasion of Silesia, she determined from the outset that the Habsburg family would never again be short of offspring. She was the mother of sixteen children, five boys and eleven girls. She wrote to one of her daughters, "I can never have enough children; in this I am insatiable." She deeply loved her husband, Francis Stephen. An effective ruler in his own province of Tuscany and bearing the title of Holy Roman emperor from 1745, in Vienna his primary political role was to offer advice. When he died in 1765, she went into deep mourning, even pondering giving all her authority to her eldest son, Joseph.

Joseph succeeded to the title of Holy Roman emperor in 1765 and became co-ruler with his mother until her death in 1780. Their relationship was a turbulent one, with Joseph advocating much more extensive reform than Maria Theresa was willing to allow. Their voluminous correspondence is full of references to Maria Theresa's resisting her son's advice and demands, and of Joseph's heading off on inspection trips around the monarchy to work off the tension and stress his mother's resistance caused him.

Maria Theresa's death in 1780 caused considerable grief throughout the monarchy. A tribute came from her lifelong foe, Frederick the Great of Prussia, who wrote when he heard of her passing, "I accepted the death of the empress-queen. She did honor to her throne and to her sex; I fought wars with her, but never was I her enemy." The Pragmatic Sanction created a legal basis for the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy; Maria Theresa established it in fact.

See also Austria; Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Bavaria; Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Frederick II (Prussia); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Prussia; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

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MARIANA, JUAN DE (?1535/1536–1624), Spanish Jesuit (Alcalá de Henares, 1554), historian and economic and political theorist. Born in Talavera de la Reina (Toledo), Mariana was among the most important Spanish scholars of his time, and taught at Rome, Sicily, Paris, and Toledo.

Mariana published his history of Spain, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, in 1592, and revised and translated it into Spanish in 1601 as *Historia general de España*. His Castilian-centric vision of Iberian history, full of rousing speeches and moral lessons, was typical of the historiography of the period, in the tradition of Livy. Written in the wake of the Armada's defeat (1588) and reissued after Philip II's (ruled 1556–1598) death, a time when Spain's glory was beginning to fade, it was both pessimistic and romantic. It was also the first general history of Spain, and became an important source for later readers, particularly in the history-crazed late eighteenth century.

In 1599, Mariana published his great political treatise, De Rege et Regis Institutione, written as a guide for the young Philip III. In it, Mariana set out his vision of the best form of government: a hereditary monarchy in which the king is advised by a council and limited by an elected assembly. Thus, Mariana is justly thought to have originated the idea of constitutional monarchy. In De Rege, he praised the Cortes (parliament) of Aragón, the representative assembly of eastern Spain, which had retained more rights than the Cortes of Castile. During the reign of Philip III (ruled 1598-1621), the Cortes, whose members represented Castile's major cities, became the arena for an ongoing struggle between the monarchy, in desperate need of money, and the cities, increasingly prone to place conditions on their grants. Behind the struggle over taxation lay a deeper conflict over the true location of authority.

Mariana advocated equality under the law: "If the king requires obedience of his subjects, he must also show obedience to the laws, because the king must be subject to those laws sanctioned by the Republic, whose authority is greater than his" (De Rege, I.9). He was neither a democrat nor a revolutionary, and he was not alone in believing that sovereignty originated in the kingdom, not the king (Jean Bodin had published La république in 1577), but his words were more adamant than those of his contemporaries. For Mariana, government was partly the result of nature but also of human will; if people made government, they could also unmake it and were justified in doing so if rulers violated their contract. If monarchs ignored the words and wishes of their subjects, and if the Cortes were unable, because of a monarch's attitude, to continue meeting, then "any citizen, in the name of the people, has the right to kill the tyrant" (De Rege, I.6). His analysis was taken by some to be a justification for the 1589 murder of Henry III of France (ruled 1574-1589). When Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610) was assassinated in 1610, De Rege was publicly burned in French bonfires and listed on the Inquisition's Index, which, ironically, Mariana had collaborated on a decade earlier.

In 1605 Mariana turned his attention to economics, writing seven economic treatises, the most influential of which, De Monetae Mutatione, dealt with currency. The work proved as controversial as De Rege. Mariana was one of a chorus of economists who saw in debased coinage the ultimate explanation for Spain's decline, and his criticisms of copper coinage, which he regarded as taxation because it increased the money supply, causing inflation, drew the attention of the powerful duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite. Lerma persuaded the king to seek papal approval for Mariana's arrest in 1610. On trial in Madrid, he defended himself by pointing out that his writings had aimed only to defend the king; nonetheless, the charge of lèse-majesté was proved. Philip, who had not prosecuted Mariana for De Rege, left punishment to Rome, which dropped the matter. Mariana was released in 1611. He continued living in Toledo until his death in 1624.

A work published after his death, written around 1605, Discurso de los grandes defectos que hay en la forma del govierno de los Jesuitas, was a criticism of his own order. It was aimed particularly at

the government of Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the Society of Jesus, who in Mariana's opinion was excessively bureaucratic and dictatorial. Seen as a plea for greater democracy, it was immediately condemned by the order.

See also Bodin, Jean; Henry III (France); Henry IV (France); Jesuits; Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 1st duke of; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Spain.

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RUTH MACKAY

MARIE ANTOINETTE (1755–1793), queen of France. Josèphe-Jeanne-Marie Antoinette (Maria Antonia, archduchess of Austria) married Louis-Auguste, dauphin of France, on 16 May 1770. Louis XVI (ruled 1774-1792) and Marie Antoinette ascended the throne in 1774. The youngest daughter of the sixteen children of Maria Theresa (1717-1780), archduchess of Austria and queen of Bohemia and Hungary, and Francis I (ruled 1745–1765), Holy Roman emperor, Marie Antoinette wed at age fifteen to secure a tenuous Franco-Austrian alliance. A French tutor educated the archduchess in religion, history, the classics, and the arts. Not an adept learner, though enthusiastic, Marie Antoinette excelled in artistic pursuits. Her parents married for love, shared the same bed, and took joy in parenthood, unusual for the eighteenth century. Marie Antoinette's days were divided between courtly etiquette and the unceremonious family quarters. Maria Theresa's moral code permeated the court and influenced her children. Marie Antoinette venerated her loving, albeit highly principled mother, but she was especially attached to her father. His death at the age of fifty-six devastated

the ten-year-old Marie Antoinette, and sorrow attended her throughout her life. This burden typified her complex personality, which was often eclipsed by her public image as a pitiless and spendthrift queen.

The duc de Choiseul, foreign minister to Louis XV, and Maria Theresa orchestrated the political match between Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI, an excruciatingly shy adolescent of sixteen years whose chief delights were hunting and puttering in his locksmith shop. The marriage was politically disastrous and personally fragile for Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI. The enmity France bore for this Austrian queen was almost pathological. The hostility toward Marie Antoinette from both the educated elite and the populace forever impugned her character. She suffered rumors of infidelity and infertility in the seven years before she gave birth to a daughter and finally the dauphin, born in 1781. Marie Antoinette was comforted by Louis XVI, who ultimately came to love his charismatic bride and to whom he paid unfettered affection in public.

By 1774 the queen endured unspeakable venom at court and in Paris from those outraged at the monarchy for an unjust social order. Scandals proliferated, assuming a life of their own; "Madame Déficit" became the favorite political scapegoat. Marie Antoinette incensed her enemies with her disdain for etiquette and her expenditures, and she was condemned for trafficking with unsavory friends. Her untamed and extravagant conduct incited the authors of a libelous underground street discourse, already active by the time she came to France, and these authors exposed the decline of the monarchy. By the 1780s clandestine pamphlets targeting Marie Antoinette circulated widely, most notably in Essais historiques sur la vie de Marie Antoinette d'Autriche (c. 1789). Scurrilous works of this nature circulated in places like the Palais-Royal in Paris, a forum for public discontent, as well as at Versailles. The writers actively fed into public perceptions of Marie Antoinette as immoral and dissolute. Their fantastic charges of lesbian affairs, incestuous debauchery, and a demasculinization of men undermined the legitimacy of the monarchy.

The public refused to see Marie Antoinette as a loving and dutiful mother. This contemptuous response to the queen continued in the Diamond



Marie Antoinette. Portrait by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

Necklace Affair of 1785–1786. Marie Antoinette was proclaimed guilty in the court of public opinion for this infamous case of stolen goods devised by the adventuress Jeanne de La Motte and a gullible dupe, Cardinal de Rohan, both jockeying for position at Versailles. Events spun out of control in 1789. Hungry market women from Paris stormed Versailles, forcing the king and queen's exile and house arrest in the Tuileries palace in Paris, followed by the monarchs' failed escape to Saint-Cloud on Easter in 1791. The escalating political turmoil of 1792 led to their trials and incarceration in the Conciergerie, the jail on the Seine in Paris.

While Marie Antoinette's critics have denigrated her, modern scholarship dispels distortions that blur her import. From her early days at court, Marie Antoinette was high-spirited, mischievous, and witty; she once masqueraded as a Sister of Charity before Louis XVI, and they howled together over his naïveté. She supported the arts and sought to relax the stiff decorum of the court while cultivating her keen need for privacy. Her loyal friendships defined her, none more so than that of the

king, who sustained her in the anguish of relentless character defamation. Following the king's execution on 21 January 1793, Marie Antoinette on 16 October 1793 rode bravely erect in the tumbrel to her execution at the Place de la Révolution, a proud queen, devoted mother, and faithful wife.

See also Diamond Necklace, Affair of; France; Louis XVI (France); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Revolutions, Age of.

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ROSAMOND HOOPER-HAMERSLEY

# MARIE DE L'INCARNATION (1599-

1672), French mystic and missionary. Marie Guyart of the Incarnation was a leading figure of the Catholic mission to the Amerindians of New France; she was also a theologian (she was called "the Saint Teresa of the New World"), a spiritual adviser, mystic, businesswoman, and founder of the Ursuline convent in Quebec (Canada). Her extensive correspondence reveals a profound spirituality combined with a remarkable sense of organization and outstanding linguistic skills. As the first female missionary outside Europe, she exemplified female religious patronage and activism, which led to the development of social welfare in early modern Catholic Europe and its colonies. In New France, she was a star; it was almost compulsory for every newcomer to the colony to visit her, for she could provide information not only on the natives' languages and customs, but also on the settlers' living conditions.

Marie Guyart was born in Tours (France) to parents who operated a bakery. Nothing is known of her education or how she developed such a talent as a writer. Married to the silk manufacturer Claude Martin in 1617, but widowed two years later, she raised her only son Claude by herself while running her brother-in-law's shipping business for more than six years until she decided to retire from society. In 1631 she entered Tours' Ursuline convent, leaving her son in her sister's care, and pronounced her vows after two years of probation as a novice. By then she had decided on the great project of converting souls. She succeeded in going to New France in 1639 with the help of a large network of supporters that extended from her close relatives to Anne of Austria, queen of France (1601–1666). Two Ursulines, Marie de Savonnières de La Troche (1616–1652) and Cécile Richer (1609–1687), accompanied her and helped her found, the same year, the first teaching convent in North America.

After a long life of ecstatic visions, letter writing (more than 10,000 in all), and down-to-earth missionary work, Marie Guyart died in Quebec in 1672. By merging contemplation and action, she typified the mystics of the early seventeenth century. On the one hand, she was an expert in speculative theology, which she taught to her fellow nuns. Considered a sensible spiritual adviser, she was frequently chosen as the mistress in charge of the probationers of her convent. Over the years she also became the thoughtful director of conscience of many of her correspondents. She was more reserved about her mystical ecstasies, which she confided only to select people such as her son. On the other hand, she was also a devoted missionary, teaching and assisting Amerindian girls and women and raising funds for her mission. All things considered, however, regard for her missionary work was poor. Her Amerindian pupils were always few in number and often died early. Their numbers fell drastically at the end of the century because of epidemics and wars.

Marie Guyart's task did not end with her mission to the Amerindians but extended to the rest of the colony. She not only converted Amerindian girls, she educated the French girls with the aim of raising them as good and pious housewives. Her other, numerous skills ranged from translation of dictionaries in various Amerindian languages to architecture and crafting such as embroidery and gilding, which she introduced into the colony.

See also French Colonies: North America.

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Dominique Deslandres

MARIE DE MÉDICIS (1573–1642), queen of France (1600–1610) and regent (1610–1617) for her son, Louis XIII. Marie de Médicis, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Archduchess of Austria, was born in Florence.

Though her upbringing was marred by the early death of her mother and her father's neglect, she received an excellent education, which, in keeping with family tradition, gave her a sound foundation in the fine arts. In 1600 she was married to Henry IV of France (ruled 1589-1610) and took up residence in the Louvre the following year. She bore five children; a daughter, Henrietta-Maria, married Charles I of England; a son succeeded his father to the throne as Louis XIII. She is remembered in part as one of the most troublesome queen mothers in history—a lightning rod for discontent with her son's reign and especially with his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu. But she also should be noted for her considerable patronage of the arts and her extensive building projects that still grace Paris.

After the assassination of her husband in 1610, Marie was made regent by the Parlement of Paris. Though politically inexperienced, she was not lacking in ambition: she was after all a Medici and confidently seized control of royal authority. Seeking peace to ensure tranquillity at home, she reversed Henry's anti-Habsburg policy, withdrew France's armies from Europe, and struck up an alliance with Spain that was sealed with the marriage of the fifteen-year-old Louis XIII to the Spanish Infanta, Anne of Austria. Her regency, however, was marked by instability. The weakness of royal authority invited a resurgence of aristocratic expectations of power sharing, and ultimately led to the calling of the Estates-General in 1614. The distribution of pensions and other spoils to great noblemen drained the treasury but did not prevent their mounting discontent. Several princes of the realm abandoned the court and threatened open revolt, the Huguenots grew restive at the prospect of royal wavering from the guarantees of the Edict of Nantes, and the prince of Condé was eventually arrested for challenging the queen's authority. Some of this discontent was really disguised opportunism in the face of a weakened royal authority under the regency. But some can be blamed on Marie's own poor judgment, in particular the promotion of her favorite, Concino Concini, to the point where this Italian outsider dominated both the court and the royal council. Indignation against Concini was compounded by the dubious reputation of his wife, Leonora Galigai, Marie's childhood friend.



Marie de Médicis. Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

The reign of the favorite and Marie's regency came dramatically to an end with the intervention of her son. In 1617 the fifteen-year-old Louis XIII instigated a veritable coup d'état against the favorite, which ended with the arrest of Marie and the deaths of the Concinis. Thus began nearly fifteen years of contretemps between Marie and her son, adding to the instability of Louis XIII's early reign. With the aid of her younger son, Gaston d'Orléans, Marie managed to escape from her captivity in 1619 and raised her standard against the king. Beaten in battle, she was reconciled with Louis through the good graces of Bishop Richelieu of Luçon, who soon entered the royal council. Though initially allied to Marie, Richelieu became the king's loyal servant and was instrumental in once again setting France on a course of opposition to Habsburg domination of Europe. Aided by Gaston, Marie actively conspired against Richelieu, hoping to depose him as chief minister. On the night of 10–11 November 1630, the so-called Day of Dupes, she nearly got her way. The king led her to believe that he was acceding to her demand to have Richelieu dismissed, but then in a dramatic turnaround backed his chief minister, arrested Marie, and subsequently put on trial those ministers most closely associated with her. Once again Marie managed to escape from her imprisonment in Compiègne and sought refuge in the Low Countries.

Marie's exile lasted until her death in Cologne in 1642. Though her political power was certainly diminished, she continued to exert influence as a rallying point for Richelieu's opponents. Mathieu de Morgues, a writer formerly in service to Richelieu, joined her entourage in Brussels and launched a barrage of pamphlets that attacked both the cardinal-minister's "tyranny" and France's anti-Habsburg policies and defended Marie de Médicis.

Beyond her political legacy, Marie played a role as a major patron of the arts. Shortly after Henry IV's assassination, she engaged Salomon de Brosse to begin work on a new palace, one that would prove more suitable than the dour, somewhat medieval Louvre as the residence of a queen. Completed in 1623, the Luxembourg Palace combined French tastes with Italian splendor. Its interior, the "Medici Gallery," was graced with a series of enormous paintings (now in the Louvre in Paris) executed by Peter Paul Rubens depicting "The Life of Marie de' Medici" from her birth to her reconciliation with the king in 1619.

See also Henry IV (France); Louis XIII (France); Medici Family; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Rubens, Peter Paul.

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MARILLAC, MICHEL DE (1560–1632), French political and religious figure. Scion of an old noble family from the Auvergne with a long history of service to the ducs de Bourbon and then the French monarchy, Marillac was born in Paris on the eve of the Wars of Religion. His father, superintendent of the royal finances in 1569, died in 1573, and

Marillac was raised by an uncle. He married Nicola

(Marguerite) Barbe de la Fortune in 1587 and had six children with her; after her death in 1600, he married Marie de Saint-Germain in 1601.

Law studies and practice as a barrister prepared Marillac for an office as councillor in the Paris parlement in 1586. His active participation in the Catholic League for several years after 1589 might have destroyed his career, but some deft footwork in 1593 enabled him to draw a discreet veil over it. With the consent of the new king, Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610), Marillac became a master of requests in 1595. In this capacity he worked mainly as an agent of the royal council, embarking on numerous missions to the provinces and carrying out judicial and financial commissions, especially under Chancellor Nicolas Brûlart de Sillery (1607-1624), an experience that enduringly shaped his view of government. When Marillac resigned as master of requests in 1612, Sillery made him councillor of state, a post in which he specialized in financial affairs. This advancement was supported by Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), the queen regent during the minority of Louis XIII (ruled 1601-1643), to whom the Marillac extended family was already attached by ties of marriage and household service.

These personal and political connections dovetailed with the religious ones that were central to the so-called Dévot movement that emerged after the religious wars. Marillac was an emblematic figure of the movement. He apparently wished at various moments to abandon his career for the religious life. After 1602 he was closely associated with the influential Acarie circle, dedicated to pursuing spiritual renewal and reform. Some of the most significant religious developments of the time, such as the introduction into France of the Spanish reformed Carmelites (1604) and the foundation by Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629) of the French Oratory (1611), were spearheaded by the circle. Marillac used his professional position to enable these and numerous other religious foundations to negotiate the legal and financial obstacles to their development. His personal combination of scholarship and religion led him to publish his own translations of the Imitation of Christ (1621) and the Psalms and Canticles (1625).

Marillac's career exemplified the myriad links between religion and politics under Louis XIII, and they propelled him toward higher office in royal service, especially once Marie de Médicis recovered her political influence during the early 1620s. She and Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) enabled Marillac to serve as finance minister from August 1624 until June 1626, when he moved sideways to the more congenial post of keeper of the seals, whose responsibilities far transcended judicial affairs. His activity as keeper was the culmination of his long career as a magistrate, which had made him acutely aware of the need to overhaul and improve internal government, as the Estates-General (1614) and successive Assemblies of Notables (1617, 1626) had demanded. This led him to envisage reform from above via comprehensive royal ordinances. With its 461 articles, the vast Code Michau of 1629 (nicknamed for Mirallac) was largely but not exclusively his doing. It codified numerous existing laws and focused mainly on religious, judicial, and financial reforms. Simultaneously Marillac's ministerial responsibilities convinced him of the corruption of government. His efforts at reform, which involved curbing the powers of the parlements and provincial Estates, earned him a reputation as being even more authoritarian than Richelieu. However, the real differences between them were in temperament and emphasis.

The political consensus that brought Richelieu and Marillac into office broke down once the Protestant revolts ended in 1629. Marillac emerged as the principal Dévot critic of Richelieu's anti-Habsburg strategy. Apart from rejecting Protestant alliances, Marillac feared that war, by perpetuating disorder and preventing badly needed reforms, would weaken France further. Marie de Médicis rallied to this position in 1630 and agreed to demand Richelieu's removal from office. Instead, Marillac lost out in the prolonged infighting that erupted in the Day of the Dupes (10-11 November 1630). Disgraced and arrested, Marillac was kept in detention in Châteaudun, where he died in August 1632. He was luckier than his half brother, who was executed after a show trial on trumped-up charges. Much remains mysterious about the wellsprings of the career of a man whose only biographer, his admiring disciple Lefebvre de Lezeau, reduced his life to an instantiation of religious virtue and high-minded self-denial, a man who was seemingly devoid of all ambition yet who might well have replaced Richelieu as chief minister to Louis XIII.

See also Absolutism; Louis XIII (France); Marie de Médicis; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

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MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER (1564-1593), English dramatist and poet. Marlowe lived an exciting, if short, life—part writer of renown and part—it is claimed—government agent. The son of a Canterbury shoemaker named John Marlowe, he obtained a scholarship to the King's School in Canterbury; from 1580 he attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, receiving his B.A. in 1584. Although he remained at Cambridge, completing his M.A. in 1587, documents show that his attendance became sporadic, and there is much speculation concerning his activities from 1584 to 1587, the year he left. A Privy Council letter written to the college and dated 29 June 1587 indicates that prior to that date he had been engaged in government business, possibly as an agent spying on the Roman Catholic seminary at Rheims.

What is most discussed about the writer's life is to what extent he was a spy, an atheist, and a homosexual. In 1593, the year of his death, another government agent called Richard Baines reported that Marlowe had uttered heresies against the teachings of the church. He quoted Marlowe as saying that "Moyses was but a jugler," and that religion only evolved in order to control nations. According to Baines's testimony, Marlowe had said: "all they that love not Tobacco & Boies were fooles."

Marlowe arrived in London soon after he left Cambridge, but not much is known about this time. His first play, *Dido*, *Queen of Carthage*, was written in collaboration with his Cambridge associate Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), and may have been completed c. 1586, though it was not published until 1594. It was first performed by the Children of the Queen's Chapel. However, the Admiral's Men, an adult company under the management of Philip Henslowe, certainly performed his famous work for the stage—the highly successful Tamburlaine the Great, about a pagan leader, which appeared in 1587 and was published in 1590. This play along with its sequel, The Second Part of Tamburlaine, has been cited as marking "the beginning of modern drama" (Wiggins and Lindsey). The Admiral's Men went on producing Marlowe's plays into the late 1580s and early 1590s, with Edward Alleyn, the actor-manager of the company, taking the main role in all productions. These included *The Tragical His*tory of Dr. Faustus (published in 1604), The Jew of Malta (1633), The Massacre at Paris (1594?), and Edward II (1594).

Marlowe's poetry, in particular his *Hero and Leander*, is also defined as distinctively ground-breaking work of the English Renaissance. All his verse, including *Hero and Leander*, "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," and his translations of Ovid and Lucan, were reputedly written during his Cambridge years, although there is no real evidence of this. It was all published during the period 1598 to 1600, with two endings penned by other writers for the unfinished *Hero and Leander* of 1598.

The traces we have of Marlowe's life indicate a personality of violent temperament. In 1589 he was arrested after a duel with one William Bradley, and he was put into Newgate Prison in London. In 1592, having been sent back from the Lowlands by Sir Robert Sidney, the governor of Flushing, he was bound over to keep the peace after fighting with two city constables, and in September of the same year he was accused of assaulting a Canterbury tailor. He is known to have shared a lodging with another dramatist of the age, Thomas Kyd, who was to say of Marlowe (in 1593) that he was "intemperate and of a cruel heart," possessing "monstrous opinions" and given to "attempting sudden privy injuries to men." However, Kyd was himself arrested at the time, and doubt may be thrown onto his motives for this description. Marlowe's death makes a bloody end to a colorfully interpreted life. He was killed by Ingram Friser in a brawl that ostensibly concerned a "reckoning" or bill; however, because of the shady people involved, including Friser, who was employed by Thomas Walsingham, the nephew of Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's secretary of state, the doubt has persisted that Marlowe—an early, eloquent, and powerful user of the English language—was assassinated on the orders of a high-ranking official.

See also Drama: English; English Literature and Language; Shakespeare, William.

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MARRIAGE. Marriage lay at the heart of early modern society. It created the basic social unit, the household: the site of childrearing, economic production, and mutual care and affection. Marriage tied families together in economic and social networks and, at higher social levels, cemented political alliances and even royal dynasties. It was also a major means of transmitting wealth through dowries, the resources that a woman brought to a marriage. Moreover in contemporary eyes marriage had the moral functions of channeling sexuality, creating new Christians, and supporting the divinely ordained patriarchal, or male-dominated, order.

Such a complex institution interested many beyond the individual bride and groom. Parents tried to use children's marriages to improve their family's economic or social situation, sometimes clashing with their children over choices of spouses. The inhabitants of a couple's neighborhood or village also sought to enforce community norms regarding the suitability of a couple. Religious and secular legisla-

tion regulated different aspects of marriage, and in the sixteenth century church and state revised marriage laws to gain more control over their subjects. Some historians believe that marriage practices did not change during the early modern period, but many think that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries legal developments along with economic and cultural shifts contributed to a more explicit valuation of love, a diminution of parental control, and a simplification of weddings.

#### FINDING A PARTNER

As a rule a person married someone who came from roughly the same social class. The aristocracy in particular, especially in France and Italy, deplored the misalliance. But people also recognized that marriage was an important means of social mobility, as when a wealthy but common father married his generously dowered daughter to an impoverished but noble groom. Common people tended to take marriage partners from geographically nearby and from within their own or their families' occupations. A servant marrying a servant or an apprentice marrying his master's daughter were typical patterns. Aristocrats had to range farther geographically to find socially appropriate spouses. Both nobles and peasants favored cousin marriages to consolidate property. Catholic canon law placed limitations called "impediments" on marriages between close kin. But people frequently obtained dispensations from these rules, and the Protestant Reformation significantly reduced them.

Age at first marriage depended on economic circumstances and varied according to social status and geographic location. Canon law set the minimum marriage age at twelve for girls and fourteen for boys, although betrothals could be arranged earlier. Aristocratic women were married quite young by modern standards, generally in their midteens to men in their late twenties or thirties, although this difference lessened in the eighteenth century. Commoner spouses tended to be close in age, marrying in their mid- to late twenties after each had worked for several years, the woman for her dowry and the man to obtain the resources and skills necessary to establish himself in an occupation. Urban dwellers, who relied on wage labor, generally married younger than rural inhabitants, who often had to wait for the deaths of their fathers to inherit land. As proto-industrialization in the mid-eighteenth century turned more people into wage laborers, marriage age fell slightly among common people.

While marriage was considered the natural state for adults and most people got married, a noticeable number never married, ranging from 5 percent in some times and places to 25 percent in others. Economic circumstances and family strategies usually kept a person single. Because marriage was an economic partnership, among the common people a woman's lack of a dowry or a man's inability to establish himself in a trade or on a piece of land frequently prevented them from marrying. Some places formalized these controls, like German cities that forbade men to marry until they had become masters in a trade, or towns that barred poor couples from marrying, fearing that such families would become an economic burden. At the same time, however, some institutions and individuals, especially in Italy, gave dowries to poor women to prevent them from becoming prostitutes. Unmarried people usually remained in positions of dependence as servants in the houses of others or as laborers on the farms of their married siblings. Some, however, supported themselves with wage labor in cities, sometimes forming households with other single people.

In the seventeenth century a rapid rise in dowries coupled with a rigid sense of family honor triggered a decline in the numbers of European aristocrats who married because many fathers could not afford noble marriages for all their children. In eighteenth-century Spain dowries could exceed twelve times the bride's family's annual income. In midseventeenth-century Milan three-quarters of female aristocrats never married. Especially in Italy and Spain, spinsters frequently entered convents; in Protestant regions they often lived with kin. This trend was less notable in England, where fathers were more willing to marry their daughters with smaller dowries to social inferiors. Unmarried sons often entered the church or the military. Though single, these men might still establish families by having children with concubines.

Peasant and artisan youths had many opportunities to find marriage partners in their daily lives, laboring in the fields, attending festivals, running

errands, or working in occupations employing both sexes, like hat making or household service. A young man might court a woman at her house, bringing along a male friend and talking at the door or window. At this social level the amount of parental control over children's marriage choices varied widely. Because young people frequently left home to work in their early teens, some seldom or never saw their parents, leaving them a great deal of freedom of choice. But some parents, even quite poor ones, arranged their children's marriages, sometimes at a young age and occasionally using force or threats, in order to create social alliances or enlarge landholdings. While some historians argue that marriages in this period were expected to be loveless, most scholars agree that early modern people expected that two people who loved each other would want to get married, although they subordinated emotions to practical concerns. In most cases parents and children probably tried to agree on a match balancing love with material concerns.

Aristocratic courtship usually only followed family arrangement of a match. Wealthy and especially aristocratic parents tightly controlled their children's, particularly their daughters', contact with members of the opposite sex and also consistently chose their children's spouses to further family strategies. Many wealthy parents distrusted passionate love, believing it formed an insecure base for such an important union. Some, however, tried to ensure that their children agreed with their choices and even that they felt some affection for their intendeds. A few children sought to evade their parents' control to marry partners of their own choosing.

In the eighteenth century the balance between love and material concerns appears to have shifted. Influenced by the Reformation's and especially the Enlightenment's positive evaluation of love, some members of the upper middle class and aristocracy began to consider love the primary goal of marriage and perhaps also to act on this idea. In the same period the rise of proto-industry, cottage production of goods for the market, and wage labor, freed many people from the constraints that land considerations imposed and allowed love to play a larger role in how they chose their spouses.

#### **GETTING MARRIED**

The Catholic canon law that governed marriage formation from the twelfth century through the midsixteenth century rested on the consensual definition of marriage that held that a valid marriage required only the freely given consent of the bride and groom. If the words used were in the present tense, no further action was needed; if they were in the future tense (a marriage promise), then sexual consummation completed the union. Such minimal legal requirements allowed local marriage practices to vary widely, shaped by a combination of communal norms, local law, and diocesan regulations. Everywhere, however, throughout the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth century marrying was not a moment but a series of steps that created new property arrangements, changed the couple into man and wife, and made the union publicly known. Because of the length of the process, it was not always clear at what point a marriage became irrevocable.

Marriage negotiations centered on property settlement: the bride's dowry and any money the groom granted the bride, sometimes known as the morning gift. The details were often finalized in a written contract. As the wife's contribution to the new household, a dowry generally consisted of items such as a bed, linens, cooking implements, and clothing but sometimes also trade or farming implements. Elite dowries contained more opulent household and personal items as well as money and sometimes real estate. Local dowry laws and practices varied, but generally a husband managed the dowry and any revenue it produced during a marriage. A wife gained control of it and the morning gift only if her husband died, when she would need it to support herself or to make a new marriage.

Many couples promised to marry each other in private but also celebrated a formal betrothal. In this ritual the men of the two families—the bride's father, the groom, and other male kin—declared their agreement to the union before witnesses, shaking hands, usually publicly in a church, the town square, or even a tavern but sometimes in a house or before a notary. If the bride was present, she and the groom would also clasp hands. In most places a meal and the couple's exchange of gifts followed: a small token like a handkerchief from the bride and a more substantial gift like jewelry from the groom.

Especially in northern Europe, the parish priest then published the banns, or announced the betrothal, at mass on several consecutive Sundays in order to discover legal impediments to the union. Ecclesiastical and popular opinion considered betrothals strongly binding. Most communities permitted commoners to begin sexual relations even when their betrothal had been arranged in private, which, although discouraged by the church, transformed it into a valid marriage under canon law. Highborn brides were expected to be virgins until after the wedding.

Weddings usually followed several weeks or months after the betrothal. The heart of the ceremony was the couple's words of consent sealed by the ring and kiss. To ensure public knowledge of the union, in northern Europe rowdy village processions accompanied the couple to the church door for the exchange of consent, with music and revelry invoking fertility and highlighting gender roles. Churchmen fearful of remnants of paganism tried to control them. In Italy, where the bride's house was the normal place for the wedding, a procession marked the bride's progress to her new home. In some localities a notary guided the couple through the exchange of vows; in other places the bride's father, a priest, a neighbor, or even the couple themselves played this role. The celebration that followed, as lavish as the couple could afford, ranged from meals at taverns, where the guests paid, to huge feasts with dozens of dishes attended by the whole neighborhood and guests from other cities. Local statutes often limited—with little success the number of guests and dishes.

# CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE REFORM

While most people married publicly, the lack of formal requirements meant that a marriage or betrothal contracted without witnesses, or clandestinely, could still be valid though difficult to prove. Churchmen urged couples to obtain their parents' consent and to celebrate publicly, but ecclesiastical courts also enforced unions that violated these injunctions. Because private betrothals were common and popularly held to permit sexual activity, some women were seduced under false promises of marriage and abandoned. Disputes also arose when one party decided to break a private engagement and marry another—particularly if the repudiated fi-

ancée was pregnant. Some people exchanged marriage vows in secret, usually to escape parental opposition, like Romeo and Juliet. Rates of clandestine marriage and betrothal are impossible to determine, but it is clear that ecclesiastical courts everywhere in Europe were full of suits in which couples disputed whether or not they were married.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many people—especially fathers and secular authorities but also some churchmen—began to find clandestinity particularly troubling, arguing that it caused confusion and dispute while undermining authority, especially of fathers. Secular legal penalties against clandestine marriage, notably in northern Europe, became harsher in this period, ranging from heavy fines to the loss of the bride's dowry to disinheritance. Despite some important differences, Catholics and Protestants responded similarly to the problem, reforming marriage laws to try to turn a sometimes indefinite social process into a definite legal moment overseen by authorities.

Placing new importance on marriage, Protestant reformers abolished celibacy of the clergy and legitimated divorce. Rejecting the consensual definition of marriage, most territories also made parental consent and the presence of witnesses and a minister at the wedding conditions for validity, and placed marriage under secular jurisdiction. England, however, retained the old canon law of marriage until 1753. Catholics responded with new decrees on marriage at the Council of Trent in 1563, rejecting the necessity of parental consent and reaffirming marital indissolubility, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, clerical celibacy, and the principle that free consent created a marriage. However, like Protestants, post-Tridentine Catholics had to exchange consent before a priest and witnesses for the marriage to be valid, and parish priests began keeping written records of marriages.

Despite these formal changes, through the seventeenth century popular practice continued to treat marriage as a process, grafting new requirements, like the priest's presence, onto the existing steps. People also continued to find ways to marry in secret. Catholic couples could dash in and exchange words of consent in front of an unwitting priest, as Alessandro Manzoni described in *The Betrothed* (1825–1827), though a more common route for

both confessions was the secret betrothal, which continued to function essentially as clandestine marriage had because courts continued to enforce betrothals. When increasingly secularized marriage courts ceased doing this in the eighteenth century, betrothal lost its importance. This, combined with a loosening of community ties associated with protoindustrialization, and the growth of reliable record-keeping that diminished the need for publicizing rituals, contributed to the transformation of marriage from a lengthy process into the moment of the couple's exchange of vows.

#### **HUSBANDS AND WIVES**

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries everyone agreed that duty defined the relationship of husband and wife. Churchmen of both confessions held the purpose of marriage to be preserving people from sin by channeling sexuality into procreation. Husbands and wives owed each other the "conjugal debt" of regular (though not passionate) sexual relations, and adultery was a serious crime justifying separation or divorce and even meriting death in some lands. Moralists taught that marriage was a hierarchy that upheld the patriarchal social and political order. The husband, by virtue of his superior masculine reason, ruled the family. Law gave him broad powers to control family property and dependents' behavior, including that of his wife, using moderate physical force if necessary; but it also held him to support his wife adequately and especially manage her dowry responsibly. The duty of the wife—who had few legal or financial abilities—was to help and to obey.

Popular views shaped by daily experience somewhat moderated the rigidity of the learned notions, emphasizing spouses' interrelated fortunes and reciprocal obligations. Husbands and wives were expected to protect each other's person, property, and honor by caring for each other when ill, being frugal and hardworking, treating each other with respect, and refraining from scandalous behavior. Communities used such practices as *charivaris* to enforce these standards; spouses sometimes went to court seeking separations when they were breached.

Marriage formed an economic unit in which the labor of both spouses was usually essential. Economic interdependence made it difficult for unhappy couples to separate or divorce but probably also brought spouses together with a sense of shared purpose. Commoner spouses performed different but complementary tasks: an artisan wife sold her husband's products; a farmwife oversaw the farmyard and house and at harvest might join her husband in the fields. At higher social levels, tasks were usually less directly cooperative. While merchants' wives might oversee business matters when their husbands traveled, aristocratic spouses more often occupied two distinct spheres. A wife's duties running a large household involved significant responsibilities, but her main economic contribution, her dowry, was completely under her husband's control. Highborn spouses' common disparity in ages probably reinforced this separation. Still, some elite husbands spoke of their wives as companions and in their wills granted widows great responsibilities overseeing children and property.

Evidence exists of deep love between some spouses from all social levels, nurtured by the cooperation in their daily lives and perhaps by raising their children. While desirable, people did not hold love to be an essential aspect of the relationship. Sex was an important part of marriage, recognized even by disapproving churchmen, who tried to limit it to the passionless business of procreation. The practice of birth control (mainly male withdrawal) and abortion—though forbidden—and the existence of infertile couples point to the fact that sex enhanced married life in more ways than simply the production of children.

Historians disagree on the degree and chronology of change, but most believe that in the seventeenth century and especially the eighteenth century many people began to see marriage in a different way, as a companionate relationship emphasizing love rather than duty whose goal was happiness. Many point to the Protestant Reformation's more positive evaluation of marriage and particularly to the Enlightenment's emphasis on freedom of choice, affection, and equality in marriage as causes of this change. The secularization of control of marriage reinforced this by increasing the influence of laymen imbued with Enlightenment values. Others argue, however, that for most people the freedom from traditional constraints brought by proto-industrialization enabled them to focus on affective rather than practical aspects of marriage.

#### REMARRIAGE

High mortality rates from disease and childbirth meant that a marriage lasted on average less than twenty years. As many as a quarter to a third of marriages were not first marriages but remarriages following the death of a spouse or, much less frequently and only in Protestant regions, divorce. Dissolving a marriage also dissolved an economic unit. A widower almost always remarried quickly, needing someone to run his household, help in his occupation, and raise his children. The advanced age of the groom frequently angered young unmarried men, who banded into groups to harass the prospective spouses in charivaris. Widows, especially those with small children, often had trouble remarrying unless they had property. Without a man's income, widows and their children made up a significant portion of the urban poor.

See also Concubinage; Daily Life; Divorce; Family; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.

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EMLYN EISENACH

MARSEILLE. Overlooking the Mediterranean, and located not far from the mouth of the Rhône River, the port city of Marseille linked the economy of France to Italy, Spain, the Ottoman Empire, and North Africa. A city conscious of, indeed proud of, its Greek origins and its ancient lineage, Marseille entered the realm of France in 1481 when control of Provence passed by inheritance from the Angevin counts to the kings of France. Despite Marseille's recent incorporation, it rapidly became one of the crown's *bonne villes* ('good cities'), a city that enjoyed a special relationship with the monarchy based on its strategic position and its resolute Catholicity.

The population and economy of Marseille grew substantially over the early modern period. In 1524, approximately 15,000 people lived in the city; by 1698, inhabitants numbered about 65,000; and, during the French Revolution, Marseille's population fluctuated between 93,000 and 110,000. Earlier, its economy was based on its position as a regional commercial center, and later as a Mediterranean entrepôt (warehouse). In the late sixteenth century, Marseille succeeded in dominating Europe's trade with the Levant and the Barbary Coast, but, until 1660, this trading nexus experienced spurts of growth tempered by periods of contraction. Under King Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), the king's finance minister, royal policies ensured more sustained growth for the city and its ties to the Levant. In 1669, the crown created tariffs that discouraged any trade with the Levant that did not occur under the auspices of Marseille merchants and their enterprises. Henceforth, most of the wheat, sugar, coffee, and cotton textiles that entered France from the Levant would pass through Marseille, the bonne ville.

The families that prospered by this privileged trading position had long dominated urban society and municipal politics. In a number of cases, their elite status was reinforced by claims to nobility,



Marseille. Le port de Marseilles, by Claude Vernet, 1754. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

since it was possible in Marseille to engage in commerce and to call oneself noble or *écwyer* (literally, 'horseman' or 'squire'). This merchant aristocracy was organized into factions by marriage connections and ties of patronage, and it was through such factions that aristocrats controlled the municipal council and acted as major players in provincial politics (though the seat of provincial and royal government was in nearby Aix-en-Provence). In the process, they competed to manipulate the masses of fishermen and laborers who made up the majority of Marseille's population.

Factional struggle characterized, and explains, much of the political narrative of early modern Marseille. Even during the period of the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), politics and factionalism constituted far greater sources of instability than Protestantism because Marseille always remained a staunchly Catholic city. Indeed, reformed Catholicism became deeply associated with the communal values of the city, and Marseille's numerous confraternities (all-male lay religious organizations) provided a vehicle for a new style of religious life. This

local revival of Catholicism began in the early sixteenth century, long before the era of religious conflict in France, and the fact that Protestantism and religious violence were notably absent in Marseille suggests the extent to which Catholic reform succeeded. Like the city itself, reform and the confraternities fell under the control of the merchant aristocracy.

But reform, albeit Catholic, was not entirely without conflict. In the 1580s the reform movement in Marseille developed connections to the Catholic League throughout France, whose political goal was to maintain a limited monarchy in which power was shared by the king and the nobility. In 1591 Charles de Casaulx (1547–1596), with a good deal of popular support, seized control of Marseille's government and initiated a more radical agenda that served the goal of France's Catholic League. His dictatorship and Leaguer program set the city in opposition to Henry IV, thereby jeopardizing its status as one of the monarchy's *bonnes villes*. After Henry's conversion to Catholicism, Casaulx sought an alliance with Philip II of Spain.

By refusing to accept France's first Bourbon monarch, Casaulx and supporters discredited the city and this phase of its Catholic mission. As a result, Casaulx was assassinated in 1596 by an elite conspiracy, and his demise opened the way for control by elites more willing to comply with the absolutist vision of Henry IV. In this way, Marseille, ever the bonne ville, became a cornerstone of Bourbon policies in Provence.

See also Catholic League (France); Confraternities; Henry IV (France); Levant; Louis XIV (France); Wars of Religion, French.

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Donna Bohanon

# MARTYRS AND MARTYROLOGY.

The politico-religious struggles of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations produced a revival of the creation of martyrs and martyrologies. The conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, most notably in northern Europe, caused numerous casualties, many of whom voluntarily sacrificed their lives in the name of their religious beliefs. Those who "correctly" testified for their particular faith were recognized as martyrs; those who did not were categorized as antimartyrs or simply heretics. The martyrs' stories were then collected by various editors in significant volumes, which were published and used as literary weapons in the struggle against persecution providing inspiration, education, edification, and the defense of their particular causes.

#### **MARTYRS**

The term "martyr" is taken from the Greek *martus* meaning 'witness' or 'testifier'. Hence, those who witnessed their faith with their blood could posthumously be recognized as such. From the beginning, Protestantism had been identified as a threat to both Catholic states and the Roman Church, and its adherents were then perceived as not only heretics but

also traitors. On the Continent the persecution of Protestants began in the 1520s. Most of the first generation of martyrs emerged from the clergy and monastic orders. As Protestantism spread and expanded during the 1540s, the second generation, which included women, peasants, artisans, and those of the professional class, experienced heightened persecution especially in France, as heresy was defined under the Edict of Fontainebleau (1540) as treason against God and king.

The level and type of persecution, however, varied from region to region and fluctuated depending on the power of the religious minority (Catholic or Protestant) or the religious confession of the monarch. For example, in England both Protestants and Catholics were persecuted depending on the politico-religious views of the monarch, creating Protestant martyrs during the reign of Mary Tudor and Catholic martyrs during the reign of Elizabeth I. And in the German territories the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555 decreased the overall number of martyrs when it became the right of individual princes to choose the religion of their territory. Anabaptists, however, were persecuted throughout northern Europe and experienced no toleration.

Normally, a heretic would be arrested, interrogated, and given the opportunity to recant. Those who did would be penalized with a fine or public penance or both; those who did not would then suffer capital punishment at the hands of the state. Their "criminal" confession would later be transformed by their supporters into a "religious" confession, which was considered to be a "mark" of a martyr. The executions of heretics/martyrs were for the most part public events held in town or city squares, intended to discourage others and to demonstrate state authority, though displays of constancy by martyrs often served as vehicles for conversion for some observers. Forms of capital punishment included immolation, interment alive, hanging, beheading, and drowning. Mob violence also created martyrs as tensions between religious factions led to communal retaliation for perceived religious offenses or slights.

Faced with persecution, religious noncompliants (Catholic or Protestant) had three options: to remain in place and practice their faiths, risking the legal penalties of losing not only land, home,

offices, and wealth, but also their lives, which is to say, to risk martyrdom; second, to go into exile and still lose many if not all of their goods and lands, leaving behind family in many instances; or third, to dissimulate as Nicodemites (to appear Catholic while hiding Protestant beliefs).

# MARTYROLOGY

The martyr was not simply an individual: once recognized with the title, he became a representation and embodiment of the movement to which he belonged. He would then become a symbol in the struggle against persecution. This transformation is evident in martyrdom's literary companion, the martyrology, a compilation of the accounts of the martyrs' lives and deaths. During the mid-sixteenth century no fewer than seven major Protestant martyrologies were produced, many of which were issued in multiple editions and languages: Ludwig Rabe, Der heiligen aus erwohlten Gottes Zeugen Bekennen und Martyren (1552; The history of god's chosen witnesses, confessors, and martyrs); John Foxe, Acts and Monuments (1563); Jean Crespin, Le livre des martyrs (1554; The book of martyrs); Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Catalogus testium veritatis (1556; Catalogue of witnesses to the truth); Adriaan Cornelis van Haemstede, De Gheschiedenisse ende den doodt der vromer Martelaren (1559; History and deaths of the devout martyrs); Heinrich Pantaleone, Martyrum historia (1563; History of martyrs); and Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, L'histoire des persecutions, et martyrs de l'église de Paris (1563; The history of the persecutions and martyrs of the church of Paris). Many of these editors/authors drew upon each others' works or corresponded, universalizing the plight of those suffering persecution.

The editors/authors of these martyrologies modeled their texts on the historical and hagiographical works of Eusebius of Caesarea (the fourth-century *Ecclesiastical History*) and Jacobus de Voragine (the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*). The association with the early Christian tradition of martyrdom and genre of martyrology demonstrated a continuum between the two groups, attempting to prove the Protestants direct heirs to the first Christians. This connection also legitimated the disobedience of the Protestants toward the Catholic hierarchy in continuing a tradition of sacri-

fice sanctioned and even demanded by God. By drawing upon the martyrological tradition, the Protestant movements could claim the legitimating notion that "persecution marks the true church of God," a phrase Jean Crespin employed in the preface to his first edition.

In light of the multiplicity of claims to the name "Christian," a primary goal of the martyrologists was to define correct belief against those who espoused heresy. They identified their martyrs as those who testified "correctly" and who died confessing their particular movement's doctrine. Hence, the martyr's verbal or written confession of faith, sometimes as a letter to the faithful or a family member or as the "criminal" confession obtained during interrogation, was the focal point of the accounts. In the midst of the expanding number of martyrologies representing numerous religious movements, Calvinist and Lutheran works clearly protested and attacked Catholic "idolatry," "superstition," and "innovation" through their martyrs' testimonies and experiences. Catholic polemicists responded to this proliferation of Protestant martyrologies by creating their own "antimartyrologies," which then challenged the title of "martyr" assigned to those they considered heretics and criminals. Anabaptist martyrs, while recognized as "dying well," were decried as antimartyrs dying for the wrong confession by both Catholics and mainstream Protestants.

Due to their production during times of persecution, the martyrologies contain a prominent element of propaganda. The individual accounts of martyrs were placed in highly political, polemical, and historical contexts. The accounts themselves were constructed using eyewitness accounts, trial records, and personal and epistolatory letters that were then woven together with commentaries (including previously published pamphlets) on the events, nature, and origins of the persecution to create a larger history of their movements. Most importantly, the martyrologies embodied the polemical stance of the faiths they represented.

The target audience for these martyrologies was their faithful coreligionists. The martyrs' stories and context offered consolation and encouragement to the reader, while also providing models for comportment and correct doctrine. These works and the individuals whose stories they tell were significant weapons in the struggle against persecution.

See also Anabaptism; Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Catholicism; Hagiography; Reformation, Protestant.

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NIKKI SHEPARDSON

MARVELS AND WONDERS. Early modern European writers used the terms marvel or wonder to refer to a well-defined body of unusual phenomena that included things such as comets, volcanoes, conjoined twins, magnets, rains of stone, and petrifying springs. These phenomena, a grouping inherited from medieval sources, lay between the commonplace and the absolutely miraculous. Unlike commonplace objects, they were rare and often exotic, and some had remarkable properties, such as the attractive powers of the magnet or the ability of the unicorn horn to neutralize poison. Unlike miracles, they were understood to be the product of natural causes, although the nature of those causes and their precise combination was difficult to comprehend. What such phenomena had in common was their ability to produce wonder in their observers, a kind of amazement that shaded into pleasure or fear.

The years around 1500 saw an explosion of interest in wonders among people at every level of European society. This new fascination took various forms. Certain kinds of marvels—notably monstrous births, such as conjoined twins, and celestial apparitions, such as comets—were taken to be prodigies or omens that were intimations of divine displeasure at particular moral behaviors or political and religious positions. Viewed in this light, marvels became a salient feature of the confessional polemics

unleashed by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. At the same time, however, wonders could have strong positive associations, and the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the appearance of a widespread appreciation of marvels as sources of pleasure and delight. While parasitic twins, armless calligraphers, and two-headed pigs displayed themselves, or were displayed, in taverns, fairs, and markets, as well in the courts of Europe, the wealthy and the learned surrounded themselves with natural wonders, such as the dried bodies of mermaids or birds of paradise, and marvels of human ingenuity, such as a cherrystone carved with hundreds of tiny faces. Although only princes could afford the most precious of wonders, such as jeweled automata or nautilus shells mounted in gold, some of the earliest and most enthusiastic collectors of natural wonders were apothecaries and medical men, who hoped to explore and exploit their healing powers.

In addition to being evocative and powerful objects, wonders were also good to think with, and they played an important role in the early modern project to produce a reformed science of nature. Sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century philosophers sought to offer new rational explanations for natural marvels, attributing these to, among other things, planetary influences, subtle vapors, and the power of the human imagination to shape the material world. Increasingly, however, it became clear that attempts of this sort were doomed to failure and that more dramatic reform was called forreform in which wonders nonetheless had an important part to play. As the English philosopher Francis Bacon argued, marvelous phenomena served both a critical and a constructive role; defying existing explanatory categories, they underscored the total inadequacy of the old science, while they pointed toward something new. Buoyed by this vision, members of the newly founded scientific societies of the mid- to later seventeenth century, the French Royal Academy of Sciences and, especially, the Royal Society of London, collected observations of extraordinary phenomena, from two-headed calves to meteorite showers.

In the end, however, wonders gradually lost their aesthetic appeal and their intellectual cachet, at least in the minds of the cultivated. In part, this was because it proved impractical to construct a new science on the basis of the unique and the bizarre. Philosophers found themselves increasingly attracted to a vision of the natural order as bound tightly to its divine creator and characterized by simplicity and economy, and by uniform and unbreakable natural laws; such a vision rendered extraordinary phenomena misleading or irrelevant. Finally, the learned and the powerful began to connect the fascination with wonders, which had gripped all levels of European society, with a range of undesirable cultural movements associated with the vulgar: political disorder, religious enthusiasm, and tasteless naïveté. Eighteenth-century politicians, divines, and philosophers rejected wonders as violations of the principles of order, regularity, and decorum that underpinned Enlightenment ideals.

Until recently, these enlightened values and the view of the natural order they reflected so permeated Western intellectual culture that well into the later twentieth century wonders were seen as peripheral—even opposed to—rational attempts to understand the natural order. The marvels that figured so prominently in early modern art and literature were tactfully ignored by historians or interpreted as "medieval" holdovers. In the last twenty-five years, however, scholars have begun to focus their attention on the wonders that so preoccupied the entire population of early modern Europe, revealing a complex and differentiated culture of the marvelous that reflected some of the deepest values of that world.

See also Alchemy; Astrology; Enlightenment; Magic; Miracles; Natural Law; Nature; Popular Culture; Secrets, Books of; Scientific Method.

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KATHARINE PARK

MARY I (ENGLAND) (1516–1558; ruled 1553–1558), queen of England and Ireland.

Mary's early life was dominated by her dynastic importance as daughter of Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547) and heir to England's crown, involving negotiations for betrothal first to the French dauphin and then to her Habsburg cousin Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). Although Charles chose another prospective bride, her relationship with him remained one of the most important factors in her life. In 1525 she was created Princess of Wales, but from 1527 the estrangement of Henry VIII from her mother Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) undermined her position. Prevented from seeing Catherine after 1531, she was bastardized when the Aragon marriage was annulled (1533) and reduced to a lady-in-waiting to the new heir presumptive, Elizabeth (ruled 1558-1603). The death of Anne Boleyn (1507?–1536) brought further humiliation. After spirited resistance, in 1536 Mary was forced to acknowledge herself a bastard.

Mary's position improved after Henry's final marriage to Catherine Parr (1512-1548) in 1543 and an act of Parliament in 1544 recognized her as second in line to the throne. During the reign of her half-brother Edward VI (1547–1553), she faced fresh troubles by stubbornly maintaining the Catholic liturgy. In 1550 unsuccessful efforts were made to arrange her escape to Habsburg territories. Edward's privy council tried to bypass her in making Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554) queen in 1553, but aided by Catholic advisers, Mary drew on popular provincial outrage at this insult to Henry VIII's bloodline and staged a brilliantly effective coup d'état based in East Anglia. She moved swiftly to restore not only traditional worship but also obedience to the pope (a much less popular cause), although legal problems delayed England's reconciliation with Rome until November 1554. She also insisted on keeping the title of "kingdom" for the island of Ireland, which her father had unilaterally adopted in place of the former papal grant to English monarchs of "lordship" of Ireland. She brushed aside objections to marriage with her cousin Charles V's son King Philip II (ruled 1556-1598) of Spain, which crystallized in Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion (January 1554). Amidst general panic in London at the rebels' approach, Mary displayed firm courage and rallied support in a major speech at Guildhall. To her joy, Philip arrived to marry her at Winchester Cathedral on 25 July 1554.

Once the old heresy laws were restored (1555), persecution included almost three hundred burnings of Protestants. This was more intense than any previous English antiheresy campaign and uncomfortably reminiscent of recent Habsburg persecution in the Netherlands. Protestant sufferings handed a propaganda asset to her opponents, but Mary obstinately persisted in encouraging the burnings. Her hopes for Catholicism were complicated in 1555, when Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa was elected Pope Paul IV (reigned 1555-1559). He was bitterly anti-Spanish and an old enemy of the papal legate in England, Mary's close ally and cousin Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558). Mary, who wished to be the papacy's most loyal daughter, defied the pope when he revoked Pole's legatine powers and tried to summon him to Rome on heresy charges. Meanwhile her marriage did not produce an heir to secure a Catholic future. Mary's belief that she was pregnant caused national embarrassment and ridicule when the truth became plain in summer 1555. Philip's good nature was strained by the English lack of enthusiasm for his presence. He returned in 1557 only to secure England's help for Spain in war against France (and the papacy). After initial success, the French capture of Calais, England's last mainland European territory, in January 1558 was a bitter blow, and Mary's illness that summer was not her longed-for child but stomach cancer. She knew in her terminal illness that her half-sister Elizabeth would destroy everything she had worked for. Pole died of influenza within hours of Mary on 17 November.

Mary's brief reign provokes differing assessments. Traditionally mainstream English historiography saw reaction, an unimaginative return to the pre-1529 past. A. G. Dickens stressed Protestant vigor that rendered her task a losing battle, and both A. F. Pollard and G. R. Elton were drawn to the metaphor of sterility in describing the reign. Eamon Duffy has led reassessments of Mary's religious program, stressing elements anticipating Roman Catholic Church reforms after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), for instance, Pole's proposals for clergy training colleges (seminaries) attached to cathedrals and the provision of instructional literature, some of which drew on initiatives of the early Reformation in England. In secular government, administrative and financial reorganization begun by Edward's government officials continued. Major restructurings of customs revenue and of provisions for national defense were not greatly modified for more than half a century. Philip also encouraged naval expansion, which ironically chiefly benefited Elizabeth and her later wars against him. However the reign is judged, Mary's blighted personal history can only attract sympathy.

See also Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); England; Henry VIII (England); Philip II (Spain); Tudor Dynasty (England).

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DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

MARY II (ENGLAND). See William and Mary.

MATERIAL CULTURE. See Clothing; Consumption; Food and Drink; Housing.

MATHEMATICS. In his "Mathematical Praeface" to the Elements of Euclid of 1570, Elizabethan polymath John Dee (1527-1608) expounded on the importance and utility of mathematics to all fields of human endeavor. Field after field, he argued, from those we would find obvious (like navigation) to those we would find arcane (astrology) or outlandish (thaumaturgike), would benefit from the systematic application of mathematics. Although Dee was promoting a role for mathematics that was just taking shape during his lifetime, his vision did indeed prove prophetic. Undoubtedly, one of the most striking features of intellectual life in the early modern period is the startling expansion in the scholarly and practical domains covered by mathematics.

#### MATHEMATICS AND ITS CRITICS

Prior to the sixteenth century, mathematics in the West was a well-defined and circumscribed field consisting of two main branches: arithmetic, which had obvious practical applications in commerce and banking, and Euclidean geometry, which had few practical uses apart from astrology and, occasionally, optics. While mathematics was generally admired for the certainty and universality of its claims, the world as a whole, in keeping with Aristotelian tradition, was distinctly unmathematical, being governed by qualitative rather than quantitative rules. By the eighteenth century this view had been turned on its head: not only was an ever increasing number of fields being subjected to mathematical analysis, but the world itself had come to be understood as fundamentally mathematical in nature.

These developments were by no means a foregone conclusion in the sixteenth century; if anything, they seemed highly unlikely. For mathematics, far from being universally acknowledged as central to the intellectual and technological life of the age, was at the time being challenged as never before from various quarters.

Conservative critics, defending the established order of knowledge, challenged the truth claims of mathematics as incompatible with prevailing Aristotelian standards. Prominent among them were Italian philosopher Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1578) and the Jesuit Benito Pereira (c. 1535-1610), who challenged the explanatory value of mathematical proofs. Proper scientific explanations, they argued with perfect Aristotelian orthodoxy, were causal arguments, proceeding from the true essence of objects to their properties. Mathematics, however, had no proper subject matter at all, and it could say nothing about the essential nature of physical objects. All mathematics could do was point to logical relations between hypothetical propositions, and thus it was a fundamentally inferior type of knowledge.

Mathematics did not fare much better among the new generation of reformers, who sought to uproot the Aristotelian framework and replace it with new conceptions of knowledge. In breaking the hold of Aristotelian standards on contemporary natural philosophy, many reformers found little use for mathematics. Its rigid procedures and unchanging truths seemed an unpromising basis for a radical reform of knowledge. The study of nature, many argued, should proceed through unmediated experience and systematic trial and error. The rigorous deductive reasoning characteristic of mathematics could only lead to predetermined and unvarying results. The maverick Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), for example, argued that mathematics could only describe the external appearance of phenomena, but never penetrate their hidden secrets. Similarly, in England, Francis Bacon (1561–1626) in the *Novum Organum* insisted that mathematics "should only give limits to natural philosophy, not generate or beget it."

Mathematics did, of course, have many prominent defenders, ranging from the Jesuit Christopher Clavius (1537–1612) to Galileo Galilei (1564– 1642) and René Descartes (1596-1650), each insisting in his way on the essential role of mathematics in any meaningful scheme of knowledge. But the very range of suggestions these and other natural philosophers offered for the role of mathematics in the general scheme of knowledge makes it clear that the fundamental questions raised by the challenges to mathematics did not go away. The critiques raised the fundamental questions that would guide the development of mathematics throughout the early modern period: what is mathematics, and how is it related to the natural world? The history of mathematics in this period is the story of the various answers that were given to these questions.

# THE WORLD AS MIRROR OF MATHEMATICS

The fundamental answer to the critiques of mathematics was given by Galileo in his *Assayer* of 1623, when he wrote that the universe "is written in the language of mathematics." Galileo was expressing the widely held notion among practitioners that mathematics, far from being devoid of all subject matter as claimed by its critics, had the entire natural world as its object. But while most agreed that mathematics was closely integrated with the physical world, the precise nature of their relationship remained a matter of intense dispute.

One leading approach accepted the classical view of mathematics as a rigorous deductive science of number and magnitude. The universal laws of mathematics, in this view, were the fundamental laws that governed material reality. Thus when one is investigating mathematical and geometrical rela-

tionships, one is in fact investigating the basic structure of matter.

The chief promoter of this approach was René Descartes, who viewed mathematics as a fundamental rational law laid down by God for his creation. Once God, the divine architect, had set in motion his perfectly rational universe, it would henceforth operate forever in accordance with mathematical principles. Mathematical investigations are accordingly studies of the divine plan for the natural world, and the world is the direct expression of abstract mathematical principles.

Descartes's scientific work directly reflects this fundamental understanding. In his *Meditations* and the *Discourse on Method*, Descartes insisted that by following strict rational rules one could, in principle, follow God and "create" the world step by step. Rigorous rational deduction was therefore the key to knowledge of the natural world, and Descartes proceeded to demonstrate the effectiveness of this principle in short treatises on optics and the colors of the rainbow, which were attached to the early editions of the *Discourse*.

Descartes's most important contribution to mathematics was also a reflection of his religious and philosophical views. The *Geometry* was the founding text of analytic geometry and, like Descartes's other scientific treatises, was published as an appendix to the *Discourse*. In essence, the new field demonstrated the fundamentally mathematical nature of the physical world. Abstract algebraic relationships (that is, y=3Dax+b) were shown to have actual physical manifestations (in this case, a straight line). In pointing out these hidden relationships Descartes was unveiling the divine mathematical laws that governed the world. Mathematics, in this view, was a perfectly rational and logical web of relationships that determined the nature of physical reality.

# MATHEMATICS AS THE MIRROR OF THE WORLD

While Descartes was honing his analytical geometry, a very different mathematical approach, based on a very different understanding of the relationship of mathematics to the world, was being developed elsewhere in Europe. The use of infinitesimals, or "indivisibles" as they were most commonly called, in calculating lengths, areas, and volumes of geometrical figures was the most dramatic and impor-

tant development in seventeenth-century mathematics. Fundamentally, the procedure involved reducing geometrical objects into an infinite number of their component parts: lines were viewed as an infinite collection of points, surfaces as made up of an infinite number of lines, and solids of surfaces. The length, area, or volume of the figure as a whole would then be calculated as the infinite sum of its elementary components.

The fundamental assumptions underlying this procedure were highly questionable and seemed to fly in the face of paradoxes that had been well known since antiquity. Descartes, who was much concerned with the perfect rational structure of mathematics, rejected infinitesimals and excluded them from the bounds of mathematics. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of this approach in reaching correct and previously unknown results was undeniable, and it was embraced enthusiastically by mathematicians across Europe. Thomas Hariot (1560-1621) and John Wallis (1616-1703) in England, Galileo and his disciples Bonaventura Cavalieri (c. 1598-1647) and Evangelista Torricelli (1608-1647) in Italy, Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) in Germany, and Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) in France were but a few of the most prominent practitioners of the new methods.

The infinitesimalist mathematicians' view of the relationship between mathematics and the world was, in many ways, the reverse of Descartes's approach. Whereas Descartes assumed that pure mathematical relationships governed the structure of matter, the infinitesimalists modeled mathematics on an intuition of the physical world. Geometrical bodies could be broken down into their indivisible components because, by analogy, physical bodies could be divided in the same way. As Cavalieri, whose Geometria Indivisibilibus was the most influential book about the theory and practice of indivisibles, wrote in his introduction, "plane figures should be conceived by us in the same manner as cloths are made up of parallel threads, and solids are in fact like books, composed of parallel pages."

The infinitesimalists' approach to mathematics drew much of its inspiration from the empiricist experimental philosophy that was gaining ground throughout Europe at this time. Much as the experimentalists sought to penetrate through external appearances and bring to light the inner structure of the material world, the new mathematicians sought to uncover the "inner structure" of geometrical figures, which in their view was the true cause of all geometrical relationships. Both groups, furthermore, adopted the imagery of geographical exploration as their guiding metaphor, presenting themselves as adventurous explorers on the hazardous seas of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Like their experimentalist colleagues, the infinitesimalists made the discovery of new and correct results the true test of their success, and like them they often adopted a methodology of trial and error in searching for the correct answers. This "experimental" approach to mathematics accounts for the infinitesimalists' relative disregard for the niceties of mathematical rigor and consistency. In their view, if a method produces true results, it must be fundamentally correct, and there was no point in spending too much time on clarifying the finer logical points. The most outspoken and unapologetic proponent of this approach was probably John Wallis, who advocated applying the experimentalists' "method of induction" to mathematics, in preference to traditional rigorous mathematical deduction.

While the new infinitesimalist approaches were in wide use in the seventeenth century, they were also seriously challenged in certain influential quarters. The issues at stake were not purely mathematical in nature, but involved wide-ranging philosophical, religious, and even political considerations. For one thing, the new approaches carried the taint of atomism—the ancient view that all material objects could be reduced to indivisible particles called "atoms" (from the Greek *atomos*, 'uncuttable'). Indeed there was no denying that the fundamental insights of the new mathematics and even its name strongly hinted that infinitesimalist mathematics was nothing but an expansion of atomism into mathematics.

This in turn led to a deeper difficulty: the suspicion that the new mathematics was based not just on atomism, but on materialism, which is the notion that the world was composed of nothing but matter, leaving no room for a providential spiritual realm. Geometry, after all, was often taken to be the very model of pure and abstract reasoning that gov-

erns the natural world. The notion that geometry itself, far from governing physical reality, is in fact a generalization of it, seemed to turn the proper hierarchy of mind and matter on its head, and challenge those who insisted that the world was ruled by a higher intelligence.

Finally, there was the question of the certainty of knowledge. Infinitesimalist mathematics seemed to be based on nothing more than a loose analogy with the physical world, trial and error, and a willful disregard for logical paradox. If even mathematics, that paragon of certain and unchanging knowledge, turned out to be so unsound, what hope could other, less rigorous fields have of attaining true knowledge?

In an age that still considered science, philosophy, and theology to be part of a single unified worldview, these criticisms cut deep. Descartes, concerned about the rational certainty of his method, excluded infinitesimal methods from proper mathematics. Even more significant was the reaction of the Society of Jesus, the most prominent religious order in Europe and the guardian of Catholic orthodoxy. Despite having among their members some of the most important and creative mathematicians in Europe, the Jesuits banned the teaching of infinitesimals from their educational institutions.

## THE CALCULUS AND BEYOND

The invention of the calculus by Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) in the late seventeenth century was the most important development of early modern mathematics, and it quickly transformed the landscape of the field. The calculus took as its starting point the many practical techniques and results achieved by the infinitesimalist mathematicians, both in the determination of surfaces and volumes of geometrical figures, and in the calculation of tangents of curves. The fundamental insight of the calculus was that these two operations, calculating tangents (differentiation) and calculating surfaces and volumes (integration), are in fact the inverse of one another.

The importance of this discovery becomes clear when curves and geometrical figures are presented not as independent geometrical figures, but as expressions of algebraic formulations in the manner of analytic geometry. When presented in this manner,

differentiation no longer deals with geometrical properties of particular geometrical objects, but becomes an abstract and general relationship between algebraic expressions. For example, one can say that the parabola expressed as  $y = 3Dx^2$  describes the area under the line y = 3D2x, and that y = 3D2x expresses the tangent of the parabola  $y = 3Dx^2$  at any point. But the relationship between the two algebraic expressions is no longer dependent on their particular geometrical representation: y = 3D2x is simply the differential of  $y=3Dx^2$  and  $y=3Dx^2$  is the *integral* of y = 3D2x. The inverse relationship is a fundamental relationship between abstract algebraic expressions (or functions, as they came to be called later in the eighteenth century) independent of any particular geometric representation. Both Newton and Leibniz were quick to reduce the transformations back and forth between differentials and integrals (or "fluents" and "fluxions" as Newton called them) into systematic and reliable algorithms.

In the calculus, the two competing traditions of seventeenth-century mathematics were brought together. Although it clearly grew out of the techniques developed by infinitesimalist mathematicians, the calculus was equally dependent on the algebraic formulations of analytic geometry. Furthermore, the calculus detached the infinitesimalist methods from their dependence on an intuition of physical reality. If the older approaches could be viewed as growing out of an atomistic intuition of material reality, the calculus restored the primacy of abstract logical relationship to mathematics. Particular geometric figures could be seen as examples of these abstract algebraic relations, but these relations themselves were no longer dependent on any particular physical or geometrical instances.

# MATHEMATICS IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The calculus, which positioned mathematics as both an abstract system of algebraic relationships and as intimately connected to the physical world, set the tone for eighteenth-century views of the field. The most eloquent formulation of attitudes toward mathematics in the Enlightenment was given by Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), in his "Preliminary Discourse" to the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751. Whereas seventeenth-century practitioners viewed mathematics as either a generalization of material intuitions or as a universal law

governing nature, for d'Alembert mathematics was necessarily both. On the one hand, he insisted, mathematics is clearly an abstraction from nature: it is nothing but the fundamental relationships among natural objects that are arrived at when the material features such as texture and color are stripped away. On the other hand, d'Alembert argued, the laws of nature are simply elaborations of mathematical relationships, arrived at by restoring matter's physical attributes to abstract disembodied mathematics. The world, then, according to d'Alembert, is fundamentally mathematical: mathematics is derived from the physical world, while the physical world is an extension of mathematical principles.

This view of an essentially mathematical universe manifested itself in the inclusion of an evergrowing number of scholarly fields that were brought under the sway of mathematics in this period. Years before, Galileo had already introduced mathematics into the study of falling bodies and statics, and he and his followers extended his work to the field of ballistics. Cartographic work was thoroughly mathematized in the seventeenth century, and Kepler and Newton transformed the ancient science of astronomy by extending the reach of mathematics from merely describing the motions of the heavens into the realms of celestial mechanics. In optics, Descartes's ingenious application of his "method" enabled him to explain such phenomena such as the formation of the rainbow with mathematical precision.

In the eighteenth century, a new generation of mathematicians, including the Bernoullis, Leonhard Euler (1707-1783), d'Alembert, Joseph-Louis Lagrange (1736-1813), and Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749-1827), among others, added increasingly precise theories of mechanics and argued famously about proper mathematical representations of abstract concepts such as vis viva, and concrete problems like the vibrations of strings and hydromechanics. Other fields that were seemingly less malleable for quantitative analysis, like doctrines of chance, or probability, and also the "moral" sciences, known today as social sciences, were also brought under the sway of mathematics, particularly in the work of the marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794). Institutionally, the eighteenth century saw mathematics gain a quickly growing foothold in newly established engineering and military colleges.

#### **EPILOGUE**

Unfortunately for d'Alembert and other promoters of the mathematical universe, rigorous mathematical analysis could not be easily derived from physical reality. Inconsistencies and paradoxes seemed to crop up repeatedly when mathematics was modeled on perceptions of the physical world, as critics of infinitesimal methods and the calculus, such as George Berkeley, were quick to point out. At the same time, the physical world proved to be far more varied and surprising than could ever be derived from bare mathematical principles.

Early in the nineteenth century the interdependence of mathematics and the physical world, so eloquently presented by d'Alembert, came to an end. In their work on the foundations of the calculus, mathematicians Bernhard Bolzano (1781–1848) and Augustin-Louis Cauchy (1789–1857) reformulated mathematical analysis as rigorous and logically self-consistent, a goal that had eluded their Enlightenment predecessors. They did so, however, at a price that would have seemed too heavy for d'Alembert and his colleagues: pure mathematics, in their scheme, was finally divorced from physical reality, existing in its self-enclosed Platonic realm.

The course and development of mathematics in the early modern period had come full circle. Criticized in the sixteenth century for being irrelevant to the developing sciences, mathematicians at the time had responded by forming a closer bond than ever before between their field and the physical world. Two and a half centuries later, in an attempt to save the identity and coherence of their field, mathematicians chose to sever those same conceptual ties, and establish mathematics in its own separate and insular domain.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Aristotelianism; Astronomy; Bacon, Francis; Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Euler, Leonhard; Lagrange, Joseph-Louis; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Logic; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Method.

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AMIR ALEXANDER

MATTER, THEORIES OF. Philosophical ideas about the nature and constitution of bodies saw dramatic change in the early modern period, and new thinking about matter became a major factor in the so-called scientific revolution, contributing every bit as much to the new worldview of the early modern period as the changes in cosmology following from Copernicus's attempt to reform astronomy. Like the reforms in cosmology, changes in theories of matter were not simply recondite transformations within specialist natural philosophy, but were seen to have significant implications in other important aspects of intellectual life, most notably in theology.

# THE ARISTOTELIAN BACKGROUND AND ALCHEMICAL INNOVATION

Even in the Middle Ages the dominant Aristotelian theory was subject to criticism and refinement. Aristotelian theory was based on a metaphysics known as hylomorphism, in which bodies were characterized as an inseparable combination of matter and form, and a physics in which all bodies were held to consist of a particular combination of the four elements: fire, air, water, earth. These ideas could hold sway in university natural philosophy curricula, but they proved inadequate as far as practitioners of alchemy were concerned. Driven chiefly by a concern to understand phenomena that became apparent in what we would call chemical reactions, alchemists developed a belief in minima naturalia, or natural minimum-sized particles of reagents. These ideas, first developed among Arab alchemists, were influentially expounded in the Summa perfectionis, attributed to Geber (Jabir ibn Hayyan, fl. 8th century c.E.), but written by a Christian alchemist of the late thirteenth century.

Although the idea of *minima naturalia* was justified in terms of Aristotelian hylomorphic theory (on the assumption that, in any characteristic combination of matter and form, the form must require a specific minimal amount of matter to work on), it

is easy to see the similarity between natural minima and atoms. So, although Aristotle himself had been critical and dismissive of atomism, the rediscovery in the fifteenth century of two major sources of ancient atomism (by Epicurus, c. 341–270 B.C.E., and Titus Lucretius Carus, c. 99–55 B.C.E., respectively) aroused great interest among the more eclectic of Renaissance thinkers. Accordingly, Aristotelian alchemy and atomism could be used together to understand natural processes. The combination of these two traditions, which looks so unlikely on the face of it, became highly influential as a result of other Renaissance developments.

Alchemy, once thought of as distinctly inferior to the supreme Aristotelian enterprise of natural philosophy, began to earn new intellectual respect in the Renaissance. The discovery of the corpus of philosophical and theological works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus led to a reevaluation of the supposedly Hermetic alchemical writings, and indeed to magical worldviews in general. The Renaissance rediscoverers of this literature believed that its author, Hermes, identified with the Greek god of that name, must have been a great pre-Christian sage. Generally assumed to be contemporary with Moses, the Hermetic writings were regarded as one of the oldest sources of ancient wisdom, to rank alongside the Pentateuch. The alchemical writings attributed to Hermes now also won new respect, as did the pursuit of alchemy in general.

Alchemy also attracted new attention because it seemed an obvious way to understand the so-called occult qualities of matter. The Aristotelian doctrine that all bodies were composed of the four elements led to the assumption that the qualities of all bodies must derive from the manifest qualities of the four elements (heat, cold, dryness, wetness). In both alchemy and pharmacology (and therefore in medical theory more widely) it became increasingly apparent that there were other qualities that could not be reduced to the four manifest qualities—these were declared to be occult or hidden, and could only be known by their effects. Interest in alchemy in the Renaissance, from Paracelsus (1493-1541) to Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and even Isaac Newton (1642-1727), was more often motivated by a concern to understand the occult qualities assumed to reside in the smallest particles of matter, than by a desire to transmute base metal into gold.

There can be no doubt that the new admiration for alchemy and its links to theories of matter that were essentially particulate, deriving either from the *minima naturalia* tradition or its eclectic combination with atomism, was a major factor in the development of new theories of matter that were to play such a major role in the scientific revolution. It was by no means the only factor, however.

#### THE REVIVAL OF ANCIENT ATOMISM

The revival of ancient atomism after the discovery of Lucretius's De rerum natura in 1473 gradually attracted the attention not just of alchemists but also of those working in the domain of physics. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), for example, took up atomism as a way of accounting for the strength and coherence of materials, and differences between liquid and solid states. Galileo's attempts to use atomistic explanations were ultimately unsuccessful, but atomism continued to attract attention from reforming natural philosophers dissatisfied with scholastic Aristotelianism. Among the earliest of these were Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), who devoted himself to a comprehensive scholarly exposition of ancient Epicurean atomism, and René Descartes (1596-1650).

Descartes, a mathematician at the forefront of contemporary attempts to develop a mathematical physics, was the first to see a way to predict and explain the behavior of moving bodies by assuming precisely defined laws of motion and rules of impact. By applying these same laws to invisibly small particles that were supposed to constitute all things, Descartes effectively developed a mathematized version of ancient atomism (except that Descartes did not believe the constituent particles were indivisible, and so his philosophy is more correctly called corpuscularist). This was not just a restatement of atomism, therefore, but something entirely new. It was the first presentation of what is known as the mechanical philosophy.

# THE MECHANICAL PHILOSOPHY

Descartes's version of the mechanical philosophy made a huge impact on philosophical consciousness, but although it won many adherents there were many other natural philosophers who could not accept it in its Cartesian form. The principal problem was Descartes's theory of matter. According to Descartes's strict version of the mechanical

philosophy, matter was completely passive and inert. His vision of the physical universe and all its phenomena was one in which God, at the Creation, sets matter in motion and imposes the laws of nature upon it. Matter is so inert that, once set in motion, it cannot stop, but must continue to move until something else stops it. In the Cartesian universe inert particles of matter collide with one another and rebound after an exchange of motions, and all the phenomena we observe in the world are the outcome of collisions and combinations of invisibly small particles. In this system Descartes can only explain the continued coherence of an object, for example, by assuming that its particles are shaped in such a way that they can be entangled with one another, or by assuming that the constituent particles are all moving together with the same speed and direction. For many natural philosophers, this was just too implausible. What was required, such opponents of Descartes assumed, were principles of activity within the particles of matter that could account for coherence and other aspects of the behavior of matter.

It is surely significant that Descartes never showed any interest in or much knowledge of (al)chemical phenomena (even his account of biological systems depends upon what we would recognize as hydraulic and thermodynamic mechanisms, rather than supposed chemical interactions between fluids). It was those thinkers who were more aware of the complexities of alchemical and vitalistic phenomena, particularly those attributed to occult qualities, who developed alternative versions of the mechanical philosophy in which the supposed invisibly small particles of matter had their own principles of activity. This was true even of Pierre Gassendi, who saw himself simply as reviving the ancient atomism of Epicurus. There was no Epicurean precedent for Gassendi's talk of atoms with "natural impulses," "internal faculties," and "seminal powers." Robert Boyle (1627–1691), the leading natural philosopher in England in his day, promoted what he called the "corpuscular philosophy," which although owing much to the mechanical philosophy incorporated many doctrines from the tradition of alchemical corpuscularism.

The trend toward a mechanical philosophy in which matter was not completely inert but endowed with active principles achieved its culmination in the natural philosophy of Isaac Newton. In the Preface to his *Principia Mathematica* (1687) Newton expressed his conviction that all phenomena could be explained in terms of attractive and repulsive forces operating between the particles of bodies, and yet he referred to these as "mechanical principles." Descartes would never have entertained the possibility of such forces (for him gravitational fall was not due to attraction but to streams of invisible particles pushing things down toward the center of the earth), but Newton, unlike Descartes, had spent many years of his life studying the principles of alchemy.

#### MECHANISM VS. VITALISM

If detailed experimental knowledge in alchemy contributed to new conceptions of the nature of matter, so did developments in medical knowledge. In part this was the direct result of alchemical ideas being used to reform medicine by thinkers like Paracelsus and Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1577-1644), but there were older medical traditions involved. Medical writers had always been concerned to understand the differences between life and death, between the living and nonliving. Although Aristotle noticed the link between heat and life, he denied that life was maintained by fire. Instead he attributed animal heat to the "element of the stars," since the stars were self-moving, and so, according to Aristotle, must be alive. Descartes simply insisted that the heat of the living body was nothing more than the result of a fire burning in the animal heart. William Harvey (1578–1657), discoverer of the circulation of the blood, by contrast, located animal heat in the blood, and asserted that blood corresponded to the element of the stars, having its own principle of life within it. Among the succeeding generation of medical writers in England were those, like Thomas Willis (1621–1675) and John Mayow (1641–1679), who tried to explain living systems in terms of the (al)chemically tempered (non-Cartesian) mechanical philosophy; and those like Francis Glisson (1597-1677), who was led by his discovery of tissue contractility and irritability (even in the absence of nerves) to conclude that all matter was endowed with perception, appetite, selfmotility, and therefore life.

Descartes had tried to reduce all living processes to mechanistic interactions, and although he initially had some influence here, it seems safe to say that, for most thinkers, animal development and especially animal generation seemed to defeat Descartes's mechanistic ingenuity. By the eighteenth century only radically atheistic thinkers like Julien Offray de la Mettrie (1709-1751) and Baron d'Holbach (1723-1789) took the strict mechanistic line. Glisson's physiology, if not his theory of matter, was taken up by Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777), while post-Harveian medical research came together with the Newtonian version of the mechanical philosophy to consolidate a vitalistic theory of life that went hand in hand with a theory of matter that allowed for certain principles of activity within matter. One important ingredient in the mix emerged as a result of experimental investigations firstly of static electricity, and subsequently of current electricity. In the final paragraph of the second edition of the Principia (1713) Newton referred influentially to an electrical spirit, which he seemed to believe was not only responsible for attractions and repulsions between particles but also played a physiological role in animals.

## THEOLOGY AND MATTER THEORY

Epicurean atomism was usually regarded as an atheistic philosophy and those natural philosophers who were associated with its revival, or indeed with any corpuscular matter theory which might be construed as atomistic, took pains to correct this view. Gassendi used all his scholarly and philosophical resources to "baptize" Epicurus and show that his philosophy was compatible with Christian doctrine. Corpuscular philosophers in England, such as Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), Walter Charleton (1620-1707), and Robert Boyle effectively began the tradition known as "natural theology" by showing how their natural philosophy could be used to prove the existence of God. Even so, the materialism of the strict versions of the mechanical philosophy—which included the system developed by Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) as well as Cartesianism—led many to distrust these new philosophies.

Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715) and other followers of Descartes tried to assert the necessary theism of Cartesianism by suggesting that matter was so inert that it was incapable of any causal activity. A hurled brick has no power of its own to break

a window, they would have suggested, and only does so because God, ensuring the perpetuation of the laws of nature, causes the glass to break on the occasion that the brick hits it. This religiously motivated "occasionalism," as it is called, was regarded as unacceptable by many orthodox believers, however, because it seemed to make God directly responsible for everything in the world, including all the most debasing and the most wicked acts of mankind.

Assumptions about the activity of matter, on the other hand, seemed to many to support the theistic cause while allowing for the transcendence of God. If matter could be shown, by experiment, to have principles of activity within it, this raised the question of how these active principles came to be there. Clearly, they could only have been put there by a supreme Creator. This argument depended upon the standard assumption that matter was, by its nature, completely passive and inert, and therefore active principles must be extraneous additions.

Unfortunately, atheists found it easy to suggest that matter was not inherently passive. Indeed, they could use Newtonian and other claims to demonstrate that it was not. Nevertheless, the most common strategy among the orthodox was to strike a balance, making matter not passive but not too active, either. Matter that was too active was also regarded as subversive to sound religion. Glisson's living matter was regarded by some leading churchmen as highly pernicious, as was John Locke's (1632-1704) argument that God's omnipotence allowed him to make matter capable of thinking. For such churchmen, traditional religious dualism between passive matter and active spirit had to be upheld in order to leave a significant role for immaterial spirit. Consequently, living or thinking matter had to be declared to be logical impossibilities, which not even an omnipotent God could bring about.

In Roman Catholic countries atomism confronted its own special problem. Aristotelian hylomorphism could easily account for the seemingly paradoxical fact that the bread and wine used for the Eucharist continued to look and taste like bread and wine (even though it was supposed to be actually the blood and flesh of Christ). Atomist or corpuscularist theories could not, however. As a

result, Descartes's works were included on the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Books after 1663, and from 1671 his theories could not be taught in French universities.

# MATTER THEORY AND RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

The mechanical philosophy and its theory of passive and inert matter, interacting only by physical collision and entanglement, has been used by recent historians to make a number of bold claims about the nature of Western civilization. Feminist historians, for example, have seen it as the embodiment of a philosophy of domination and exploitation, insensitive to organicist and ecological concerns, which has led to the current lamentable excesses of capitalistic and technological culture. Unfortunately, most of this work characterizes the mechanical philosophy as monolithically Cartesian in its nature. In these same feminist accounts, alchemy and magical worldviews are seen as being holistic and organicist, and completely antithetical to the mechanical philosophy. A more sensitive reading of the historical development of matter theory and the mechanical philosophy, showing the crucial role of alchemical and other occult ideas, suggests that the story is more complex than feminist historiography has so far acknowledged.

As the complexities of early modern matter theory have been uncovered, another once influential historiographical claim has fallen out of favor. Some historians claimed to be able to see parallels between matter theory and political belief systems in early modern England. In these accounts orthodoxy was represented in natural philosophy by the mechanical philosophy, and in politics by monarchism and episcopalianism. Radical political thinkers, republicans and those with democratic tendencies, and presbyterians or independents in religion, by contrast, were held to favor theories of active matter. There were supposed to be clear parallels between the idea of passive matter, moved from outside by an omnipotent God, and an obedient populace ruled from above by an absolute monarch. Similarly, those with more democratic political tendencies were supposed to believe that particles of matter should have their own principles of movement within them. According to this view, only those of quite extreme radical politics believed in active matter. Looking back to the recent heyday of this historiographical trend,

the only thing to be said in its favor was that it stimulated historians to look more closely at the actual details of early modern matter theory. As should be apparent from the foregoing, it was not long before historians realized that the assumptions about matter theory in this historiographical tradition were hopelessly crude, if not downright wrong.

Part of the problem with both these historiographical trends is that they are based upon glib presuppositions about the nature of early modern science—in particular assumptions that the mechanical philosophy was always and everywhere indistinguishable from Cartesianism. This in itself could be seen to stem from the fact that until comparatively recently historians of science had a tendency to concentrate on those aspects of the history of science that were presupposed on presentist grounds to contribute to modern science. Accordingly, alchemy and other occult ideas were ignored as irrelevant. Feminist historians can perhaps be forgiven, therefore, for taking such recent historical reconstructions for granted, and using them in their own accounts. The inadequacies of this approach to the history of science have now been thoroughly recognized, however, and the current trend is to try to understand natural philosophy and past science in its own terms, not in relation to modern scientific

See also Alchemy; Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Cartesianism; Charleton, Walter; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Harvey, William; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Mechanism; Medicine; Natural Philosophy; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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JOHN HENRY

MATTHIAS (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1557–1619; ruled 1612–1619). The younger son of Maximilian II, Matthias served as governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, 1578–1581, governor of Upper and Lower Austria (1593), king of Hungary (1608), and king of Bohemia (1611). He married Anna of Tyrol (1585–1618) in 1611.

In 1872, a play by the Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer, *Ein Bruderzwist in Habsburg*, premiered in Vienna. This play immortalized the conflict between the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II and his younger brother, Matthias, and in some ways marks the high point of the received significance of Matthias, who in 1612 followed Rudolf on the imperial throne.

Matthias was the seventh child of the archduke Maximilian and his wife, the Spanish infanta María. (Nine children followed.) Matthias's father Maximilian was elected emperor in 1564, and this imperial heritage seems to have marked Matthias as he grew up. Matthias's father had bequeathed all of his holdings to his eldest son, Rudolf, who reigned as emperor Rudolf II. This meant that the remaining male heirs had to be satisfied with modest cash settlements tied to residences in the Habsburgs' hereditary lands. Matthias was not satisfied with this legacy.

At twenty-one, Matthias was persuaded to participate in a scheme to replace the direct rule in the Netherlands of the Habsburg prince in Castile, King Philip II. This development was tied to the Habsburgs' attempts to reorganize the rule of their troublesome Burgundian inheritance. The constitutional position of these provinces, where armed rebellion began in earnest around 1568, was ambig-

uously situated between the unclear boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire and the dynastic claims of the Habsburgs and their local supporters.

The experiment of rule by Matthias in the Netherlands did not last long, for it had not been sanctioned by either his uncle, Phillip II, or his brother, Emperor Rudolf II. The political and religious conflicts in the Low Countries were beyond the means or abilities of the young archduke. In 1581 Matthias returned, disappointed as well as discredited, to central Europe and was awarded the Habsburg city of Linz and given its imposing castle as his residence. He vegetated there for quite some time, and was not given significant ruling responsibilities again for over a decade and a half.

In 1595, the older and now wiser Archduke Matthias was assigned responsibilities over Habsburg holdings along the Danube River. Two years previously, the sporadic violence on the Hungarian frontier with the troops of the Ottoman sultan had broken into open warfare, prompting Emperor Rudolf to name his younger brother Matthias to the command of the Habsburg and imperial forces parrying the Ottomans' forays in the Hungarian arena.

In the meantime, the emperor became increasingly withdrawn. The Habsburg family's male representatives met in 1606 and designated not Rudolf but Matthias as head of the family. Soon the conflicts erupted into armed confrontations between the supporters of Rudolf and Matthias, and Matthias was able to engineer his election as King of Hungary in 1608.

The events of the next few years were both confused and confusing. (Grillparzer recognized the dramatic possibilities.) Matthias married his cousin, the archduchess Anna, the daughter of his uncle, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and Ferdinand's second wife, Anna Catherine, from the house of Gonzaga. After Matthias's brother Rudolf died in Prague, Matthias and Anna ascended the imperial thrones in 1612. Matthias is often forgotten in the stories of this period, which rush to a description of the crises marked by disagreements over who should succeed him in the various lands over which he reigned. These disagreements are often given substantial influence in narratives about

the origins of the Thirty Years' War, which would soon convulse the Holy Roman Empire.

Because Matthias and Anna were childless, the issue of the imperial succession—as well as the succession to the various other Habsburg hereditary lands in central Europe—remained a burning question. Matthias's younger brother Albert, who had left central Europe in 1570 with Matthias's older sister Anna when she became the bride of his uncle, Philip II of Spain, was still alive, and a possible heir. Albert, however, had tied his star to the brothers' mother's Iberian branch of the family, serving as viceroy of Portugal, for example, among other offices, and was now (jointly with his wife, Philip II's daughter Isabel [also Isabella] Clara Eugenia) ruling the Netherlands as Matthias had once hoped to do.

In a controversial and significant move, the Habsburg Dynasty's central European representatives decided to throw their support to the young archduke from Styria, Ferdinand, son of Matthias's other uncle, Charles. Matthias tried to organize his various holdings through a general assembly in Linz in 1614, but the disagreements among the various representatives led to no memorable outcome. Emperor Matthias is often tied to the activities of his adviser, the energetic counter-reformer Cardinal Khlesl, but because of the cataclysm to come, these efforts remain underresearched and underappreciated. In the end, Matthias and Anna seem destined to be best remembered for their role in creating the preferred burial site for succeeding generations of Habsburgs: the Capuchin friary on the new market in Vienna.

Originally interred in the church of the Poor Clares (the Queen's Cloister) founded by his older sister Elizabeth in Vienna in the 1580s, Matthias's and Anna's remains were transferred in the 1630s to the now famous imperial crypt at the Capuchin friary, which they had endowed in their wills. It is there where they and so many of their Habsburg relatives now repose, much to the fascination of endless busloads of tourists.

See also Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Netherlands, Southern; Philip II (Spain); Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire).

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Joseph F. Patrouch

# MAULBERTSCH, FRANZ ANTON

(1724-1796), Austrian painter, decorator, and graphic artist. Maulbertsch was an Austrian painter, etcher, and decorator active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Though a major figure comparable in scope to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1692– 1770) and working in the same monumental forms, he is little known outside the central European sphere of his activity. This is symptomatic of the scant scholarly attention given to areas outside the mainstream, notwithstanding the cultural permeability of Europe at the time and the particular vitality of the region itself. With the Reformation contained, if not suppressed, following the Thirty Years' War, and new land recovered from the Ottoman Turks, Central Europe saw explosive growth in church and state during the eighteenth century. Palaces, churches, and monasteries were built and repaired, rebuilt and redecorated in accordance with doctrinal and ceremonial demands that favored grand decorative schemes. Like many other artists of the time, beginning with the Italians, Maulbertsch, who lived in Vienna, traveled from abbey to palace in what is now Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia as opportunity arose. Many of his paintings are still in their original locations.

Born in Langenargen on Lake Constance, Maulbertsch, after receiving initial training from his father, Anton, went to Vienna, where he studied at the Academy of Artists, which was then equal to any academy in Europe. An active participant in academic culture throughout his life, he won a first prize in painting there in 1750 and was elected as a member in 1759. He also became a member of the newly formed Print Academy (Kupferstecherakademie) in 1770 and the Berlin Academy of Artists in 1788. The example and work of such Italian artists as Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) and Carlo Inno-

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Franz Anton Maulbertsch. The Anointment of David by Samuel, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg. ©Scala/ART RESOURCE

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cenzo Carlone (1686–1775), as well as that of Daniel Gran (1694-1767) and Paul Troger (1698-1762), who had traveled extensively in Italy (principally to Venice and Naples, but also to Rome and Bologna), helped to prepare Maulbertsch for his large-scale decorative commissions. These began with the Piarists' church in Vienna in 1752-1753 and continued nearly annually thereafter. In the decade of the 1750s, for example, he painted frescoes for the Jesuit Church in Vienna in 1753–1754; for the Schloss Suttner, Ebenfurth (Lower Austria), in 1754; for Heiligenkreuz-Gutenbrunn (Austria) and Sümeg (Hungary) in 1757 and 1758; for Mikulov/Nikolsburg and Kroměříž/Kremsier (both now in the Czech Republic) in 1759; and so forth. The intensity of his activity diminished only in the decade before his death in 1796. He executed works for parish churches and religious orders (the Servites, Augustinians, Barnabites, Jesuits, Premonstratensians, Carmelites, and Cistercians), for prelates and archbishops, and from 1765 for the imperial family.

In the course of covering the walls, ceilings, and vaults of churches, cathedrals, chapels, libraries, dining halls, refectories, reception halls, council chambers and other spaces, Maulbertsch developed an expressive pictorial language compounded of light and color for vast illusionistic schemes with and without fictive architecture. The same virtuosic technique of often dazzling brilliance appears in the large altarpieces and easel paintings he executed throughout his career. Although from the late 1760s on he adapted his style to the prevailing classical taste and emerging Enlightenment ideals through a new evenness of light and clarity of form and structure, his later commissions came mainly from the more provincial reaches of the empire. At the end of his life, he made etchings of popular themes that were aimed at new audiences and tastes.

To prepare his works, even the etchings, he regularly employed small preparatory sketches in oil, then a well-established technique but one that he brought to new levels of accomplishment. The sketches range from fully developed models—made for his own or assistants' use and the approval of patrons—to lively composition, figure, and part studies, freely executed in monochrome shades and full colors on paper or small canvases, using the same fluid and spontaneous brushwork that he

would employ in the actual work. When they were studies for mural paintings—including the variant typically practiced in Central Europe, which permitted a more varied application of paint and hue than true fresco—they were often made in the winter months when the weather otherwise made it difficult to work. But, having developed out of standard preparatory practice, these oil sketches, which sometimes seem to have been made for their own sake, transcended their origins and came to stand for the newly emerging aesthetic values of creativity that were being formulated by Enlightenment and Romantic writers from Diderot to Goethe. Rapidly laid down with a fully charged brush, such sketches seemed to promise more pleasure to the imagination and, as an apparently transparent means of communication, seemed nearer than the finished painting to the act of creation itself. Thus, if in his monumental decorative schemes and altarpieces Maulbertsch represented the ancien régime that was drawing to a close, in the spirited impasto and evocative forms of his oil sketches, he continued to be a vital force anticipating the values of the century ahead.

See also Central Europe, Art in; Painting.

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MAXIMILIAN I (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1459–1519; ruled 1493–1519), Holy Roman emperor. Maximilian I was a member of the Habsburg Dynasty. Elected king of Romans in 1486, he declared himself elected Holy Roman emperor in 1508. In 1477 Maximilian married Mary, Duchess of Burgundy (1457–1482). In 1490 he married Anne, Duchess of Brittany (1477–1514), by proxy, but that marriage was annulled in 1491. In 1494 he married Bianca Maria Sforza

(1472–1510). He had three legitimate children, including Philip the Fair (1478–1506), duke of Burgundy and king of Castile (ruled 1506), and Margaret (1480–1530), regent of the Netherlands. Maximilian also had at least eleven acknowledged illegitimate children.

Possibly named after the third-century martyr Saint Maximilian of Celeia, Maximilian was the son of Holy Roman emperor Frederick III (ruled 1440-1493) of the House of Habsburg and Empress Eleonor (1436-1467) of the Portuguese royal house of Avis, who were married in Rome in 1452 by Pope Nicholas V (reigned 1447-1455). Maximilian was born on 22 March 1459 in his parents' residence city of Wiener Neustadt in Lower Austria, and he and his mother are buried there. His life was tied to building the power and reputation of his family through shrewd marriage alliances for himself, his children, and his grandchildren and through various artistic projects and sponsorships, including an important relationship with the artist Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). When Maximilian died on 12 January 1519 in the archducal castle located along the walls of the Upper Austrian city of Wels, his family had claims over territories stretching across Europe and overseas into the Americas.

Maximilian is often referred to as "the Last Knight" and has been seen as a transitional figure on the cusp of early modern history. His constant lack of money did not deter him from imagining magnificent schemes, many relating to projecting an image of himself and his rule to posterity. The most famous examples of these undertakings are the elaborate funerary monuments he planned for himself in the court chapel at Innsbruck. These monuments reveal a combination of imagined ties among his dynasty, medieval antecedents, and classical Rome (inspired by humanist interests in antiquity). His court has been seen as an important mediator for the spread of Italianate forms and ideas across the Alps into the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly after his marriage in 1494 to one of the richest heiresses of his day, Bianca Maria Sforza, from Milan.

In the history of the Habsburg Dynasty, Maximilian built on his father's acquisition of the imperial crown, which remained in Habsburg hands with one brief exception until they declared the end of

the empire in 1806. Maximilian's marriage to the heiress of the great late-medieval Burgundian inheritance, Mary, brought those rich lands under the control of the Habsburgs. While he was unsuccessful in his campaigns against the Swiss towns and cantons that wrested control of parts of the Habsburg patrimony from the dynasty, Maximilian is credited with engineering the marriage in 1496 of his son Philip to the Spanish heiress Joan I (queen of Castile 1504–1555; queen of Aragón 1516–1555). This marriage more than made up for the Swiss losses through the gain of the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon together with their overseas possessions in Italy, the western Mediterranean, and the Americas.

After the death in 1490 of Matthias I Corvinus (ruled 1458-1490), king of Hungary, who had taken the city of Vienna and made it his residence, Maximilian turned his attentions back from the west of Europe to the Habsburgs' hereditary Danubian holdings and the enticing kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. He captured Vienna and again employed marriage negotiations, this time with representatives of the important ruling dynasty of those kingdoms, the Jagiellonians (who also controlled Poland). Through a double marriage of Jagiellonians and Habsburgs negotiated in Vienna in 1515, Maximilian set up the situation in which his grandson Ferdinand I (ruled 1558-1564) claimed the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones after the death of the Jagiellonian king Louis II (ruled 1516–1526) on the battlefield at Mohács, fighting the Ottoman army, in 1526.

In the constitutional history of the Holy Roman Empire, Maximilian is known for the role he played in the reorganization of institutions beginning in the 1490s. This reorganization has been interpreted variously by historians of the empire, but it established a more active imperial judiciary and regional governing mechanisms, among other modifications.

When Maximilian died in the castle at Wels, he left to his Burgundian-raised grandson (who as Emperor Charles V ruled 1519–1556), an array of claims, titles, challenges, and opportunities vastly different from those he had inherited. The Habsburgs were well on their way to world significance.

See also Austria; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire Institutions; Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Vienna.

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Joseph F. Patrouch

MAXIMILIAN II (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1527–1576; ruled 1564–1576), Holy Roman emperor. Maximilian II, who was born on 31 July 1527 in Vienna and died on 12 October 1576 in Regensburg, was king of Bohemia (ruled 1562–1576), king of the Romans (1562), and king of Hungary (ruled 1563–1576). He became Holy Roman emperor in 1564. In 1548 he married María of Habsburg (1528–1603), coregent of Spain (1548–1550). Maximilian is buried in Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

Son of the new king and queen of Bohemia and Hungary, Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564) of Habsburg and Anna of Jagiellon (died 1547), Maximilian grew up as a rival to his cousin Philip of Spain, the

future King Philip II (ruled 1556–1598). Ultimately Maximilian gained the imperial title and fathered two Holy Roman emperors, Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) and Matthias (ruled 1612–1619). Philip gained the Iberian lands, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the Habsburg overseas empire in the Americas, Africa, and Asia.

Maximilian is often portrayed as having had—much to the dismay of his more orthodox father—a lively curiosity when it came to religious matters. This curiosity led many of his time (and later) to speculate that he may have believed some of the theological points presented by the followers of Martin Luther (1483–1546). Some scholars believe that, to restrain the young archduke, some of his inheritance was given away to his brothers Ferdinand and Charles, and Maximilian was sent to Spain to act as coregent with his bride María, the sister of the later Spanish king Philip II.

Nonetheless Maximilian's father eventually entrusted the newly acquired kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, together with some of the Habsburg hereditary lands, to Maximilian and María. At the death of Ferdinand in 1564, Maximilian assumed the title of elected emperor and proceeded to organize the defense of Christendom against new Hungarian campaigns undertaken by the Ottomans in the 1560s. The defense, however, was less than spectacular. Maximilian, apparently shaken by the experience, retreated to a more intellectual and legally circumscribed sphere of cultural pursuits and limited political engagement.

Keeping an eye on the possibilities in Iberia (his cousin Philip was having difficulties producing a viable heir), Maximilian and María produced numerous children, including Anna, the future wife of Philip. A second daughter, Elizabeth, became Queen of France as the wife of King Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574).

Intelligent and open-minded, Maximilian supported research on historical and botanical subjects, and he continued to import styles and ideas from Italy, a process his father had actively supported. Outside of his residence city of Vienna, Maximilian oversaw the building of an impressive garden residence known simply as the "New Construction" (Neugebäude). Situated on a rise overlooking the Danube River, this construction provided an or-

derly alternative to an oft-chaotic political landscape over which the emperor had little clear control.

Maximilian lost influence in imperial Italy over such matters as what title was to be granted to the Medici in Florence. Nevertheless he transferred the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary as well as the imperial title to his son Rudolf, partly by allowing an ill-defined amount of religious toleration to the important nobles in various of his lands.

In lands distant from the Ottoman front in Hungary, Maximilian's policies were marked by a clear respect for the provisions of the religious peace set at Augsburg in 1555 by his father. Maximilian staked much on the support of the Saxon electors newly tied to the imperial constitution. He also reached out to the usually inimical Valois in France, as representatives of that dynasty struggled with religious and civil chaos in their kingdom. Maximilian even entertained cordial relations with the Tudor queen of England, Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603). His wife María and Elizabeth of England shared godparental responsibilities for Maximilian and María's granddaughter Marie-Isabelle, the daughter of Charles IX and Elizabeth.

Maximilian II was plagued with health problems. His heart and constitution failed him, and he died at the age of forty-nine. Various stories of his deathbed behavior circulated around Europe, and all tried to divine what his demeanor meant for the cloudy future of the (Christian) religious settlement of 1555. His sons Rudolf and Matthias took the imperial office, but their successive reigns did not continue their father's conciliatory project.

See also Austria; Bohemia; Elizabeth I (England); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Florence; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Matthias (Holy Roman Empire); Ottoman Empire; Philip II (Spain); Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna.

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MAZARIN, JULES (Giulio Mazarini; 1602–1661), diplomat, cardinal, and first minister during the regency of King Louis XIV of France. Born near Pascina outside Rome on 14 July 1602, Mazarin was the eldest son of six children. He received an early Jesuit education in Rome and then pursued further studies in Spain. With the patronage and support of the Colonna family, who had ties to the court of Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644), he initially entered into the papal army in 1624, but by the late 1620s instead took the initial vows of a cleric and became a papal diplomat.

In 1630, while serving as an envoy for the papal court in the negotiations that sought an end to the war between Spain and France over the disputed succession of the crown of Mantua, Mazarin traveled to France to meet with Cardinal Richelieu, King Louis XIII's first minister. Mazarin's deft negotiating skills endeared him to the powerful French royal minister and helped to secure temporary peace between Spain and France.

Thanks to his success in the Mantua affair, the pope sent Mazarin to Paris in 1634 as his ambassador (nuncio) to the French court with the goal of realizing a lasting peace settlement between Spain and France. While in Paris, Richelieu and Mazarin began a mutually beneficial political relationship. In 1635, however, Richelieu adopted a policy of continued war with Spain in the context of the Thirty Years' War; Mazarin had failed in his mission to bring peace, and the pope recalled him. Once back at the papal court, Mazarin maintained his political ties to France and actively represented French interests there.

In 1638, in gratitude for his work on behalf of France in Rome, Louis XIII pressed the pope to



Jules Mazarin. Portrait by Philippe de Champaigne. @ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

promote Mazarin to cardinal; he received the cardinal's hat 16 December 1641. As his nomination for cardinal was in the making, Louis XIII and Richelieu invited Mazarin to France to enter into the service of the French king. Mazarin left Rome, never to return, and arrived in Paris in January 1640.

In the service of the French crown, Mazarin's diplomatic goals remained the same: to secure peace between Spain and France. His initial years in France, however, proved to be ones of domestic political instability and crisis with the death of Richelieu in December 1642 closely followed by that of Louis XIII in May 1643. The succession of the five-year-old Louis XIV to the throne in 1643 ushered in a regency government with the acting regent, the Spanish Queen Anne of Austria, holding the political authority of the king in trusteeship until he reached the age of majority when he could assume the full powers of the crown. As Richelieu's protégé and Louis XIV's godfather, Mazarin became the first minister; together, he and the queen worked as close political partners trying to stabilize

the weak and vulnerable regency government. Although contemporaries and scholars alike have speculated that an even more intimate bond developed between the first minister and queen, there is no conclusive evidence as to the exact nature of their relationship.

With Mazarin and Anne of Austia at the helm of the government, a complex series of domestic revolts, collectively called the Fronde, developed in France, beginning in 1648 and lasting until 1653. The revolts began with the judges of the parlement or law court in Paris, spread to gain backing among some key nobles and princes, and then found popular support in Paris as well as the provinces. Although the causes of the revolts were rooted in varied and complex issues involving royal authority, including the levying of new taxes, the perceived abuse of royal authority in dealings with the parlement, and the crown's reliance on royal commissioned officers (intendants) in the outlying provinces, the revolts of the Fronde did specifically target Mazarin and Anne of Austria, seeking to remove these "foreigners" from power. During the crisis, pamphlets called "Mazarinades" circulated throughout France. These often-satirical pamphlets fueled the revolts as they contained scathing criticisms of Mazarin, Anne of Austria, and the regency government. The revolts of the Fronde forced Anne of Austria and Louis XIV, along with Mazarin, to flee Paris in 1649. Mazarin remained in exile from France during much of the Fronde, but continued to work with Anne of Austria and other noble factions loyal to their cause to bring an end to the revolts in 1653. The coronation of sixteen-year-old Louis XIV at Rheims Cathedral in June 1654 and Mazarin's return to Paris marked the end of the crisis and the full restoration of the first minister.

Even in the midst of the Fronde, Mazarin continued to direct France's foreign policy. He played an important part in the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia at the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Despite this treaty, which brought peace to much of warring Europe, the war between France and Spain continued. Mazarin pursued a policy of allying with German princes and England against the Habsburgs in an effort to force peace with Spain. Under the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, Mazarin finally secured his long-term goal of peace between France and Spain. The marriage of

Louis XIV to the Spanish princess Marie-Thérèse in 1660 sealed the peace.

As both a father figure and political mentor, Mazarin prepared Louis XIV to govern France by tutoring him in the craft of kingship and by providing the king with loyal advisors and able ministers, such as Michel Le Tellier and Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who would serve the crown after Mazarin's death. Mazarin died 9 March 1661 in the palace of Vincennes on the outskirts of Paris, leaving a legacy of a stronger, more stable France in domestic and international politics. Upon the death of his beloved first minister, godfather, and tutor, Louis XIV announced that he would name no other first minister, marking the clear advent of his personal rule as king.

See also Anne of Austria; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Fronde; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Pyrenees, Peace of the (1659); Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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MAZEPA, IVAN (c. 1639–1709; ruled 1687–1709), hetman of Ukraine. Born in the Kiev region into a noble Ukrainian family, Mazepa was educated at the Kievan Mohyla Academy and the Jesuit College in Warsaw, and he also studied military affairs in the Netherlands. His father's pro-Polish attitude allowed the young Mazepa to become a diplomat in the service of the Polish king, John II Casimir Vasa. While at the king's court,

Mazepa was alleged to have had amorous misadventures that were subsequently immortalized by nineteenth-century romantic writers and composers. In 1669 Mazepa left the royal court and entered the service of the pro-Polish Right-Bank hetman Petro Doroshenko. Doroshenko was not willing to accept the Truce of Andrusovo (1667), which in effect partitioned the Hetmanate between Poland and Russia; defying both powers, he made an alliance with the Ottoman Empire (1668). While on a diplomatic mission to the Crimean Tatars, Mazepa was captured by pro-Russian Cossacks, who delivered him to Moscow (1674). Mazepa's capture proved fortuitous, for Doroshenko not only failed to unite the Hetmanate but plunged it into a series of wars that depopulated and destroyed the Right-Bank Hetmanate. Meanwhile, Mazepa's imprisonment was brief, as the Russians decided that he would be more useful to the pro-Russian Left-Bank hetman, Ivan Samoilovych. Mazepa rose quickly in the camp of his former enemy, becoming Samoilovych's general aide-de-camp in 1682. After the failure of a joint Muscovite-Ukrainian campaign (first Crimean campaign, 1687), Samoilovych was deposed and exiled to Siberia, and with Russian backing Mazepa was elected hetman of Ukraine (1687).

Mazepa's primary internal focus was on the stabilization of Ukrainian society. He based his rule on consolidating an aristocratic elite (Cossack officers and nobles), granting them estates and new privileges. Other decrees attempted to regulate the Cossacks (1691), burghers, and peasants (1701). Mazepa allied himself closely with the clergy, confirming their privileges and granting property to monasteries. No hetman was a greater patron of the Orthodox church, education, or culture. He financed many church construction projects, some from his private funds, and donated many precious liturgical books, bells, and other church goods. He obtained the status of an academy for the Kievan Mohyla Collegium (1701). Mazepa was also a patron of literature and wrote a number of poems himself.

Politically, Mazepa relied on Muscovy and developed a close relationship with Peter I. He hoped to utilize Russian power to bolster his rule and recover Right-Bank Ukraine (which he occupied in 1704 on Peter's instructions). However, this alliance proved costly, for Peter ordered Cossack forces

into foreign wars and construction projects. Moreover, Peter's drive toward a regulated empire was increasingly violating Ukrainian rights and liberties, pushing Mazepa to break with Russia and seek the protection of Sweden—a disastrous move, as the Swedish-Ukrainian forces were defeated by Peter at Poltava (1709). Mazepa retreated with the Swedish king to Ottoman-controlled territory and soon died in Bendery (now in Moldova). In the Russian empire, Mazepa was viewed as a heinous traitor, and "Mazepism" remained a code word for Ukrainian separatism. Ukrainian national historians regarded Mazepa as a hero in the struggle for Ukrainian independence.

See also Cossacks; Hetmanate (Ukraine); Northern Wars; Peter I (Russia); Ukraine; Ukrainian Literature and Language.

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ZENON KOHUT

MECHANISM. Historians have picked out many characteristics by which to define the profound alteration of natural philosophy from Galileo's adoption of Copernicanism in the late 1590s to the publication of Newton's *Principia* in 1687. Some historians note that many authors prominently put forward an ideal of mathematical demonstration, an ideal that in mechanics and astronomy was effectively realized in the period; others emphasize the insistence that theory be submitted to the test of observation and experiment; according to still others, the defining character of the new philosophy is that intervention and control came to supplant contemplation as the primary motive and goal in the study of nature. By now it is evident both that no one trait suffices, even with respect to what we now call the physical sciences, and that the historian must distinguish what was claimed for the new philosophy by its proponents from the more modest, piecemeal, and gradual changes that actually occurred.

#### TENETS OF MECHANISM

Ideologically if not always in practice, mechanism—the "mechanical philosophy," as physicist Robert Boyle (1627–1691) called it—became the character by which the new science in all its branches distinguished itself from its Aristotelian predecessor. The tenets of mechanism can be summarized as follows:

(1) The sensible world, or the system of objects of outward experience, consists of bodies possessing just a few, chiefly geometrical, properties. This was in opposition to the Aristotelian profusion of forms and qualities and to the sympathies, antipathies, and other "occult powers" attributed to things by alchemists and natural magicians. René Descartes (1596–1650), in the wake of Galileo's dictum that the book of nature is written in the language of mathematics, allowed to the body only those properties determinable from its essence as extension. What we call an individual body is nothing more than a region of space delimited from other such regions by its instantaneous motion.

Figure, size, and motion: Descartes's list proved rather quickly to be insufficient. Henry More argued, and many agreed, that impenetrability could not be demonstrated from extension and must be an original property of matter. Leibniz insisted that force could not be reduced to motion. Newton added universal gravitation (though he did not rule out an eventual mechanistic account). In the eighteenth century, electrical, magnetic, and chemical properties were added to the list, as were those vital powers of organisms that proved incapable of explanation on Cartesian terms.

(2) The preferred mode of explaining the sensible qualities of gross matter was reduction. From hypotheses concerning the underlying structure of a substance—the shape and size of the "corpuscles" of which it consisted—the phenomena of that substance were supposed to be derived using the laws of motion. The corpuscles being too small to affect the senses except en masse, hypotheses about their configuration could be verified only indirectly, typically

by showing that they could explain a great many phenomena at once. Often, mechanical hypotheses were adaptations of hypotheses made earlier by Aristotelian philosophers: that transparency had something to do with pores through which particles of light could pass, for example.

The point was not novelty for its own sake but the elimination from natural philosophy of unwanted entities: Descartes's vortex theory of planetary motion, for example, eliminated the force of attraction that Kepler had found it necessary to propose; the planets stay in their orbits by virtue of being in dynamic equilibrium with the particles revolving around the Sun at their distance. In the science of life, sensation and action in animals were to be explained by reference not to the faculties of a mysterious soul but by invoking hypotheses about the shapes of the sense organs and the motions imposed by them on the "animal spirits" (a fluid consisting of very small, fast-moving particles) coursing through the nerves. Having no fluid dynamics worth the name, Descartes had no hope of actually deriving the phenomena from his hypotheses on the basis of the laws of motion. Instead, he tried to make them plausible by analogies with pulleys and pipe organs, whose manner of motion would be familiar to the educated reader.

That machines could perform even the functions of living things became more credible in view of the increasingly complex capacities of machines projected or built by late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century engineers, among them Salomon de Caus (d. 1626), Agostino Ramelli (1531-1608), and Vittorio Zonca. In the eighteenth century, the famous automata of Jacques de Vaucanson (1709-1782), which included a flute player and a duck with an apparently fully functioning digestive system, were adduced as evidence that the operations of living things could be simulated mechanically. Given that in the new physics, scale was irrelevant, nature in the large could be seen as a gigantic clock, and living things as (in Leibniz's words) machines whose parts were likewise machines—an infinite embedding of divinely engineered devices.

(3) With the advance of mechanism, two new skills became requisite for a natural philosopher. The first was that of deriving conclusions mathematically from laws (treated as axioms) and initial conditions concerning the locations, shapes, and motions of bodies. The development of calculus by Leibniz and Newton in the late seventeenth century greatly increased the reach of mathematical physics. Newton and Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) were among the seventeenth-century virtuosi of mathematical physics. In the eighteenth century, noted names included the Bernoulli family (Johann [also known as Jean], Jakob [also known as Jacques], and Daniel), Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Leonhard Euler, Joseph-Louis Lagrange, and Pierre Simon Laplace, whose *Mécanique céleste* (Celestial mechanics, 1798–1825) was the capstone of the edifice begun by Newton.

The other requisite skill was the ability to generate experimental setups (or observational situations) capable of putting to the test conclusions drawn from theory. The now familiar dynamic by which the theorist is required to derive new testable claims, hence providing motive for new experiments, some of which generate new phenomena to be explained, was largely absent from Scholastic natural philosophy. One of the weaknesses of Cartesianism was likewise its inability, in the hands of its foremost proponents, to incorporate this dynamic. The more modest style of Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), Descartes's colleague and correspondent, was to prove the more enduring. The examples of Cartesianism and Gassendism (the atomist philosophy of Pierre Gassendi and his followers, including Walter Charlton and François Bernier) show that mechanism and the "experimental dynamic" were not inseparable. Nevertheless, the association of the two is not mere coincidence: mechanism emerged as the setting of natural philosophy was shifting from the schools to the competitive world of gentlemanly amateurs like Boyle and freelance teachers like the Cartesians Jacques Rohault and Pierre Sylvain Régis.

# SUCCESS AND LIMITATIONS OF MECHANISM

Mechanism as an ideology for the pursuit of knowledge was enormously successful. It claimed for itself a clarity and explanatory prowess that Aristotelianism, despite the efforts of Honoré Fabri (1607–1688), who accepted the experimental method but not the ontology of mechanism, could not match. The examples of Nicolas Malebranche (1638–

1715), Pierre Varignon (1659–1722), and Louis Carré—all described by Bernard le Bouvier de Fontenelle (1657–1757), the "perpetual secretary" of the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris, as finding a new light, even a new universe, in the philosophy of Descartes—show how persuasive the new philosophy could be to those educated in the old.

Nevertheless, there was no universal agreement that mechanism of the strict Cartesian sort was adequate to explaining the whole of nature. There were unreformed Aristotelians like Fabri who, while advancing hypotheses not unlike those of the mechanists (for example, concerning elasticity), nevertheless retained the Aristotelian distinction of form and matter and the system of four elements (earth, water, air, fire) defined by the very sorts of qualities Descartes had thought to banish. Other seventeenth-century dissenters, like Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, and Anne Conway, insisted on the necessity of attributing active powers to bodies contrary to the Cartesian definition of matter as extension, which precluded any active powers. Leibniz argued that the "mutual rest" Descartes held to be the glue holding bodies together was quite inept to explain cohesion; this required instead an internal principle of unity. Newtonian gravity was a serious blow, as was Newton's demolition of the vortex theory. By the end of the seventeenth century, moreover, the promise of Cartesian mechanism in explaining the phenomena of life had diminished to the point that Georg Ernst Stahl and other physiologists were ready to revive the animal and plant souls Descartes had extinguished. In particular, Stahl believed that the filtering of fluids in the digestive system could not be explained as the passage of particles through successive sieves; some selective power of attraction was instead required. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the practice of hypothesizing configurations of subvisible particles had become "old hat." Such hypotheses could be, if urged on the basis of analogy alone, no less question-begging than hypotheses about forms or occult qualities (Gabbey).

Mechanism could not quite deliver on its promises in the seventeenth century. Its ontology proved too sparse. In particular the science of life resisted "mechanization." Nevertheless, the reduction of all of nature to the interaction of a few basic entities

and forces, whose phenomena were to be derived mathematically from first principles, has not only been enormously successful in fundamental physics but has also provided a model to all the natural sciences.

See also Aristotelianism; Descartes, René; Gassendi, Pierre; Gessner, Conrad; Matter, Theories of; Mersenne, Marin; Occult Philosophy; Scientific Revolution.

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DENNIS DES CHENE

# MEDALS. See Coins and Medals.

**MEDICI FAMILY.** The dominant family in early modern Florence, the Medici produced several popes and cardinals, married into Europe's Catholic royal houses, and either dominated or ruled Florence from the early fifteenth century until 1737.

In 1434 the banker Cosimo de' Medici the Elder (1389–1464), outwardly respecting the republican constitution, became the power behind the scenes in Florence. Following unsuccessful coups against them in the 1460s, the Medici strengthened their position through the *balie* (small extraordinary councils). The perception that the Medici were in fact, if not in law, lords of Florence lay behind an unsuccessful 1478 conspiracy by members of the Pazzi and Salviati families. Following its failure, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–1492) pushed through constitutional changes, vesting more power in *balie* and hunting down his enemies with a vengeance that the historian Francesco Guicciardini would call uncivilized.

# THE MEDICI AND FLORENCE

Two years after Lorenzo's death, Florentine republicans and followers of the Dominican Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) forced Piero di Lorenzo (1471–1503) and his brothers into exile. Upon Piero's death, leadership of the house passed to his brother Cardinal Giovanni (1475–1521; reigned as Pope Leo X 1513–1521), who reinstalled his family in Florence in 1512. The Florentine patriciate, disillusioned with broad-based government, acquiesced reluctantly in Medici domination under Lorenzo, duke of Urbino (1492–1519), and Giuliano, duke of Nemours (1479–1516).

The sack of Rome during the pontificate of Clement VII (1523–1534) (Giulio de' Medici, 1478–1534) gave impetus to rebellion against the Medici. In May 1527 the family suffered exile again.

But Clement made his peace with the emperor and, in 1530, after a brutal siege, installed Alessandro (1511–1537) as capo (head) and, soon, as duke of Florence.

Following Alessandro's assassination in 1537, Florence's influential patricians, or Ottimati, faced the problem of the succession, for Alessandro had left no legitimate male heir. Looking to the progeny of Cosimo the Elder's brother, they discovered Cosimo, son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere ('of the Black Bands') de' Medici and Maria Salviati. The teenaged Cosimo lacked an independent political, territorial, or financial base, the family bank having collapsed in 1494. He appeared, therefore, to be the perfect candidate, subject to direction by the Ottimati. That he proved to be one of the most independent rulers in Florentine history came as a surprise. By the mid-1540s, he freed himself from domination by both the patriciate and his Spanish allies. He conquered Siena and, in 1569, won from the pope the coveted hereditary title grand duke of Tuscany. His reign elevated the house of Medici to parity with the great Catholic houses of Europe. In 1564 he handed over governance to his son Francesco (1541-1587) in what may have been the smoothest transferal of power in the history of Florence. The family remained grand dukes until the death of the last male, Gian Gastone, in 1737.

# THE MEDICI AND THE CHURCH

Guicciardini wrote that, to dominate Florence, the Medici needed popes. They obtained what they needed; between 1513 and 1521, and again from 1523 to 1534, Medici ruled in Rome. Virtually every generation of the Medici in the early modern period produced at least one cardinal.

After Giovanni's departure for Rome, Lorenzo sent him a letter urging him to piety, but adding that, in serving the church, Giovanni would surely find occasion to serve the house of Medici as well. With this advice, Lorenzo implied that the state's interests had become identical to the Medici's interests. Some contemporaries alleged a change in Medici behavior with Giovanni's election, claiming that the Medici, upon return from exile in 1512, lived like other citizens; once Giovanni became Pope Leo X in 1513, however, they ignored the constitution and went about, like lords, with armed retainers.

### MEDICI MARRIAGES AND PROPERTY

The Palazzo Medici (constructed 1444–1464) was designed by Michelozzo for Cosimo the Elder. As dukes, the Medici lived first in the Palazzo Vecchio and, as of about 1550, in the Palazzo Pitti. They also owned substantial property outside Florence.

For most of the fifteenth century, the Medici followed a pattern common among their peers: making astute parentadi (marriage alliances) with other Florentine patrician families. Lorenzo the Magnificent signaled expanded family ambitions with his marriage into the Orsini, powerful Roman magnates. He arranged parentadi for two offspring with the Orsini and the house of Savoy. Alessandro wed Margaret of Austria, illegitimate daughter of the Holy Roman emperor Charles V, and, later, duchess of Parma and stadtholder of the Netherlands. Cosimo I's marriage to Eleonora of Toledo, daughter of the viceroy of Naples, brought both wealth and a Spanish connection. The destinies of some of his fourteen children included marriage into the Orsini and the houses of Toledo, Este, Habsburg (this time to a legitimate daughter of the emperor), and Lorraine (to which the succession would fall in 1737). Catherine, a great-granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, wed Henry II, king of France, and exercised great power as queen mother; she was blamed for the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572. Maria, the daughter of Francesco I, brought a dowry of 600,000 florins to Henry IV, king of France. Cosimo III married Marguérite Louise, daughter of the duke of Orléans and granddaughter of Henry IV.

# THE MEDICI AND CULTURE

Cosimo the Elder and his successors were patrons of the Neoplatonist movement. Lorenzo the Magnificent studied Greek and Latin under the foremost humanists, including Cristoforo Landino and Marsilio Ficino. Both Lorenzo and his mother, Lucrezia, were poets. Giovanni, the future Leo X, received an outstanding humanist education and studied canon law at Pisa. Cosimo I established the Accademia Fiorentina (Florentine Academy) and subsidized printing. Eleonora purchased and restored the Pitti palace and gardens. Francesco, Ferdinando I, and Cosimo II showed interest in literature, science, and mathematics. Francesco founded the Accademia della Crusca (crusca refers to wheat grain) to purify and promote the Tuscan language.

The young Galileo Galilei served as chief mathematician and philosopher to Cosimo II.

Among the painters, goldsmiths, sculptors, and architects who worked for the Medici were Filippo Brunelleschi, Filippo Lippi, Domenico Ghirlandaio, the della Robbias, Andrea del Verrocchio, Sandro Botticelli, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Giorgio Vasari, Bartolomeo Ammanati, Baccio Bandinelli, Jacopo Pontormo, Buontalenti, Guiliano and Francesco da Sangallo, Agnolo Bronzino, Benvenuto Cellini, and Giambologna. Catherine de Médicis brought Italian style to France, built the Tuileries gardens and a new wing of the Louvre, and collected a great classical library. Vittoria della Rovere, wife of Ferdinando II, transported to Florence important paintings, including works by Raphael and Titian. Justus Sustermans (1597–1681) brought Flemish baroque portraiture to Florence in his numerous depictions of members of the family and court. Anna Maria Ludovica, the last descendant in the line of Cosimo I, left the family's fabulous art collection to Florence as a public trust.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Catherine de Médicis; Florence; Florence, Art in; Marie de Médicis; Papacy and Papal States; Patronage; Rome, Sack of.

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MEDICINE. Medicine in the early modern era was characterized by several distinctive features. First, the understanding of illness and its treatment was based on assumptions that were inherited from antiquity and differed conspicuously from our own ideas. Second, physicians comprised but one group among a host of healers who routinely competed with each other for access to patients. Thus, in contrast to medicine today, physicians neither dominated nor directed the care of most of the sick. Third, the delivery of health care was not centered in hospitals or specialized clinics. Hospitals certainly were a feature of early modern medicine, but their role in the delivery of health care was minor. Last, and perhaps most important, people in early modern Europe inhabited a social, cultural, and demographic environment in which death intruded itself far more frequently in the everyday lives of Europeans than it does for people living in the developed world today.

# PATTERNS OF DISEASE

Death was a common occurrence in the early modern period, a fact that colored nearly every aspect of social and cultural life. Nor was it just the elderly who expected to die; infants and children died at such high rates that someone could be counted fortunate just to reach the age of twenty-one, not to mention sixty or seventy. This depressing fact was not lost on contemporaries. "Of each 1,000 people born," wrote a German physician in 1797, "24 die during birth itself; the business of teething disposes of another 50; in the first two years, convulsions and other illnesses remove another 277; smallpox ... carries off 80 or 90, and measles 10 more." Of every 1,000 people born, he concluded, "one can expect that only 78 will die of old age or in old age." Although we cannot verify the accuracy of these numbers, there is no disputing the appallingly high mortality rates they indicate. Available records of baptisms and burials from local churches suggest that in countries such as France and Denmark,

deaths of infants (that is, children under the age of two) from all causes could climb as high as two hundred or more deaths per thousand births.

A variety of factors contributed to these high mortality rates, including the prevalence of malnutrition and intestinal parasites. Although these may have only rarely caused death directly, they undoubtedly weakened the body's defenses against disease. More directly responsible were infectious diseases like smallpox and measles, mentioned in the quotation above, along with other serious childhood diseases like diphtheria, whooping cough, and dysentery.

The most dangerous disease of all was the plague, which first struck various parts of Europe between 1347 and 1351 and returned to afflict almost every generation until the very end of the seventeenth century. The disease is believed to have begun in China and then spread along trade routes in Central Asia in the early 1340s. By 1346 it had reached the Crimean city of Caffa, and from there it was brought to Sicily and southern Italy. Once established there, plague spread, again along trade routes, to other parts of Europe. Skepticism has grown in recent years over whether the plague (caused by the bacterium Yersina pestis) was exclusively bubonic plague, induced in its victims by the bite of a flea, or whether it was mixed with a more dangerous airborne form known as pneumonic plague. It is possible too that one or more other diseases were also part of the mix. Whatever its precise cause, there can be no question that plague hit many parts of Europe hard. Over the entirety of Europe, it is estimated that the first onset of plague killed approximately 25 percent of the population, although actual mortality varied considerably from place to place. Even as late as the seventeenth century, outbreaks of plague continued to hit with devastating impact. In 1656-1657, the Italian city of Genoa lost 60 percent of its population of 75,000 to plague—a horrific, although unusually high, mortality rate—while between 1609 and 1611 about 42 percent of the residents of the Swiss city of Basel (population 15,000) caught the plague and 62 percent of those victims died.

A second serious disease, syphilis, appeared for the first time in Europe at the very end of the fifteenth century. While having nowhere near the de-



Medicine. A woodcut from the 1491 Fasciculus Medicinae shows a doctor treating a plague victim. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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mographic impact of plague in terms of deaths caused by it, syphilis was serious enough, especially in the virulent form in which it first appeared. The disease was first reported during the French army's campaigns in Italy during 1494-1495 (hence the common name given it, the "French Pox"), and from there it spread rapidly throughout Europe. Sufferers from syphilis, reported the German scholar Ulrich von Hutten in the early sixteenth century, "had boils that stood out like acorns, from which issued such filthy stinking matter, that whosoever came within the scent believed himself infected." The stinking stain described by von Hutten could have been more than just physical, for it was soon determined that syphilis was sexually transmitted, thus giving the disease extra significance as an apparent punishment for sinful promiscuity.

# THE ORIGINS OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Historians once commonly believed that plague was a primary cause of the breakdown of medieval society and the transition to the modern era. Although this is no longer widely accepted, there is no denying that plague did have a powerful impact. Arguably the most significant of its effects was the stimulus it provided to the development of public health, and, more speculatively perhaps, to the more general idea that the purpose of government was to formulate policy, not just maintain order. The idea that the government could exercise a regulatory and policy-making function was certainly not unprecedented in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but the horrific consequences of repeated plague outbreaks made matters of health a particular focal point of concern and regulation.

As early as 1348, the town council of Venice appointed three of its members as a special commission to devise measures against the plague that had broken out there, and, in general, highly developed Italian cities like Florence, Milan, and Genoa were among the earliest to formulate measures against the plague. Many European cities and principalities north of the Alps followed suit during the next 150 years. The measures taken by these boards included the institution of quarantine, a practice whereby plague victims were shut up in their houses, together with their families and servants, if they had any. Quarantine could also be placed on entire towns and cities, and because such bans could last

for weeks or even months, a declaration of quarantine had serious consequences for trade and economic well-being. Plague ordinances further specified how those who had died of plague should be buried and what should be done with their personal possessions—clothing and bedding could be burned, for example. More controversially, they also prohibited public gatherings of different kinds, including church processions. Since such public gatherings were a major component of medieval Catholic spirituality, their prohibition by secular authorities was a recurrent source of conflict with the church.

Throughout the fifteenth century, most of the health commissions charged with dealing with plague remained temporary institutions, dissolving as soon as the threat posed by the current epidemic had subsided. But during the sixteenth century, more permanent health magistracies began appearing in northern Italian cities. The responsibilities given these boards gradually evolved to cover not only times of emergency but also the more routine supervision of public health. Justified by a desire to forestall future outbreaks of plague and building on prior medieval attempts to enforce sanitary standards in larger cities (in some cases dating much further back than the 1340s), these health boards began formulating more comprehensive sanitary measures to control such things as the cleaning of streets and dumping of wastes. Beggars and Jews, who were suspected of being transmitters of disease, were often singled out for unwelcome attention.

A somewhat different system evolved in German-speaking central Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There, towns and principalities began appointing a local physician or surgeon to the partially salaried post of *physicus*. Their primary responsibility normally involved providing medical care for the poor, but *physici* were also charged with enforcing sanitary regulations, instructing and supervising other practitioners, and conducting medical-forensic inquiries, among other functions. In effect, these practitioners served as the instruments for the enforcement of public health ordinances, while at the same time gathering information about local health conditions that could be transmitted back to the political authorities.

#### THE INSTITUTIONS OF CARE

To the extent that early modern medical care was centered in institutions of any kind and did not simply take place at the patient's bedside or in the practitioner's shop, hospitals provided that institutional setting. But this statement must be immediately qualified by noting that hospitals served almost exclusively the needs of the poor. Not until the early twentieth century, in fact, would people who were not poor begin using hospitals in any considerable numbers. Moreover, hospitals in the early modern era were not devoted exclusively to medical care, offering instead a spectrum of charitable support for the poor.

The roots of hospitals as integrated charitable/ medical institutions go back many centuries, on the one hand to the social welfare needs of large urban centers of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, such as Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul) and Baghdad, and on the other hand to the hospices established for travelers and the poor by early Christian communities. As monastic communities spread across the Christian world during the Middle Ages, many of them, especially those located on important trade routes or destinations for pilgrimages, established small infirmaries for sick members of their communities and travelers who had no other support during times of illness. Eventually, hospitals of varying sizes became an established feature of the urban landscape, funded by the charitable endowments of individual patrons or local religious organizations, such as confraternities.

By the sixteenth century, and especially in the wake of the Reformation, hospitals were confronted by significant new challenges. First, conversion to Protestantism often involved confiscation by the ruler of church properties, which deprived hospitals both of the assets that supported their operation and sometimes of the personnel who ran them. In England, Henry VIII's break with the Roman Church in the 1530s led to wholesale seizure of church properties, including those supporting the three London hospitals of St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew, and Bethlehem. This immediately threw the city's charitable services into chaos, and the city's leaders implored the crown to restore the funds necessary to operate the hospitals. This the crown did over the course of the next twenty years, yielding for London a total of five major hospitals: St.

Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's for the sick poor; Christ's for orphans; Bridewell for the shiftless poor, and finally, Bethlehem (known later as "Bedlam") for the mentally ill.

The functional "specialization" displayed by different London hospitals was by no means the standard in the period, and many hospitals, such as the huge Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Vienna or the Julius-Spital in Würzburg, folded various charitable services into one institution. What they did share with the London hospitals was the specific range of charitable activities. Just as importantly, the hospitals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displayed a new attitude about the poor. This attitude was reflected in a separation made between the "virtuous" poor, such as the aged, widows, and children, and the "shiftless" or "lazy" poor, a separation that still resonates in welfare today. In a period when the poor were increasingly viewed as a possible threat to social order, hospitals became places for housing the poor and removing them and their supposed threat from the streets. By 1700, this thinking had led in France to the founding of more than one hundred so-called hôpitaux-généraux (general hospitals), institutions in which the deserving and undeserving poor were rounded up together, with the former supposedly receiving benevolent shelter in their time of need and the latter corrected and improved by a combination of enforced labor and religious discipline.

All of these institutions, even those resembling prisons and workhouses, offered treatment for the sick. By the eighteenth century, the curing of patients and their return to useful roles in society became more clearly the focal point of the hospital's identity. Although they remained charitable institutions, supported largely by private philanthropy or government subventions instead of patient fees, hospitals discouraged the admission of the chronically sick or aged, pregnant women and children—in short, the traditional clientele who had populated hospitals in previous eras. Instead, they focused on curing and releasing what came to be known later as the "laboring poor," those who held regular jobs and had fallen ill.

# MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

Today, the treatment of illness is usually given by a physician, that is, someone with a university medical

education in possession of an M.D. Although other people, such as nurses or pharmacists may be involved in this process, physicians direct it. In the early modern era, that was decidedly not the case. Physicians formed but one small group among a variety of healers, any of whom could be consulted in time of sickness.

Among the other healers who competed for access to patients, surgeons were probably the most prominent. Like physicians, surgeons were a recognized occupation, often organized in larger towns into guilds that supervised professional standards and trained apprentices in the craft. In both the popular imagination and in their own professional identities, physicians and surgeons were separated by their domains of practice: physicians treated internal ailments, while surgeons handled external maladies, including wounds. Physicians were not trained to cut patients most of the time, while surgeons made liberal use of the knife, even if they also administered medications. Their use of the knife is a principal reason why surgeons often were grouped together occupationally with lower-status barbers, who not only cut hair but also performed routine medical procedures such as bloodletting.

However, because the boundary between "internal" and "external" is by no means obvious in every case, many diseases, such as cancerous tumors and syphilis, were often treated by surgeons. Therefore, rather than seeing physicians and surgeons as having clearly demarcated areas of competence, it would be more accurate to understand them as having overlapping spheres of practice, where the choice of healer more often depended on factors such as personal acquaintance, reputation, and availability, and not on a calculation of which healer was most appropriate for any particular illness. Part of the distinction between physicians and surgeons can be explained in terms of social hierarchy. Because physicians were university educated and participated in the literate, Latinate culture of the urban and courtly elites, they tended to enjoy higher social status than surgeons. But neither the status of healers nor the choice of healer by patients was determined along a gradient of social hierarchy. Kings and bishops were just as likely as a common artisan to consult a surgeon when the need arose although not, of course, necessarily the same surgeon.

The same point could be made for other established healing occupations, midwives and apothecaries. Midwives were women who attended births and cared for the mother and newborn child during the first days after birth. In principle, they were not supposed to treat patients outside the context of birthing or to administer drugs, apart from those useful during or immediately after labor. But, in fact, midwives were consulted more widely, especially by women, whose trust in the midwife would have been cemented by her assistance during their children's births. Apothecaries were dealers in herbal medications, grocers who knew how to extract the healing virtues from natural products. Physicians expected apothecaries to dispense medications to patients only on the orders of a physician. But here too, the prescribed division of labor was easily breached by apothecaries who believed that they could just as well (or better) determine the appropriate medicines to give people suffering from particular ailments. From the patient's point of view, the decision to consult an apothecary or midwife might depend on the same considerations as those mentioned above—personal acquaintance, local reputation and accessibility—as well as cost. In most cases, it cost considerably less to bring a midwife or apothecary in than a physician.

During the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, governments in various parts of Europe began paying a great deal of attention to how practitioners were trained and to keeping practitioners from infringing on others' domain of work. Surgeons, whose training had always swung between guild apprenticeships and university-based anatomy theaters (although surgeons did not routinely hold M.D. degrees), increasingly saw their training based in the newer hospitals or specially instituted surgical academies. The training and qualifications of midwives and apothecaries likewise came under closer scrutiny, and in a number of places they were required to submit to licensing examinations. The establishment of a separate licensing examination for physicians after awarding the M.D. also came into much wider use, when, for example, in 1651 the electorate of Bavaria created a collegium medicum that was authorized to examine every physician who wished to practice in its territory.

The practitioners described here by no means exhaust the full range of healers present in early mod-



Medicine. The Surgeon by David Teniers II the Younger, seventeenth century. @Burstein Collection/Corbis

ern society. These other healers are represented, in part, by folk healers, who deployed a wide range of traditional therapies. The use of magical or religious invocations in treating illness, of course, was probably not a rare occurrence at this time. In addition, the early modern period was populated by a host of itinerant drug peddlers, stonecutters, and sundry charlatans who sold special talents or products in the medical marketplace. By the mid-eighteenth century, and as a result of the dramatic expansion of the press, medical products and services participated in a booming advertising market.

## IDEAS OF HEALTH AND ILLNESS

The dominant medical thinking of the early modern period saw health as dependent on a particular bal-

ance in the body's four humors, known conventionally as blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile. Each individual humor, in turn, manifested a distinctive combination of qualities from the pairs wet/dry and cold/hot. Thus, blood was believed to be hot and wet, yellow bile, hot and dry, and so on. The balance of humors required to maintain health was highly individual, depending on someone's age, sex, local environment, diet, work, lifestyle-in principle, almost anything could influence health. Excessive exercise, for example, could cause the body to heat up, resulting in an excess of blood or yellow bile. Scholars, on the other hand, were thought to suffer from particular diseases resulting from their having too little exercise and too much brainwork. The prevention of illness and its cure depended in principle on the same idea, whereby the practitioner sought to maintain or restore the proper humoral balance. The application of many treatments, such as the use of bloodletting or emetics (agents that cause vomiting), can be understood as working in this way.

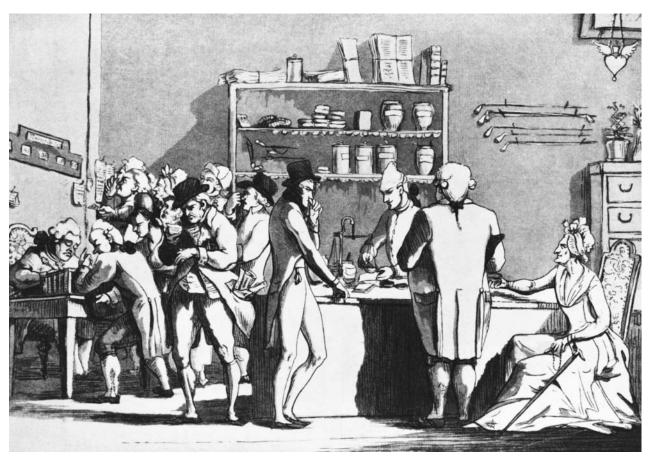
Over against these doctrines concerning pathology and therapeutics must be set a partially separate set of ideas concerning what we now call physiology, the functions of the living body. The body's functions were thought to be governed by three principal organs: the liver, which converted nutritive juices produced by digestion into blood, which was then sent via the venous system to all parts of the body and nourished it; the heart, which mixed air taken in by the lungs with some blood, producing vital spirit, which was distributed throughout the body by the arteries and governed vital processes such as motion, breathing, and digestion; and the brain, which produced animal spirits, responsible for the higher functions of sensation and consciousness, and which traveled throughout the body via the nerves. Although not entirely divorced from the humoral doctrines that molded thinking about health and illness, the theories governing physiology were formulated to answer a distinctive and separate set of questions, such as what breathing does or how the movement of muscles occurs.

The source of many of these ideas was a collection of writings attributed to the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates (c. 460 B.C.E.—375 B.C.E.), especially as interpreted by the later Greek physician Galen (129–199? C.E.). Very few of Hippocrates' and Galen's writings were available in Latin translation during the early Middle Ages, but a far richer view of Hippocratic and Galenic medicine started appearing in Latin-speaking Europe at the end of the eleventh century, when translations of Arabic medical writings were made in southern Italy and Spain. These encyclopedic compendia of ancient medicine became the basis for medical teaching in the universities that began appearing at the end of the twelfth century.

By the early sixteenth century, medicine was a widely accepted part of the university curriculum, with the teaching of theory and practice based largely on Hippocratic and Galenic precepts, as interpreted and synthesized by medieval Muslim scholars. A second wave of translations, beginning in the late fourteenth century and inspired by the humanist cultural program for the restoration of classical antiquity, produced a wave of Latin translations from ancient Greek manuscripts, bypassing the mediation and (so the humanists claimed) the barbarism of earlier Muslim translators and commentators. The output from all this effort is astonishing: between 1500 and 1600, there are said to have been approximately 590 different editions of Galen's writings. To a surprising extent, these new translations from Greek sources did little to change the curriculum or the dominant medical theories. Yet in one important area, anatomy, the recovery of Galen's writings, especially his On Anatomical Procedures (first published in 1531), a guide to dissection, did lead to dramatic changes in medical thinking.

The conduct of dissections as part of the teaching of anatomy was a well-established, if also a sporadic, part of the medical curriculum. Well before 1500, medical scholars had used dissection as a means of engaging in critical dialogue with their ancient and medieval Muslim predecessors, to the extent that these sources were available to them. The appearance of On Anatomical Procedures in Latin translation, however, gave to humanistically inclined physicians an impeccably ancient source of authority for the practice of dissection, as well as practical tips for doing so. Consequently, anatomy and the practice of dissection acquired a status far exceeding what it had enjoyed before, and knowledge of human anatomical structure became a focal point of research interest. This burst of activity culminated with the publication of De Humani Corporis Fabrica (1543; On the structure of the human body), by Andreas Vesalius, the most renowned anatomist of the era. Vesalius's richly illustrated text presented itself as an extended critique of Galen's claims about anatomy, offering its readers a far more visually concrete picture of the body than anything previously available.

The critique of Galen's anatomical ideas, however, did not translate immediately into a broader abandonment of his physiology, in part because his theories about the body's functions made a great deal of sense in the context of physicians' experiences with the bodies of their patients. Only in the greatly changed circumstances of the seventeenth



Medicine. Apothecary shop in Vienna, 1780, mezzotint etching. Both doctors and patients are shown consulting with the apothecary. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

century, when a new generation of scholars deployed a new "mechanical" philosophy based on experiment to overthrow the entire edifice of ancient natural philosophy and the kinds of explanations it offered, did physicians shift from engaging in their centuries-long critical dialogue with their ancient sources to thinking about the body's functions in ways that departed significantly from ancient models. The most important among these later physicians was William Harvey (1578–1657), a highly skilled anatomist and experimentalist whose carefully designed investigations into the function of the heartbeat, published in 1628 as Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus (An anatomical essay on the motion of the heart and blood in animals), directly attacked the physiological role assigned to the heart by Galen, suggesting instead that the heart acts as a pump, distributing blood to the body through the arteries and receiving it back again from the veins.

See also Alchemy; Anatomy and Physiology; Death and Dying; Harvey, William; Hospitals; Midwives; Plague; Public Health; Vesalius, Andreas.

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THOMAS H. BROMAN

# MEDINA SIDONIA, ALONSO PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN, 7TH DUKE

**OF** (1549–1615), Spanish grandee, admiral, and councillor of state. Succeeding his grandfather to the dukedom in 1558, with a palace at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, he acquired an interest in the sea and shipping. Sanlúcar's customs house, the tuna fishery (almadraba) of his coastal estates, and revenues from the county of Niebla made him the richest grandee in Spain, with an income that by 1600 approached 170,000 ducats annually. Some 55,000 souls lived under his jurisdiction. He married Ana de Mendoza y Silva (1561–1610), daughter of the prince of Éboli, and had eight surviving children, with heir Juan Manuel born in 1579.

From the 1570s he assisted in the annual sailing of the Indies fleets. A patron of books on chivalry, he also sought in 1574 to serve Philip II by contracting the Spanish galley squadron. Deemed too young, he got his chance to serve in 1578, with the succession crisis in Portugal. He assisted the marquis of Santa Cruz, despite strained relations, to prepare an armada, and used family connections with Portuguese nobles to promote Philip II's claims. In summer 1580, he led the Andalusian militia to the peaceful conquest of the Algarve, and then organized a dragnet that forced Dom António, Philip's chief rival for the Portuguese crown, to flee.

Philip awarded him the Golden Fleece and appointed him governor-general of Milan. He did not assume the office, for personal concerns and perhaps expectation of better. One concern was Philip's imprisonment of the princess of Éboli, which Medina Sidonia eventually succeeded in changing to confinement to her palace. He contin-

ued to work with the Indies fleets and was appointed in 1582 to head an expedition to occupy Larache, which the sharif of Morocco offered to Philip in return for aid against the Turks. When the Turkish threat abated, the sharif reneged on his offer.

War with England drove Philip in 1586 to build the Invincible Armada, with which Medina Sidonia was early involved. When Francis Drake attacked Cádiz Bay in April 1587, the duke rallied the local militias to defend Cádiz. He promoted a plan to overtake Drake with naval forces from Cádiz and Lisbon, but Drake left Spanish waters before it could be executed. Given his achievements and the traditions of his forebears, he requested explicit authority for regional defense, which Philip granted on 8 January 1588 with appointment as captain general of the Coast of Andalusia. In February, when Santa Cruz died, Philip shocked Medina Sidonia with appointment as captain general of the Ocean Sea and command of the Armada waiting in Lisbon. Medina Sidonia tried to turn down the appointment, and recommended galley chief Martin de Padilla (c. 1535-1602), Adelantado of Castile. Philip persisted and the duke headed for Lisbon, where he found all in confusion. His diligence had the Armada to sea by 30 May, but a storm forced it into La Coruña and neighboring ports. Believing it a sign from God, and pessimistic about chances for success, he urged Philip to use the Armada's mere presence to pressure Queen Elizabeth to withdraw from the Low Countries. Philip refused and on 22 July the Armada sailed. In the campaign, Medina Sidonia hewed to Philip's orders to proceed directly to join the duke of Parma and his army for the invasion of England, rejected proposals to assault Plymouth, and abandoned two ships disabled by accident. But as the English fleet hounded him, he vainly attempted to force a boarding action. His communications with Parma proved inadequate and he reached Calais to discover Parma not ready. Forced from Calais, he chose to return the Armada safely to Spain by sailing around Ireland. Storm battered the Armada and scarcely half the ships reached Spain.

Disgraced in the public eye, if not in Philip's, he retired to his estates. He continued to advise on the Armada, Indies fleets, and Morocco, and complained of the weakness of home defense, which the

Anglo-Dutch sack of Cádiz in 1596 proved inadequate. His hurried response limited enemy gains, but his authority was transferred to professionals.

His heir in 1598 married the daughter of the duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite, while he became a councillor of state and had many of his debts canceled. A humane man, he disapproved of black slavery, and suggested that Moriscos expelled from Spain be resettled in Cuba. To the public he remained a scapegoat. He was blamed when a powerful Dutch fleet in 1607 destroyed the smaller Armada of the Strait at Gibraltar. His only role was to send its commander warning and advice. In the last years before his death he largely withdrew from public life. The defeat of the Armada has forever marred his reputation.

See also Armada, Spanish; Philip II (Spain).

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PETER PIERSON

**MEDITERRANEAN BASIN.** The advent of the early modern era in the Mediterranean Basin is easy to identify, thanks to two quite spectacular events. In 1453 the Turkish Ottomans conquered the great city of Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine Empire. Although help for the Byzantines had been fitful and reluctant, Christian Europe was shocked nevertheless.

At the other end of the inland sea the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand II and Isabella I (ruled 1474–1504) completed the centuries-long reconquest, as they called it, of the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, when they defeated the last Muslim kingdom, Granada. In that same momentous year they expelled the Jews from their domains, and Columbus landed on the shores of American islands.

The Spanish and Ottoman achievements put an end to the political fragmentation and unstable alliances that had been so characteristic of the medieval period. In the east, the central fact had been the quickening pace of Byzantine collapse. Although the Byzantines had managed to take Constantinople back from the Latins in 1260, this did not halt the steady dwindling of Byzantine power, especially on the sea. An assortment of political entities—both Muslim and Christian—fought for control of the eastern Mediterranean during the fourteenth century. The Ottomans managed to emerge triumphant, besting both Muslim and Christian rivals. Once again the eastern Mediterranean was ruled from Constantinople, now Istanbul, by an imperial power.

Prior to their conquest of the capital city, the Ottomans had established their control over western Anatolia and much of the Balkans. After 1453 they consolidated their rule in both places, reproducing and extending the borders of the now vanquished Byzantine Empire.

From the Muslim point of view, the stunning feat of the conquest of what they called Istanbul suggested that a preeminent Muslim power might be emerging. As in the Mediterranean, the medieval Islamic world had also been characterized by the proliferation of small states following the Mongol destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad in 1258. Ottoman supremacy was confirmed in the early sixteenth century, when Sultan Selim I (ruled 1512-1520) defeated the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt. By so doing he also became master of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, a fact of the utmost symbolic power in the Islamic world. Ottoman primacy also meant a historic shift westward in terms of the political and cultural center of the Islamic world. Not since the Umayyads made Damascus the capital of their dynasty in the seventh century had the Mediterranean figured so prominently in the Muslim world.

The unification of Spain took a giant leap forward in 1469, just sixteen years after the Ottomans took Istanbul. In that year Ferdinand II of Aragón married Isabella I of Castile. When Ferdinand succeeded to the crown of Aragón in 1479, the two formerly independent kingdoms (which together make up most of modern Spain) became one. Ferdi-

nand and Isabella were determined to extinguish Muslim power on the Iberian Peninsula, and in 1492, with the defeat of Muslim Granada, they achieved their aspirations. The reconquest was complete, and a united, although admittedly fractious, Spain had emerged to take the place of the patchwork of kingdoms and emirates of the medieval period.

Control over Mecca and Medina had catapulted the Ottomans to leadership (albeit contested) of the Islamic world. Similarly the actions of Isabella and Ferdinand led them to see themselves, and to be seen by others, as the leaders of Christian Europe. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI bestowed upon them the designation of Catholic kings (Reyes Católicos) in recognition of their many services to Christianity, namely the conquest of Granada, the discovery of the New World, the expulsion of the Jews, and their leadership of the Spanish Inquisition. Both states then derived a good deal of their legitimacy from their militant offensive against the religious "other," and both states were now the preeminent powers in their respective halves of the Mediterranean. Combining these two facts, it is not surprising that in the sixteenth century the Ottomans and the Spaniards now turned to face each other. The Spanish-Ottoman rivalry meant that in the early modern era the Mediterranean was a prime site for the enduring conflict between Christianity and Islam.

But this was not all. In the sixteenth century the Mediterranean Basin became an extension of the intense rivalries of European politics, a contest in which the Ottomans were full participants. These rivalries often ignored the religious divide that was so fundamental in Spanish-Ottoman hostilities. Two levels of conflict then, one old and one new, wove their way through the tumultuous history of the sea in the early modern period.

## SPANISH-OTTOMAN RIVALRY

The first phase of the Ottoman-Spanish confrontation took place in North Africa and was directly related to the Spanish reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Even before the fall of Granada, privateers from the eastern Mediterranean had made their way to the western half of the sea, exploring the opportunities for holy war and enrichment. Some settled in the various port cities of North Africa, and over time the local populations came to

view them as a source of help against the Spaniards. The North Africans had good reason to fear Spain. The enormous consequences of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the New World have led historians to neglect the continuing salience of a crusade against Islam for Spanish elites after 1492. An important segment of the Spanish nobility wanted the monarchy to direct its energies toward a conquest of Muslim North Africa rather than commercial exploration of the West African coast.

The Ottoman sultans at this time—Bayezit II (ruled 1481–1512) and Selim the Grim (Selim I, ruled 1512–1520)—were unwilling to engage in warfare with the Spaniards. They contented themselves with the trouble the corsairs caused for Spain and the intelligence they brought back to Istanbul from time to time. Thus hostilities early in the sixteenth century took the form of low-level raiding between North Africa and Spain. Full-scale conflict between the two empires did not commence until the 1530s, and at that point (Spain was now part of a much wider empire in Europe) it reflected Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry on the Continent as much as it did the contest between Christianity and Islam in the Mediterranean.

In 1532 Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519-1556) attacked the Ottoman city of Coron in southern Greece. The move was intended to divert the Ottoman armies from their campaign in the Balkans, which was putting pressure on Charles's Austrian territories. The move did succeed to the extent that Sultan Suleiman (ruled 1520-1566) had to call off the Balkan expedition, but it also had the effect of galvanizing him into action in the Mediterranean. The Turkish corsair Hayreddin Barbarossa (Khayr ad-Dīn) was summoned from Algiers and put in charge of the Ottoman fleet. In 1534 he sailed to Tunis, where the Hafsid dynasty had been allowed to continue a semi-independent existence. In short order Barbarossa occupied the city and put down the meager resistance offered by the reigning sultan. The Ottomans now controlled one side of the Sicilian channel. This victory was short-lived, however. Just one year later Charles launched four hundred ships carrying over twenty-six thousand men and retook the city. For the next forty years the central Mediterranean was a major battleground between the two empires.

A string of Ottoman victories followed the Spanish recapture of Tunis. In 1541 the Spanish tried to take Algiers, but the attempt turned into a debacle. They had to withdraw with a major loss of men and matériel. The city of Tripoli fell to the Ottoman armada in 1551, and the Muslim threat grew apace. In the summer of 1558 the Ottomans wiped out an entire contingent of Spanish troops stationed on the Algerian coast and raided the island of Minorca. Truly alarmed, Philip II (ruled 1556-1598) sent his galleys once again to the central Mediterranean, where they met a spectacular defeat at the island of Gerba in 1560. Ghislain de Busbecq, the ambassador of the Holy Roman emperor in Istanbul, was there for the triumphant return of the Ottoman fleet. He watched as columns of Christian prisoners were paraded through the streets. The Ottomans were now firmly in control of the central Mediterranean, and the Christian world waited with dread as the spring of 1561 turned to summer; they fully expected the Ottoman armada to reappear and to attack some portion of the Italian or Spanish coastline. In the event, however, the armada never came and in fact did not reappear for four summers. The long-expected assault did not come until 1565, when Suleiman finally launched an attack on Malta. Incredibly the Knights were able to hold the attackers off long enough for disease, heat, and food shortages to do their work. When Spanish reinforcements arrived in early September, the Ottomans decided to abandon the siege; by 12 September "the last Turkish sail had disappeared over the horizon" (Braudel, p. 1019).

The defeat at Malta returned the initiative to the Spanish. Now instead of worrying about where and when the sultan would strike, observers wondered whether the Spanish—who had vast, even global, commitments—would choose to press their advantage in the Mediterranean. Initially they did not. The ongoing difficulties in the Netherlands turned into full-scale war in 1567, and Philip could not fight in both arenas simultaneously. It would take the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (summer of 1570) to bring the Spanish back into the Mediterranean in force. Philip's decision to go to the aid of Venice led directly to the justly famous 1571 battle at Lepanto (Návpaktos), where the allied Christian forces scored a tremendous victory over their Muslim foes.

It has often been remarked that, for such a renowned event, Lepanto was strangely inconsequential. Venice surrendered Cyprus anyway, and the Spanish did not press their advantage any farther east. Within a year the Ottomans had rebuilt their fleet, yet they too did not launch a single-minded pursuit of the enemy (although they did take Tunis back for the last time in 1574.) Lepanto was followed not by an accelerating spiral of warfare but by a gradual disengagement that proved permanent over time. This perhaps unexpected result reflects the fact that the Battle of Lepanto, for all the rejoicing it caused in Europe, was the last spasm of a system that was slowly grinding to a halt, collapsing under its own weight. Throughout the sixteenth century the cost of galley warfare steadily escalated. Loaded with more and more guns, the galleys had to be bigger and stronger. Thus governments had to search out even more manpower, the perennial Mediterranean problem, and this meant more provisions at a time when prices were rising. In 1520 ship biscuits accounted for just under 25 percent of the total cost of operating a galley. By 1590 that figure was between 30 and 50 percent (Guilmartin, p. 222). The final conquest of Tunis was probably the most expensive Ottoman campaign of the sixteenth century.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, then, both the Ottomans and the Spaniards retreated into their separate corners of the Mediterranean, unwilling to pay a higher and higher price for increasingly marginal gains. Thus the age of "great wars" drew to a close, and each side gave up the dream of hegemony over the Mediterranean in its entirety.

#### THE OTTOMANS AND EUROPEAN POLITICS

The Ottomans, of course, were not the only foes or even the principal foes of the Spanish Habsburgs in the sixteenth century. The wars of religion and the ambitions of other monarchs, the French crown in particular, ensured that Spain was resented, even hated, across much of the European continent. With its vast resources and proven ability to confront Spanish power both on the Continent and in the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire was thus a potential ally for many on the European political scene.

The French king Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) made his intentions clear as early as 1533. Meeting with Pope Clement VII at Marseille, he declared, "Not only will I not oppose the invasion of Christendom by the Turk, but I will favor him as much as I can the more easily to recover that which plainly belongs to me and my children, and has been usurped by the Emperor" (Knecht, p. 301). The following summer an envoy from Hayreddin Barbarossa met with Francis just one month before the former captured Tunis and expelled the Tunisian king, who was a Habsburg ally. In 1535 Francis sent Jean de La Forêt to Istanbul with a view to gaining the sultan's help in a future war with the Habsburg emperor. On the way La Forêt stopped in North Africa and offered Barbarossa ships and supplies in return for help against Genoa. The French mission to Istanbul and rumors of a signed agreement scandalized Christian Europe, but more was to come. In the early 1540s France and the Habsburgs were at war again, and Suleiman informed Francis that he was placing Barbarossa's fleet at his disposal. The fleet duly set sail from Istanbul with the French ambassador onboard; on its way to Marseille it raided the coasts of Sicily and Italy. After a combined Ottoman-French bombardment of the Habsburg-occupied town of Nice, the Ottoman fleet wintered at Toulon.

The Habsburg-Ottoman confrontation in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century then cannot be disentangled from the rivalries on the Continent. But once the two old foes disengaged (a truce was signed in 1580), conflict in the Mediterranean changed both in nature and in significance. The Ottomans were no longer useful as an ally for those who wished to confront Spain. Ottoman struggles therefore became decoupled from European rivalries, and Ottoman activity in the Mediterranean had only a local significance. Indeed once the two superpowers departed from the stage, the age of "little wars," as Fernand Braudel (1976) put it, commenced. Pirates and corsairs reclaimed the sea both east and west and worked for their own interests through a skillful combination of trade and piracy.

#### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The English presence in North Africa provides a good example of this new phase in Mediterranean

history. English privateers originally entered the Mediterranean as combatants in England's war against Spain. Having engaged the Spanish in the Atlantic as early as the 1560s, the English by the turn of the century had taken up residence in the ports of North Africa, particularly Algiers. From there the entire southern coastline of Spain lay open to their assaults. Ottoman sailors and soldiers were happy to join the English in their raiding activity, but they were not directed by Istanbul and were not pursuing any larger Ottoman agenda on Spain. The English Queen Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) may have asked, in negotiations with the sultan at the end of the 1570s, that the Ottoman fleet be sent out to confront Spain, but the Ottomans did not respond.

Hostilities between England and Spain came to an end in 1604, but the "Barbary pirates" (the term originally referred to the English in North Africa, not to the Muslim population) did not go home. If they had initially come to confront Spain, now they stayed on to enjoy the life of a corsair in the Mediterranean. Over time the Barbary States (as they came to be known) evolved into formidable corsair capitals with an international population that operated on its own account, independent of both Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The North African corsairs were adept practitioners of the "little wars" that characterized the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century, but they were not the only ones. The distinguished historian of Marseille, Robert Paris, has described much of the seventeenth century as an "interregnum." In using this term he draws attention to the lull that attended between the decline of the Spanish and Portuguese navies and the rise of the northern powers of England, France, and Holland in the Mediterranean. This was the age of the great Mediterranean entrepôts of Algiers and Tripoli (on the Muslim side) and Valletta and Livorno/Leghorn (on the Christian side), which grew wealthy through a skillful combination of trade and piracy. The brisk trade in captured goods linked markets on either side of the religious divide. A Venetian commentator wrote the following early in the seventeenth century: "Livornese, Corsican, Genoese, French, Flemish, English, Jewish, Venetian and other merchants are settled in Algeria and Tunisia. They buy up all the stolen merchandise and send it to the free port of Livorno and

from there it is distributed all over Italy" (Balbi de Caro et al., p. 37). The Greek archipelago was another center of pirate activity in this chaotic century. Although it was nominally under Ottoman control, the actual Ottoman presence on these rocky islands was minimal, and it became even more so during the long Ottoman-Venetian wars of the second half of the seventeenth century.

To a certain extent the corsairs were operating on their own initiatives and were motivated by economic self-interest. But they were also part of a larger story. A historic shift in the Mediterranean balance of power was being worked out in the seventeenth century. It was in this period that the Dutch, the English, and to a lesser extent the French put an end to Italian commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean, and piracy was a vital instrument in this assault.

The English pirate, for example, was not confined to North Africa. Pirates slowly worked their way east, where they became hated and feared figures, particularly for the Venetians. A Venetian administrator in Crete in 1604 vented his frustration at the English pirates who hampered the island's provisioning: "These damn bertons which sail in these waters to their heart's content, stealing from and plundering everyone, and not permitting even one caramousal, loaded with grain, to approach, as they used to" (Spanakes, pp. 523–524).

Piracy was only one prong in a many-sided northern assault on the commercial status quo in the Mediterranean. The English and the Dutch undercut Italian, particularly Venetian, power by circulating cheap imitations of Italian goods throughout the Mediterranean. At the same time, under the controlling eye of mercantilist governments, northern manufacturing began to produce a wide range of new goods, particularly textiles, that were both cheap and popular in Mediterranean markets. Commercial companies, such as the English Levant Company, which received its charter from Queen Elizabeth I in 1581, imposed a discipline on merchants that further strengthened the power of English and Dutch trade. All of these factors are in the bitter comments of the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople in 1636:

Among the bales of cloth I noticed some which [the English] call "anti-Venetian" which means in imitation and for the destruction of ours, a preju-

dice which is increased by many other advantages which the English have in trading in these parts, both from the Capitulations which they have with the Porte and because their trading is done by means of a company. . . . They are not only exempt from half the duties which may be remitted to them, but they have a thousand chances of smuggling, which assuredly they do not miss. (Rapp, p. 511)

These remarks made in Constantinople underscore how attractive and important the vast Ottoman market was for both older commercial powers, such as the Italians, and northern newcomers. The classic view of European exploration and expansion in the early modern period emphasizes the extent to which the Spanish and the Portuguese wanted to cut out the Muslim middleman, who stood between them and the luxury goods of the Far East, someone who was both a commercial rival and a religious enemy. This view is not incorrect, but it is not the entire story. Northern maritime powers, that is, the English and the Dutch, did of course continue the encirclement of the Mediterranean that was begun by the Iberians. Ottoman customs inspectors on the border with Iran notified the government that the volume of Iranian silk coming into the Ottoman Empire was diminishing and asked what should be done about it. (The Iranians of course were selling the silk to the English agents of the East India Company.) But at the same time northern merchants were interested in buying up whatever they could in Ottoman markets and selling northern goods as well. Beginning in the seventeenth century then, and with ever increasing speed in the eighteenth, the trade in staples and foodstuffs between the Ottoman Empire and western and central Europe began to grow. It replaced in importance the old luxury trade, in which the eastern Mediterranean had functioned as a transit point for luxury goods coming from the Far East.

The older cities associated with the overland luxury trade—places like Bursa and especially Aleppo—declined, or at least failed to grow, over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time formerly modest towns along the coast began their slow but steady transformation into the cosmopolitan entrepôts that would reach their full flower in the nineteenth century. The free-wheeling, multiethnic, multilinguistic cities of the eastern Mediterranean that so captured the imagi-

nations of Western travelers and writers—cities like Alexandria, celebrated by Lawrence Durrell in his four-volume *The Alexandria Quartet* (1957–1960)—got their start in the seventeenth century.

Izmir, or Smyrna as Europeans called it, on the western coast of Anatolia, was one of the first examples of this new type of Ottoman urban development. Throughout most of the sixteenth century Izmir was just one of many small port towns along the Anatolian coast. Whatever modest amount of agricultural surplus might become available was sent along to the imperial capital. Istanbul encouraged this relationship; the sultan was anxious to ensure the provisioning of the city and did not want the empire's foodstuffs diverted to Western merchants. Toward the end of the century this quiet situation began to change. There had always been some Western merchants operating in the area, and lowlevel smuggling, made easier by the jagged coastline with its many inlets, was an enduring fact of life. With the repeated grain crises of the 1590s, the number of Western merchants—first Venetians, then Dutch, English, and French merchantsbegan to grow, as did the amount of smuggling. Izmir was at the center of this trade. Attracted initially by grain, the Westerners soon discovered that the fertile valleys of western Anatolia produced many other products as well: honey, fruit, nuts, cotton, wool, and tobacco, to name just a few. Later in the seventeenth century Izmir became famous as the Mediterranean outlet for silk coming from the east. Fueled by a combination of Western demand, low prices, and Ottoman willingness to trade, Izmir began to grow rapidly. In 1600 fewer than five thousand people inhabited the town; by 1650 that number had risen to thirty or forty thousand as both Europeans and Ottoman subjects moved in. Whereas no European consuls were resident in Izmir in 1600, the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Venetians all had representation by 1620. Travelers had rarely mentioned or visited the town prior to this period, but after 1620 no tour of the Levant was complete without a mention of the bustling port. Izmir's intimate relationship with the world of Mediterranean and Atlantic trade was clear even in the geography of its settlement; western Europeans installed themselves along the road that ran beside the city's quay. It came to be known as the Street of the Franks, and the taverns, coffeehouses, and even churches that graced the cities of western Europe proliferated along this street as well.

Although it had not planned or even anticipated Izmir's development, the Ottoman government was not long in recognizing the potential benefits of the new commercial patterns that were turning the city into an international emporium. By the second half of the seventeenth century favorable tax policies, implemented by the powerful vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (served 1656-1661), encouraged the city's trade and sent more of the surplus back to Istanbul. The Köprülü family viziers also initiated an extended public construction campaign, and the khans, covered markets, and baths that characteristically graced important Ottoman cities were erected in Izmir as well. Perhaps most significantly, a castle, Sancakburnu Kalesi, was built at the entrance to the city's harbor. Completed in the late 1650s, the castle vastly increased the state's ability to protect the harbor from attack and to collect customs duties from seaborne commerce. The Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi noted this with satisfaction some years later: "The vessels of the community of misbelievers used to carry freight and donate whatever customs they wished, or, drawing anchor and fleeing, nothing at all." However, "with the completion of this castle, no ship of the misbelievers could avoid paying customs" (Eldem et al., p. 108).

## TOWARD THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Earlier in the century the Ottoman government had resisted Izmir's new role and had railed in vain against the smugglers and pirates and their collaborators within Ottoman society. Gradually the state came to terms with the commercialized agriculture that was increasingly common along the Aegean coastline. This flexibility was one of the reasons (a return of security to the Anatolian countryside was another) they were able to regain control, at least relatively speaking, over the Mediterranean coastline and over seaborne commerce more generally. Not only the Ottomans reasserted their control over the Mediterranean as the century drew to a close. The actions of other states too signaled that the age of the corsair and the pirate was coming to an end (a similar phenomenon can be observed in the Caribbean). In the last quarter of the seventeenth century the French government, which dominated Mediterranean commerce in the eighteenth century, turned

resolutely toward the sea and began a systematic expansion of French commerce. An important part of this project was the reining in of the piracy, both Christian and Muslim, that had flourished throughout the century. In 1679, for example, Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) issued an order forbidding French subjects from serving on Maltese corsair ships on cruises in the Levant. More generally the king exerted heavy pressure on the Knights of Malta to halt all their activities, which included the harassment of French trade, in the eastern Mediterranean. Closer to home the French tried to regularize their relationships with the North African states through a series of treaties. By the middle of the eighteenth century corsair activity across the Mediterranean was sharply down.

The end of the age of piracy, however, did not usher in an age of normalized trading relations allowing merchants and ships to move freely from port to port. In fact the eighteenth-century Mediterranean was more and more the domain of western Europeans and to a certain extent local Christians. These Ottoman Christians, mostly but not exclusively Greek, sometimes collaborated with Western merchants and sometimes competed against them, but in any event benefited from the protection extended to them by European governments for a variety of reasons. Muslim merchants, while still extremely active in the internal trade of the empire (which continued to dwarf external trade), found that the sea was not so friendly, particularly outside the eastern Mediterranean basin.

The port of Marseille, which was the port for France's Mediterranean trade, was a different place than Venice had been in its prime. Muslims had been a familiar if still exotic presence in the city of the lagoons. Documentation from the sixteenth century demonstrates that Ottoman Muslim merchants were able to make complaints over ill treatment; it also shows that the Venetian authorities repeatedly tried to find suitable space to lodge all the merchants, including Muslims, coming from the Ottoman Empire. In the same century too the town of Ancona sought to provide lodging and warehousing facilities for Muslim merchants.

No such hospitality was extended by the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille to North Africans, who were the principal Muslim communities inter-

ested in trading with Marseille. If they managed to reach the port, they found there was no storage space for their goods, no translators for them, or no small craft available to take their merchandise into the harbor. Sometimes they were forbidden to sail into the harbor on the grounds that they must be pirates and not peaceful merchants bent on commerce. North Africans in Marseille were on uncertain territory, no matter the formal state of relations between the government in Paris and the regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. In 1674, for example, eight Algerians managed to flee the Spanish galleys where they were enslaved and sought refuge in a small French port, given that France and Algeria were then at peace. But the unfortunate runaways were seized and sent to the galleys of Marseille. Following protests from the ruler of Algiers, the French minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert ordered their release, but his instructions were not followed.

Just a little over a century earlier, of course, the Ottoman fleet wintered at Toulon, to the east of Marseille, after collaborating with the French in bombing Habsburg-held Nice. Now the Ottoman sultan reacted not at all to the ill treatment of individuals who were, nominally at least, Ottoman subjects, and the governor of Algiers found that his protest was ineffectual. The contrast suggests the extent to which, over the course of the early modern period, the Mediterranean Basin became an extension of European and particularly northern European power. Although much of the vast interior of the Ottoman Empire was never colonized by Europe, by the nineteenth century many of the empire's port cities were under European control, either through direct colonization (as in Algiers) or through the more indirect machinations of international finance and diplomacy.

See also Habsburg Territories; Levant; Ottoman Empire; Piracy; Venice.

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MOLLY GREENE

MEHMED II (OTTOMAN EMPIRE)

(1432–1481; ruled 1444–1446 and 1451–1481), seventh ruler of the Ottoman dynasty. In 1444 the Ottoman sultan Murad II (ruled 1421–1444, 1446–1451), having concluded one treaty with Hungary and Serbia and another with the central Anatolian state of Karaman, abdicated, leaving the throne to Mehmed, his twelve-year-old son born to

a slave woman in Edirne. Mehmed II's short initial reign began, and largely continued, badly. Seeing Murad's abdication as an opportunity not to be missed, John Hunyadi, the voyvoda of Transylvania, and King Vladislav I of Hungary promptly attacked. Murad, recalled to lead the army, defeated them at the battle of Varna (1444), and withdrew once more to a life of contemplation.

Mehmed was faced not merely with outside enemies but also with those from within. The janissary revolt of 1446, probably caused by arrears in pay, brought his first reign to an end. The grand vizier (the chief minister of the sultan), Çandarli Halil, from the influential Turkish Çandarli family who had dominated the position of grand vizier under Murad II, was apparently involved in ensuring Murad's return to the throne and Mehmed's departure to Manisa, the town in southwest Anatolia where he was to spend the next few years.

#### THE SECOND REIGN, 1451-1481

When Murad II died in February 1451, Mehmed came to the throne for the second time. He immediately turned his sights to the conquest of Constantinople, the capital of the crumbling Byzantine Empire. His advisers were divided over the plan. The grand vizier Çandarli Halil, who was described by both the contemporary Greek historian Ducas and the Ottoman chronicler of the period Aşikpaşazade as a friend of the Byzantines, was opposed to any attack on the city. However, Zaganos Pasha, a Greek convert to Islam who had been Mehmed's tutor while in Manisa, urged conquest.

On 29 May Constantinople fell, and with it the Genoese colony of Galata, whose leaders signed an agreement with Mehmed, now known as Fatih, the Conqueror, under which they retained various trading privileges. The Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine capital was seen by Western contemporaries as an unprecendented disaster. Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, referred to the loss as that of one of the two eyes of the church. Contemporary Latin accounts spoke of the death of a center of learning, the destruction of the holy relics, and the desecration of the great churches. There was a general terror that within a short space of time, Mehmed, this new Caligula, as one Latin contemporary described him, would ride his horse through the streets of Rome with the very survival of Christendom hanging in the balance. While the fall of the city was thus seen by Western contemporaries as an event of great significance, its importance was more symbolic than actual, for the Ottomans had already absorbed most Byzantine territory, reducing the once great empire to a small strip of land around the city.

Although the Ottoman conquest is sometimes taken as signaling the beginning of a decline in Latin trade in Turkish territory, this was by no means the case, and there is no evidence to suggest that Ottoman policy under Mehmed II was designed to discourage or destroy Latin trading relations. On the contrary, his economic policy shows both continuity with that of his predecessors and the importance he attached to his relations with the Latin trading states. The Genoese, too, continued to have close relations with the Ottoman ruler and, while in the immediate aftermath of the conquest there was some interruption of trade as merchants removed themselves prudently to the Aegean islands to watch developments, they were soon back, and trade continued unabated.

#### REPUTATION AS RULER

Mehmed had in fact a considerable interest in encouraging commercial activity and went to great lengths to rebuild Constantinople and recreate it as a thriving commercial center. He set out to repopulate the city, forcefully moving populations in from various parts of his empire, and embarked on an impressive building program, which included the Fatih Cami, the Mosque of the Conqueror, begun in 1463. He was also, according to contemporary accounts, a man of letters, who had various learned scholars at his court. A Latin contemporary, Giacomo Languschi, commented on his interest in ancient history and reported that Ciriaco of Ancona, who had resided also at the court of Murad II, read to him daily from the works of Herodotus and Livy.

A great statesman, Mehmed was much interested in the administration of his empire and in tightening control over the running of the state. He was described by Nicola Sagundino, a native of Negroponte who wrote a report on the Ottoman ruler for Alfonso V, the king of Aragon, in 1454, as having examined with great care the administrative system of his state on coming to power, and as having instituted the necessary improvements. His aim was to centralize power in his own hands, and for this he

chose for high office those tied to him personally as slaves, not those from the old established families, such as that of the Çandarli. The former grand vizier, Halil Çandarli, was arrested after the capture of Constantinople and later put to death. Such a drive for control aroused opposition, and Mehmed's policies of confiscating land, issuing new coinage, and increasing taxation proved unpopular.

He was also a military leader of considerable acumen, and during his reign the territory of the state continued to increase both in the European and the Asian sections of his empire. In Europe he took Athens (1458), Serbia (1459), the Morea (1460), and Bosnia (1464). During the war with Venice (1463–1479) he conquered Negroponte (1470). In Anatolia, Trabzon fell in 1461. In the east, he defeated the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in 1473 and Karaman in 1468. Crossing the Black Sea he captured the Genoese trading colony of Cafa (1475) and reduced the Crimea to vassal status. In 1480 the Ottomans besieged Rhodes, and Ottoman forces landed at Otranto, withdrawing a year later. In May 1481 Mehmed II died and was succeeded by his son Bayezid II (ruled 1481-1512).

Mehmed II's reign represents the firm establishment of a major Islamic empire with the flourishing city of Constantinople, later to become the most populous city in Europe, as its imperial capital. The Ottoman Empire was to be a dominant political and commercial presence in the Mediterranean world for many years to come.

See also Constantinople; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Sultan; Vizier.

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KATE FLEET

MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP (Philipp Schwarzerdt; 1497-1560), Lutheran reformer. Raised in Palatinate court circles, the son of an accomplished armorer, Melanchthon was later mentored by a distant relative, the humanist Johannes Reuchlin. He absorbed elements of the rival medieval philosophical approaches called the via antiqua and the via moderna during studies at Heidelberg and Tübingen, but the primary influence in his early development came from Erasmian humanism. Hailed by Erasmus and others as a wunderkind, he accepted a position as professor of Greek at the new University of Wittenberg in 1518. There he and Martin Luther formed a close working relationship at the heart of a team that propagated Luther's reform program. The two influenced each other's thought profoundly. Luther appropriated Melanchthon's philological insights into his translation of Scripture and his theology. Melanchthon in turn expressed Luther's thought in his Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum (1521; Common topics in theology), an introduction to the study of theology, based on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Completely revamped later editions (1535, 1543) presented a survey of all theological topics.

Although he held a second professorship in theology after 1526, Melanchthon was foremost an instructor in the arts, particularly rhetoric and dialectic. His innovative blend of the two, based on principles of Cicero, Quintilian, Aristotle, and recent humanists, became standard for European learning. Especially important was his concept of organizing learning by "commonplaces" (*loci communes*, 'topics'). He lectured and wrote on Aristotle's physics, politics, and ethics as well as history, astronomy, and ancient Greek literature. His encouragement and support of educational reform led to the establishment of many secondary schools and the universities at Königsberg, Jena, and Marburg.

Not only did Melanchthon lay the groundwork for subsequent Lutheran dogmatic instruction; his biblical commentaries employed humanist exegesis and provided sermonic and teaching helps for pastors. He led in producing a series of New Testament expositions (early 1520s), the "Wittenberg Commentary" with his own works on the Gospels of Matthew and John, followed by commentaries on

Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Colossians, as well as other biblical books.

At Luther's side Melanchthon helped spread the Reformation, for example in his organization of the Saxon visitation (1527/1528) and the composition of defining documents for Lutheran teaching, the Augsburg Confession (1530), its Apology (1531), and the Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope (1537), later authoring the Saxon Confession (1551). As chief ecclesiastical diplomat of electoral Saxony and other Lutheran governments, he attempted to forge plans for reform based on the Augsburg Confession for the French and English kings. Through correspondence and memoranda on ecclesiastical problems, often composed for his Wittenberg colleagues, he exercised widespread influence. He led Evangelical representatives at the Augsburg Diet of 1530 and in colloquies with Roman Catholics at Hagenau/Worms/Regensburg (1540/1541) and again at Worms in 1557.

After the defeat of the Evangelical Schmalkaldic League by Emperor Charles V in 1547, Melanchthon strove to preserve the integrity of Wittenberg University and to stave off imperial occupation of Saxony. Under his new prince, Elector Maurice, he sought to placate Charles's demands by forging a religious policy, the so-called Leipzig Interim, that reinstituted some medieval practices while seeking to retain Luther's teaching. Melanchthon considered such rites neutral or adiaphora, but some of his best students considered these concessions to the papacy a betrayal of the Reformation. Melanchthon in turn felt betrayed by these students; their criticism embittered him. His former student and colleague, Matthias Flacius, and his "Gnesio-Lutheran" associates, who claimed to be adhering to Luther's teachings, also accused him of synergism and a focus on the law in the Christian life that turned believers back to reliance on good works. His writings show, however, that throughout his life he continued to center his theology on God's justification of sinners on the basis of his gracious favor alone, which created trust in the promise of forgiveness of sin and life through Christ. The hermeneutical guide to his teaching lay in the distinction of God's law (God's expectation for human creatures that condemns them when they sin) from God's gospel (the message of forgiveness in Christ that liberates people from evil for service to God).

His functional interpretation of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper also elicited the critique of former students.

Forced by Luther's death into a position of leadership for which he was not completely suited, Melanchthon suffered distress in the decade before his death (19 April 1560) because of these controversies, increasing Roman Catholic persecution of Evangelicals, and the deaths of a married daughter (one of his four children) and of his wife, Katharina Krapp, the daughter of a leading Wittenberg burgher. As the "Preceptor of Germany" his contributions to the intellectual life of Europe continued to determine elements of learning for more than two centuries, and his theology remains influential into the twenty-first century.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Reformation, Protestant.

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ROBERT KOLB

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES (Moshe ben Mendel mi-Dessau; 1729–1786), philosopher of the German and Jewish Enlightenments, leading literary critic in Prussia, biblical scholar, and Jewish communal leader and advocate. Mendelssohn was born to a poor Jewish family in Dessau. His father, Mendel Heymann, was a Jewish religious teacher

and scribe. His mother, Bela Rachel Sarah, was descended from an illustrious line of rabbis. As a child, he received a traditional Jewish education, studying the Bible with its commentaries, the Mishna and Talmud, and Jewish legal codes. At age ten, he became a student of the famous Talmudist David Fränkel, and in 1743 followed Fränkel to Berlin when the rabbi received a post there.

In Berlin, Mendelssohn met the Jewish philosophers Israel Samoscz and Aaron Salomon Gumpertz. Under their guidance he studied Latin, Greek, English, and French and read the works of the Enlightenment philosophers Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Christian Wolff, and John Locke. These thinkers formed Mendelssohn's philosophical orientation, from which he never departed. He espoused "moderate Enlightenment"—a belief in rational or "natural" theology.

In 1754, Gumpertz introduced Mendelssohn to the young Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, with whom Mendelssohn developed a lifelong friendship. Lessing encouraged the young Mendelssohn to develop his ideas about metaphysics and aesthetics, as well as to write pieces of literary criticism. In 1763, Mendelssohn won a prize competition held by the Berlin Academy of Sciences on the question whether metaphysical truths allowed of the same certainty as mathematical truths. His essay defeated an entry by Immanuel Kant.

In 1767, Mendelssohn published his *Phädon* (Phaedo), a reworking of Plato's famous dialogue of the same name. This work used Leibnizian-Wolffian arguments to prove the immortality of the soul. The work was a sensation, running into four editions, and was translated in Mendelssohn's own lifetime into Italian, French, Danish, and Russian. Mendelssohn became recognized as a leading philosopher of the German Enlightenment and was dubbed by his contemporaries "the German Socrates."

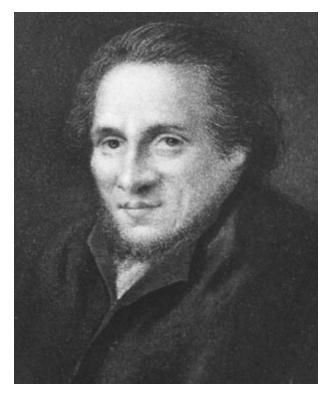
While as a youth he had published a few pieces in Hebrew seeking to promote enlightenment among his coreligionists, initially Jewish apologetic concerns were not in the foreground. This changed in 1769 when the Pietist Swiss theologian and preacher Johann Caspar Lavater challenged him to either refute Christianity or convert. Mendelssohn defended himself by contrasting the religious tolerance in Judaism with Christianity's theological in-

tolerance, but the "Lavater affair" shook his faith in the ability of Jews to be accepted in Prussian society.

Throughout the 1770s, the German Enlightenment came under increasing attack from the counter-Enlightenment Sturm und Drang ('storm and stress') movement as well as from English empiricism, idealism, and skepticism. Despite being plagued by a nervous debility from the 1770s to the end of his life, Mendelssohn worked tirelessly on three projects: improving the civil status of the Jews, defending Jewish particularity, and defending the German Enlightenment.

In 1779, Lessing wrote his most famous play, *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the wise), an apology for religious tolerance. The hero, the Jewish merchant Nathan, was widely seen as having been modeled on Mendelssohn. In 1781, Mendelssohn sought to actualize the tolerant ideals espoused by Nathan by commissioning the Christian German ministerial councillor Christian Wilhelm Dohm to write a book advocating Jewish civil improvement. In 1781 Dohm's *Über die bürgliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the civil improvement of the Jews) appeared and was widely debated.

In 1783, Mendelssohn wrote his philosophical masterpiece Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum (Jerusalem or on religious power and Judaism). The book comprised two parts. In the first part Mendelssohn argued that religious institutions had no right to exercise political power. In the second part he offered a philosophical defense of Judaism showing that the applicability of Jewish ceremonial law did not depend on religious coercion. Through the 1770s and 1780s Mendelssohn multiplied his Hebrew literary work, most notably producing a highly regarded translation and commentary on the Pentateuch known as the Biur (Elucidation). In 1783, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi disclosed to Mendelssohn that Lessing, who had died in 1781, had been a Spinozist at the end of his life. Spinozism was then widely equated with atheism, and Mendelssohn understood Jacobi's disclosure as an attempt to undermine the rational theology of the German Enlightenment. This sparked the so-called Pantheism Controversy. In Mendelssohn's contributions to the controversy, the Morgenstunden (Morning hours) and An die Freunde Lessing (To Lessing's friends), he attacked



Moses Mendelssohn. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Spinozism and revised his metaphysics and epistemology.

At the end of his career, Mendelssohn aimed to achieve a synthesis of rationalism and empiricism and thereby save the German Enlightenment. In this respect, his project was quite similar to that of his friend and fellow *Aufklärer* Immanuel Kant, though Kant's critical synthesis was far more philosophically sophisticated and influential.

Mendelssohn is widely considered the father of modern Jewish philosophy. His was the first attempt to articulate a conception of Judaism using modern philosophical concepts. Furthermore, he is seen as the spiritual ancestor of two of the main forms of nineteenth-century German Judaism—Neo-Orthodoxy and Reform. His defense of Jewish ceremonial law as "living symbols" of theological truth prefigures Samson Raphael Hirsch's Neo-Orthodoxy, while his defense of the rational, universal foundation of Jewish belief prefigures Reform Judaism. His attempt to develop a German-Jewish symbiosis likewise set the agenda for later German-Jewish thought, and his work on behalf of Jewish

civil improvement anticipated later attempts to achieve Jewish emancipation in Europe.

Despite his importance as a philosopher, Judaic thinker, and mediator of German and Jewish culture, Mendelssohn's reputation shrank after his death. His metaphysics and epistemology were thought to have been overshadowed by Kant. His Jewish philosophy was seen to have been an unacceptable compromise between obedience to particularistic Jewish law and espousal of universal religious ideas. His interpretation of Judaism was accused of being inattentive to Judaism's historical development.

Recent scholars have debated the relationship between Mendelssohn's philosophical positions and his Jewish commitments. Some have subordinated his Jewish commitments to his philosophical concerns, and others have done the opposite. Of late, Mendelssohn's defense of religious pluralism on the basis of profound Jewish learning and subtle philosophical thought, along with his espousal of political liberalism, have made him appear a particularly prescient thinker.

See also Enlightenment; Kant, Immanuel; Jews and Judaism; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Spinoza, Baruch; Wolff, Christian.

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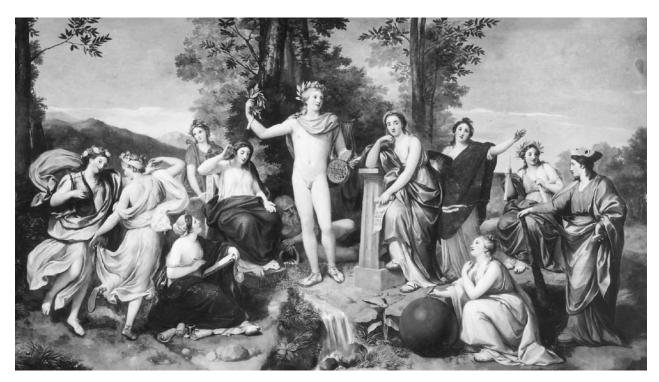
MICHAH GOTTLIEB

MENGS, ANTON RAPHAEL (1728–1779), German painter. The son of Ismael Israel Mengs, court painter to King Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, Anton Raphael was born at Aussig in Bohemia in 1728. His strict father was determined that his children would become artists, including his daughters Theresia Concordia (1725–1808?) and Juliane Charlotte (1728–after 1789). The former married Mengs's student, Anton von Maron, and became a member of the Accademia di San Luca, the papal arts academy in Rome in which Mengs was

later to assume a position of great influence.

Mengs's early works are pastel portraits and drawings after antique sculptures and Old Master paintings made during a trip to Rome in 1740-1744. In 1745, after his return to the electoral court at Dresden, Frederick Augustus commissioned him to paint portraits of himself and his family. It was during this residence in Dresden that Mengs switched from pastel to oils. After a second sojourn in Rome in 1746-1749, he returned to Saxony and received commissions for three altarpieces for the Catholic court church, including the impressive scene of the Ascension executed for the high altar. This important commission and his appointment as court painter enabled him to return to Rome in 1751 for further study, and he never saw Dresden again.

For the next decade Mengs worked successfully in Rome and Naples. His growing reputation earned him a professorship at the Accademia del Nudo and a free studio for the study of the male nude established by Pope Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–1758). He was also elected to the Accademia



Anton Raphael Mengs. Parnassus, in the Villa Albani, Rome. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

di San Luca and enjoyed a steady stream of commissions for altarpieces, cabinet pictures, and portraits. These include the ceiling fresco *Saint Eusebius in Glory* for the church of San Eusebio in 1757; the world-famous *Parnassus*, executed for Cardinal Alessandro Albani's villa on the Via Salaria; and historical paintings such as *Cleopatra Kneeling before Octavian* (1760–1761), commissioned by Richard Colt Hoare, and *Perseus and Andromeda* (1771), executed for Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn. In addition, he painted portraits of British travelers on a grand tour to augment his income after his pension from Dresden was discontinued in 1756.

In 1761 Mengs became court artist to King Charles III of Spain. While in Madrid, he executed ceiling frescoes in the Palacio Real, including the *Triumph of Aurora* (1762–1764) and the *Apotheosis of Hercules* (1762–1769). He also painted altarpieces and portraits of members of the royal family. Due to Mengs's ill health, in 1769 Charles granted him permission to go to Rome, and he returned to Spain only in 1774–1776 to complete frescoes in the Royal Palace, including the *Apotheosis of Trajan*. His most important late Roman commission, the *Allegory of History*, was painted for the

ceiling of the Sala dei Papiri in the Vatican Library as part of the ambitious expansion of the papal collections that eventually became the Pio-Clementino Museum.

Although he was long derided as an uninventive eclectic, his style was in fact progressive, drawing inspiration from canonical artists such as Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Carracci, and Poussin while integrating these classicizing models with the mania for the antique that had swept Europe in the wake of the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Mengs was deeply interested in the pedagogy of art based on advanced academic principles, and he was a prominent reformer in both the Accademia di San Luca and the Academia di San Fernando in Madrid. The Villa Albani Parnassus is arguably the first truly neoclassical painting, given the dramatic reduction in the standard illusionistic devices of shading and foreshortening and its emphasis on strong local color. Nothing so visually radical was to appear until the 1790s.

Mengs was one of the most famous artists in Europe in the eighteenth century, but it is as an aesthetic critic and art historian that he is best remembered today. His friendship with the celebrated

German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Cardinal Albani's librarian, helped steer Mengs's taste in the direction of more stringent classicizing currents. His Gedanken über die Schönheit and über den Geschmack in der Malerey (Zurich, 1762; Thoughts concerning Beauty and Taste in Painting) and Ragionamento su l'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Madrid (Madrid, 1766; Argument concerning the Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid) reveal a reverence toward the classicizing art of the Renaissance and baroque eras combined with a strong sense of the social utility of the arts in an enlightened society. His complete literary works were published in 1780 and helped promote a more austere form of international neoclassicism. It is also significant that Mengs was among the first to suggest that canonical ancient masterpieces, such as the Apollo Belvedere, (Pio-Clementino Museum, the Vatican; fourth century B.C.E.) were in fact Roman copies of lost Greek originals, a controversial claim that gained general acceptance only at the end of the eighteenth century.

Struggling with poor health in the last years of his life, Mengs died in Rome on 29 June 1779. Awarded many honors and titles, Mengs enjoyed a level of international prestige enjoyed by no German artist since Albrecht Dürer.

See also Benedict XIV (pope); Neoclassicism; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.

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Christopher M. S. Johns

**MERCANTILISM.** Mercantilism was an economic "system" that developed in Europe during the period of the new monarchies (c. 1500) and culminated with the rise of the absolutist states (c. 1600–1700). Mercantilism was not character-

ized by the blind adherence to a single, precisely defined economic theorem. Rather, its adherents embraced, in various degrees, parts of a set of commonly held theoretical beliefs or tendencies that were best suited to the needs of a particular time and state. The underlying principles of mercantilism included (1) the belief that the amount of wealth in the world was relatively static; (2) the belief that a country's wealth could best be judged by the amount of precious metals or bullion it possessed; (3) the need to encourage exports over imports as a means for obtaining a favorable balance of foreign trade that would yield such metals; (4) the value of a large population as a key to self-sufficiency and state power; and (5) the belief that the crown or state should exercise a dominant role in assisting and directing the national and international economies to these ends. As such, mercantilism developed logically from the changes inherent in the decline of feudalism, the rise of strong national states, and the development of a world market economy.

The shift from payments in kind, characteristic of the feudal period, to a money economy was one key development in this process. By the late fifteenth century, as regional, national, and international trade continued to blossom, European currencies expanded as well; circulation was more common, widespread, and vital. The early mercantilists recognized the seminal fact of this period. Money was wealth sui generis; it gave its holder the power to obtain other commodities and services. Precious metals, especially gold, were in universal demand as the surest means to obtain other goods and services. At the same time the rise of more powerful European states with burgeoning bureaucracies, frequent dynastic wars that required larger and more expensive armies, and more lavish court expenditures exacerbated this fundamental need for money in the form of precious metals. Foreign trade, not domestic trade, was viewed as the preferred method for obtaining bullion, while manufacturing, which provided the goods for such trade, was favored over agriculture. Finally, the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492 and the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1497-1499 also provided fertile ground for obtaining such wealth while creating an ever greater need for wealth to conquer and protect these colonies and their imperial trade. All of these factors ensured that the rising late medieval and early modern states embraced mercantilism as an economic theory that allowed them to adapt to and seek to exploit these shifting structures.

Since mercantilism at base postulated increased royal control over both the internal and external economic policies of the state, it found easy acceptance among the "new" monarchies of the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century. In Portugal, Manuel I (ruled 1495-1521) and his successors embraced its tenets regarding bullion and colonies to help exploit their burgeoning Asian empire. In Spain both Charles I (ruled 1516-1556) and Philip II (ruled 1556-1598), given the boon of New World precious metals, also found comfort in bullionism as well as the tenets calling for the exploitation of colonies for the benefit of the mother country. In England, Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547) and Elizabeth I (ruled 1558-1603) adhered to some mercantilist principles in an effort that was, at least in part, designed to combat the threat of universal Habsburg Monarchy and Iberian dominance in the developing world market economy.

#### PROPONENTS OF MERCANTILISM

During the seventeenth century, adherents of absolutism also found much to embrace in mercantilism. During the age of Stuart absolutism James I (ruled 1603-1625) and Charles I (ruled 1625-1649) found it logical to accept the premise that the monarch should not only control the political and social hierarchy but should enjoy control over the economy as well. Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), after destroying Stuart pretensions in the Civil War, embraced both mercantilist warfare and the Navigation Acts in his commercial struggle with the Dutch. It was in France, however, that mercantilism found perhaps its greatest supporter in Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). Colbert's career was as much a product of the sociopolitical dynamics of the absolutist state as the result of the unrivaled bureaucratic energies he displayed in the service of his early patrons and eventually the crown. His family rose through the social hierarchy based on the timehonored expedients of wealth and venality of office. Utilizing family connections, Colbert entered the service of Michel Le Tellier in 1643, soon after the latter became secretary of state in charge of military affairs. This promising foundation was solidified during Colbert's "apprenticeship" under Jules Cardinal Mazarin, a mutually advantageous relationship that began in 1651 and lasted until Mazarin's death in 1661. By the end of this decade of opportunity, Colbert had become baron de Seignelay, secretary of the orders of the queen, intendant general of the affairs of Mazarin, counselor of the king in all of his councils—not to mention a very wealthy man. Just as importantly, he had begun to create an apparatus for the implementation of his later policies by further enriching his family and arranging influential positions for a bevy of his brothers and cousins.

In this rapid ascent through the labyrinth of French political life, Colbert honed the ideas and theories that shaped his policies after 1661, the year Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) began his personal reign and Nicolas Fouquet was imprisoned, thus ensuring Colbert's ascent to ministerial preeminence. The basic theoretical tenets of mercantilism predated Louis XIV's reign, in some cases by half a dozen generations. Colbert was exposed to such ideas in the Paris of his youth, when the economic traditions of the first Bourbon king of France, Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610), and the theories of his able controleur général du commerce (comptroller general of finance), Barthélemy de Laffemas, were still relatively strong. Armand-Jean Du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) was still alive at that time, and Issac de Laffemas, the cardinal's creature, was in the midst of perpetuating his father's intellectual legacy. Although Colbert never referred to the writings of Antoine de Montchrestien (c. 1575-1621) and Jean Bodin (1530-1596), he was probably familiar with their works. Mercantilism reached its apogee under Colbert not because he was a theorist but rather because he was a man of action who judged its tenets to be the only natural and logical way to achieve his most cherished goal: a powerful and wealthy France united under a glorious monarch. The primary obstacle to France's economic greatness was the overweening economic power of the Dutch. If the mercantile power of the burghers of Amsterdam could be broken in both Europe and the lucrative Asian trade, France could prosper.

Colbert's anti-Dutch strategy evolved logically from his beliefs on political economy. Foremost among his particular tenets on mercantilism was the conviction that the volume of world trade was es-

sentially static and that, to increase its share, France would have to win part of that controlled by its rivals. In one of his most quoted mémoires (Lettres VI: 260-270) Colbert wrote, "The commerce of all Europe is carried on by ships of every size to the number of 20,000, and it is perfectly clear that this number cannot be increased." Commerce caused "perpetual combat in peace and war among the nations of Europe, as to who shall win most of it." His exaggerated estimate on the maritime strength of the major European trading nations competing in this "war" was fifteen thousand to sixteen thousand Dutch ships, three thousand to four thousand English ships, and five hundred to six hundred French ships. Just as importantly neither the French nor the English could "improve their commerce save by increasing this number, save from the 20,000 . . . and consequently by making inroads on the 15,000 to 16,000 of the Dutch." (Lettres VI: 260-270). The bellicism inherent in such beliefs would in part culminate in the Dutch War of 1672, a war Colbert supported. Unfortunately, despite his most careful calculations regarding this struggle in both Europe and the Indian Ocean, Louis XIV's armies and fleets suffered increasing difficulties in the war from 1672 to 1679. These setbacks forced Colbert to undo many of his initial reforms from 1661 that had doubled the king's revenues, forged a powerful navy, and set France on a course for apparent dominance in Europe. By the time of his death in 1683, the kingdom was instead on the road to bankruptcy and revolt, and Louis XIV's penchant for continued warfare in the decades down to 1715 only exacerbated this decline.

## OPPONENTS OF MERCANTILISM

During the eighteenth century the limits of mercantilism became increasingly obvious, and intellectual and political critics of its basic tenets gradually emerged. First, Louis XIV's spectacular failures in the kingdom viewed as the apogee of both absolutism and mercantilism certainly revealed the limitations of allowing the state to direct the economy for its own frequently selfish, if not self-destructive, purposes. At the same time, in parts of England, Holland, and northwestern France the initial adherence to mercantilist principles created the very conditions that fostered antimercantilist sentiments. These developments would ultimately cause the destruction of merchant capitalism. In short, mer-

chant capitalism reached a level within the mercantilist system where state intervention and direction of the economy was threatening and even preventing further expansion. The critical spirit toward existing Old Regime structures embodied in the intellectual revolution of the Enlightenment found its antimercantilist champions in the Physiocrats. In part adapting "natural law" doctrines to the economy, this influential group of economic theorists, including François Quesnay (1694-1774), Jean-Claude-Marie-Vincent de Gournay (1712-1759), and Pierre-Samuel du Pont de Nemours (1739-1817), instead argued for laissez-faire. This theory argued that the economy functioned best when its own "natural laws" were allowed to function without government intervention. Complementing the work of the French économistes, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776) sought to identify the natural advantages that various nations enjoyed in the flow of commerce and provided a new theory on international trade. In his Political Discourses (1752) and Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects (1753), Hume also sought to refute some of the principal tenets of mercantilism, including confounding money with wealth and the blind acceptance of bullionism. Yet by far the most important work criticizing mercantilist thought was Adam Smith's (1723-1790) An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776), the first systematic economic analysis of the world market economy created during the preceding age of mercantilism. Smith's strong advocacy of free trade and his belief that world wealth was not static, as Colbert and others had held, did much to undermine mercantilism. At the same time his theories and those of other Physiocrats also encouraged colonies like British North America to reject the traditional dependence on their mother countries as defined by the mercantilist model while furnishing intellectual fuel for the industrial revolution then taking place in Great Britain. In France, however, only the French Revolution and Napoléon I (1769-1821) would facilitate the destruction of the economic remnants of both the late medieval and mercantilist periods.

See also Absolutism; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Hume, David; Liberalism, Economic; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Smith, Adam.

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GLENN J. AMES

**MERCENARIES.** Mercenaries were paid soldiers who were bound to their employers by profit motive rather than loyalty. They existed in European armies from antiquity and fought in large numbers in the early modern period.

# MERCENARIES IN FOURTEENTH- AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian states took the lead in using mercenaries. The accumulation of wealth by towns in the northern and central part of the peninsula created the means to spend, while incessant wars and weak feudal structures provided the need to hire military power. In the fourteenth century, the Italian military scene was dominated by foreign adventurers. These were mostly Germans, French, and Hungarians who fought in local armies. They coalesced into "free" companies: private armies led by captains elected by their troops, available for hire to the highest bidder. In the absence of pay, these armies roamed the countryside plundering and extorting money. There were several German "Great Companies," but the most famous of the bands was the English "White Company," which descended into Italy in 1361 during a truce in the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). Sir John de Hawkwood, a captain of the White Company, became the most successful soldier of the era. When he died in 1394, his last employer, the government of Florence, buried him with high honors in the cathedral.

John Hawkwood's emergence apart from his band was part of a larger process whereby individual mercenary commanders became valuable commodities. This development resulted from the late-four-teenth-/early-fifteenth-century economic and political consolidation on the peninsula that reduced

the number of states that could hire mercenaries. This consolidation also strengthened a fortunate few mercenaries, who now sought lasting arrangements with men of assured reputations. Powerful states like Milan and Venice took the lead in granting long-term mercenary contracts and establishing more permanent armies. The new generation of mercenary captains was almost exclusively Italian, and prolonged service had the unfortunate consequence of mercenaries sometimes seizing political power in the states they served. An example is Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) from the Romagnol town of Cotignola, who took control of Milan in 1450.

Mercenaries were hired in Italy by means of a condotta, 'contract'. The term condottiere, 'contractor', Italian for mercenary captain, derives from condotta. A condotta typically spelled out the number of troops, the conditions of service, and the amount of pay. Most condotte involved horsemen, the most valued troops, but they could also include infantry. In fifteenth-century Italy mercenary cavalry comprised units known as lances, which consisted of three men and three horses. Employers usually retained the right to inspect the brigade; the mercenaries claimed a share of the booty and ransoms. Different kinds of men fought as mercenaries. Some, like Niccolo Piccinino (1380-1445), came from humble backgrounds; others, like Federigo da Montefeltro (1422-1482), were learned men from noble families. Niccolò Machiavelli criticized mercenaries as cowardly in battle, "thirsty for power, undisciplined and disloyal," but many were in fact reliable and competent fighters. Musio Attendoli Sforza (1369-1424) and Braccio da Montone (1328–1424) were two of the most skilled tacticians of the fifteenth century. Musio exhibited considerable expertise maneuvering large armies and making effective use of his infantry. Braccio distinguished himself for his audacity in battle and his penchant for dividing his army into small units and committing them piecemeal into battle. Many of the captains of the fifteenth century fought under either Musio or Braccio and adopted their methods.

#### MERCENARIES IN OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE

Mercenaries were used in significant numbers elsewhere in Europe, particularly in wars in France and

the Holy Roman Empire. The Swiss emerged in the fifteenth century as a frightening fighting force. Unlike the *condottieri* in Italy, the Swiss formed infantry units, which were phalanxes of men armed with swords and halberds (a type of battle axe on a pike) for fighting in close order. Their weapons protected them from cavalry charges and gave them considerable counteroffensive striking power. Whereas capture and ransom were a fundamental part of Italian warfare, the Swiss did not take prisoners and often skewered their opponents with their sharp weapons. In the service of the French monarch, the Swiss scored impressive victories against the armies of Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1476–1477.

In Germany, Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) created his own infantry, the Landsknechts, to rival the Swiss. Predominantly drawn from southern Germany, this infantry trained in the Swiss manner and were armed with pikes. They distinguished themselves by wearing loud, colorful clothing, and they incorporated handguns into their units as these weapons became more common on European battlefields. Their battles with the Swiss, whom they hated, were some of the bloodiest of the era.

The sixteenth century saw the rise of what the historian Fritz Redlich has called the "German military enterpriser." This breed of mercenary bore a certain resemblance to the Italian condottiere but operated on a larger scale, raising whole armies, extending credit to large cadres of soldiers and, generally, treating war as a business enterprise. The phenomenon reached its peak in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). At one point during the war, more than 400 military enterprisers were active. The most famous was Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634), a petty nobleman of Protestant background from Bohemia. He fought for the Catholic Habsburgs, raised armies in excess of 100,000 men, and acquired states stretching from Bohemia to the Baltic. He organized arms production on his lands, recruited men, and retained the right to promote officers. His was a highly paradoxical personality: A convert to Catholicism, he remained intensely superstitious. He supposedly disliked noise so much that upon arrival in a town he ordered all the dogs and cats put to death.

The Thirty Years' War notwithstanding, the seventeenth-century European military trend was toward more centrally organized professional state armies. But governments did not hesitate to employ mercenaries when the need arose. Prussia recruited men from outside its frontier, often from lesser German states. The army of the Prussian ruler Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740) was only two-thirds native. One of the most well-known suppliers of mercenaries at the time was Hessen-Kassel, a relatively poor state. Hessian mercenaries served opposing sides the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and were used by the English in the American Revolution (1776).

See also Italy; Military; Prussia; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.

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## MERCHANTS AND ENTREPRENEURS. See Artisans; Commerce and Markets; Shops and Shopkeeping.

MERIAN, MARIA SIBYLLA (1647–1717), German artist and naturalist. Maria Sibylla Merian was born in Frankfurt into a family with a distinguished history in the visual arts, particularly with respect to the study and exploration of the natural world. Her father, Matthäus Merian the Elder, inherited a prosperous publishing house from Jean Théodore de Bry, whose *America* (Frankfurt, 1590) presented some of the earliest images of the peoples, plants, and animals of North America to

European audiences. Maria Sibylla's half-brothers Matthäus Merian the Younger and Kaspar Merian took over the family business after the death of their father and continued to publish illustrated works of natural history and other subjects. In 1651 Maria Sibylla's mother married Jacob Marrel, an artist who had studied with several prominent German and Dutch still-life painters.

Merian combined her interest in studying the processes of nature with the creation of visual images and from an early age showed an avid interest in insects. She received her artistic training in the workshop of her stepfather Jacob Marrel and in 1665 married Johann Andreas Graff, a painter who had apprenticed in her stepfather's workshop. The couple lived in Nuremberg between 1665 and 1670, where Merian taught painting and embroidery to young women, and where she published the first of her three major works, the Neues Blumenbuch (Nuremberg, 1675–1680), a series of copperplate engravings of flowers for use as models for embroidery and needlework. Merian began publication of her second major work in 1679, when the first volume of her Raupenbuch series appeared, which focused on the life cycles of European caterpillars and butterflies.

In 1686 Merian, her two daughters, and her mother joined a religious community in northern Germany known as the Labadists. It has been suggested that Merian joined the group in part to escape the marital difficulties she had been experiencing with Graff, from whom she was divorced several years later. Merian and her daughters moved to Amsterdam in 1691 and began planning a voyage to the Dutch colony of Surinam; in June 1699 Merian and her grown daughter Dorothea Maria set sail for South America. Merian is best known for the illustrated publication that resulted from this voyage, the Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium (Amsterdam, 1705). Merian's compositions presented startling scenes of insects and plants previously unknown to Europeans and highlighted both the life cycles of individual insects and the struggles for survival between insects, plants, and other animals. The brightly colored forms and striking features of Merian's insects provided a disturbing yet fascinating vision of the New World for European readers. Merian's focus on the relationships between insects and plants and their environment had a strong influence on natural history illustration during the eighteenth century, as can be seen in the illustrations for *The Natural History of Carolina*, *Florida*, *and the Bahama Islands* (London, 1731–1743) published by the English artist and naturalist Mark Catesby.

See also Natural History; Scientific Illustration; Women.

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MERSENNE, MARIN (1588–1648), French mathematician, scientist, and theologian. Mersenne was born in the hamlet of La Soultière in the parish of Oizé, the son of Julien Mersenne, a farmer of modest means, and his wife, Jeanne Moulière. When a new Jesuit school at La Flèche opened in 1604, strongly supported by King Henry IV, Mersenne immediately transferred there, graduating in 1608. He continued his studies at the Sorbonne for two years, leaving to join the Order of Minims, a mendicant order founded in the fifteenth century by St. Francis of Paola, and in 1614 was sent to teach at their convent in Nevers.

There he began writing letters to ask the advice of others, primarily about scientific matters. In 1619

he moved to the Minim convent in Paris and continued writing to an ever-expanding group of scientists. As a result, he knew or corresponded with most of the leading scientists of his day. He often sent them a list of questions and then communicated their replies to others to encourage further work on the responses he received. His correspondence, published in the twentieth century, contains a wealth of information about many of the scientific ideas of the period. The letters Mersenne exchanged with René Descartes, for example, are an important source for studying the development of Descartes's ideas.

In 1635 Mersenne further encouraged the exchange of ideas by establishing a group called the Academia Parisiensis, which met on Thursdays and was attended by the outstanding scientists and mathematicians of his day. It was continued by others after his death and was an important forerunner of the Académie des Sciences.

Mersenne published over twenty books during his lifetime, and a treatise on optics appeared after his death. He began with the stated objective of examining the latest ideas in natural philosophy to see what their impact on Catholic theology might be and to show that, if properly understood, they did not threaten religion. As he continued to write and publish, he put more emphasis on science itself, but never forgot his purpose in studying it.

His first work, Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim (1623; Well-known questions on Genesis), was written as a commentary on the book of Genesis in which he interspersed the text with an examination of a number of current ideas troubling religion. He dealt with atheism by providing thirty-five "proofs" of the existence of God. He also defended religious miracles against an attack by the Renaissance naturalist Julius Caesar Vanini, who had been executed as an atheist in Toulouse in 1619, by underscoring the limitations of scientific explanations. In the third part of the work, given the separate title Observationes, he pointed out flaws in Hermetic and magical accounts of natural phenomena. In the middle section, he addressed scientific questions such as whether the earth moves, or whether the heavenly spheres are solid, and gave a description of magnetism, drawing on the De Magnete (On

the magnet) of the English physician William Gilbert (1544–1603).

His next work, *L'impiété des déistes* ... (1624; The impiety of deists), developed some of these criticisms further. He then turned to a consideration of the nature of scientific theories in *La vérité des sciences* ... (1625; The truth of the sciences), concluding that we cannot know their truth and that we must settle for "mitigated skepticism" or a science of probabilities.

In the 1630s Mersenne published several works in which he advocated treating nature quantitatively and analyzing it mathematically. In these works he reported on the latest developments in science. He also demonstrated his admiration for the work of Galileo by publishing in 1634 a French paraphrase of an early manuscript of Galileo's on mechanics. In Questions théologiques, physiques, morales et mathématiques (Theological, physical, moral, and mathematical questions), he summarized Galileo's arguments for the motion of the earth from The Two Chief World Systems, the work that resulted in Galileo's condemnation by the Inquisition, although he was careful to remove the arguments from a copy he gave a friend to carry to Rome. He did include the Inquisition's sentence against Galileo. He also published a French version of Galileo's Two New Sciences, his major contribution to physics.

One of the sciences that interested Mersenne was music. Medieval scholars had considered it a form of mathematics, and Mersenne accepted that designation. He discussed music in several of his publications, but especially in his *Harmonie universelle*...(1635–1636), in which he described the musical instruments of his day and how they were played, analyzing musical theory and harmony, and developing his own musical philosophy.

In the 1640s he concentrated more directly on the physical sciences, such as ballistics, hydraulics, pneumatics, mechanics, and the recent work on air pressure.

Satisfied that he had helped to remove obstacles to further research, Mersenne believed that science was progressing along a path that would not clash with religion.

See also Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Mathematics.

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MESMER, FRANZ ANTON (1734-1815), German physician. Mesmer was born in the village of Iznang in Swabia (a region in southwest Germany) to Catholic parents. His father worked for the archbishop of Constance and his mother was a locksmith's daughter. As a youth Mesmer attended a local monastic school. He later studied at the Jesuit University of Dillengen in Bavaria and the University of Ingolstadt before entering the University of Vienna in 1759. He was awarded the M.D. degree in 1766, with a doctoral thesis entitled Dissertatio Physico-medica de Planetarium Influxu (Physical-medical dissertation on the influence of the planets). Influenced by the English physician Richard Mead (1673–1754), Mesmer asserted the existence of "animal magnetism," a subtle fluid that permeated the cosmos and whose balance or imbalance in the human body was a primary determinant of health or disease. Using magnets and other means, he thought he could manipulate the flow of animal magnetism and relieve the "obstructions" he believed responsible for diverse ills.

In 1768 Mesmer married a wealthy widow, Maria Anna von Posch, whose financial support enabled him to establish a successful medical practice in Vienna. A music lover, he entertained leading musicians, including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809). (Mozart included mesmerist elements in his opera *Così fan tutte.*) Named a member of the Academy of Sciences in Munich in 1775, he aroused the antipathy of his fellow physicians in Vienna with his elaborately staged and publicized cures.

In 1778 Mesmer left Vienna for Paris, where his commanding personality and unorthodox therapeutic practices earned him notoriety. His therapy came to focus on assembling patients around a tub filled with magnetic fluid that was transmitted to their bodies through movable iron rods and their own interlaced thumbs and fingers. Dressed in a lilac robe or similar extravagant attire, Mesmer himself facilitated the flow of fluid with motions of his eyes and hands or by playing a glass harmonica, an instrument said to be of his invention. Cures were complete when a "crisis," often accompanied by convulsions, restored the harmony of the body with cosmic influences. With these techniques he gained special acclaim for curing the nervous disorder known as the "vapors."

Although lionized by the public, Mesmer ran afoul of medical and scientific authority. In 1784 a royal commission of eminent scientists judged his claim to have discovered a new physical fluid unfounded. He then left France and traveled widely before settling in Switzerland and withdrawing from public life. He died in Meersburg, Swabia, in 1815.

To spread Mesmer's ideas and practices, his disciples founded the Society of Universal Harmony in Paris with affiliates throughout the country. Especially notable were the activities of a wealthy aristocrat, A. M. J. de Chastenet de Puységur, who developed the healing technique known as "magnetic sleep" or "mesmeric somnambulism," later termed "hypnosis." Animal magnetism and somnambulism were the subjects of a voluminous literature well into the nineteenth century.

Sometimes dismissed as a charlatan, Mesmer has also been credited with anticipating the insights of depth psychology and exerting long-term influence on the development of dynamic psychiatry.

See also Anatomy and Physiology; Astrology; Medicine; Music; Psychology.

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**MESSIANISM, JEWISH.** The hope for national redemption from exile and the ultimate reinstatement of Jewish self-government under a messianic (from the Hebrew for 'anointed') king descended from the House of David was an integral and unquestioned element of early modern Judaism. The Messiah was read into biblical texts like Jeremiah 36, referred to often in the Talmud, and rehearsed daily in the liturgy.

# HISTORICAL CONTEXT FROM THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Events encouraged speculation about an imminent end of days and moved dreams of redemption to the forefront of Jewish thought. Great wars in Europe, the breakdown of Christian unity with the Reformation, and even the discovery of the New World were all seen as part of a final apocalypse. The relentless Ottoman expansion against Christendom, and especially the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, were understood as the realization of the biblically predicted wars of Gog and Magog (Ezekiel 38, 39). When the Turks conquered the land of Israel in 1516, and Jews found it possible to travel to, and settle in, their ancient homeland once again, God's imminent redemption seemed clear.

Messianic predictions also provided a form of theodicy: contemporary tragedies like the massive expulsion from Spain in 1492 were the necessary preparation for imminent redemption. Even mainstream figures engaged in these predictions. Despite strong Talmudic condemnation of those who calculated the time of the redemption, the Spanish-Portuguese financier, diplomat, and scholar, Don Isaac Abravanel, wrote no fewer than three tracts devoted to this subject (1496-1498). He rejected the warning that his predictions, if they proved wrong, could lead to even greater despair. At a time of great suffering he was offering solace. "God will not abandon His people," he declared in the introduction to his Wellsprings of Salvation. "The day of the Lord who chooses Jerusalem is close at hand."

# APOCALYPTIC, PIETIST, MAGICAL, AND MYSTICAL MESSIANISMS

Indicative of the spirit of the time was the popularity of the seventh-century *Book of Zerubavel* with its apocalyptic visions of great wars over Jerusalem, a preliminary Messiah from the tribe of Ephraim son of Joseph, and another, ultimately victorious Messiah from the House of David. Often recopied in manuscript, the book was among the earliest Hebrew works to be printed (Constantinople, 1519).

Messianic preachers also struck a powerful chord. From 1500 to 1502, for example, Asher Lemlein raised great enthusiasm throughout northeastern Italy and Germany when he predicted the Messiah's imminent arrival and called for repentance and acts of self-flagellation.

Several decades earlier, kabbalistically (mystically) oriented messianic enthusiasts in Spain responded to mounting religious pressures by seeking to use magic to tame the forces of evil (including oppressive Christianity) and turn them to good. This kabbalistic circle is known for its major literary expression, *Sefer ha-Meshiv* (a book of divine "responses" and eschatological revelations). Its vision of an ultimate struggle against evil was popularized in tales about Rabbi Joseph della Reina, who was said to have brought down Satan but tragically failed to control the monster and thus delayed redemption.

The Spanish cabalist Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi may have been part of this circle. After the 1492 expulsion and especially after the Ottoman conquest of the land of Israel, he was a leading figure in a group of messianists in Jerusalem. Because they believed that the Messiah's coming was imminent, they began instituting special prayers and vigils to alleviate the "birth pangs" of the Messiah.

#### THE LOST TRIBES

Travelers' reports of isolated Jewish tribes also served to raise messianic expectations. These were assumed to be members of the ten Israelite tribes exiled in 722 B.C.E. and preserved ever since beyond a raging river, the Sambatyon. Possibly influenced by Christian tales about the secret kingdom of Prester John, Jews imagined these brave and fierce warriors now about to come to the rescue of their oppressed brethren.

Possibly himself an Ethiopian Falasha, David Reuveni (died c. 1538) gradually made his way from Egypt and the land of Israel to western Europe, where he met with Pope Clement VII in Rome (1524) and with King John III of Portugal (1525–1527). Claiming to be the brother and messenger of the king of the tribe of Reuben (hence his name), Reuveni pressed for treaties with European rulers and supplies of arms for a common war against the Turk. Reuveni's reception among Jews was mixed: some accepted his self-presentation at face value and tried to aid him; others considered him a dangerous charlatan and strove to discredit him.

#### **CONVERSOS**

Reuveni had an especially powerful effect on the Portuguese conversos (Christians of Jewish descent, many of whom secretly practiced Jewish rites even after their forced conversion to Christianity in 1497). The young Diogo Pires, secretary to the Portuguese royal council, was inspired by his tales, circumcised himself, and openly reverted to the Judaism of his ancestors, adopting the name Solomon Molcho. Forced to flee Portugal, Molcho traveled through Italy and the Ottoman Empire, studying cabala, preaching about the redemption, and eventually declaring himself the Messiah. After gaining considerable support from leading rabbinic thinkers of the time, Molcho was eventually reunited with Reuveni in Italy. Arrested by Emperor Charles V, Molcho was burned at the stake as a heretic in Mantua (1532); Reuveni probably suffered a similar fate in Spain a few years later.

Messianic hopes remained powerful among conversos, who understood their suffering at the hands of the Inquisition as part of a redemptive plan and incorporated certain Christian notions of the Messiah into their own, increasingly syncretistic, religious beliefs. This would be especially important in the later seventeenth century when former conversos would provide much of the theological background for the Sabbatean movement that began in 1665, the most important messianic movement since classical times.

## SCHOLARLY TRENDS

Historians see Jewish messianism in the early modern period as more than a response to national suffering. It was a central motif in Jewish religious thought, open to substantially different interpretations by each writer. Scholars now focus on the religious, and especially mystical, dimensions of messianism.

Gershom Scholem accepted the link between the Sephardic (Iberian Jewish) experience and early modern messianism, though he argued that the sense of overwhelming catastrophe engendered by the expulsions was transmuted into a new form of cabalistic thinking linked especially to Isaac Luria (1534–1572) and the brilliant constellation of thinkers who gathered in Safed. According to Scholem, Lurianic Cabala, which assigned to the Messiah the task of redeeming not just exiled Israel but the world itself, became the basis of a new, mystical theology that influenced Jewish thinkers everywhere and eventually led to Sabbateanism.

More recent scholars have emended Scholem's once-dominant thesis, pointing to possible influence from contemporary Christian eschatological rhetoric (Ruderman), questioning the necessary link between historical crisis and theology, and suggesting that Lurianic thought was far less pervasive than had been claimed (Idel). The distinction made by Gerson Cohen between activist and quietistic forms of messianism (the former associated with Sephardic, and the latter with Ashkenazic, or central European, Jews) has been replaced by more nuanced categories that can no longer be associated with specific ethnic subgroups.

See also Conversos; Jews and Judaism.

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METALLURGY. See Technology.

METAPHYSICS. See Philosophy.

METASTASIO, PIETRO. See Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Opera.

**METHODISM.** Methodism began as a movement in eighteenth-century England, part of the larger Protestant evangelical revival that endeavored to bring spiritual renewal to the nation and the Church of England and to increase the effectiveness of the church's ministry, especially to the poor. The term "Methodist" was applied about 1729 to a small group of students at Oxford University who devoted themselves to a strict method of study and religious practice. While the members of this group referred to themselves as the Holy Club, other university students and leaders reproachfully labeled them Methodists. The three principal figures in the origin and development of Methodism were members of the Holy Club, John Wesley (1703–1791), an Anglican clergyman who became its leader; his younger brother Charles Wesley (1707–1788); and George Whitefield (1714–1770).

Charles Wesley and Whitefield also became ordained clergymen in the Church of England. The Wesleys and Whitefield not only accepted the tradition and doctrines of Anglicanism, they also advocated an evangelical experience of conversion, notably in their preaching. Rather than settling into parish assignments, they engaged in an itinerant ministry, preaching in various churches when permitted but also speaking in private homes and in the open air at marketplaces, mines, and in fields.

#### **BELIEFS AND PRACTICES**

The Methodism of the Wesleys differed theologically from that of Whitefield at one main point. Whitefield advocated a form of Calvinism that held that, due to the blight of original sin, humans have no free will. Salvation is limited to those predestined or unconditionally elected by God to receive divine

favor. The Wesleys, who identified with the teachings of the Dutch theologian Jacob Harmensen (Jacobus Arminius, 1560–1609), claimed that God's grace is universal. It is available to all people, freeing them to respond to God's offer of forgiveness and reconciliation. Whitefield's brand of Methodism was particularly popular in Wales and gained substantial support from the preaching of Howell Harris (1714–1773) and the financial assistance of Selina Hastings (1707–1791), the countess of Huntingdon. The emphasis of the Wesleys on the universalism of divine grace had a wide appeal and resulted in larger numbers for their brand of Methodism.

The main doctrinal emphases of Wesleyan Methodism included the seriousness of human sin and its dire consequences; preventing (or prevenient) grace, which frees the human will; justification of the sinner by faith in God's grace; the experience of divine pardon in spiritual new birth; personal assurance of being in God's favor; and sanctification or holy living. The Wesleys believed that holy living is both personal and social. In addition the goal of the Christian life is loving God with all that one is and has and loving one's neighbor as oneself. These emphases are delineated in John Wesley's sermons and other writings as well as in the approximately nine thousand hymns written by his brother Charles.

Worship and the sacraments were important to Methodism from its beginning. Both of the Wesleys appreciated the formal liturgical worship of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. However, they also encouraged less-formal worship in Methodist meetings. The Sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion were accepted as means by which God's grace is conveyed to the recipient. Wesleyan Methodism also stressed Bible reading, prayer, and fasting. From the Moravians they adapted a love feast for special occasions, at which the members served each other bread and water as a sign of Christian affection and fellowship.

#### ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS

Unlike Whitefield, the Wesleys effectively organized their followers. John Wesley, a skillful organizer, arranged the Methodist people into societies that met regularly for worship and Christian fellowship. Since Methodism was intended to revitalize the Anglican Church, not to supercede it, Methodists were

expected to attend society meetings as well as the services of their local Anglican parish churches. Each society was divided into subgroups of about twelve people, called classes, that met weekly for spiritual encouragement under the direction of class leaders. Society and class membership was guided by a set of General Rules for moral living devised by Wesley.

As Methodism grew across England, Scotland, and Ireland, John Wesley engaged laypeople to meet with the societies, preach in their meetings, provide pastoral care, and administer the General Rules. Since the lay preachers were not ordained, they were not permitted to administer the Sacraments. Lay leadership facilitated the movement's growth. In June 1744 the Wesleys met in London with four Anglican clergy sympathetic to the Methodist movement and four lay preachers, a gathering that evolved into an annual conference of the movement's leaders. At these important annual meetings the preachers discussed theological issues, deliberated business, mapped strategy, and received preaching assignments for the ensuing year. During John Wesley's lifetime the annual conference advised him but did not override his authority in governing the movement.

Methodists acquired buildings for their gatherings as membership increased. In 1739 John Wesley purchased an abandoned cannon factory in London that he renovated for worship and called the Foundery. Other chapels and meeting places, including the celebrated New Room constructed in Bristol in 1739, were purchased or built for Methodist gatherings. In 1768 Wesley formulated a Model Deed designed to govern the use of Methodist chapels and buildings and to protect them from what he considered erroneous doctrine.

The Wesleys and their followers encountered verbal abuse and physical persecution. Their opponents, both laypeople and Anglican clergy, complained about their insistence on an evangelical conversion; their criticism of some forms of public entertainment; "irregular" practices, such as allowing laypeople to preach; and holding worship in the open air. Persecution was especially severe in the 1740s but declined significantly in the decades that followed.

When John Wesley's overtures to Anglican bishops to ordain some of his lay preachers for work in America were refused, he ordained two of them in 1784, dispatched them to the United States, and authorized them to form a Methodist church. During Wesley's lifetime this was the only Methodist church he sanctioned. In the decades following his death, other Methodist churches were formed by his followers in Great Britain.

John Wesley and the Methodists adopted forceful positions on many social questions. They opposed slavery, offered assistance to the poor, ministered in prisons, promoted medical treatment and healthy living, fostered education, and criticized violence and war. Although some historians claimed that Methodism kept Britain from sliding into a form of revolution that engulfed Europe, this thesis is widely disputed. Nevertheless, Methodism was quite influential in British life in the eighteenth century and beyond.

See also Church of England; Wesley Family.

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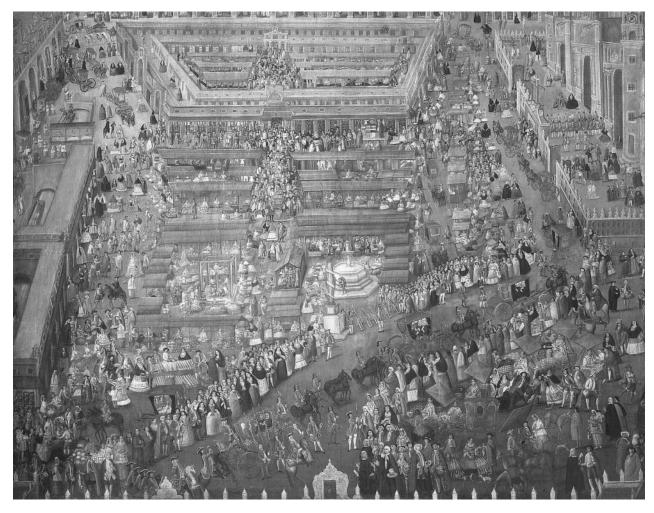
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**MEXICO CITY.** Mexico City was in many ways the quintessential city of the early modern period. While many cities in the Valley of Mexico had existed for several centuries prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1519, Mexico City was relatively young, having been founded in 1325. It was originally a swampy safe haven for the Mexica people,



Mexico City. Main Square, Mexico City, eighteenth-century painting. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM MEXICO CITY/DAGLI ORTI

popularly known as the Aztecs. Locating in the middle of the lake that filled the Valley of Mexico, the Mexica used land-reclamation techniques to convert this swampy area into a city of nearly a quarter million inhabitants by the time of the conquest. They called their city Tenochtitlán. Over the course of time a twin city, Tlatelolco, developed to the north and was home of the merchants who served as the commercial "glue" of the Mexica empire.

Mexico City fell to the Spanish on 13 August 1521. Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) ordered the site abandoned and built his capital several miles south in the town of Coyoacán. Nevertheless, the old site continued to attract both native peoples and Spaniards, and construction of a city began there. Finally, in 1524, Cortés recognized the old city as

the new capital, giving it the name Mexico-Tenochtitlán.

Mexico City then entered into a period of development as a hybrid city. The city took on a grid pattern of streets radiating off of a large central plaza. The cathedral, royal palace, and offices of the municipal government surrounded the central plaza, which was eventually called the Zócalo. The Spanish district of the city radiated out some ten blocks from the plaza. This part of the city came to be known as the *traza*. Beyond the *traza* was the Indian city. Spanish colonial law mandated a separate but equal political organization for the native peoples. They were largely self-governing but were subject to Spanish royal law. They were physically segregated, living in their own neighborhoods outside of the *traza*. The native peoples were required

to provide labor service to the Spanish colonists, yet they also engaged in their own activities, including farming, craft production, and transport of goods.

Mexico City was the first significant place where peoples from four continents created a single city. The Spanish conquerors brought Africans, both slave and free, along with them. It has been estimated that as much as half of the city's population consisted of African slaves. The sixteenth century saw the arrival of Asians to the city, initially from the Spanish colony of the Philippines, but eventually from China, Japan, and Korea. Like the Africans, Asians tended to provide household service to the Spanish, but they also found a niche in the ceramic and textile industries.

The city had been founded on a lake. Its symbiotic relationship with the lake formed much of the city's early identity. As more of the lakeshore was reclaimed, the threat of flooding became continual. By the end of the sixteenth century seasonal flooding inundated the city. In the early seventeenth century the royal government constructed a massive drainage canal to remove the water from the lake and drain it into a nearby river system.

Mexico City was the cultural, religious, political, and cultural capital of New Spain, which was Spain's name for the colony. Within the *traza*, wealthy Spaniards jockeyed for preeminence in building their palaces. Religious orders staked out sumptuous and imposing buildings, thereby claiming their presence in the city. The Inquisition, the Pontifical and Royal University, and many other civil organizations built equally impressive edifices. The *traza* could no longer hold the Spanish population, and it began to spill out along the well-established causeways and avenues that radiated off of the central plaza. In the early seventeenth century the viceroy decreed the creation of a large public garden, known as the Alameda.

During the eighteenth century, Mexico City saw dramatic changes. The city grew rapidly, building principally to the south and west, as vast areas of dry lakebed were reclaimed. Wealth resulting from increased mining activity and commerce poured into the city, prompting a building boom. Rich miners, merchants, and newly titled nobles built palatial mansions. The religious orders also constructed opulent churches and convents. The city

more completely eclipsed all the regional capitals as the leading metropolis of the colony. By the end of the century, Mexico City was unquestionably the largest and most opulent city of the region, if not the hemisphere.

See also Spanish Colonies: Mexico.

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## MICHAEL ROMANOV (RUSSIA)

(1596–1645; ruled 1613–1645), tsar of Russia. Michael Fedorovich Romanov came to the throne in 1613 as the solution to the dynastic crisis of the Time of Troubles. The son of the important boyar Fedor Nikitich Romanov, whom Boris Godunov exiled in 1600, Michael was only sixteen when the Assembly of the Land chose him as tsar on 21 February 1613. Michael, as grandson of the brother of Ivan the Terrible's first wife, had a tenuous link to the older dynasty, but he was primarily the choice of the boyar clans still in Moscow, the church, the Cossacks, and the townspeople. His father, tonsured in 1601 with the monastic name Filaret, was in prison in Poland in the early years of the reign, so the dominant force at court was at first his mother, the nun Marfa (born Kseniia Shestova, tonsured in 1600), who relied on the boyars B. M. and M. M. Saltykov as well as others. In those years the new regime secured peace with Sweden (Stolbovo, 1617) and Poland (Deulino, 1618), losing some border territory but reestablishing control over the remainder.

In 1619 the return of Filaret and his selection as patriarch of Moscow brought a powerful figure to the court. Filaret dominated his son and was the main advocate of a war of revenge against Poland. The result was the Smolensk war of 1632–1634, in part the result of Swedish prompting, as Gustavus II Adolphus hoped to secure his rear in Poland while he intervened in the Thirty Years' War. The Russian army, including many European mercenary regi-

ments, laid siege to Smolensk but were unable to take the city and had to surrender to the Polish army of relief under King Władysław IV. Filaret's death (October 1633) hastened the end. The Russian commander M. B. Shein was executed as a scapegoat, and the two sides made peace in 1634. Russia gained only insignificant border points and Władysław's renunciation of the Russian throne.

The last decade of the reign saw a fundamental change in Russian policy. The primary effort went toward a rapprochement with Poland, and as a corollary, a similar approach was taken toward Denmark. Long negotiations with Christian IV over the marriage of Michael's eldest daughter Irina to Prince Valdemar of Denmark came to an impasse over the insistence of the Russian church that he convert to Orthodoxy. The issue was unresolved at Michael's death and then abandoned. The main purpose of friendship with Poland was to allow Russia to concentrate its resources against the Ottomans and their Crimean vassals. Michael inaugurated a vast program of construction of defensive works on the southern frontier, including blockhouses, forts, Cossack settlements, and other obstacles to prevent Tatar raids. He did not, however, want to engage the Ottomans themselves, and so ordered the Don Cossacks in 1642 to return the recently captured fortress of Azov at the mouth of the Don to the Turks.

Much less is known about the politics behind Michael's internal policies. His government restored the institutions and societal structures shattered during the Time of Troubles. The boyar clans dominant before that time returned to power, and the newfound influence of the Cossacks and other lower orders gradually dissipated. Filaret took seriously his duties as patriarch and managed to rebuild the shattered institutions of the church. His attitudes toward religious culture were contradictory, for he pursued a policy of restricting contacts with the Orthodox of Poland, while simultaneously encouraging the importation of most Ukrainian religious texts into Russia. In the meantime, discontent with traditional devotional and liturgical practices grew among the clergy, a development that would lead to major conflict after Michael's death.

In these years Russia tried to recover its trade links with the Dutch and English, while trying to avoid giving them too extensive commercial privileges. Commercial relations with Sweden flourished, and merchants from Novgorod and Pskov even began to visit Stockholm. These years also saw the beginning of a long demographic boom that lasted into the twentieth century. In the short run it was crucial to the restoration of agriculture.

Michael was married twice, briefly to princess Maria Vladimirovna Dolgorukaia (1624) and then to Evdokiia Luk'ianovna Streshneva (1626), who bore his heir, Tsar Alexis I Mikhailovich, and eight other children. A devout and apparently traditional Russian noblewoman, her political role seems to have been minor. Michael founded the Romanov dynasty that ruled Russia until 1917. Unfortunately, his reign is one of the least studied periods of Russian history.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Cossacks; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Russia; Russo-Polish Wars; Time of Troubles (Russia).

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## MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI

(born Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni, 1475–1564), Italian sculptor, painter, architect, and poet. Michelangelo achieved such renown in his lifetime that he was celebrated as *Il Divino*, the 'Divine One'. In five hundred years, his fame has scarcely diminished. Michelangelo is universally recognized as one of the greatest artists of all time. He established new and still unsurpassed standards of excellence in all fields of visual creativity—sculpture, painting, architecture—and was, in addition, an accomplished poet. Along with Dante and Shakespeare, Mozart, and Beethoven, he stands as one of the giants of Western civilization.

Michelangelo's career spanned from the final years of Lorenzo de' Medici's Florence to the first

stirrings of the Counter-Reformation. He outlived thirteen popes and worked for nine of them. Although his art occasionally was criticized (he was accused of impropriety in the *Last Judgment*), Michelangelo's influence and reputation have always been acknowledged. Many of his works—including the *Pietà*, *David*, *Moses*, and the Sistine Chapel ceiling—are ubiquitous cultural icons. Despite the familiarity of Michelangelo's art, the large quantity of primary documentation (more than any previous artist), and a voluminous secondary literature, many aspects of Michelangelo's art and life remain open to interpretation.

In contrast to the romantic conception of the artist as lone genius, contemporary scholars tend to view Michelangelo in a broad historical and social context. In Italy and throughout European civilization, the family was fundamental to self-definition; a family's status established an individual's status. Michelangelo was one of just a handful of Renaissance artists, including Filippo Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Leon Battista Alberti, who were born into patrician families. It was not unreasonable, therefore, that Michelangelo's father resisted his son's artistic inclinations; the boy should have aspired to a more elevated profession, to political office, and to a socially advantageous marriage. The tension between his patrician birth and his fundamentally manual profession occasionally caused Michelangelo to experience doubt about his art (best expressed in his poetry), and to encounter conflict with his patrons.

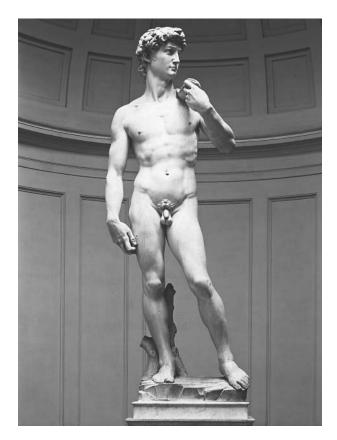
Michelangelo's father was a distant cousin and contemporary of the great Renaissance Maecenas Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492). It was probably thanks to this familial relation that Michelangelo spent approximately two years in the Medici household, where he received the beginnings of a humanistic education alongside two of his future Medici patrons, Giovanni (Pope Leo X, reigned 1513-1521) and Giulio (Pope Clement VII, reigned 1523–1534). The Medici were especially important to Michelangelo's early career, providing him with commissions, opportunities, and letters of introduction that permitted the young man to pursue an untraditional course independent of the guild system and the highly competitive artisan profession. Rather, he lived on the basis of comparatively few commissions, obtained by means of skillfully navigating in a dense web of family, friendship, and patronage ties.

Appropriately for a family with social pretensions, Michelangelo was tutored by a grammarian and learned a modicum of Latin, a good hand, and how to write a proper letter. His penmanship was neat and regular, his orthography and grammar more self-consciously correct than that of many of his contemporaries. The sheer volume of Michelangelo's correspondence—more than 1,400 letters to and from the artist—distinguishes him from most artists of the early modern period. He took care in composing letters, often writing multiple drafts, and the very fact that he preserved his correspondence was characteristic of a member of the literate patrician class.

Even more important are Michelangelo's considerable labors as a poet. In the entire history of art, only William Blake has made a comparable contribution to both the poetic and visual arts. Michelangelo's poetry ranks among the greatest literary creations of the Renaissance, distinguishing him from most artists and many fellow patricians.

Michelangelo proudly declared that his family had paid taxes in Florence for three hundred years, thereby placing them among an elite group of "good families." The Buonarroti traced their citizenship back to the priorate of 1343, and in 1508 they had six members eligible for election to the Florentine government. But even more than the prestige of public office, wealth was the most certain measure of status, and property was the principal measure of wealth. Shortly after his commission to design the tomb of Pope Julius II (1505), Michelangelo began purchasing property in and around Florence. In addition to rental income, these various farm properties provided Michelangelo and his family with most of their basic needs, including grain, oil, wine, eggs, and firewood. By his death at the age of eighty-nine, Michelangelo was a millionaire; however, despite his affluence, he lived modestly, for he was, like his contemporaries, perpetually wary of gossip.

Wealth opened the door to a good marriage, which was an important means of securing long-lasting social status. Of course, Michelangelo never married, but his brother Buonarroto married into the patrician Della Casa family. The children of this



Michelangelo. David, in the Accademia, Florence. ©ALINARI/ ART RESOURCE

union also made good matches: Lionardo married into the Ridolfi family, and in 1537 Michelangelo's niece, Francesca, married Michele Guicciardini, scion of one of the oldest and most illustrious Florentine families. Michelangelo was preoccupied with the prestige and propagation of his family, which survived until the mid-nineteenth century.

Central to Michelangelo's self-perception and lifelong ambition was his firm belief that he was from a noble family who traced an ancient lineage from the famous counts of Canossa. It is scarcely important that we now doubt Michelangelo's claim; it was firmly believed by the artist and his contemporaries. His proud ancestry was affirmed in the opening lines of the biography written by his friend and pupil Ascanio Condivi: "Michelangelo Buonarroti ... traced his origin from the counts of Canossa, noble and illustrious family of the territory of Reggio. . . ." After 1526 he stopped signing his name as "Michelangelo sculptore" and instead in-

sisted on using his full family name, the "nome della casa."

From early in his career, Michelangelo's art was a privileged commodity made for a few select persons. Michelangelo's relations with his patrons were, for the most part, extensions of a well-established network of social bonds founded on favor, friendship, and family relations. Therefore, he was particularly sensitive about being treated like an artisan, and he adamantly denied ever running a traditional workshop (bottega): "I was never a painter or sculptor like those who run workshops," he wrote to his nephew Lionardo in 1548. Reminding Lionardo of the family's illustrious history, Michelangelo advised his young nephew that he did not provide the products and services typical of such establishments. Rather, his career is marked by a series of unique objects that are never repeated and scarcely imitable: Bacchus (1496), Pietà (1497-1499), David (1501-1504), the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508–1512), Last Judgment (1534–1541), the tomb of Julius II (1505-1545), and St. Peter's (1546-).

Like Leonardo da Vinci before him, Michelangelo attempted to maintain a life as a sort of artist-courtier where mutually beneficial and reciprocal relations blurred the distinction between artist and patron, between professional and personal obligations. In his final years, Michelangelo considered it unseemly to be paid a daily wage for his work at St. Peter's. Instead, he accepted remuneration as a favor from the pope, mostly in the form of lucrative prebends.

Michelangelo's concerns with family and lineage coincided with a pan-European preoccupation with the true nature of nobility. His desire for wealth, landed security, and social status place Michelangelo squarely in a contemporary milieu, sharing the most cherished values of his fellow citizens. At the same time, these concerns distinguish him from most of his fellow artists, few of whom could claim noble birth, a coat of arms, or even a proper family name.

Michelangelo's claim to noble birth—about which he was most adamant—is precisely the part of his biography that we treat as a fantastic delusion or myth, whereas we willingly subscribe to the literary fiction about the artist's early life and predestined

rise to fame. The tale of Michelangelo's genius is a convenient means of explaining his accomplishments. Otherwise, we are left trying to understand how and why this aristocrat became an artist, and how he created his greatest works. Indeed, it is the very magnitude of those accomplishments that tends to cast his aristocratic persona in the shade. More than any previous artist, Michelangelo's success as both an artisan and aristocrat was instrumental in advancing the social status of his profession, from craftsman to genius, from artisan to gentleman. In the words of his admiring contemporary Pietro Aretino: "The world has many kings and only one Michelangelo."

See also Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Italian Literature and Language; Rome, Art in; Sculpture.

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MIDDLE AGES, LATE. See Late Middle Ages.

**MIDWIVES.** Almost every baby born in early modern Europe was delivered by a midwife. Childbirth was a female ritual into which men entered only in emergencies. An expectant mother invited female friends, relatives, and neighbors to attend her in childbirth. During the long hours of labor, these "gossips" supported the mother emotionally and physically, propping her up as directed by the midwife. They prayed and prepared special foods, kept the fire stoked, and performed all other necessary tasks. Historians have pointed out, however, that single or poor women may have experienced the attendance of gossips as discipline rather than encouragement. In the eighteenth century some well-to-do women began to choose male midwives, but such remained a minute fraction of all births.

Midwives ranged greatly in training, styles of practice, and expertise. Some women delivered a few babies based upon their experiences as gossips, never considering midwifery as their primary roles. Others were very skilled. Sarah Stone (c. 1730), for example, a midwife who practiced in the west of England in the early eighteenth century, functioned as a consultant midwife. She was called into a number of births when a midwife was having trouble, and her complaints about the ignorance of country midwives sound much like those of some of her male surgical colleagues.

The regulation of midwifery varied considerably across Europe. Informally all midwives were regulated by local reputation. Louise Bourgeois (1564– 1636), midwife to the queen of France in the early seventeenth century, counseled her midwife daughter never to permit women to deliver in her home lest people think she was encouraging vice by allowing unwed mothers to give birth clandestinely. In England, where midwifery practice was only lightly regulated, a midwife might choose to take out a bishop's license. To obtain such she needed testimony from local respectable matrons about her skills and moral worth. Midwives' religious practices were closely policed. If a baby were born who might not survive, the midwife was often empowered to perform an emergency baptism. Many men feared the magical connotations of reproduction and childbirth, and midwives were sometimes thought to provide abortifacients and to practice magic, another reason for governing midwives' orthodoxy.

Civic authorities were also keen to regulate midwives, since midwives provided evidence in cases of rape or suspicious pregnancy and asked unwed mothers in labor about the identities of the fathers. In 1452 the German city of Regensburg set up the first system of municipal regulation of midwives. These women had to satisfy the authorities about their religious orthodoxy and pass an exam set by a panel of physicians, surgeons, and midwives. It was assumed by the authorities that these women were literate and skilled.

The history of midwifery has echoed other concerns. Early histories of midwifery, often written by obstetricians, discussed the bad old days before the advent of the modern specialty and portrayed midwives as ignorant and superstitious. Women's historians have begun to consider a more balanced view of midwives, outlining their variety and integrating their practices into larger frameworks of gender relations and women's work.

See also Motherhood and Childbearing; Obstetrics and Gynecology.

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## MIGRATION. See Mobility, Geographic.

**MILAN.** Milan and the rich agricultural district around it have constituted an important economic pole of Europe since the late Roman Empire. The rich agricultural plain in which Milan sits is irrigated

by summer rains, and glacial runoff from the Alps feeds rivers that are complemented by a network of navigable canals. Wealthy Milan instigated resistance against the Holy Roman emperors in the Middle Ages. Early in the fourteenth century, Milan's institutions were seized by the noble house of Visconti. Giangaleazzo Visconti (c. 1351–1402) added most of northern Italy to his dominions by 1400. With his death, the duchy shrank to include modern-day Lombardy, the Italian-speaking valleys in the Alps to the north, and the districts of Parma and Piacenza. The duchy passed to a Visconti sonin-law, Francesco Sforza, in 1447. Like those of his forebears, the duke's citadels kept subject cities in check, but his grip weakened nevertheless. A French royal marriage contracted to give legitimacy to the Visconti dynasty had the unintended consequence of providing King Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515) with a claim to the territory. Annexing the region to his kingdom in 1515, King Francis I (ruled 1515– 1547) erected French-style institutions, such as the senate of sixty members invested with legislative and judicial powers, that operated with little royal interference. The imperial conquest of Milan in 1523 marked the onset of a new phase. Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519-1556) awarded Milan to his son Philip (and thereby to Spain) in 1540 but retained the ultimate authority over it as the Holy Roman emperor. Great projects of fortification around each of the cities and the permanent provision of Spanish garrisons removed the threat of new French invasions.

Politically, the territory was composed of nine city-states—Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, Como, Novara, Tortona, Alessandria, and Vigevano—each with its own autonomy and tax base. Considerable power was vested in both a landed aristocracy and a judicial and professional nobility living and practicing in the large cities. They were joined by new families residing in Milan, purchasing fiefs from the Spanish crown. Important political decisions were taken by the king in Spain, through his Council of Italy, and were dispatched to his representative, the governor of Milan. This Spanish governor ruled with a cluster of important officials in a secret council, dealing with justice, taxation, and provisioning; the commander of the citadel, the commanders of cavalry and artillery, and a handful of royal appointees were also members. Milanese and Lombards

comprised almost half of this personnel. From Milan, the Spanish governor could forestall any menacing activity by France or by Italian princes in northern Italy. The governors of Milan were often asked to arbitrate border disputes between states, to better reinforce Spanish influence. The governor enjoyed great leeway to prepare for war or cultivate alliances in the peninsula. Milan was the terminus of several strategic routes protecting the Spanish empire; one avenue led from Spain via water to Finale Liguria and Genoa; another coastal route connected Naples and Sicily with northern Italy. Finally, Milan was the staging area for troops destined for the Spanish Netherlands, who marched north through Savoy or Swiss Alpine valleys to Alsace and the Rhine Valley.

Wealth and population bolstered the strategic interest of the duchy. Milan's population reached 120,000 inhabitants in 1600, with about a million people in the duchy overall. Milan produced silks, fine woolens, weapons and armor, and myriad other products besides. Cremona was a producer of cotton fabrics, while Como, Pavia, and Lodi had textile industries of their own, exporting their products beyond Italy. The rural plain of Lombardy was one of the most advanced agricultural districts anywhere in Europe. Milan was also an important center of religious direction. No single individual had as great an impact on the Catholic Reformation as Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), the nephew of Pope Pius IV and cardinal and archbishop of Milan. King Philip II (ruled 1556-1598) nominated loyal notables to religious benefices, but he did not have access to the church money in Milan that he had in Spain. Madrid initially tried to stop the flow of ecclesiastical revenues toward Rome but was challenged by Borromeo. The Milanese rejected the importation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1563, but they embraced the papal version of the same tribunal. Several governors clashed with the church's representatives, but the Milanese clergy would not give way, and the Spanish government instructed its officials to respect papal exemptions. The multiplication of religious schools made the city one of the most literate in Europe, and it vied with Venice, Florence, and Rome for cultural primacy.

#### SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CRISIS

As everywhere in Italy, the onset of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 abruptly ended the economic and political stability of Milan, which was strategic in shifting Spanish resources of men and money to the Austrian Habsburgs. Milan was threatened, however, by the Mantuan fortresses of Casale Monferrato and Mantua. When a French branch of the Gonzaga dynasty, which had ruled Mantua and its environs for centuries until 1627, inherited the duchy of Mantua, Spain mobilized to eject them from it in 1628-1630, with mixed success. War inflicted lasting damage on the manufacturing economy. Lucrative markets in Germany and France became inaccessible. Many urban workshops moved their low-skilled operations to the countryside. The more resistant silk industry found it difficult to compete with new international competitors, such as Lyon in France. Much of the raw silk produced by Lombard peasants and transformed into thread in local mills was sent to France to be worked there. The Lombard economy was already in trouble when the bubonic plague of 1630 struck the region. It killed half the population of the city and roughly a quarter of the population of northern Italy. The sudden decline in population took the buoyancy out of the rural economy. The Lombard agricultural economy recovered earlier than most others, thanks to rich resources for livestock and the fertility of the soil. Nevertheless, prices and living standards declined throughout the seventeenth century and beyond. Over several generations, the number of noble families in Milan and other towns was sharply reduced.

New French invasions after 1635 had remarkably little impact on Spanish domination, partly because Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin treated Italy as a sideshow. Lombard city and peasant militias performed valuable services, as in the siege of Pavia in 1655. Spain enjoyed the ongoing support of Milanese elites and held on until the peace of 1659 with only a few thousand troops sent from home. Under Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), Italy receded from French policy objectives. Piedmont shielded Milan from a French attack in the War of Devolution (1667–1668) and the Dutch War (1672–1678). In the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), which united Europe against the French king, Piedmont constituted the battle-

field in Italy, while Spanish Milan contributed troops to the common effort.

# **AUSTRIAN LOMBARDY**

Between 1649 and 1659, imperial (Austrian Habsburg) troops sent to help Spain resist France began to take control of imperial fiefs in Lombardy. In 1690 an imperial army sent to fight France imposed Austrian claims on northern Italy. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), the Austrian cause triumphed at the battle of Turin in 1706, and Austria replaced Spain as the ruling power in Lombardy. In 1707, in 1734, and again in 1748 substantial slices of the rich plain and the Alps were shifted to Piedmontese control as the duchy shrank to a wedge of central Lombardy. Initially, Vienna ruled the duchy through the same institutions as before, a viceregal governor and a special council for Italian territories. However, renewed Spanish efforts to recover the duchy almost succeeded twice, in the Wars of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). To Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780) it underscored the need to make Lombardy contribute more to the central government.

The Austrian solution was to create new administrative bodies that paid no attention to the concerns of local aristocrats. Vienna compiled an innovative land register on which to assess taxes, giving state officials instead of private businessmen the task of raising the money. Landowners' assemblies in the countryside reduced the jurisdiction of city nobles. By the 1780s Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765-1790) abolished many of the former magistracies and guilds, replacing them with departments of Austrian ministries. Religious institutions managed by Lombard aristocrats were also closed down as the state asserted its control over charity and education. These measures were in large part prompted or applauded by Italian intellectuals gathered around Pietro Verri (1728-1797) and Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794) with their journal Il Caffè. With Venice, the city was the most active center of the Italian Enlightenment.

Milan never recovered the manufacturing rank in Europe that it had held before the Thirty Years' War and the outbreak of bubonic plague. Austrian manufacturing subsidies helped plant some new textile industries on the English model in the city, but the vast rural industry springing up in the hinterland, across the modern provinces of Milan, Varese, and Como was more important to the future. The region's agriculture kept pace with the rising population—a massive conversion to maize and rice cultivation provided new staples—but autonomous peasants and sharecroppers were reduced to the status of landless day laborers. In 1796 Milan and its state still figured as a rich prize to French armies under Napoleon and was the logical place to create the capital of a new kingdom of Italy.

See also Borromeo, Carlo; Habsburg Dynasty; Italy.

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Gregory Hanlon

# **MILITARY**

This entry contains four subentries:
ARMIES: RECRUITMENT, ORGANIZATION, AND
SOCIAL COMPOSITION
BATTLE TACTICS AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGY
EARLY MODERN MILITARY THEORY
HISTORIOGRAPHY

ARMIES: RECRUITMENT, ORGANIZATION, AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION

Military life in the period from 1450 to 1750 underwent, it has been argued, a process of "proletarianization." If medieval conflict was the preserve of specialist warriors, drawn heavily from the upper ranks of society, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, according to this argument, marked by war based on quantity rather than quality of soldiers. In practice, medieval armies drew on a more diverse range of troops than exclusive focus on the highly trained, mounted knight would imply, and they could count substantial forces of semi- or unskilled soldiers in their ranks. This greater diversity in medieval armies notwithstanding, it is nonetheless assumed that the composition of armies changed greatly from the later fifteenth century.

# WHO WERE EARLY MODERN SOLDIERS?

What the Swiss pikemen and German Landsknechte who dominated the battlefields of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries offered was a combination of group identity and cohesion, together with brute force deployed within a solid phalanx, thousands strong. A subsequent move toward infantry armed with handguns did not restore military specialism but encouraged still greater reliance upon unskilled recruits. In contrast to crossbows or longbows, an infantry harquebus or musket required no great skill, training, or physical strength to load or fire. As soldiers' expertise was of minimal importance in putting a force into the field, it is assumed that contracts for mercenaries, a feature of the entire early modern period, were the obvious mechanism for recruitment. Early modern warfare was a seasonal affair, most campaigning taking place between April and October, while few wars before 1618 lasted longer than two or three consecutive campaigns. Hiring and firing mercenary forces thus appeared to make military and financial sense. Why

create an elaborate military infrastructure if the raw material of warfare was rapidly recruited, minimally trained, and destined for short service?

But handing over the recruitment of soldiers to profiteering officers operating under mercenary contracts rendered military service unattractive to all but desperate or marginal elements of society. Enlistment brought danger, poor working conditions, and irregular pay and supply—as much through the machinations of the officers as because of the inadequacy of state revenues. From this comes the pervasive myth that the early modern army was populated with the refuse of society. Recruitment was based on an unholy alliance between rapacious officers and local elites, who saw military service as a device to clear jails and round up vagrants and other marginal elements. Any genuine volunteers were debtors, criminals, or beggars, the rootless with no stake in established society, and they signed up for the lure of a modest recruitment bonus and hoped to desert as soon as possible. The violence of military life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both among soldiers and between soldiers and civilians, reflects this lowest-common-denominator recruitment. Mass disbanding as soon as a campaign neared its conclusion—or simply because the officers failed to provide basic wages, food, and drinkensured that soldiers, who were little more than a temporary association of vagrants and criminals held in service by brutal discipline, were regularly tipped back into civilian society, exacerbating problems of law enforcement, local violence, and vagrancy.

An image that fueled so much popular literature and was entrenched in the rhetoric of the ruling classes is unlikely to have been based on pure fiction. There were plenty of cases where recruits were acquired via jails or roundups of vagrants. There were certainly officer-proprietors down to the end of the eighteenth century who were none too rigorous about the quality of their recruits and their relations with the civilian population. Levels of desertion from early modern armies were extraordinarily high: rates of 50 percent or more over a few weeks' campaigning were not unusual. Hans Jacob Grimmelshausen's contemporary account of soldiering in the Thirty Years' War, Abenteuerlicher Simplicissimus (1669; Simplicissimus the vagabond), paints a picture of soldiers who were indeed petty criminals but were themselves victims of the exploitation and corruption of their officers and administrators. Yet this is not the entire story of early modern soldiers, and it fails to explain how military effectiveness was achieved, where recruits in these centuries were really drawn from, and how they related to civilian society.

The assumption that early modern warfare was simply a matter of mass recruitment, minimal training, and rapid turnover needs qualification. It never applied for mounted soldiers, for instance. Training a cavalry trooper to a decent level of military proficiency and horsemanship or finding recruits already possessing equestrian skills could not be neglected, and cavalry remained a major element in all early modern armies. But even within the pike square or other infantry formations, it was important to distinguish between the ordinary, mid-file ranker, who may indeed have required little training, and an experienced core of soldiers. The importance of experienced troops became even more significant with the development of more effective infantry firearms. It was the veterans who set the pace of firing, maintained cohesion between musketeers and pikemen, and followed instructions rapidly and efficiently. Thus military effectiveness depended on soldiers who would remain in service, and inducements were needed to reward them. The pay structure of early modern armies reflected the different levels of skill and experience between ordinary and veteran soldiers. An elite French unit in the 1630s would contain three categories of veteran below any official noncommissioned officer rank, whose skills and service were recognized with between 20 and 50 percent higher wages than those of the ordinary recruits. One good reason for reliance on mercenary proprietors was not that they could produce bulk levies of easily disposable troops, but that the bestconnected of the "military enterprisers" controlled or had access to units with a higher proportion of experienced veterans than the majority of local nobles or even government administrators could achieve in any recruitment exercise.

What other inducements existed to draw soldiers into long-term service? One possibility would be enforcement through conscription. In states with a relatively small population and substantial military commitments—seventeenth-century Sweden being a good example—conscription of a proportion of the peasantry offered a means to build up a core of

career soldiers. At the price of deep resentment from the Swedish peasants on whom the lottery of conscription fell very heavily, the system provided good-quality, long-serving troops during the Thirty Years' War. But across most of west central Europe, conscription was regarded with suspicion by rulers and ministers convinced that it generated poorquality and unsuitable recruits, aggravating already substantial problems of desertion. And for much of the early modern period, they could rely on voluntary enlistment. Demographic pressure leading to polarization of economic resources was squeezing the peasants and artisans in these states, eroding their earning power and economic independence. Recruiting officers were by no means dependent upon the most marginal and criminal elements in society. Indeed the vast majority of recruits whose backgrounds can be established were drawn from ordinary peasant households or were semiskilled artisans who would have enjoyed modest status, if not formal citizenship, in the towns.

#### THE MILITARY EXPERIENCE

In comparison with the worsening economic climate outside, military life could offer some advantages. Basic wages were comparable with those of an unskilled artisan, while the pay of more experienced soldiers and noncommissioned officers was significantly above this level. Volunteers who enlisted for a fixed period would be bribed by a substantial bonus to stay in service for another term of duty. The main disadvantage for soldiers was that military wages were almost always in arrears. Paying outstanding wages, even assuming money was available to distribute, would remove a good means of keeping men in service, and meeting wages in full would inevitably bring days of alcohol-induced incapacity. When soldiers, and especially veterans like those in the Spanish Army of Flanders, could squeeze their arrears out of the military paymasters, they could end up with accumulated lump sums of 1,000 ducats or more, enough to establish themselves as substantial property-owning peasants. Moreover, unlike those of civilian populations, the wages earned by soldiers were not subject to tithe, seigneurial dues, or ever-increasing taxes imposed by the central state. Difficult to quantify were informal sources of revenue: plunder and booty from captured towns, ransoms of captured prisoners, and the informal tide of local extortion, pillage, and



Armies. The English cavalry pursues Irish infantry and cavalry, woodcut from John Derricke's Image of Ireland, 1581. THE ART ARCHIVE

theft practiced by soldiers when opportunity permitted. These were probably diminishing in significance, but especially in the period before 1650 they should not be neglected as a potential attraction to military service.

Men drawn from the ranks of the respectable if hard-pressed peasantry or established artisan classes in the towns had traditionally enjoyed a modest status within the local community and some small personal autonomy, and they were governed by codes of honor and association that could provide both social solidarity and a degree of protection from outside interference. As these became more difficult to sustain in the face of worsening economic pressures in civilian society, the perception of distinctive status and the strong degree of group identity and cohesion associated with long-term military service became increasingly attractive.

Soldiers were emphatically not at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the two centuries down to the end of the Thirty Years' War. It was common for ordinary soldiers to have one or more servants, and while marriage might be discouraged in certain armies (notably the French), all forces were accompanied by large numbers of women followers, serving as prostitutes, laundresses and seamstresses, cooks, nurses, and housekeepers. Two Bavarian regiments lodged at Schweinfurt in 1646 numbered 961 combatant soldiers, 310 servants, and 540 women and children, and maintained a baggage train that required 1,072 horses. Apart from a few elite regiments or units that were the property of a wealthy noble, soldiers did not wear uniforms before the mid-seventeenth century and could adopt styles of dress to flatter their vanity or signal group identification. With the notable exception of the Dutch army, whose mercenaries explicitly accepted this as a contractual obligation, soldiers did not expect to dig earthworks or engage in other manual labor; pioneers attached to the army or conscripted peasants would be employed to build or demolish siegeworks or construct encampments. At the core of most long-serving units, whether informally accepted or formally recognized—as in the case of the Spanish system of camarades, for example—were groups of companions who lived and fought together and whose primary focus of loyalty, obligation, and identity was their small group.

Soldiering might involve extreme danger. Battles in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could involve high casualties; defeated armies in flight could be all but annihilated. The opinion of contemporaries, moreover, was that the pitched battle was less dangerous than active siege warfare. That said, the majority of military losses came not from combat but from disease. It was probable that close-packed encampments of soldiers placed themselves at greater risk of infectious disease than civilians. Yet levels of mortality in cities and from epidemics like the plague, which spread across much of Europe in the 1590s, could easily equal levels of disease-related mortality among soldiers.

Much of a soldier's life was intermingled with that of civilian populations. The winter quarter, roughly from October to April, would see permanent troops garrisoned in frontier or other towns and cities, lodged with householders and subjected to limited military discipline. Many who had pursued previous occupations as artisans or craftsmen resumed these during the winter months as a supplementary or alternative source of income. Other soldiers who were formally laid off during the winter quarter would return home, possibly to re-enlist in the next campaign. Even during the campaign season, numbers of troops were not engaged in active fighting, but were in garrison, occupying territory or holding defensive positions. Again, in most such cases, military discipline was imposed lightly, and troops mixed with the civilian population and sought opportunities to supplement their wages. Soldiers frequently abused their relative freedom, presenting problems of drunkenness and disorder for the local authorities and provoking violent confrontations with the artisan or peasant communities, but they were not a marginalized underclass. Rhetoric about the violent, godless, and uncouth soldiery did not prevent them being seen by townspeople and peasants as a valuable source of cash income.

While the life of an early modern soldier was far from attractive to all recruits—the massive levels of desertion in armies throughout this period make that evident—it can nonetheless explain why for a significant minority long-term military service could seem an attractive alternative to a harshening economic climate and increasingly uncertain status in civilian society.

### CHANGES IN MILITARY SERVICE, 1650-1780

A number of changes occurred in the nature of military service from the mid-seventeenth century, and these had a substantial impact on the character of recruitment and army life. Reliance on voluntary enlistment down to the later decades of the seventeenth century had been in part assisted by the worsening economic prospects for the great majority of the rural and urban poor. It had also been helped by the relatively small size of armies in proportion to the populations of the larger European states. Though, for example, a significant number of males may have had a brief experience of military service during four decades of French military activity from 1620 to 1660, at any one time an army of seventy to eighty thousand troops represented a low military participation rate for a state with a population of eighteen to nineteen million. From the 1670s to the 1680s this situation changed. While first-rank European powers with substantial human resources like France and Russia were maintaining military establishments by the early eighteenth century of 250,000 to 350,000 troops, even states like Britain, Holland, and Spain, whose resources would place them in the second division of European powers, were raising armies of over 100,000 men.

In some cases this demand for soldiers was considered too great to rely exclusively on voluntary enlistment. In France, conscript local militias were used from the 1680s in order to supply, none too effectively, the demand for regular soldiers. More successfully, in return for upholding and reinforcing the privileges of serfdom, the tsarist regime in Russia persuaded its local elites to accept the conscription of a proportion of peasants for permanent military service. A similar, slightly more humane mechanism based on part-time compulsory service (the cantonal system) allowed the second-rank Prussian state to maintain a peacetime army of 83,000 by 1740. Elsewhere conscription was still regarded with suspicion, but the only way that substantially larger forces could be raised on the basis of voluntary recruitment was to ensure that a higher proportion of the troops stayed in service for significant periods of time. Recruiters would quickly scrape the bottom of the barrel if several hundred thousand new troops needed to be found for shortterm service each year.

The establishment of these permanent armies changed the life of the soldier. Wage rates for common soldiers did not improve, but into the eighteenth century and across much of Europe, the assumption that soldiers should receive no more than a recruitment bonus and some subsistence money was supplanted by regular payment made in accordance with formal accounts. Regular wages were part of an implicit contract; in return for pay, more rigorous standards of discipline could be demanded and soldiering could be turned from a part-time into a full-time occupation, whether outside of the campaign season or in peacetime. All of the operations concerned with recruitment, equipment, and details of service were formalized through military bureaucracies, which grew more elaborate and orderly in their record keeping. Uniforms were standardized, in part to discourage desertion, but more importantly to impose a disciplined culture that sought to eliminate individuality from military service.

Some aspects of this new ethos were perceived in negative terms. A determined attempt in many states to separate soldiers from civilian life was most evident in the construction of barracks. Soldiers were less likely to be billeted on civilians and were deliberately separated from the outside world, subject to pervasive military discipline backed by a heavy emphasis on drill and military duties. Administrators believed that sequestering soldiers in barracks reduced the incidence of disorder. It certainly created a deeper gulf between soldiers and civilians and contributed to the perception of the soldiery as a marginalized class, not apparent before the midseventeenth century. Penalties applied under military discipline were not necessarily harsher, but they were more systematic. Failure in the precise performance of drill, especially by experienced troops, was regularly punished in the armies of the eighteenth century, whereas such punishment had been haphazard before 1650.

A more positive consequence of permanent military establishments was a recognition that soldiers were more likely to continue to serve if they had some assurance of being supported in old age or disability. The Hôtel des Invalides, founded in 1670 on the outskirts of Paris, was the first of many hospitals for military veterans. The practice was not universally followed; Prussia was notoriously slow to acknowledge any obligation to old or wounded sol-

diers, but such a policy was increasingly out of step with other European powers by the mid-eighteenth century. There was also a readiness to try to appoint noncommissioned officers on the basis of deserving, lengthy service. Commanders or rulers like Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740-1786) resisted the automatic distribution of the posts of sergeant and below to clients of unit officers, seeking to build a promotional structure at this level that would reward merit. And while soldiers were more isolated from civilian society, the uniforms, rituals, and distinctive identities of units increased in importance. The great majority of regiments in the period before 1660 could never have acted as a focus for loyalty since they enjoyed only a short-term existence, three to five campaigns being a decent life expectancy. A permanent army created a mass of permanent units, whether recruited from specific localities or associated with a particular aristocratic family. The relationship of ordinary soldiers to their units is usually ambiguous: the regiment imposes burdensome duties and harsh discipline, but it is also the source of group identity, loyalty, and rivalry with other units. Although increasingly deracinated from civilian society, soldiers possessed a pride and strong sense of esprit de corps through the identity of their units that would earlier have been the possession of only a few elite formations.

#### THE EARLY MODERN OFFICER CORPS

The transformation from an army where the great majority of units were short-term creations into one dominated by permanent regiments also had an impact on the European officer corps. For many nobles and other wealthy individuals in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, military service involved paying to recruit a cavalry or infantry unit, assuming the command and filling the junior officerships with clients or relatives. Training or experience was irrelevant to this financial transaction. To a large extent, the experience was less a permanent step into military life than a rite of passage allowing a noble to validate social status through a campaign or two of military service, and a wealthy bourgeois or recently ennobled figure to engage in an appropriately "noble" activity. Some regimental proprietors saw the opportunities of warfare in more directly commercial terms and sought to create a unit of experienced soldiers with a high market value. But the majority of unit commanders were temporary officers, and the state made little attempt to retain them in service once their units lost military effectiveness through casualties, disease, or desertion. Insofar as the question of officer training was addressed in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century armies, it was assumed that the habits of command and authority possessed by a ruling elite would be sufficient to provide leadership. The most obvious role of the unit proprietor was to advance his own financial resources to meet shortfalls in supply and funding that would otherwise threaten the dissolution of the troops.

Developments in the character of weaponry and tactics, however, challenged the notion that the officer corps could successfully be based upon shortserving amateurs, filling the subordinate ranks of the company or regimental hierarchy with their clients. As more units gained a permanent status, it was possible to modify in certain respects the ethos of the officer corps. This in no sense excluded the nobleman or the wealthy, or the role of influence and birth in securing posts and promotion. Officerships in permanent units in most states were bought and sold, the system usually operating within the officer corps as a combination of entrance fee and pension provision. While the state and its military administrators might, sometimes grudgingly, accept the principle of purchase, now that far more units were permanent it was also feasible to expect rudimentary training for many of the officers, whether through service as cadets in a prestige unit or even through institutions such as the military colleges that were emerging in the eighteenth century. The efficacy of this training may be questioned; in practice the day-to-day business of running a regiment would be handled by longerserving junior or noncommissioned officers. But as expectations of the length of officer service increased in the eighteenth century, so inevitably did the level of basic military education and experience at all ranks. Permanent military service was a feature of most nobilities in central and eastern Europe, but even in the west those nobles and wealthy commoners who became officers did so with the expectation that this was a career choice. To say that the officer corps became more professional, in all but specialized branches like the artillery and engineers, would be an exaggeration. It did, however, adapt itself to the demands and requirements of a permanent military institution and contributed substantially to its distinctive identity.

See also Absolutism; Class, Status, and Order; Grimmelshausen, H. J. C. von; State and Bureaucracy; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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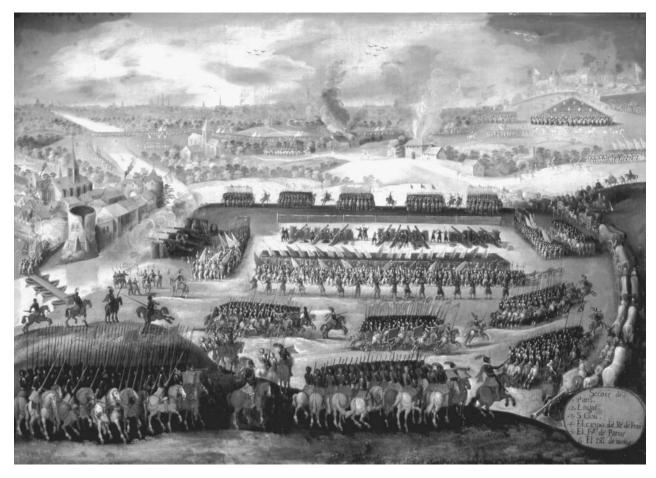
# BATTLE TACTICS AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Accounts of military developments and events of the period 1450–1780 leave confusion about how these centuries should be interpreted. Was this a period of decisive or indecisive warfare? Was it shaped by pitched battles or by protracted maneuvers punctuated by interminable sieges? Were armies effective instruments of state power and ambition, or clumsy and unreliable consortia of private interests?

A crude model of military development views this period as characterized by the successive domination and decline of armored cavalry, massed infantry armed with pikes and cutting weapons, and infantry equipped with firearms and deployed in linear formations supported by more effective artillery. According to this interpretation, military decisiveness resulted from the mismatch between a fighting force making use of outmoded techniques and one employing newer tactics or weaponry. Thus

the annihilation of the Burgundian heavy cavalry at the battles of Grandson, Morat, and Nancy in 1476–1477 inaugurated the era of the pike square as a battle-winning tactic. But in turn the battles of the early sixteenth century in Italy indicated another mismatch, this time the result of improvements in firearms and their deployment. The success of infantry armed with harquebuses or muskets, supported by blocks of pikemen, consolidated the supremacy of the defensive. A period of military stagnation is then taken to follow, lasting through most of the sixteenth century. Although innovations linked to notions of a "military revolution," particularly those identified with the Swedish army, seemed to combine enhanced firepower with successful assault tactics, this was no permanent solution, and commanders continued to avoid battles, with their likelihood of indecisive and costly outcomes. Instead, conflict was increasingly characterized by sieges, in which numerical superiority and grinding attrition could at least yield up a visible outcome in the form of a city or fortress captured. Thereafter, apart from the occasional meteoric figure combining generalship and tactical creativity—an Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne de Turenne (1611–1675); a John Churchill, duke of Marlborough (1650–1711); or a Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736)—the pattern was set for the remainder of the period. The most significant military development of Louis XIV's personal reign (1661–1715) was Marshal Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban's construction of the pré carré, the massive series of fortifications along France's eastern frontier. Only commanders confident of greatly superior numbers or desperate in the face of territorial occupation (Frederick II of Prussia during the Seven Years' War, 1756–1763, for example), or confronted by an imminent political-strategic crisis would be prepared to hazard battle.

Such an account simplifies a more complex reality. If the defeat of the Burgundian chivalry in 1476–1477 raised the prestige of the Swiss pike-square to unprecedented heights, it did not bring to an end the importance of heavy cavalry on the battlefield. A massed cavalry charge still represented a fearsome prospect to all but the most hardened of veteran infantry. Warfare in eastern Europe, which put far greater premiums on mobility and surprise, continued to be dominated by the use of massed cavalry in battle. Polish victories at Kirchholm



Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy. The Siege of Paris, sixteenth-century painting by Rodrigo of Holland. This painting illustrates in particular the use of canon by Spanish troops attempting to take the city of Paris. Real Monasterio de El Escorial, El Escorial, Spain/Bridgeman Art Library

(1605) and Honigfelde (1629) against Swedish armies were a clear vindication of traditional cavalry tactics. More generally, the combination of cavalry and artillery was recognized as one of the few ways to break infantry formations. The cavalry's use of firearms, mostly flintlock pistols, has been treated as a tactical wrong turn, depriving them of their one real asset, mass and momentum. Yet pistoleer tactics transformed the most common form of cavalry combat, an engagement with other cavalry. The superiority of medium-weight cavalry armed with pistols against traditional heavily armored lancers had two important consequences. Expensive heavy cavalry was increasingly replaced by more numerous medium and light horsemen in armies of the later sixteenth century, while lighter cavalry troopers enjoyed improved range and maneuverability. When the infantry centers of two armies on the battlefield fought each other to a standstill, a decisive opportunity went to the commander whose cavalry could break the opposing horse on the wings, regroup, and then advance against the flank or rear of the infantry center. Rocroi (1643) provided an example of this maneuver, triumphantly achieved by the French cavalry, turning the battle decisively against the Spanish.

Changing technology and organization led to a more complex interplay of different types of troops and forced commanders to be alert to ways of deploying and combining their forces. While infantry firepower could not be ignored, neither could emphasis on mass and cohesion. Far from leading to an immediate thinning out of infantry lines and a reduction in the size of units, wider use of firearms was followed by numerous experiments seeking ways to deploy more firepower without sacrificing

the weight and strength that came from large, independent units. The most successful trade-off in the seventeenth century was probably the Spanish *tercio*, an infantry unit that started at three thousand men but was progressively reduced to around half that size by the 1620s.

Commanders were aware of the potential of artillery, though the practical problems of its use for most of the period before 1660 were immense. The majority of cannon, interchangeable from siege use, fired shot weighing six pounds or above. Such guns, especially if made of cast iron, were heavy, often poorly mounted, and cumbersome. Ensuring supplies of munitions was a constant problem, as was maintaining adequate teams of draft animals. Reckless disregard for carefully prepared artillery positions, especially those that would allow cannon to enfilade the flanks of an infantry or cavalry advance, could prove costly. But most commanders would be reluctant to order their troops to assault such carefully prepared positions, just as they would seek to avoid storming a well-defended set of fortifications. The use of smaller, lighter cannon was attempted, notably by Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden, who experimented with three-pounder guns in the 1620s. But the lighter shot sacrificed both accuracy and penetrative power. The Swedes sought to compensate by increasing the number of cannon; in 1639 a typical Swedish campaign army of eighteen thousand men included eighty guns. But other states proved reluctant to trade heavier, less maneuverable guns for this Swedish-style light artillery, and the post-1660 period vindicated the use of field artillery firing heavier shot. Even in the conduct of sieges artillery bombardment rarely proved to be the decisive factor in forcing a capitulation. If fortifications were taken by gunpowder, it was as likely to be the result of a successfully laid mine as of a bombardment. Much more often the besieged would capitulate with the walls intact because of shortage of supplies or recognition that relief would not arrive.

# **FACTORS IN MILITARY SUCCESS**

This complex reality did not preclude the possibility of decisive success in battle. It would be hard to imagine a more conclusive encounter than Pavia in 1525, which led to the capture of the French king, Francis I, and destroyed his army. Reasons for suc-

cess are those common to most periods: numerical superiority at key points and moments on the field, tactical surprise, and the ability to persuade an enemy to assault forces in carefully prepared positions. The number and quality of experienced troops serving in a campaign force and their esprit de corps were significant factors. Commanders who could show leadership in the face of hardships and setbacks could be important, as were those, like the Spanish commanders Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453–1515) and Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma (1545–1592), who possessed a sophisticated grasp of how best to combine the different troops and weaponry at their disposal.

A much greater problem was how to translate success in a specific battle, or even an entire campaign, into a favorable settlement to a war. The single greatest obstacle to capitalizing on tactical success throughout the early modern period was logistical. Systems for supplying early modern armies fell far short of the capacity to raise troops. Supply was almost entirely organized through private contractors down to and beyond 1650. These contractors agreed to provision armies in return for haphazard reimbursement from the state. Even if an early modern government proved able to meet its obligations to the contractors, the latter would almost inevitably fail to fulfill their side of the bargain. Supply contracts were rarely calculated with precision: grain prices were unstable; costings for adequate transport facilities, replacement draught animals, enough teamsters, bakers, and ancillary staff were never realistic. Roads were primitive or nonexistent; water was a better and cheaper transport option, but the movement of armies would be severely constrained if they had to be supplied from rivers or waterways. Transportation of bulk supplies was slow, lagging behind the main elements of the army, and the entire force would need to stop one day in four or five to allow the supply convoy to catch up and to give the attached millers and bakers the opportunity to turn grain into bread rations. This would not be sufficient in most circumstances to bring about either a decisive advance to the center of a state or threaten the possibility of occupation with overwhelming force. During the sixteenth century the most awe-inspiring aspect of the Ottoman armies was not their vast size or the training and commitment of their elite troops, but Ottoman

logistics, incomparably more advanced and more capable of supporting the rapid movement of the armies than anything in Christian Europe. Yet even at the height of its power, with the 1529 advance into the Habsburg lands, the Ottoman army only reached Vienna at the end of September, and it fell back in disorder during late October. What the Ottomans could not achieve was certainly beyond the capacity of other European forces.

Theorists examining logistical systems for the support of armies have consistently contrasted supply via magazines and convoys with the flexibility of "living off the land"—with rapidly moving forces, able to acquire the food and forage they needed by requisitioning or pillage. Here again, the early modern army was handicapped. Throughout most of Europe armies operated amid relatively low densities of population, sustained by primitive, low-yield agriculture. Armies could be self-sustaining, but only if they spread themselves out thinly over substantial territories. A concentrated advance into territory where supply potential was not assured or had been deliberately destroyed would be suicidal for military effectiveness.

Some wars were won rapidly in this period despite this apparently insuperable problem of supply. When the armies of Philip II invaded Portugal in support of his claim to the Portuguese throne in 1580, the resources of the great Spanish monarchy were thrown into a struggle with a small independent state, and one whose army had been destroyed two years before in the quixotic crusade that had also left the young King Sebastian dead on the Moroccan battlefield of El-Ksar-el-Kebir. In 1643 the Swedish war machine was turned against Denmark, whose army had been humiliated by imperial and Bavarian forces in the 1620s. In two campaigns the Swedes crushed Danish forces and imposed a harsh peace at Brömsebro (1645). In other cases, the military forces may have been more evenly matched, but one power was already in political disarray and military defeat served as a catalyst for disintegration. The collapse of the Bohemian rebellion against their Habsburg monarch followed the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. The forces engaged in the battle were more evenly matched than is frequently assumed, but the defeat of the Protestants provoked the collapse of a regime in which political tensions and fault lines were everywhere apparent.

If some wars were won as the result of a decisive military encounter acting upon a state with a weakened political structure, others were finally resolved by attrition. One option, favored by belligerents in the Thirty Years' War, was simple territorial occupation. An army that could establish itself on enemy territory, even if it could not concentrate its resources for a knockout blow, could raise the stakes for continuing a war to an unacceptable level. Swedish forces devastated occupied Bavaria in 1646 and 1648 in successful bids to force Duke Maximilian I out of the Thirty Years' War. Another possibility for extracting a settlement was linked to siege warfare. The resistance of most besieged cities reflected garrisons' calculations about the chances of being relieved. A power that could combine sieges with a clear-cut military superiority in the field might provoke an avalanche of capitulations, leading an opponent to a rapid reevaluation of the struggle. The duke of Parma's advance into the Netherlands after 1578 produced waves of surrenders of cities and brought the Dutch rebels to the point of capitulation by the later 1580s, from which they were only saved by Spain's shift in military and political priorities.

#### **CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES AFTER 1660**

Lessons from the examples above indicate that small wars were more likely to produce decisive results than the extended, campaign-after-campaign struggles like the Italian Wars of the first half of the sixteenth century or the Thirty Years' War; predictably, wars that pitched territories with a significant disparity of military resources against each other were also likely to produce clear-cut outcomes. One of the problems of great power struggles down to 1650 was that the scale of military engagements was dwarfed by the available human and material resources of the states. The "cutting edge" of armies, the proportion of troops likely to be drawn into battle, was relatively small in comparison with the total military establishment and minuscule in proportion to the overall size of the population of the belligerent state. When a major campaign army totaled perhaps fifteen thousand men, then even the most annihilating defeat in battle would not strain the wider military resources of the state to the



Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy. This map was first issued at the time of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), and dedicated to Charles III, the archduke of Austria and Habsburg claimant to the Spanish throne. The illustration shows an army boarding an invasion fleet, presumably under Charles's command. The map was reissued by Covens and Mortier c. 1725, now dedicated to Philip V, the French Bourbon claimant who had succeeded to the Spanish crown in 1714. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

breaking point. The loss of experienced veterans could be more serious, but even this does not appear to have impeded most major states from continuing a struggle.

From the later seventeenth century, overall military establishments increased exponentially, and the average size of individual campaign armies also doubled, tripled, or even quadrupled. Losing a battle had a much greater impact on the overall military establishment; and more importantly, because these establishments now represented a significant proportion of the adult male population of even a major state, the losses were far harder to make good. The

most telling example of this is provided by Brandenburg-Prussia in the wars of the mid-eighteenth century. A state with a population of perhaps 3.5 million was trying to sustain a permanent army of 80,000 troops, increased to 140,000 or more during the Seven Years' War, some 25 percent of all adult males. Heavy losses of dead, wounded, and prisoners were simply unsustainable by a state of this size engaged in military activity on this scale.

If armies were substantially larger in proportion to the populations, then losses were compounded by tactical and technological developments that were making battles and sieges considerably more

1 7 8 9

lethal. Changes in infantry firearms—to the flint-lock musket with an attached ring bayonet—considerably increased the impact of firepower on the battlefield itself, as well as the casualties likely to be suffered by both attackers and defenders, victors and defeated. Developments in artillery added to this lethal transformation. Gun crews were better trained and the mobility of artillery steadily increased. Above all, there was a massive proliferation in the number of guns deployed on the battlefield; the Prussian and Austrian armies of the Seven Years' War were maintaining artillery trains of three to four hundred cannon.

The result of these developments in killing power became evident from early in the eighteenth century. At Malplaquet in 1709 the victorious allied army suffered losses of around twenty thousand from an army of eighty-five thousand, while a year earlier at the siege of the city and citadel of Lille, the besieging allies had suffered fourteen thousand casualties. When losses on this scale were sustained by a defeated power whose resources were overstretched, the results were catastrophic; the defeat of the Swedish army by the Russians of Peter the Great at Poltava (1709) was followed by Russian conquest of Sweden's gravely weakened eastern Baltic territories.

Yet even in this environment, it is noteworthy that the upward curve of military commitment and casualties still did not always produce the seemingly inevitable result for a state locked in struggle with a greater power or a more numerous coalition. If the "miracle of the House of Brandenburg" in the eighteenth century is the paradigm of survival against the odds, no less striking was the ability of France to hold out for a favorable peace in the War of the Spanish Succession after the allied victories down to 1709 had seemingly brought the monarchy to the breaking point. In part these outcomes reflected chance and circumstance; the obvious point about all military coalitions is the fragility of the interests that bind them together, and both France and Prussia were ultimately saved by divisions among their enemies. Yet behind the diplomatic rifts and divisions it is possible to detect the perennial problems of logistics, slow-moving troops, and short campaign seasons. A few eighteenth-century armies provide cases in which the normal constraints were overturned: Marlborough's march from the Spanish Netherlands down into Bavaria in 1704, keeping his army intact, well-supplied, and capable of winning a crushing victory over the Franco-Bavarian forces at Blenheim, provides a notable example of how efficient stockpiling and a commissariat with plenty of cash in hand to buy local provisions could overcome the risks of a long march into hostile territory. Two years later, Marlborough's victory at Ramillies, fought at the outset of the campaign, allowed him to drive the French out of the Spanish Netherlands before the end of 1706.

Yet for the most part slow-moving armies, commanded by generals who remained exceptionally and probably correctly—nervous about supplying their men from requisitioning in the field, faced immense obstacles to gaining outright military success. Sophisticated fortifications proliferated throughout the century from 1660 to 1760, threatening supply lines and communications of armies attempting to bypass them. But a lengthy series of sieges was the surest way of slowing any military advance until the approaching end of the campaign offered the possibility of regrouping the defense. Any lengthy siege exacted a heavy cost on the besieging forces, destroying their capacity to return to effective campaigning in the field. Thus although wars exacted a heavy toll on armies from the 1690s onwards, it is far from clear that this resulted in more decisive resolutions to conflict, or that wars in general became a more effective method of resolving political competition.

See also Absolutism; Engineering: Military; Firearms.

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DAVID PARROTT

# EARLY MODERN MILITARY THEORY

A number of strategic, tactical and organizational issues preoccupied military theorists from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries and had considerable impact on the way in which wars were fought and conflict envisaged within a political and social context.

# CITIZENS VS. PROFESSIONALS

The debate over the use of citizen versus professional soldiers, which preoccupied theorists throughout the early modern period, was initially stimulated by consideration of republican government and focused on the merits of citizen militias against mercenaries. For Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), councillor to the Florentine Republic after the expulsion of the Medici in 1494, an armed citizenry was desirable on both practical and

moral grounds. Machiavelli's practical case rested on systematic denigration of the effectiveness of mercenary forces, creating a potent mythology that survives to this day. The moral argument rested on the conviction that participatory republicanism was the best means of transcending the human pursuit of self-interest, and that military service for all citizens would instill communal values and civic virtue. Despite challenges to these arguments—notably the rout of Machiavelli's own Florentine militia in the face of Spanish mercenaries at Prato in 1512 the ideal of a citizen militia enjoyed wide currency. Almost all military writers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries made reference to the potential advantages of raising, drilling, and deploying citizens, even as the major European states filled the ranks of their armies with mercenaries.

As mercenaries were in turn incorporated into professional standing armies in the later seventeenth century, the effectiveness of these forces was no longer denied, but critics argued that they underwrote governmental despotism and were a constant incitement to territorial aggression. In Britain the notion of standing armies was regarded as incompatible with representative government, better guaranteed by a county militia officered by the local elites. In other states and for different reasons, militias were being reinvigorated from the later seventeenth century as many rulers sought ways to enlarge the size of their armed forces without crippling the state with the burdens of a vast, professional military establishment. The obvious problem confronted by theorists was how to make such parttime soldiers into an effective force. Jacques de Guibert's Essai général de tactique (1772; Essay concerning tactics) forcefully championed the potential of small, highly motivated citizen armies. The arguments, prefiguring the French "nation in arms" of the Revolutionary wars, were, in a sense, a return to the ideals of Machiavelli. Imbued not with republican virtue but with nationalist fervor, the aggressive élan of citizen soldiers would overcome the narrow professionalism of traditional armies.

For some theorists, especially in the sixteenth century, the debate about the benefits of civic militias was part of a larger attempt to locate military development and innovation within a context of Classical Roman military culture. If a citizen militia was fundamental to the greatness of Republican

Rome, then it was no less desirable to incorporate other aspects of Roman, even Greek, military thinking into current debates about strategy and tactics. The military treatises of Vegetius (fl. 4th century C.E.) and Aelianus (c. 170–235 C.E.) were regularly reprinted from the late fifteenth century on. Classical prescriptions might provide convenient justification for reforms and developments that were actually responses to a more pragmatic reality. Thus the reformer of the Dutch army in the 1590s, Prince Maurice of Orange-Nassau (1567-1625), could base his proposals for more rigorous drilling of his soldiers; smaller, linear formations; and sequential firing of his harquebusiers on prescriptions for the training and deployment of the Roman legionaries. Less plausible when transposed to an early modern context was the hostility of some Roman theorists to permanent fortifications; a disdain for weapons that detracted from direct, hand-to-hand combat; and a strong espousal of the offensive in almost all tactical circumstances.

Application of Roman models to military thinking by early modern Europeans should not be seen in isolation, but as part of an enthusiasm among a humanist-educated elite for almost all aspects of Roman politics, culture, and social organization. The reinvigoration of Stoic philosophy to underpin the military drill and justify the subordination of the individual, as pursued by the Netherlandish political philosopher Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), had a strong following in the early seventeenth century. The recourse to classical models remained commonplace among theorists into the eighteenth century. Jean-Charles de Folard (1669-1752) had no hesitation in using Polybius to justify his own arguments for the deployment of infantry in column rather than in line on the battlefield.

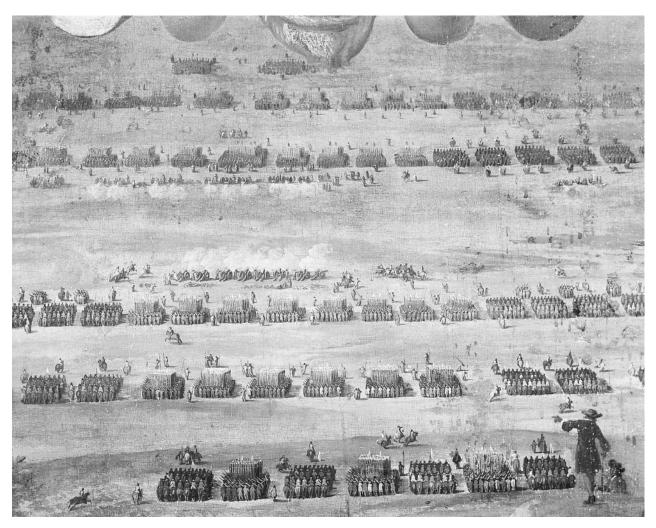
# A MILITARY NOBILITY?

Changes in the character of early modern warfare increasingly defined the military role of the nobility as an officer class rather than as individual specialist warriors. But this evolution raised major questions about noble participation in a much more expensive military role. Poverty, according to many theorists from the late sixteenth century onward, was depriving the traditional nobility of their military birthright, while military specialization and technical expertise were consolidating this exclusion. Suc-

cessive works urged preferential treatment for the lesser nobility in military posts. For the French theorist Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), the old French nobles were racially distinct from the rest of the population, conquering Franks rather than indigenous Gauls. More prosaic theorists argued that the social background of nobles habituated them to command and responsibility and therefore made them an optimal, if not a genetic, officer corps. Thus when Frederick the Great (ruled 1740-1786) reduced the Prussian army in peacetime, he purged the officer corps of "common riff-raff," arguing that the nobility's innate sense of honor justified their preferment. But the notion of "reduction" exposes the gap between theory and reality. Few theorists before the 1790s would argue in favor of a non-noble officer corps, an elite of pure merit. Yet the military reality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, compounded by the financial and administrative weaknesses of governments, was a market in officerships making wealth the prime determinant of appointment to a unit command and subsequent promotion. Frustration at an officer corps that appeared to exclude so many of the "natural leaders" was seized upon in the aftermath of military setbacks such as that of the Austrian army in the 1740 war against Prussia and the French defeat at Rossbach in 1757 to justify Prussian-style purges of non-nobles. Proposals for the better training and incorporation of lesser nobles into the armies had, in France, already been advanced by French theorists, most notably the chevalier d'Arc in his Noblesse militaire (1756; A military nobility), and this was anticipated in 1751 by the foundation of the École Militaire, primarily as a means to ensure that training and cadetships could be offered to nobles of modest background.

#### THEORISTS OF TACTICS AND STRATEGY

Military theorists concerned not with large conceptual issues but with the practical detail of winning wars were essentially a new phenomenon in the eighteenth century. Two centuries earlier there are a few examples of writers who combined memoirs and general observations with some military thinking: in France, François de La Noue's *Discours politiques et militaires* (1587; Political and military discourses) is an obvious example, while Machiavelli's *Arte della guerra* (1521; Art of war) offers much detail on deployment, tactics, and strategy, albeit



Early Modern Military Theory. A seventeenth-century painting of the Battle of Rocroi shows massed squares of soldiers with pikes and firearms. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

within a framework of Roman examples. Much of the writing of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, most notably the extensive works of Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen and Jacob de Gheyn, is concerned with the disposition and deployment of troops: elaborate guides to creating formations, marching order, and establishing fortified encampments. Indicative of priorities is the general concentration of prescriptive material on sieges rather than field campaigns: a French theorist such as La Valière devotes 15 pages of his Pratique et maximes de la guerre (1675) to deployment of armies on campaign, and 126 pages to the conduct of sieges. Raimondo Montecuccoli's Sulle battaglie (On battles; written between 1639 and 1642 and drawing on his experiences in the Thirty Years'

War), which discusses both battlefield tactics and campaigning based on maneuver, is unusual and looks forward to an epoch in which discussion of tactical theory and the conduct of war was commonplace.

The proliferation of such works in the eighteenth century is perhaps predictable; while there had been significant technological and organizational change in warfare from the late seventeenth century, this did nothing to reduce uncertainty about optimal approaches to battles and campaigning. Should infantry be massed in depth or deployed in line, especially given the growing number and effectiveness of artillery on the battlefield? Jean-Charles de Folard's arguments for the tactical superiority of the column was echoed by French theo-

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rists throughout the century such as Baron François-Jean Mesnil-Durand and Paul-Gedeon Joly de Maizeroy, and a tactical theory stressing shock and the advantage of taking the offensive was not an innovation of the Revolutionary wars. More fundamental were attempts to assess whether improvements in communications, supply systems, and the mobility and training of armies rendered a war of maneuver more or less viable. If Antoine Manasses de Pas, marquis de Feuquières, was relentless in his emphasis on offensive, battle-seeking strategies in his Mémoires sur la guerre (1725; Memoirs concerning warfare), the Les rêveries, ou mémoires sur la guerre (written 1732, published 1756; Reveries on the art of war) of the successful commander Maurice de Saxe offer a more nuanced weighing up of the merits of battle and maneuver in a campaign. Much eighteenth-century theory would reinforce a disposition to avoid the hazard of battle in all but exceptional circumstances. The experience of war in central and eastern Europe and colonial warfare, as in America in the 1770s, generated a series of treatises exploring small-scale conflicts fought between light or irregular troops and emphasizing speed, surprise, and the initiative of relatively junior officers. Faced with the alternatives of massively costly set-piece battles and sieges and large-scale and probably indecisive campaigns of maneuver, theorists such as Lancelot Turpin de Crissé in his Essai sur l'art de la guerre (1754; Essay on the art of war) explored the techniques of partisan or local warfare as a possible means to gain the advantage over traditional, regular forces. This interest in the potential of irregular warfare also revived wider questions of the treatment of civilian and noncombatant populations, likely to change if armies found themselves engaged in warfare against irregulars and partisans. Most theorists were confident that eighteenth-century war had become more restrained and more respectful of the rights of noncombatants. They looked back to the early seventeenth century as a dark age of religious fanaticism and military brutality, while turning a blind eye to contemporary battlefield casualties, indifference to suffering, harsh exactions on civilian populations, and systematic destruction of the supply potential of territory, all of which arouse considerable skepticism about "enlightened warfare" among modern historians. There is plenty of evidence that the techniques and assumptions of Revolutionary and Napoleonic warfare had been anticipated in the writings and theorizing of the preceding decades.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Humanists and Humanism; Lipsius, Justus; Machiavelli, Niccolò.

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DAVID PARROTT

#### **HISTORIOGRAPHY**

The historiography of early modern warfare has been shaped for the last fifty years by debate surrounding the concept of a "military revolution." The attraction of such a thesis for many historians stems, paradoxically, from the extent to which it transcends a purely military perspective and presents warfare as a transforming force, acting upon social and political institutions.

# A MILITARY REVOLUTION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The original argument for a "military revolution" in early modern Europe was presented by a historian of Sweden, Michael Roberts, who started from the proposition that between 1560 and 1660 initiatives in tactics and troop deployment sought to exploit gunpowder weaponry more effectively. Armies identified with these initiatives abandoned the mass and depth of traditional infantry formations. Instead musketeers were deployed in shallow, linear formations that maximized firepower, while interspersed groups of pikemen protected them from attack. Difficulties in controlling and coordinating infantry formations extended in shallow lines led the reformers to adopt smaller, more manageable units. The Dutch "battalion" or Swedish "squadron," models for these reformed armies, typically contained 500-550 men compared to the traditional infantry formation of 1,500-2,000. The risk that smaller units would be swept aside in hand-to-hand engagement with traditional formations was counteracted—notably in the case of the Swedish army under its royal commander, Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611-1632)—by associating them in coordinated and mutually supportive deep deployment, making use of multiple lines to contain enemy assaults and reinforce the units of the front rank. These deployments also permitted the infantry to aspire to that elusive goal of tacticians, combining massed firepower with offensive strength. Interlocking squadrons rendered the Swedish "push of pike" as formidable as traditional, massed infantry formations. If the central concern of the military reformers was with the infantry, cavalry and artillery were not neglected. It was Gustavus Adolphus again who recognized that the main value of cavalry lay in shock and mass, not in complex maneuvers allowing mounted troops to discharge pistols at enemy formations. More numerous, lighter artillery was also to be deployed on the battlefield in close coordination with the other arms, and it was to be used in a continuous supporting role.

These arguments about tactical change would not necessarily have excited wider historical interest.

The key to Roberts's thesis is the claim that new tactics broke a previous stalemate of indecisive, limited warfare. Instead of standoffs and campaigns of maneuver, strategy was now influenced by the possibility of annihilating the enemy in battle and imposing peace from a position of outright military superiority. Strategies changed; rulers and commanders became more ambitious and less compromising in waging war. But these grander strategies could only be achieved by larger armies. If war was now more decisive and fought for higher stakes, it was essential to increase the number of troops in the campaign, whether to provide numerical superiority in battle, to ensure that successes could be followed up, or to contain defeats. In the aftermath of the victory at Breitenfeld (1631) Roberts describes a Swedish army swollen by recruitment to 175,000 men and undertaking a vast strategy to remodel the religious and political structures of the Holy Roman Empire. If these larger armies were to adopt the tactical innovations that provided overwhelming battlefield advantages, they needed more rigorous systems of drill and discipline. Soldiers were to be drilled in use of weapons and group maneuvers by constant practice at the hands of trained noncommissioned and subaltern officers. This could not be achieved by raw recruits overnight; a progressively higher proportion of armies had to serve permanently.

Larger and more permanent armies needed to be paid for, and they needed to be recruited, maintained, and controlled more effectively. European rulers had traditionally raised armies through ad hoc mechanisms that were partly feudal and partly contractual but respected the social and political structures of their states. Local elites contributed their organizational and financial resources to raising troops in return for the right to command and control them. But as the size of armies was ratcheted upwards, only a central administration could absorb the burden of mass recruitment, and only a centralized and more powerful financial administration could sustain the costs of warfare on this new scale. Once this more sophisticated administration was put in place—and backed by a considerably larger permanent army—the coercive potential of the state increased exponentially. If ordinary subjects resented paying ever higher taxes, and local elites objected to systems of centralized control that excluded them from power, the state now had the strength to sweep both aside.

A permanent army implied an increasingly professional officer corps. While some officerships would continue to be occupied by the traditional nobility, others, notably in the artillery or the bulk of the infantry, were open to the sons of new nobles or bourgeois, according to talent. Such officers acquired not just paid employment but social prestige in a society whose financial and administrative raison d'être became the maintenance of permanent armed forces. This process of militarization reached down into society as the struggle to maintain larger permanent forces could be resolved only through systems of conscription. The political, administrative, and social consequences of "military revolution" appeared momentous: changes in the character of warfare were to sweep away a traditional political culture dominated by the bonds of locality and social hierarchy, replacing them with the centralized modern state, existing for and underpinned by the military.

#### HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DIVERGENCES

Michael Roberts's skillful linking of changes on the battlefield with some of the most fundamental political and social transformations in European history has ensured that his thesis has enjoyed great influence. It has not, however, passed without criticism, and revisionism since the 1980s has taken issue with almost every aspect of the "military revolution."

Chronological problems. It is questionable whether a "revolution" in military affairs spread over a full century has any real meaning. Other changes that fundamentally altered the nature of warfare—the breech-loading rifle, the machine gun, the ironclad warship—had a notably more rapid and specific impact than the tactical evolution described by Roberts. And precisely because of the indeterminacy of this evolution, historians have argued that even the century from 1560 to 1660 is a truncation of a more extensive process.

If the driving force behind military change is taken to be the emergence and development of more effective gunpowder weapons, then a starting date of 1560 appears arbitrary, indeed incomprehensible. If there was a "gunpowder revolution" in European warfare, it lay in the decades between

1450 and 1530. Technologically, the long period that follows is marked by little change in either artillery or infantry firearms. The development of better and much cheaper gunpowder had been a feature of the later fifteenth century, as had credible cast-iron artillery. Conversely, the crude technology, poor range, and inaccuracy of the matchlock infantry firearm remained little changed between the early sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries.

In the matter of infantry tactics, European commanders and theorists were wrestling with problems of combining infantry firearms and thrusting weapons throughout the sixteenth century, and here again, a number of historians have pointed out the fallacy of attributing dramatic success to a particular sequence of practitioners within a circumscribed chronology. Geoffrey Parker has emphasized that Spanish armies from the early sixteenth century onward were the most innovative in their experiments to try to combine infantry firearms, defensive capacity, and offensive mass in their infantry units.

If doubt has been cast upon a series of military changes claimed to start in 1560, historians have also questioned the end date of 1660. Indeed Jeremy Black has contrasted the stagnation of the century down to 1660 with the radical tactical and organizational changes occurring in the following century. The development of the ring bayonet finally permitted the phasing out of the pike in favor of infantry units entirely equipped with firearms and possessing their own defensive capability. The introduction of cartridges, which prepackaged shot and a charge of powder, and the mass production of a reliable flintlock musket, were equally important. The musket was no longer fired by means of a separate length of smoldering match, and infantry could be packed into a genuinely close order. All of these changes ensured that the killing power of infantry was dramatically increased, opening the way to a further reduction of the depth of formations, which by the 1740s-1750s were deployed in the three ranks that remained typical up to and beyond the Napoleonic Wars.

Whereas there is ambiguity about the growth in troop numbers during the century of the military revolution (see below), there is none for the period after 1660. By the 1690s France was maintaining around 340,000 troops in combat, and a battle such

as Steenkirk (1692) set 57,000 French troops against 70,000 allies. The scale of warfare after 1660 moves into a league that was entirely unprecedented and would remain relatively constant until the wars following 1792.

If the original chronology of 1560-1660 looks too extensive for claims to a "revolution" in warfare, subsequent historians have thus added to the problem. One response, proposed by a historian of Poland, Robert Frost, is to argue that there was no single military revolution, but a plethora of separate military revolutions, separated both chronologically and by the military needs and cultures of different European nations; what might be deemed obsolete on the battlefields of the Spanish Netherlands—the massed cavalry charge, for example—remained central to tactics in eastern Europe. Another approach, advanced by an historian of medieval warfare, Clifford Rogers, questions whether "revolution" is an appropriate concept for understanding a process such as military change. Rogers proposes an alternative model, derived from the theory of "punctuated equilibrium" in evolutionary biology, in which rapid technological and organizational changes in warfare may provide short-term advantages but are then either absorbed by all those involved in warfare or neutralized by specific counter-developments, after which the military system once again assumes a modified equilibrium.

Conceptual issues. An early and major challenge to Michael Roberts's thesis was offered by Geoffrey Parker, who questioned whether the battlefield was the appropriate locus for the military transformation of early modern Europe. He suggested instead that the discussion had neglected the more fundamental role of siege warfare. Developments in artillery rendered obsolete traditional medieval fortifications based on tall curtain walls. Early experiences of this vulnerability stimulated experiments with systems of fortification, the so-called trace italienne, which relied upon low-lying, earth-packed walls, whose faces were defended by triangular, projecting bastions from which defending artillery and muskets could sweep the approaches. The result of this development was stalemate; it became almost impossible to take these fortifications by bombardment, and sieges became drawn-out blockades. Yet commanders, justifiably doubting the capacity of troops to make decisive progress in a field campaign, seized

upon the capture of fortresses or fortified cities as strategic targets. Such sieges required ever increasing numbers of troops, both to secure the blockade and to make good the losses from wounds, disease, and desertion. European warfare and all of its political and social consequences were determined by attritional sieges, not by tactical and strategic revolution.

Examination of warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries raises more questions about the "military revolution." The significance of firearms in a period of matchlock muskets and unstandardized and cumbersome artillery can easily be overestimated. Commanders and theorists who continued to favor mass and cohesion in infantry tactics were not necessarily anachronistic. Historians have drawn attention to the persistence of debates about infantry deployment up to the end of the eighteenth century, indicating that claims to have achieved a tactical panacea in the early seventeenth century look premature. The Battle of Nördlingen (1634) has become a touchstone for skeptics. Not only was this one of the two or three most decisive battles of the Thirty Years' War, but it saw the annihilation, at the hands of traditional Spanish and imperial forces, of the Swedish army that was heir to the tactical and strategic principles of Gustavus Adolphus. The frequency of military success by armies that were not identified as the originators or sponsors of military change gives cause for reflection. One conclusion from the experience of battle is that a key factor in success was the presence of veteran troops. Armies able to maintain significant numbers of long-serving troops, regardless of tactical deployment, were likely to gain the advantage, whether in battle or in protracted siege warfare. When forces with significant numbers of veterans in their ranks encountered each other, the outcome would tend to be bloody and indecisive, unless one force, as with the Swedes at Nördlingen, made a major tactical error.

The next stage of the argument, that tactical success could lead to a widening of strategic vision, has also been scrutinized. The missing factor here, critics have maintained, is logistics. Ambitious warwinning strategies may require the defeat of the enemy, but this will only be achieved if armies can be fed and supplied. It is clear that systems of supply, transportation, and distribution were inadequate

throughout the period down to 1660 to sustain large-scale strategies. By prioritizing supply over strategic goals, small armies might extract subsistence locally, but such forces were ill adapted to winning wars. A picture of massive armies destroying opposing forces through their tactical superiority and then rolling forward onto enemy territory simply ignores the insuperable contemporary problems of supply.

Other conceptual criticisms of the "military revolution" take issue with those features that nonmilitary historians have always found most compelling. The increasing size of armies—for whatever reason—is assumed to be the catalyst for the developing fiscal and administrative mechanisms of the state. But here a number of historians have raised questions about the actual scale of military increase in the period up to 1660. Armies of twenty to thirty thousand were attained by states waging war before 1500. The total military establishments of the great powers moved up toward forty to fifty thousand by the 1540s-1550s, and this appears to have marked a plateau of military effort. Alone among the European states, the Spanish monarchy of Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) may have maintained seventy to eighty thousand men by the 1580s. No other power was capable of rivaling an establishment on this scale, and it was not until the Thirty Years' War that some of the belligerents could claim that their total forces surpassed this. And if the imperial army under the generalship of Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583– 1634) could claim to have over 100,000 men under arms, and Gustavus Adolphus was reported briefly to have had as many as 175,000 men, other military establishments—including the imperial and the Swedish for most of the war—remained well below 100,000 men. Despite traditional claims for an army of 150,000, the reality of the French war effort during the 1630s and 1640s is nearer half that number. Moreover a contrast between the total military establishments of the belligerents and the actual size of campaign armies is still more revealing. To all intents the maximum force that could operate in a campaign theater remained at thirty thousand until the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Most of the specific campaigns and battles of the Thirty Years' War took place with far fewer troops on either side; engagements with more than twenty thousand combatants in each army were rare. This

was no larger than the battles of the Italian wars, a century earlier.

These less impressive increases in numbers raise obvious questions about a necessary transformation of the fiscal and administrative mechanisms of the state. The questions are reinforced by recognition that increases in the size of armies did not require a growth in centralizing state power. The disparity between overall military establishments and the modest "cutting edge" of the campaign armies in the Thirty Years' War hints at a more fundamental issue. Military expansion from the 1520s was largely met by contracting out responsibility for the recruitment and maintenance of soldiers. By 1558 a French military establishment of around fifty thousand troops was composed of 70 percent foreign mercenaries.

Although large-scale mercenary contracts initially implied only administrative decentralization, from the later sixteenth century and the Thirty Years' War they were also fueled by fiscal delegation. Mercenary contractors would reimburse themselves through "contributions," war taxes extracted under direct threat of military force. Bigger armies did not mean more extensive central state structures; bigger armies in fact came into being to facilitate the extraction of contributions and other forms of plunder and extortion. Far from being synonymous with the growth of absolute monarchies and centralized administrations, war encouraged a retreat by the state from many of its essential functions. Even where states had retained some degree of control over government or fiscality, the tendency was not to tighten this, but to market it. Desperate for cash to maintain those parts of the war effort that still fell under their responsibility, governments such as that of France under Cardinals Richelieu (in power 1624–1642) and Mazarin (in power 1643–1661) launched into an orgy of short-term fiscal expedients, most resulting in the confirmation or multiplication of existing privileges and fiscal exemptions and a huge increase of proprietary office holding.

Such comprehensive skepticism about one of the central planks of the original military revolution thesis, the link between war and state formation, finds support in recent work on early modern absolutism. Traditionally, absolutism was portrayed as the triumph of centralized, bureaucratic structures over societies made up of multiple layers of personal, provincial, and institutional privilege. Revisionist historians have questioned whether it was practical, or in any sense the intention of these regimes, to exclude traditional elites from government and its institutions. Indeed the efficacy of socalled absolutist states in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stemmed, it is argued, not from exclusion of the elites, but from more selfconscious and deliberate collaboration with them. By maintaining or rebuilding close relations with the elites, based upon respect for their fiscal and juridical privileges, and by ensuring that they retained access and promotion within key institutions, notably the army, the European states of the later seventeenth century set the stage for massive military expansion. In both Brandenburg-Prussia and Russia state service, for the most part in the military, was a positive obligation upon the established nobility, though one that offered promotional prospects and status. Elsewhere political and social pressures ensured that the officer corps was dominated by traditional elites. The armies of the eighteenth century were a potent symbol of the power of the state, but this was a direct product of compromises with the privileged. If particular rulers—Peter the Great of Russia (ruled 1682-1725), Charles XII of Sweden (1697-1718), Frederick II of Prussia (1740-1786)—seemed able to obscure this compromise and to deploy their armies and their states' resources in pursuit of untrammeled dynastic ambition, the underlying reality of armies as virtual joint stock companies reasserted itself with regularity throughout the eighteenth century.

These different emphases in studying the relationship between rulers, states, and armies in early modern Europe have done much to strand an unmodified "military revolution" thesis in a historiographical backwater. A productive recent development has been more systematic study of the effects of European military technology and organization beyond the Continent. Historians have given much more attention to the impact of European armies and warfare in non-European contexts. Was there a "Western way of war"? How did the Europeans capitalize on their military advantages in a colonial context? Perhaps most interesting, to what extent did non-European states on their own initiative replicate some of the organizational and technical

changes associated with early modern European warfare? In other cases, how quickly and how effectively did non-European states adopt the characteristics of European warfare, and what impact did this have upon their own political and social organization?

See also Absolutism; Engineering: Military; Firearms; State and Bureaucracy; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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# MILITARY ENGINEERING. See

Engineering: Military.

# MILLENARIANISM. See Apocalypticism.

MILTON, JOHN (1608-1674), English poet. England's epic poet and champion of civil and religious liberties was born in London on 9 December 1608, entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1625, and earned his M.A. in 1632. His conscience prevented him from becoming a clergyman in the Church of England under the repressive Archbishop William Laud, and his talent and his "great taskmaster" (Sonnet 7) led him to poetry, "the inspired guift of God ... of power beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility . . . and set the affections in right tune" (CPW 1:816-817). In 1638–1639 Milton traveled in Europe, met members of the Florentine Academies, visited Galileo Galilei, "a pris[o]ner to the Inquisition" (CPW 2:538), and shipped music books from Venice; but hearing that "my fellow-citizens at home were fighting for liberty" (CPW4.1:619), he returned to

write on behalf of the religious and political reformation of England.

In 1649, after the parliamentary victory, Milton was appointed secretary for foreign tongues by the Council of State and asked to defend the execution of Charles I; he produced *Eikonoklastes* (The imagebreaker), arguing that the king is not above the rule of law. In 1652 he became blind but continued his work for the Commonwealth government, with assistance from Andrew Marvell, who also helped obtain his release from imprisonment after the Restoration.

### PROSE WORKS

Milton's major prose concerns religious, political, and domestic liberty. Five tracts promoting religious reformation appeared in 1641–1642. Of Education (1644) proposes a curriculum "to repair the ruins of our first parents" (CPW 2:366) through biblical and classical works in their original languages and the direct observation of nature and technology. Areopagitica (1644), credited with a part in the founding principles of the American republic, opposes prepublication licensing of books and urges that truth seeking requires the freedom of a well-instructed conscience. Four tracts on marriage and divorce (1643–1645) argue that God instituted marriage for mutual help and companionship in both spiritual and domestic life and that God's laws should be interpreted by the rule of charity. Whether these were motivated in part by the three-year sojourn of his young wife, Mary Powell, with her Royalist parents is disputed. After her return the union produced three daughters and a short-lived son. Four years after Mary's death following childbirth, Milton married Katherine Woodcock, who died three months after the birth of a daughter who also died, and later Elizabeth Minshull, who outlived him.

Numerous tracts against absolute monarchy and against any usurpation of conscience by civil or ecclesiastical powers appeared between 1649 and 1673. Other prose works include academic prolusions, letters, and state papers, a *Christian Doctrine* (authorship of parts disputed), a grammar textbook, *The History of Britain* (1670), and an *Art of Logic* (1672).

#### SHORTER POEMS

In 1645 Milton published his Poems . . . Both English and Latin: masques, odes, hymns, epigrams, elegies, epitaphs, sonnets often praising particular men and women, and metrical translations of Psalms 114 and 136, both songs of liberation. The Poems include a prophetic ode, "On the morning of Christ's Nativity," written in 1629; companion poems on the active and the contemplative life, "L'allegro" and "Il penseroso" (both 1632); and "At a Solemn Musick," in praise of the power of words and music to raise the imagination to the "Song of pure concent" that "we on Earth . . . May rightly answer" as we did before sin "Broke the fair music that all creatures made"—a prelude to Paradise Lost. "Lycidas," a pastoral elegy written in 1637, laments a drowned schoolmate as shepherdpoet and promising pastor and considers hard questions about God's ways. Arcades (1633?) and A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle (sometimes called "Comus"; written in 1634 and published in 1637) concern good government and the right use of nature. The young heroine of A Mask defends chastity against Comus's lures and argues for the just and temperate use of nature's gifts. The Latin poems include elegies and epigrams, two on the Gunpowder Plot of 1605; a revealing verse letter to his father; and a poignant epitaph for his friend Charles Diodati. Milton's Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions (1673) adds others both personal and political. "On the Late Massacre in Piedmont" (1655) is a cry of outrage against violent persecution.

# **MAJOR POEMS**

Paradise Lost was published in ten books in 1667 and twelve in 1674. Rather than a national epic with warrior heroes, Milton wrote an epic of all humanity and the claims of God and Satan, founded on Genesis and incorporating classical allusions, that redefines heroism and merit. Milton raises hard questions—for example, how can liberty be preserved in the face of evil?—and provokes complex responses. Because of its biblical sources, some readers associate the epic with interpretations of the Bible that postcolonial, gender-conscious, and ecologically aware readers reject. But Milton did not accept traditional readings that had been used to support dominion and conquest over nature, women, and peoples. He reorients the Genesis story—to what extent is a matter of debate—toward a more liberal



John Milton. Portrait engraving, 1670. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

and complex understanding of human liberty and responsibility. His rejection of the separability of body and spirit and his interpretation of the Trinity, which portrays the Son not as coequal and coeternal with the Father but as having free will and being exalted by merit, are heretical according to the orthodoxy of his time and are still controversial. Recent scholarship shows that as a monist materialist he believed that all creatures are kindred, created from the same matter derived from God, and that the divine image in men and women, though tragically obscured by the Fall, is, for those who choose regeneration, more fully reparable on earth, as well as in heaven, than orthodox predestinarian and dualistic believers could imagine.

Milton's other major poems came forth in 1671 as *Paradise Regain'd. A Poem. In IV Books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. Paradise Regained* expands the biblical temptations to power and glory (Luke 4:1–13 and Matthew 4:1–11) to include wealth and luxury. It represents the Son of God, fully human though divine, clarifying his understanding of his mission while Satan tests him to find

out who he is and whether he can be foiled. Jesus refuses easy answers, rejects war, power, riches, and philosophies inconsequential to his calling, and stands miraculously on the temple pinnacle by his own balance as well as God's will. Samson Agonistes, though not intended for the stage, is structured as a Greek tragedy, in which encounters with the disordered passions of others provoke Samson's recovery from despair. Some readers see in the blind and exiled Samson, whose story is told in the Book of Judges, correspondences with Milton's own situation. Current critics debate the problem of Samson's violence: Is he a terrorist, a divinely led liberator, or an imperfect type of divine justice that Christ will perfect? Further, does Milton attempt to control his readers or to provoke response and dialogue? His poems engage responsive reading with all the resources of language, including surprising syntax, alternative definitions and allusions, punning etymologies, rich imagery, many-layered metaphor, and prosody that mimes the actions of human and angelic characters and other living things. The music of his language is an inexhaustible delight. He teaches readers to hold complex relations in mind and to imagine polyphonically—as one must do to think responsibly and feel responsively in a complex world. A reading community debating these choices and enjoying these pleasures will learn to perceive the interwovenness of experience and the misuse of power. Milton's epic and dramatic poems do not offer easy answers but help us think creatively and deliberatively about the difficult issues of our own times.

See also English Civil War and Interregnum; English Literature and Language; Laud, William; Puritanism.

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DIANE KELSEY McColley

# MINING AND METALLURGY. See Technology.

MIRACLES. Miracles were a vital feature of Christianity in the early modern period. Issues surrounding the possibility and impossibility of miracles were enthusiastically discussed in many theological, devotional, and scientific works, even as most Europeans actively sought divine intervention when harsh circumstances threatened. In his theological and historical work, The City of God, the fifth-century theologian St. Augustine (354-430) had outlined many of the teachings concerning miracles that were to play an important role in Europe for centuries to come. Augustine had stressed that the greatest of all miracles was the daily re-creation of the earth, sustained and controlled by a benevolent God, who used nature as a mirror to display his power over every aspect of his Creation. In this view, seemingly inexplicable events that occurred in the natural order were not to be feared, but rather to elicit awe as signs of God's dominion. At the same time, The City of God also enthusiastically recounted many wonders the saints had worked in recent years, using these as signs to confirm the truth of orthodox church teachings. These dimensions of Augustine's theology of miracles—his emphasis on nature's wonders and his insistence that the miracles of the saints confirmed the church's truth—continued to exert a powerful influence on the religious piety of the early modern world.

Around 1500, though, it was the miracles of the saints that most often captivated the European imagination. The keeping of records of miracles worked by the saints was a common practice, one whose origins stretched back into late antiquity and found at least partial inspiration in the teachings of Augustine. A vast network of pilgrimage shrines sustained the practice, and the manuscript records that survive from these places reveal that an exchange mentality largely governed Europeans' appeals to the saints. When life's trials threatened, the faithful approached the saints with prayers and vows of pilgrimages and gifts. With their requests granted, pilgrims journeyed to the saint's shrine, often describing their miracle to a scribe, who carefully recorded their testimony. These miracle records were often proclaimed to those who visited these places. By the later fifteenth century, such accounts were increasingly being committed to print and circulated among a broad readership. Church authorities and humanist critics sometimes condemned these

practices, seeing in them an indulgence in forms of magic and barter they believed bordered on idolatry. At the same time, the tens of thousands of miracle records that survive from the period point to the widespread popularity of the practice.

# PROTESTANT ATTACKS

During the sixteenth century, Protestant reformers stepped up criticisms long voiced about the saints and their miracles, unleashing a war against pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in an attempt to rid the European countryside of these practices. In turning to oppose the long-standing popularity of the cult of the saints, Protestants faced several dilemmas. First, they needed to explain the seeming effectiveness of the saints to their sixteenth-century audience. In some cases the reformers accused the medieval clergy of having promoted fraudulent miracles. More often, however, they admitted that the miracles that had long been attributed to the saints were real, but that they had actually been worked by demonic, rather than divine, agency. A second issue involved the role that miracles had played in confirming not only a specific pilgrimage or saint but all church teachings. From the early days of the Reformation, reform-minded preachers and theologians responded that miracles were unnecessary to those who possessed faith, since faith was in and of itself its own self-confirming miracle. Even as they made such a claim, though, most sixteenth-century reformers were anxious to exploit wonders that seemed to confirm their own religious positions. Like Augustine before them, they turned to nature, where they found wonders that confirmed their teachings. The fashion for natural wonders in Protestantism emerged early, beginning even with Martin Luther, who in 1524 exploited a dramatic misbirth in print. Luther treated the appearance of a hideously deformed calf in Saxony, the so-called Monk Calf of Freiberg, as a divine pronouncement on the degenerate state of monasticism and the church. Numerous similar readings of natural miracles followed, and by the later sixteenth century hundreds of short broadsides and pamphlets filled with tales of recent celestial apparitions, earthquakes, floods, and deformed births poured from the presses of Europe. While accounts like these were consumed everywhere, the fascination with reading natural wonders as divine signs was far more pronounced in Protestant than in Catholic regions.

Here, natural wonders came to satisfy the appetites of readers for signs of God's continued intervention in the world, an appetite that early modern Catholics indulged, by contrast, through the miracles of the saints. Even in the generally restrained and often rationalistic climate of John Calvin's Geneva, natural wonders played a role in shaping piety. Although on occasion Calvin held out the possibility that miracles had long since ceased to occur, he endorsed the publication of Luther's treatment of the Monk Calf in Geneva, and in the dedication to his Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536) he insisted that a steady stream of wonders had long confirmed the Reformation message. Thus a curious paradox surrounded miracles in the Protestant tradition. On the one hand, most Protestant commentators insisted that miracles were not necessary to those who possessed a saving faith. On the other hand, wonders-if not full-fledged miracles-were enthusiastically tracked and commented upon and continued to shape piety in Protestant Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

# POLEMIC AND GROWING DISENCHANTMENT

Miracles also entered into the heated religious rivalries of the time. The reformers' attacks of the early sixteenth century had sent pilgrimage and the recording of saintly miracles into a temporary decline in many parts of Europe, but in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these practices experienced a dramatic resurgence. Catholic propagandists enthusiastically promoted the miracles recently worked by their saints or by the Blessed Virgin Mary as a vivid testimony to Roman Catholicism's truth. These renewed efforts sparked bitter confessional rivalries and polemic, prompting the Protestant charge that pilgrimage and the intercession of the saints was nothing more than a form of sorcery. In the overheated disputes of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, miracles of healing, successful exorcisms, and any seeming violation of the natural order might be used alternately by Protestants or Catholics to condemn their opponents. At the same time, the popular demand for miracles of healing persisted particularly in the Catholic countryside and inspired the foundation of numerous new pilgrimage shrines, many of which grew to heights of popularity far beyond any pre-Reformation precedent. While the saints did

not survive in Protestant territories except as vestigial models for piety, the fashion for visiting sites where great miracles had occurred was shared by Protestants and Catholics alike. At the end of the seventeenth century, for example, a spate of miracles involving images of Martin Luther inspired new pilgrimages among Lutherans to his one-time residences. As a result, the reformer's birthplace, Eisleben, was celebrated as Germany's "New Bethlehem" and was sought out by the pious well into the eighteenth century.

Even as the hunger for the wonders persisted, though, new forces were at work that questioned the possibility of God's supernatural intervention in the world. One important development in this regard was the appearance of the doctrine of the cessation of miracles, a teaching pioneered by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?-1536) and endorsed by seventeenth-century Calvinists, alleging that wonders had been necessary only for the foundation of the Christian religion in ancient times. Once Christianity had been successfully established, the Holy Spirit had ceased to work miracles. While this notion did not find general acceptance among most religious thinkers at the time of its appearance, the doctrine pointed to a new skepticism that would eventually result in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment's denials of miracles. The most famous of these appeared in the work of the Scottish empirical philosopher David Hume (1711-1776). In his Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding (1758), Hume argued that miracles were impossible because nature's laws operated according to ironclad regularity and inevitability and could not be violated. A similar debunking spirit pervaded Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary (1752), in which he argued that miracles had functioned throughout Europe's history only to sustain fanaticism and intolerance. Even as these elite attacks on supernatural beliefs flourished, accounts of miracles remained vital to the religious life of the eighteenth century, particularly in the Catholic countryside where the cult of the saints and pilgrimage retained great popularity. At the same time, the attacks of elites were not without an eventual impact. By the later eighteenth century, Europe's Catholic princes often viewed the appetite for miracles as an archaism and many reform efforts focused on weaning people away from the long-standing

customs of pilgrimage and the veneration of the saints.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Hume, David; Reformation, Protestant.

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MISSIONS, PARISH. Parish missions, also called "internal missions," as opposed to foreign missions, were a temporary form of apostolate among Christians. The term refers to selective stays, lasting from a few days to three months, made by missionaries in a parish or a group of parishes with the aim of converting people or deepening their faith. This type of mission has its origins in Christian antiquity and has a long history of revivals.

For example, parish missions were revived in Europe during the evangelization campaigns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in the preachers' movement of the sixteenth century. It was during the 1570-1650 period, at the height of the confrontation between Protestants and Catholics, that these missions achieved their ultimate form of spiritual conquest. They were planned as military campaigns, with systematic logistics and thoughtful methodology, aimed at winning back Protestants and lukewarm Catholics to the Roman Catholic church. Though they declined at the end of the eighteenth century, these missions ad fidele or 'missions to the faithful' were still conducted in the 1960s in countries with a Catholic heritage, such as Italy, France, and Spain.

In the sixteenth century Catholic reformers realized that Roman Christianity had drastically declined in Europe. Not only had many people converted to Protestantism, but many others had embraced superstitions and, in some cases, returned to paganism. Ignorance of the Christian faith was seen as the source of these evils. Internal missions were organized in order to fill these gaps. New missionary orders, such as the Capuchins and the Jesuits, launched missions all over early modern Europe and maintained them for two centuries. Individual churchmen, who worried about the poor state of local clergy and faithful, invited these orders to do missions in their country. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries in Spain, Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros (1436–1517) had sought to restore a "pure" Catholicism that was free from heresy and, above all, from Jewish and Muslim influences. Many means were used to achieve this goal, including internal missions that reformers such as Juan de Avila (1499-1569) and Luis de Granada (1504-1588) promoted actively in the regions of Andalusia and Extremadure. After the Council of Trent (1545–1563), Saint Philip Neri (1515–1595) and Saint Charles Borromeo (1538– 1584) introduced the Tridentine reforms to fight Protestantism and to reform Catholicism. They established an influential model of missions ad fidele that much inspired the missionary enterprises led in France by reformers such as Cesar de Bus (1544-1607), Saint François de Sales (1567-1622), and Saint Vincent de Paul (1576-1660).

Typically, parish missions were designed according to the structure of spiritual combat: missionaries were the soldiers battling against the forces of evil, assailing the fortresses of the Devil, and winning souls for Jesus Christ. Their missions consisted of a series of religious "exercises" that were crafted to fire the imagination and create the right climate for conversion. Discourses were carefully developed to achieve this aim. Preachers would focus on the sad condition of the sinner, on the Last Judgment, and on the pains of hell. After bringing the audience to an emotional climax through their discourse, they would abruptly change tone and invoke reassuring images of redemption and paradise. The decor and production of the whole mission were also neatly rendered with the following elements: solemn entry of the missionaries in the parish, pathetic sermons, catechisms using holy pictures, collective prayers and chants, religious plays, general confession, communion, processions, and

the erection of a cross at the end of the mission. All these exercises were conducted with great pomp and spectacle to attract people and stir them sufficiently to induce conversion.

Early modern parish missions were part of a much wider missionary movement used in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century colonialism. Countries attempted to conquer souls both at home and abroad through simultaneous internal and external missionary efforts. The same missionaries would work in both types of missions. They used the same methods of conversion and anticipated the same reactions from what they saw as the similar groups of people: lukewarm Catholics, superstitious peasants, heretics, pagans from Middle East and East Indies, Turks, and "savages" in America. Despite the apparent cultural diversity of the prospective converts, missionaries saw them as equal in their ignorance of the need for and the way to their salvation.

See also Missions and Missionaries; Preaching and Sermons; Reformation, Catholic; Trent, Council of.

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Dominique Deslandres

#### MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

This entry includes two subentries:
ASIA
SPANISH AMERICA

#### **ASIA**

The history of Christian missions in Asia is tied, for better or worse, to European expansion. When the Byzantine capital of Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, Christian Europe was reduced to the status of a backwater area in world civilizations. Overshadowed and threatened by the ascendant Muslim empires, first by the Ottomans in the eastern Mediterranean and later by the Safavids (after 1502) in Persia and the Mughuls (after 1526) in India, Europeans were anxious about their future. Farther to the east, China was the colossus of the age and by almost any standard the greatest empire in the world. As Europe had receded, so had Christianity. Although missionaries since the time of Jesus had carried Christianity to Asia, churches there were now contracting and struggling to stay alive.

#### **EUROPEAN EXPANSION**

Shortly after 1450, Europe reached its nadir and began its ascent. In one of the ironies of history, the rapacious conquistador spirit of the Portuguese and Spanish trader-explorer-adventurers provided the ships that carried Christian missionaries to remote Asian lands. The committed missionaries who boarded these ships were inspired to do so by the fervor of the Counter-Reformation. (They were nearly all Catholic; Protestants did not send out missionaries until after 1789.) Hence, the love of Christ was spread in collusion with the lust for wealth, power, and adventure. It might therefore appear that the church was making a pact with the devil, but it is doubtful that these Europeans were aware of the contradiction. Furthermore, this intermingling of pure and selfish motives had a powerful effect not only in spreading the dominant religion of early modern Europeans to Asia, but also in shaping European culture. Europe's contact with Asia was a two-way process of mutual influence, and the expansionist Europe of the early modern period was much more open to Asian influences than the imperialistic Europe that followed.

The path of missionaries to Asia was opened by the success of two small and previously insignificant nations seeking trade routes to Asia. After years of Portuguese effort on the western coast of Africa, Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) sailed east to India in 1498, six years after the Genoan explorer Chris-

topher Columbus (1451–1506) opened a trade route to the west for Spain in 1492. With papal assistance, Portugal and Spain had divided the world between them and established their mission monopolies (Portuguese padroado and Spanish patronato) with the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Thereafter, most European missionaries bound for Asia would travel on Portuguese ships, although a smaller number took Spanish ships to Mexico and then crossed the Pacific Ocean to the Philippines. This sole Spanish base in Asia proved to be the most fertile mission field of all. The Augustinians were the first to arrive, in 1565, and within one century, the entire population of the Philippines was converted to Christianity.

# **JESUITS**

Throughout Asia, the triumphalism and chauvinism of the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church were tempered by the accommodating spirit of a remarkable new religious order called the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits had emerged as the right arm of the pope in the Counter-Reformation struggle with the Protestants. Far more educated and sophisticated than most other missionaries, the Jesuits tended to missionize by cultivating the local elites. This led them to study the indigenous cultures with an aim toward accommodating Christianity with local cultural elements that were not in blatant conflict with Christianity. Many other missionaries accused the Jesuits of being too accommodating, and the early Jesuits manifested an arrogance that aroused a very unchristian hatred among their critics. Nevertheless, in retrospect, it is clear that the process of inculturation that the Jesuits sought for Christianity in Asia was a necessary foundation for the long-term viability of the faith there.

Jesuit accommodation did not dominate the missions in Asia but had to compete with the rivalry of other religious orders as well as nationalistic and Eurocentric forces. When the Portuguese first landed in India, they had encountered a group of approximately 100,000 Christians in the south, said to have been converted by the apostle Saint Thomas. These were Nestorian Christians of the Syrian church who were technically under the control of the patriarch in Babylon. The Portuguese, through their colonial base at Goa, forced the Saint Thomas Christians to submit to the authority of the

pope via the Portuguese representative of the archbishop of Goa. This fostered great resentment among the Saint Thomas Christians. When the Jesuits first arrived in India, they went to the court of the Mughul emperor Akbar (ruled 1556–1605) in the hope of converting the emperor, but they were disappointed to learn that Akbar was merely using their views to forge a new religion called the Divine Faith.

Hopes for the mission in India were renewed in 1605 when a brilliant young Italian Jesuit named Robert de Nobili (1577–1656) arrived; he spent the following half century developing a new and fruitful approach to inculturating Christianity into Tamil culture in south India. Nobili focused his efforts on the highest of the four castes of Hindu culture, the Brahmans, or priestly caste. He studied the languages of ancient India (Sanskrit and classical Tamil), adopted the indigenous ocher robe, and renounced attachments to the world—even cutting himself off from other Christians. Nevertheless, the conversions resulting from Nobili's work were limited until missionizing was extended to the lower castes.

The strong Buddhist beliefs of southeast Asia resisted the penetration of Christianity, with the notable exception of Vietnam. The remarkable success there can be traced to the work of the French Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660), who arrived in Macau in 1623, hoping to go on to Japan. But with entry into Japan barred to missionaries, Rhodes was sent to Vietnam, whence he was expelled in 1625, 1630, and 1645. Nevertheless, he developed a remarkably effective missionary method by creating a Vietnamese group of catechists who were trained in basic medicine and who lived as a celibate brotherhood. They fostered thousands of conversions. Rhodes also developed a system for transliterating the Vietnam written language from Chinese characters to the Latin alphabet.

In Japan, missionaries met with striking initial success followed by harsh persecution. (This Japanese resistance to Christianity has been portrayed in the best-selling novel *Silence* [1969] by the Japanese Catholic author Shusaku Endo.) The first mission was led by the great Jesuit Francis Xavier, who arrived in 1549, when Japan was still in a period of warring feudal chaos without centralized leadership.

This chaos provided an opportunity for the missionaries, and within sixty-five years there were 300,000 Christians in a Japanese population of twenty million. However, most of these Christians were concentrated in the southern part of Japan where the allegiance of the daimyo (feudal lords) to the shogun was regarded with suspicion, a suspicion that was strengthened when several of these daimyo converted to Christianity. The shogun (who ruled in the name of the emperor) decided to preempt any possibility of subversive rebellion by expelling the missionaries in 1614. When the missionaries surreptitiously returned, the shogunal court resorted to harsh persecution, including the torture and execution of many Japanese Christians and several Portuguese priests. The Catholic Church records the death of 3,125 Christian martyrs in the years 1597-1660. Christianity was exterminated in Japan, except for a small group of faithful followers who continued to worship in secret in the area of Nagasaki throughout the Tokugawa period (1600–1867).

#### THE CHINA MISSION

Of all Asian lands, none received more attention from missionaries of early modern Europe than China. Its great distance from Europe and high level of civilization made it a tremendous challenge. The Jesuits in particular, who served "for the greater glory of God" (ad majorem Dei gloriam), sought to fulfill their motto by converting what was then the greatest nation in the world. Consequently, from 1552 until the Society of Jesus was temporarily abolished in 1773, nearly a thousand (the best source lists 920) Jesuits participated in the China mission, far more than any other religious order. In second place were the Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor) who sent approximately 130 of their members to China in the years 1450-1789. Smaller numbers were sent by the Dominicans (Order of Preachers), Augustinians, the Missions étrangères de Paris, and the Lazarists.

However, these missionaries were not entirely controlled by the superiors of their own orders. Even the Jesuits, who were notorious for their "corpse-like obedience" in obeying orders passed down in a militaristic chain of command from the Jesuit father general in Rome, were subject to the monarchs in whose territory they served. Particularly notable in this regard were the Portuguese,

who constituted the largest segment of the Jesuits in China (314 out of 920). The Portuguese court exploited their mission monopoly to dominate the office of vice-provincial, which directed the China mission. Through their control of the colonies on the trade routes between Europe and China (most notably Goa in India and Macau in southeast China) the Portuguese restricted the entry of missionaries of other nationalities, particularly their Spanish rivals. The latter were forced to enter China from the Philippines by way of the pirate-infested coast of Fujian Province. The French Jesuits tried to circumvent the Portuguese control of entry at Macau by landing a group of five French Jesuits at Ningbo in 1687.

Because Rome felt that these nationalistic rivalries were harming the missionary effort, not only in China but throughout the world, Rome in 1622 had created the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, commonly known by its Latin name Propaganda Fide (or simply Propaganda). While the Portuguese continued to control the appointment of ordinary bishops throughout Asia, Propaganda appointed a special sort of bishop called a "vicar apostolic" who was consecrated directly by Rome. Consequently, in China and elsewhere, missionaries under the control of Propaganda competed with missionaries controlled by Portugal or the Jesuit father general. The Portuguese king struggled with Propaganda over the administrative division of China and eventually nine dioceses were established, with a vicar apostolic appointed to head each of them. However, when one of the appointed vicars apostolic, Bishop Bernardino Della Chiesa, attempted to take control of his newly appointed office of bishop of the diocese of Beijing in 1700, he was forced by the Portuguese Jesuits to establish his base outside of Beijing in a neighboring province.

Because the Jesuits tended to make conversions from the top down, focusing first on the imperial court or socioeconomic elites, their efforts in China had been shaped by the drive to establish a base in the Chinese capital. The great Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci achieved this goal in 1601 and the Jesuits thereafter became valued servants of the Chinese emperor. Their training enabled them to be useful in a number of capacities, particularly in overseeing the Bureau of Astronomy, which was responsible for compiling the annual calendar, and in

painting, architecture, cannon making, and even in serving as translators in diplomatic negotiations with the Russians in formulating the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689).

However, the Jesuit strategy tied the fate of the mission to the whims of particular rulers. Other missionary orders in China attempted to ground Christianity in conversions among people in the provinces. The Jesuit strategy peaked in the years 1644-1661 when the Jesuit father Adam Schall developed a close relationship with the youthful Shunzhi emperor, who at one point was thought to be near converting. However, the mission later suffered persecution when the throne was occupied by a hostile ruler, such as the Yongzheng emperor (ruled 1723-1735). In terms of the overall development of Christianity in China, the Jesuits placed too much emphasis on cultivating the court but were wise in their emphasis on cultural accommodation. Ultimately, Christianity survived because of conversions effected by both Jesuit and non-Jesuit orders among the people in the provinces.

#### **CULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES**

The missionaries' contact with China influenced the development of early modern Europe in substantive ways. Missionaries (mainly Jesuits) returning from China wrote books about its remarkable culture that were avidly read by some of the most important European thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), a leading figure in the scientific revolution, saw in the Chinese written script elements of a universal language. The dates of biblical chronology developed by the Anglican archbishop James Ussher in 1650–1654 and printed in the margins of the King James version of the Bible were modified to avoid contradicting the Chinese chronology introduced to Europe by the Jesuit Martino Martini.

The great philosopher-mathematician Gott-fried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who corresponded with the French Jesuit Joachim Bouvet in Beijing, concluded that the most ancient Chinese classic, the *I Ching*, or *Book of Changes*, had anticipated his discovery of a binary system of arithmetic by several millennia. Leibniz also believed that the Chinese surpassed Europeans in "practical philosophy" or the adaptation of ethics and politics to contemporary life. Enlightenment thinkers like

Christian Wolff (1679–1754) and Voltaire (1694–1778) agreed; they extolled the philosophy of Confucius and sought to adapt Confucian teachings to Europe.

Whereas in seventeenth-century Europe China was the preoccupation of mainly learned savants, by the eighteenth century "sinomania" had become a popular preoccupation. Almost all the information about China was supplied by China missionaries. Louis XV of France in 1756 and Joseph II of Austria in 1769 imitated the Chinese emperor in performing the ritual plowing of the earth in spring. European artists were influenced by Chinese art to create a new hybrid and fanciful style called chinoiserie. English gardeners abandoned the geometrical forms of French gardens and imitated the Chinese in an attempt to reproduce the irregular and varied patterns of nature found in Chinese gardens. The Chinese economy provided inspiration for the French to help regain their lost status in the aftermath of their disastrous defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). François Quesnay advocated emulating the Chinese model in reorganizing the French economy around agriculture (with minimal government intervention) and gave birth to the economic philosophy of laissez-faire. Chinese porcelains were so technically and aesthetically superior to European stoneware that they shaped European tastes.

The Jesuits' accommodative approach was wellsuited to the syncretic culture of the late Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and made a number of conversions of prominent literati. While Buddhism and Taoism were difficult to reconcile with Christian teachings, the moral philosophy of Confucianism was much more amenable. Chinese teachings typically were transmitted from master to pupil. The prominent scholar-official Xu Guangqi (1562-1633) was the founding teacher in a Confucian-Christian tradition. Xu developed the formula bu Ru yi Fo ('supplement the Confucians and displace the Buddhists'), a four-character phrase of the sort favored by Chinese literati. Xu's formula was later developed further by other Christian literati, such as Shang Huqing (1619-after 1698) and Zhang Xingyao (1633-after 1715).

However, after the Manchu conquest of 1644 and the establishment of a new dynasty, the Qing,

and the emergence of a less experimental and more conservative culture, the intellectual quality and prominence of the converts deteriorated. The conversion of scholar-officials was made more difficult by a bitter interorder dispute called the Chinese Rites Controversy (1715). It produced Eurocentric rulings from Rome that opposed flexibility in dealing with converts' rites of reverence to their ancestors and to Confucius. Consequently, most of the conversions of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were made by non-Jesuit missionaries working in the provincial cities and rural areas of China. As the missionaries lost the support of the court, magistrates became increasingly harsh in their treatment of Christians and anti-Christian persecutions grew in intensity. Nevertheless, many of the Catholic converts made in villages continued to practice Christianity with remarkable continuity, passing their practices in filial-pious style from generation to generation down to the present day.

See also Colonialism; Columbus, Christopher; Gama, Vasco da; Jesuits; Portugal; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia; Spain; Spanish Colonies: the Philippines.

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D. E. Mungello

# SPANISH AMERICA

The missionary effort in the regions of the Americas controlled by Spain provided a pretext for converting peoples beyond the Mediterranean. The Catholic missionaries relied heavily on the efforts of Portuguese and other missionaries in the Old World as models for successfully "spreading the gospel." Moreover, the reforms begun in the religious orders of Spain in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had a profound effect on missionaries sent to the Americas.

The Spanish conquest and settlement of the Americas had an important religious component because the crown saw the conversion of the indigenous peoples as a way of justifying their occupation of the newly conquered lands. In a diplomatic effort of the highest order, Spain sought justification and legitimization of its claims in the Americas from its closest neighbor and rival in overseas domination, Portugal, and confirmation of the bilateral agreement from the pope. Conversion to Christianity was also one way of assimilating the native peoples into the European political sphere. Thus, the Spanish inextricably linked territorial conquest with converting those they considered "heathens" to Christianity.

Religious orders took the lead in converting the native peoples of the American continents: the first missionaries arrived on the island of Hispaniola only a few years after Columbus's initial voyage. The Dominican order initiated the early phases of the missionary movement in the Americas, establishing themselves in Santo Domingo, Columbus's capital on Hispaniola, and it was the Dominicans who first raised concerns about the Spanish treatment of the natives of the islands. Fr. Antonio de Montesinos launched the campaign for protection of the natives in a fiery speech in the cathedral of Santo Domingo, taking as his text the passage from Isaiah, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." This sermon, while it upset the Spanish residents of the town,

became a crucial factor in the intellectual development of a priest who would eventually lead the struggle for native rights, Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566).

Because priests and friars frequently accompanied expeditions, the missionary effort quickly moved to the mainland with the Spanish conquest of Mexico. The Cortés expedition included two clerics: Fr. Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Mercedarian, and the secular priest, Juan Díaz. Olmedo functioned as the official chaplain of the expedition and frequently took center stage in the conquest. Díaz was simply another member of the conquering band who happened to be a priest, though on a few occasions he actively functioned as a priest. Similarly, the Pizarro expedition to Peru had at least two priests: Fr. Vicente Valverde, also a Mercedarian, and Juan de Sosa, a secular priest. The efforts of these first missionaries bore little fruit. The true efforts of conversion to Catholicism began in the wake of the conquest, ushered in by small groups of friars sent out from Spain specifically for the purpose of converting the natives.

In the case of Mexico, called New Spain by the Spanish, the first missionaries were Franciscans. Two contingents reached Mexico immediately following the defeat of the Aztecs. The first consisted of three Franciscan lay brothers from Flanders, home of Charles I, the new king of Spain (who also became Holy Roman emperor Charles V). These three quickly set about converting the natives, establishing a base of operations in Texcoco, just east of the Aztec capital of Mexico, Tenochtitlán. Two of the friars achieved fame for their efforts. Fr. Peter of Ghent began the first European school in the Americas, created to train the sons of the native nobility in European ways. The other, Fr. Jacob of Tastera, created a method of explaining the principles of Christianity to the natives through the use of pictures, not unlike cartoons. These now carry the name of Testerian catechisms.

The first major missionary expedition, consisting of twelve Franciscans, arrived in 1524; a similar expedition of Dominicans followed four years later, and five years after these the first contingent of Augustinians arrived. The first religious orders essentially carved up the territory among themselves. The Franciscans dominated in the central area of

New Spain and in the Yucatán. The Dominicans predominated in the south, especially around Oaxaca, while the Augustinians concentrated on the area immediately north of Mexico City and in the west in the province of Michoacán.

A similar pattern emerged in Peru. While the religious orders that participated were largely the same, they appeared in a different sequence. The Dominicans and Mercedarians claimed preeminence in Peru, whereas the Franciscans and Augustinians arrived later. As in the case of Mexico, the religious orders spread out into the hinterlands, creating areas of dominance. In both North and South America, all the orders established important centers in the leading cities and towns.

The Jesuits were latecomers to the American missionary field because the order was not formally established until 1540. As the founder, Ignatius Loyola, was a Spaniard, the order manifested a strong interest in colonial missionary work. As early as 1566 the order sent a group of missionaries to the newly settled colony of Florida, and within five years they were establishing missions in Mexico and Peru. Despite its late arrival, the order would become the most powerful in the colonies.

While the early missionary efforts fell to the religious orders, the secular, or diocesan, clergy consolidated the missionary effort. Their internal organization allowed the religious orders the institutional structure to assist in missionary activity on the newly conquered frontier while the secular clergy enjoyed a structure better suited to the full incorporation of the faithful into the church militant. The crown appointed the first bishops to the Americas at approximately the same time as the first missionaries arrived, but it took several years for them to gain a modicum of control over the priests and friars in their diocese. Because so many of the clerics in the newly created dioceses were members of the regular clergy, gaining control over them was a difficult process.

The missionaries developed a wide range of techniques to address the various problems they encountered. Clearly, simple communication between the missionaries and native peoples was the major initial problem. Through methods such as the Testerian catechism the friars began the process of Christian indoctrination. At the same time they be-

gan to learn the native languages. The sixteenth century saw the publication of dozens of grammars, vocabularies, and other linguistic tools giving missionaries access to the indigenous languages. They then had to communicate the essence of Christian doctrine in the new language, an extremely complex process. The priests tried to avoid confusing the pre-Columbian religions with the newly imposed Christian religion, but as one scholar has noted, their efforts required a dialogue with the missionaries and the native peoples.

The missionaries also wanted to construct suitable places to celebrate their rituals. Frequently this meant destroying the native temples, locating the new church close to the old site, but not immediately on it, and often using rubble from the destroyed temple as building material for the invaders' church. Slightly later, the priests used the platforms of the old temples as bases for their churches, visually destroying the native peoples' religions and imposing the Christian religion on top of them. Nonetheless, local artisans had skills honed before the conquest and incorporated symbols from their native religions in some of the decorative motifs of the new churches.

Within the first century after contact, the American populations were nearly annihilated by warfare, by Old World diseases inadvertently imported by the invaders, and by the resulting social and economic disruption. With the decline of the native population, the missionaries and Spanish officials pressed for relocating the remnant native populations from their dispersed settlements into clustered villages. The process, called *reducción* ('reduction') or *congregación* ('bringing together'), made it easier to perform rituals, indoctrinate the people, and collect tribute from them, but it led to the further depopulation of large regions. Nevertheless, clustering dispersed native populations became a standard feature of missionary activity.

The conversion process focused initially on teaching the rudiments of Christianity to local peoples, but the missionaries' high expectations for rapid success were dashed by events in Mexico. Religious officials found that one of the first native leaders to have converted, Don Carlos Ometechtizin, lord of Texcoco, continued to practice his native religion for more than a decade after his

baptism. The local bishop, acting as inquisitor, tried him and ordered him burned at the stake as an apostate. This shocked Spanish sensibilities to the point that the crown removed the natives from the purview of the Inquisition. With setbacks such as this, most priests and friars then realized that the conversion process takes generations, not years.

Although the church establishment reduced its expectations regarding the conversion of the natives, by the early seventeenth century concerns rose again. In both Peru and Mexico religious authorities began to scrutinize native beliefs and practices more closely, and in Peru an effort known as the extirpation began. While the Inquisition had no authority over the natives, local bishops could act to root out remnants of the native peoples' religions, so the archbishops organized campaigns to extirpate all vestiges of them. While causing a great deal of disruption, the campaigns had little lasting effect. By the early eighteenth century a new philosophy, one that was willing to proceed with conversion at a slow, methodical pace, was evident. In Mexico efforts to root out pre-Columbian beliefs and practices were not so well organized but required considerable effort in the seventeenth century.

The nature of the conversion effort tended to create core areas, places characterized by early and successful conversions, and peripheries. Later, missionaries spread from the core areas to the peripheries. In general there was a greater concentration of priests and friars in Spanish cities, ports, and mining districts than in the hinterlands. In the northern reaches of Mexico and in Florida, a new type of conversion effort developed in the seventeenth century: military contingents accompanied missionaries and established bases—presidios—from which they "pacified" the frontier while the friars created missions where they delivered sermons. In some areas the missionaries pushed so deeply beyond the frontier that for all intents and purposes they were the only Europeans for miles around.

The two classic late colonial missionary fields were California and Paraguay. Starting in the early seventeenth century, the Jesuits established a network of missions, far from the supervision of Spanish authorities, among the Guarani Indians in Paraguay. These missions are a model of conversion through attraction. The Jesuits established them-

selves without military assistance and attracted the natives to settle on the mission, teaching them sedentary agriculture and European arts. Later authors have tended to idealize the Jesuit experiment in Paraguay, but it was noteworthy nonetheless.

The Franciscans managed the mission field of Upper California. They used some of the practices of the Jesuits, but the crown established military forts to assist in keeping the peace. While many natives came to the Franciscan missions through attraction, the friars also coerced others to settle down. Once natives had joined a mission, however, the friars prohibited them from returning to their former lives. Unfortunately, European diseases and the change of lifestyle killed many of the mission Indians.

The Jesuit order was successful in the Americas, both in terms of its missions and in economic terms. The order supported itself through the development of commercial enterprises, frequently agricultural estates. Using donations from the faithful, the order acquired ranches and farms, then managed the estates directly, producing goods for the local market. This system was very profitable and the proceeds supported the work of the order, both the missions and the development of schools in Spanish towns and cities. Jesuits were important participants in the universities of colonial Latin America.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuits had attracted both strong supporters and vocal opponents. In 1769 the Spanish crown formally expelled the order from the Americas, and reassigned the Jesuit missions to other orders and to the secular clergy. This action gave the Franciscans the missionary field of Upper California, originally a Jesuit territory. The crown confiscated the Jesuit estates and sold them at auction to generate cash for the always-strapped royal treasury. The crown had demonstrated its willingness to take extreme action against any order that defied the royal will: the expulsion of the Jesuits had a dramatic effect on the other religious orders, and the secularization of the parishes concluded with little or no opposition.

The church occupied an important role in colonial Latin America, not only because of its missionary role, but also because of its social and economic impact. It was the leading institution in the provision of hospitals and other institutions that assisted

the disadvantaged and ill, and played a crucial role in the economy of the colonies by providing capital on credit. The missionaries' efforts ensured the pervasive presence of Roman Catholicism throughout the Americas during the early modern period.

See also Catholicism; Clergy: Roman Catholic Clergy; Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Religious Orders; Spanish Colonies.

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MOBILITY, GEOGRAPHIC. The early modern period was marked by considerable population movements. Yet, compared with the medieval centuries or with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was a time of reduced mobility, particularly in France. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries there was no need for further rural development, which had been very intensive between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, producing a well-rooted peasantry that was shaken only by the rural exodus after 1840–1850. Thus, mobility was primarily a matter of micromobility, deriving mainly from matrimonial exchanges. Young peasant girls rarely moved more than ten kilometers from their place of birth when they married; their husbands for the most part traveled less than twenty kilometers from their place of birth, and the majority of them less than ten kilometers. This model was accompanied by regional and chronological nuances and

even exceptions. Nor did it exclude some major population movements.

## RECRUITMENT AND MOTIVATION

In both town and country, there were in reality two types of behavior reflecting, as it were, two populations, one stable and rooted, the other highly mobile. In spite of micromobility related to matrimonial exchanges linked to boy-girl imbalances in families and the marrying of younger sons and daughters, rural areas saw family continuity and the maintenance of family patronyms within a zone rarely larger than, say, ten kilometers. This zone was roughly circular, but considerable geographical dissymmetry could be caused, for example, by bad relations with a neighboring parish or by geographical obstacles (a watercourse, mountain, etc.). In isolated mountain communities mobility was even more limited. Continuity of one part of the family over several generations was also common among urban middle and elite strata. This was much less frequently the case in working-class environments, partly because of very high mortality rates.

Cities, by contrast, show high mobility, both socially and geographically, for a variety of reasons. Except for small towns, cities in the early modern era were unable to renew their populations because of high mortality in urban environments. For cities to maintain their populations, there had to be very high immigration, and even higher if populations were to increase. Thus, the growth of London between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries absorbed half the surplus births for all of England (Wrigley). Given the considerable scale of urban growth in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the development of capitals and ports over the early modern era as a whole, there was necessarily a major movement toward cities, though its sources varied.

Recruitment was predominantly rural and reflected the size of the city. A considerable share, often a majority, of immigrants came from the nearby countryside, especially female immigrants, only a minority of whom came from farther afield. Larger cities drew immigrants not only from the smaller cities of the hinterland, but also from other major cities. The bigger the city, the more likely it was that immigration came from more remote areas.

This long-distance immigration was varied and sometimes minimal.

Motivation for migration was sometimes occupation-related—trading colonies from the middle of the Middle Ages are an important example of this. Another type of migration involved groups of seasonal and temporary migrants, which we shall discuss later on. Thus, some populations moved a lot, sometimes because they could not take root: Rouen is an example of a city that could function both as a pressure pump and a suction pump, repelling and attracting migrants at the same time. Some segments of populations, such as the sailor populations of Amsterdam or Dunkirk, were constantly on the move. By contrast, the majority of seasonal and temporary migrants were much less mobile, making only one journey each year, or even every two or three years, the goal being to bring back as much money as possible to their home town or village.

Overall, the mobility of rural and urban populations may be entirely due to circumstances. For example, social difficulties, particularly the high cost of bread, were particularly hard on the lower strata of urban populations. Heaped with debt and more or less dispersed, families—or the remaining members thereof—abandoned not only their accommodation but also their city of residence and took to the roads, often in search of other cities. The poor in general were very mobile, as revealed by poorhouse admission records. The mobility of poverty sometimes intersected with criminalized or criminogeneous mobility; criminal populations traveled a lot in search of better possibilities or simply as a means of escaping judicial and police authorities. In sixteenth-century England—particularly at the end of the century—this led to the development of laws directly relating to the poor. On the Continent, poorhouses, bridewells, workhouses, and prisons were established; the last three were reserved for populations that were considered dangerous, as victims of venereal disease, beggars, or hardened or petty criminals.

## MASS MIGRATION

Clearly, local and state authorities were concerned about some of the migrants as well as about some of the sedentary population because of their potential to create disorder. But states themselves were often the cause of major population movements, either as a result of wars, or deliberate expulsions, or because the political or religious decisions of governments sometimes induced segments of the population to emigrate. Wars caused populations to flee in search of shelter from the ravages of armies and armed rabbles in general. Although direct military mortality may not be very high, the same cannot be said for civilian losses, as witnessed by the devastation caused in part of Germany during the Thirty Years' War. Wars caused populations to retreat when their fields were ravaged, their livestock seized, and their very lives threatened. War forced them to seek refuge in nearby regions that had been spared by the conflict, or behind city walls. In those cities of refuge, the arrival of uprooted and undernourished people constituted a fertile soil for the development of formidable epidemics. After a war, agricultural and sometimes urban structures had to be renewed, and shattered landscapes reconstructed, all of which took time. Repopulation necessitated immigration staggered over several decades, as was the case for the plain of Hungary after the defeat and routing of the Turks in 1699 and again in 1718.

The greatest population movements resulted from political and religious decisions or contexts, which were intimately linked from the start of the Protestant Reformation. Population movements were not, however, limited to the conflict between Catholics and Protestants. They were preceded by important examples of forced migration based on state decisions. France and England expelled their Jewish populations in the late Middle Ages, and other expulsions occurred elsewhere in Europe during the early modern period. Perhaps the best known expulsion is that of 1492, when the Jews of Spain were given the choice of converting to Christianity or leaving the country. Portugal issued a similar ultimatum in 1496.

Although estimates once ran to several hundred thousand for the number of Jews who left Iberia rather than convert, the best estimates now place their numbers in the neighborhood of fifty thousand. In 1609–1611 Spain also expelled its large population of converted Muslims, branding them notoriously as bad Christians and as a political threat as well. The best estimates currently place the number forced into exile at about 300,000, though an unknown number reportedly returned to the country thereafter. The Jewish diaspora led to the cre-

ation of colonies that played a leading economic role in European cities such as Bordeaux, Amsterdam, and London, as well as in the Turkish empire. Like other affinity groups with dispersed membership, the Jewish exiles established a very effective commercial and social network over long distances.

Thousands of other individuals and communities were also displaced by the religious and political strife that marked the early modern period. Perhaps the best known from the late seventeenth century are the French Protestants known as Huguenots and the English and Scottish supporters of the ousted Stuart dynasty, known as the Jacobites. Protestants in Catholic France had been under pressure since the early sixteenth century, but they had gained important privileges in 1598 with the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) revoked the edict in 1685, propelling 130,000 to 160,000 into exile: 30,000 to Switzerland, 30,000 to the states of the German Empire, 50,000 to the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and 50,000 to England. In all, some 200,000 Huguenots left France between the first third of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, helping to develop agriculture and industry in the Protestant countries where they settled, especially England and the German states of Hesse and Prussia. The Jacobite migration was less numerous—about 50,000 people—but it was a continuous movement from the end of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries and resulted in the creation of an extended business network, out of which important personalities emerged. In other cases, as in Russia and central European countries in the eighteenth century, governments focused essentially on attracting colonists. Frederick II (ruled 1740-1786) of Prussia established in his states 300,000 immigrants, coming mostly from southern Germany. In Russia, Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) planted more than 60,000 colonists from Lorraine and Germany, mostly in the region of the Volga, the Ukraine, and the Crimea, supplementing the Russian migrants already there. Other governments launched active relocation campaigns among their own residents. For example, after the Moriscos (Muslim converts to Catholicism) rebelled in Granada in 1568-1570, Spain dispersed them northward to Castile and provided incentives for Old Christians from the north to repopulate Granada.

And in the mid-seventeeenth century, states in central Italy worked to attract new settlers to repopulate areas devastated by plague.

## MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The mobility of the European population within Europe was therefore an essential element in economic development during the early modern era, as it was during the medieval period, although the significance of migration varied from place to place. The importance of European migration overseas was even more varied. In the case of Asia and Africa the figures are quite low. The Portuguese were never very numerous in Africa or India. The English and the French were present only in limited numbers in Asia in the early modern period. Even the Dutch colonies in Java and the Sunda Islands did not amount to very significant numbers, and it is estimated that only about 15,000 Dutch settlers migrated to South Africa. Nonetheless, Jan Lucassen has calculated that about 30,000 to 40,000 men were required overseas yearly in order to maintain Dutch positions. He estimates that 973,000 soldiers and sailors were employed by the VOC (Dutch East India Company), of whom 48 percent were foreign immigrants, and that a little more than half of them perished far from Holland. Although French emigration to Canada was quite modest—some 70,000 migrants, only 15,000 of whom settled and had descendents-French emigration to the West Indies was considerable, between 250,000 and 300,000.

However, it is clear that overseas departures consisted mainly of Portuguese, Spanish, and English. Portugal and Spain began extensive European overseas migration with the colonization of the Atlantic islands (Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries) in the fifteenth century. In spite of the large population difference between Spanish and Portuguese territories, the disparity was not so significant because Portuguese emigration increased greatly in the eighteenth century. In raw numbers, the evolution of Spanish emigration to America was as follows: 243,000 in the sixteenth century; nearly 200,000 in the first half of the seventeenth century, about 250,000 between 1650 and 1800. It is difficult to advance precise figures for the British Isles. Somewhere between 250,000 and 500,000 moved in the seventeenth century and between 250,000 and 300,000 in the eighteenth century, with more Scots and Irish than English in this latter century. In the course of the eighteenth century there was also a considerable German contingent: about 70,000, although German movements were essentially inside Europe. This largely ignored German mobility amounted to about 500,000 people in the course of the eighteenth century.

Movements inside the European continent were distinctly more numerous than overseas departures, which were long interpreted as the product of individual choices. In fact, networks played an essential role in an individual's decision to migrate, and many migrants were recruited by contract in Europe in order to clear or farm the land, or to respond to artisanal and domestic needs, which was also the case for slave trading. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of British Isles immigrants to the West Indies and North America were therefore contract workers or "indentured servants."

All this underlines the fact that, in spite of the historic and emotional importance attached to religious migration, European mobility in the early modern era stemmed first and foremost from social and economic causes corresponding to micromobility and partially to urban attraction. Displacements were most often work-related and can be explained mainly by the availability of work and by salary differences. This is certainly the case for seasonal and temporary migration. Seasonal migration involved short-term displacements—harvesters or vineyard laborers being the most obvious example. Such short-term displacements could last several months: many stonemasons from the French province of Limousin went to work—except for the winter months—in the building industry in Paris, Lyon, and Bordeaux, and returned annually. Temporary migrations involved longer stays: for example, the French migrant workers from the Pyrenees or the Massif Central who went to work in Spain returned only every three or four years. Temporary migrations might last for the whole of a person's working life, the return to the homeland only taking place, if at all, in retirement. This "lifelong" migration occurred often among French migrants in Spain. Lifelong migration also occurred in the West Indies, and the Americas in general, although a limited number of emigrants who found great success overseas might return sooner. The wealthy Spanish in*dianos* and *peruleros* of the sixteenth century and the even wealthier French planters in the West Indies in the eighteenth century are cases in point.

There were also considerable manpower movements in Europe during the early modern era. The most sizeable were located in Italy (more than 100,000 people per year) and in France (a similar figure). One of the most interesting is what Jan Lucassen has called the "North Sea system," which from the seventeenth century onward involved some 30,000 migrants annually from the German states, mostly into the United Provinces. Other movements of migratory workers, such as harvesters in the east of England, also involved regular and regulated movements, as was also the case for peddlers, or migrants with a similar lifestyle, such as tinsmiths from the Auvergne region or sawyers from the Limousin and Forez regions of France. They followed the same traditional routes every year and often—as in the case of the tinsmiths—served as cultural intermediaries who transmitted news as they moved from place to place.

# CONCLUSION

The population movements in the early modern era did not present a serious threat to an essentially rural rootedness characterized by strong regional attachments. For example, although there was high mobility of young adults in England, involving frequent changes of residence, the majority of movements were less than fifteen kilometers, the average being four to five kilometers. Most of all, once married, people hardly moved at all. And rarely did people move randomly. Instead, migrants followed veritable migration routes, either as part of highly organized departures, as was the case for indentured servants and seasonal or temporary migrants, or alternatively as part of traditional family or parish links (for example, apprenticeships or marriages), or the ongoing attraction of the nearest city. Sometimes they were led to move by information available locally or through occupational contacts, letters from earlier migrants, or kinship links. Even religious migrations show a migratory context that is similar to that of work-related movements. It is now well established that migrants maintained strong links to their homeland, thanks in particular to an active interchange of letters between migrants and family and friends back home.

Generally speaking, mobility was not chosen, although there was a minority of adventuresome spirits. People moved because they could no longer stay in their place of birth or because the living conditions there had become unacceptable (forced migration). People moved to find work or a better salary. But the idea of returning home was always very strong—and was even part of the system in the case of seasonal and temporary migration—and adaptation to other places and other societies was far from being always successful, particularly in places with a tropical climate, such as parts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, which severely tested the health of European migrants. Migration and increased mortality often went hand in hand, and it took many overseas migrants to create successful colonies; many overseas migrants gave up and returned home, just as many urban migrants in Europe abandoned cities and returned home. Many died far from their families and homeland without ever managing to establish roots in their new country.

Migration involved some very real risks, sometimes because of insalubrious conditions in city tenements or overseas colonies, or alternatively because the life of sailors or soldiers was dangerous in itself. Soldiers did in fact constitute a part of European mobility, not only because regiments moved about but also because the armies of various European countries recruited mercenary soldiers; Switzerland, Scotland, and Ireland became famous as suppliers of mercenary soldiers. In the first half of the seventeenth century, there were 100,000 Scotsmen recruited as soldiers in other countries or who had become subject to military service after settling abroad. This type of mercenary, which always existed, took on new proportions from the middle of the thirteenth century. The Scots and the Swiss occupied a special place in this form of mobility, with the Irish also migrating in very large numbers in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. The Swiss enjoyed a high reputation as mercenaries, but the Irish and Scots were scattered more widely all over Europe, including Spain, the Scandinavian states, and Russia. The Spanish monarchy alone moved some 500,000 soldiers for military reasons in the first half of the seventeenth century. An estimated one million Swiss served abroad during the early modern era—the equivalent of the entire Swiss population at the start of the seventeenth century. Somewhere between 10 and 31 percent of the Swiss male population over the age of sixteen were in foreign service in the seventeenth century and between 5 and 20 percent in the eighteenth century.

Finally, while seasonal and temporary migrants such as tinsmiths, and marginal types such as criminals, moved about a lot, this was also the case for students in the early modern centuries. And it has always been the case for gypsies, for whom migration—geographic mobility—was an important part of life.

See also Atlantic Ocean; Cities and Urban Life; Class, Status, and Order; Colonialism; Communication and Transportation; Conversos; Economic Crises; Family; Huguenots; Jacobitism; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Mercenaries; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Persecution; Refugees, Exiles, and Émigrés; Roma (Gypsies); Servants; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Colonies; Vagrants and Beggars.

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JEAN-PIERRE POUSSOU (Translated from the French by Liam Gavin)

MOBILITY, SOCIAL. Early modern European societies were by definition nonegalitarian. Social position or status was determined by an individual's place within the institutions of family and social hierarchy. Removed from these hierarchies, the isolated individual appeared marginal at best. The hereditary nature of position and status was supported by systems of family lineage, patronclient relations, and loyalty. Marriages usually joined one "house," lineage, or family to another of equivalent social status. Thus, for the early modern period, social mobility, when it occurred, generally involved family and kinship groups and bore little resemblance to its modern counterpart. Nevertheless, there were opportunities for "upward mobility," as in sixteenth-century France, when réussite sociale (social success) enabled so many of the bourgeoisie to become gentlemen, and their families with them.

Nearly everything in the structure and function of European societies was opposed to social mobility of any great consequence. These were ordered societies with nobility at the top of the hierarchy. Because it was hereditary, the nobility was difficult to join. Thus, short of massive ennoblement, ascension to the social elite was inherently a minor, even marginal phenomenon. Heredity was also important in the artisan classes throughout Europe, as the

sons of master craftsmen had privileged access to their fathers' skills. Indeed, social division was sometimes stricter among commoners than among the nobility. Finally, in a world where learning and literacy were not available to all of society, the fact of belonging to a noble or bourgeois elite, or even an artisan elite, conferred advantages that were as decisive as family wealth and constituted another obstacle to social ascension.

The fear of social backsliding—slipping down the social ladder—was a veritable obsession. When nobility was particularly institutionalized, as it was in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, loss of status and its accompanying privileges became a permanent worry. Even among commoner families, there was a constant fear of social backsliding. However, this should not be considered solely a question of wealth: in the Maine region of France, the fact of belonging to an old, well-established, and honorable family was sufficient to dispel many of the social differences linked purely to wealth. There were three main avenues leading to loss of status:

- Marrying beneath one's station. However, marriage was also a means of "enriching the stock," that is, bailing out the sons of impoverished noble families by marrying them to rich heiresses from the bourgeoisie, especially the daughters of financiers. Such exogamous marriages resulted in pulling women upward in social status
- Shame, linked to loss of honor or due to misbehavior. This was a consequence much feared by good families. It gave rise to many lettres de cachet.
- Ruination, as a result of bad investments or careless spending.

Social backsliding could also be the result of bad luck, such as the premature death of the head of the family or of the only male heir. Also, a considerable number of families simply disappeared, either because a family produced no children at all or no male heir. Research based on patronyms can be misleading by exaggerating both geographic and social mobility of certain family names, because it was the women who ensured the continuity of the family. It is clear, however, that the lack of male offspring was a serious concern for strongly patriarchal families, especially among the social elites. It was the social

destiny of the males that was essential, not that of the females.

In many countries—and primarily for the nobility—there were legal mechanisms to protect male heirs while simultaneously ensuring the survival and integrity of estates. Obstacles to social mobility were also imposed in the name of religion. In Ireland during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when Britain's Penal Laws prohibited the practice of Roman Catholicism, Catholics saw their lands confiscated and were prohibited from constituting or reconstituting their estates, forced instead to live as tenant farmers. The central and western Pyrenees also had laws preventing the unification of estates. For the smooth running of this society, in which only the eldest inherited the ancestral patrimony, it was considered essential not only to preserve farms but also to maintain their number. Thus, the eldest child in a family, regardless of its sex, was supposed to marry a younger child from another family, or vice versa, but marriage between an "heir" and an "heiress" was forbidden because it would cause one "house" to disappear and reduce the number of farms. The corollary of this extremely constraining system was that younger sons and daughters could either marry with uncertain prospects, or choose to emigrate because they could not look forward to inheriting the estate.

# **MIGRATION**

A minority of migrants managed to improve their condition during the first generation, but many failed, and mortality was high among migrants, particularly when the migration was to a country with a tropical climate, which suited very few Europeans. Still, migration could enable some people to climb the social ladder. Stonemasons migrating from the Limousin region to Paris or Bordeaux were able to devote their earnings to enlarging the family holding. Migrants settling in Spain were able to use their earnings to become large rural landowners. And there can be no doubt that there were remarkable successes in the East and West Indies.

The agrarian colonization of North America, especially among the English, often resulted in a firmly rooted peasantry. Generally speaking, this was also the case for the soldier-colonists, including those that the French installed on the banks of the Saint Lawrence River, particularly after 1668, with

the officers and troops of the Carignan-Salières regiment that came to fight the Iroquois.

In the world of trade, some of the younger and less fortunate sons and cousins sent abroad to serve as commissioners or representatives for trading houses proved to be spectacularly successful. The success could be entirely individual, as in the case of Jacques Necker (1732-1804), the son of a poor Geneva family, who enjoyed unrivaled success as a banker and served as director general of finance for France in 1777. Success in the colonies could be accompanied by a reputation for knavery or could result in shocking nouveau-riche behavior, as in the case of the "nabobs"—the most famous being Robert Clive (1725–1774), who went to the East Indies poor and returned in 1767, having conquered a large part thereof and possessed of a considerable income of £40,000 sterling—or the West Indian planters, known in France as the "Américains," many of whom enjoyed a high profile in eighteenth-century London. It is clear that upward social mobility was often the result of successful migration accompanied by chance and talent. This was true even in sixteenthcentury Russia, where a small but important merchant bourgeoisie developed, consisting of men of varied status, based on their extremely heterogeneous origins.

## **UPWARD MOBILITY**

In Russia, as in western Europe, social mobility most often affected the nobility. However, Russian nobility was unique in that, until Peter I the Great (ruled 1682-1725), the hereditary elite was based on service to the state, or "chin." There were some very intense class struggles, but access to employment, therefore a higher "chin" level, depended on skills and personal success. Peter the Great restructured all that, particularly in 1721 and 1722. He created new titles, such as count or baron, which he borrowed from other realms. The nobility was divided into fourteen ranks, and while it was still possible to rise in the "chin" system, only the tsar could authorize such a rise. This resulted in a nobiliary social elite, as elsewhere, except that it was linked very directly to state functions and needs for service, which ensured real flexibility for the ruler, until Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) agreed in 1785 to emphasize the hereditary divisions among the nobility. Until then, social ascension

both into and within the Russian social elite was perfectly possible.

The opportunity for social ascension was much more widespread than is generally believed. A great many painters, sculptors, and artists of all kinds came from very common and even humble origins. Moreover, it was often the case that neither their family background nor their place of birth predisposed them in any way toward their future status. For example, the painter Hans Memling (c. 1430 or 1435-1494), who was so important in Bruges during the fifteenth century, was born into a peasant family in a village situated some twenty kilometers from Frankfurt am Main. The flowering of his talent and his enormous success will always remain a profound mystery. Similarly, nothing in Sir Richard Arkwright's (1732–1792) origins offers any inkling of his future success. He may not have been scrupulously honest, but his invention, the water-powered spinning frame, was astonishing and led to his accession to the gentry.

The church also provides many examples of "self-made" men, with one significant difference: the benefits of a successful career in the church could not be passed on to one's descendants (however, there was no shortage of nephews and nieces to favor). The career of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) provides a remarkable example. Born into a Roman family of very modest extraction, he entered the service of Cardinal Richelieu (Armand-Jean du Plessis; 1585-1642), chief minister to Louis XIII (ruled 1610-1643) of France, and later succeeded him as prime minister (1642-1661). Mazarin amassed a considerable fortune, from which his nieces benefited greatly. Although distinctly less impressive, the success of Robert Gaguin (c. 1433–1501) is no less exemplary: born near the boundary between Flanders and Artois, his family may have been common laborers. But this did not stop him from quickly becoming the leader of the Trinitarian Order, a major figure in the University of Paris, a central character for the history of humanism and the Renaissance in France, a great author, a diplomatic adviser, and a representative of the kings of France. These very well-known examples provide us with the key to upward social mobility: the power to make personal talents bear fruit through networks of allied families and kinship groups.

Although family lines and kinship groups preserve social structures, and slow, limit, or prevent social backsliding, they also foster social ascension. J. M. Moriceau's study of powerful peasant families in the Île-de-France region provides a good illustration of these different aspects. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the group studied constituted a veritable village aristocracy that practiced endogamy and maintained very effective networks; it even tended to develop into a caste. Only major crises, like the one that followed the Fronde (1648-1652), could shake it, by multiplying failures and social mobility. However, this did not ruin the families. The rest of the family line, collaterals if necessary, recovered the positions. In this very closed milieu-more closed than the nobility-families had considerable power. During the second half of the eighteenth century, this resulted in their becoming veritable gentlemen farmers and, later on, rural notables.

In the eighteenth century, widespread interest in science and technology increased the number of direct ascensions to fame and wealth, as in the case of Gaspard Monge (1746–1818), the great mathematician and physicist, born at Beaune (Burgundy) to a knife-grinder father and a mother whose father was a coachman. Literature offers similar examples: the French writers Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) came from very modest backgrounds.

While ability and talent were a means to rapid social ascension in science, literature, and the church, the same cannot really be said for the army because the officer level was only barely open to men rising from the ranks. Of course the army can provide some examples of swift ascension, but only when the position of the officer was not the absolute monopoly of the nobility, as in Russia. It was generally exceptional for a commoner to rise to the rank of officer. For example, the careers of British officers, who came largely from the lower branches of the gentry, were fixed in advance by their level of wealth. Whenever we find social ascension in the army, it relates primarily to members of the *petite noblesse*.

## DEGREES OF CLOSURE

We therefore find multiple social groups—the term *class* is too precise and should be avoided: master

craftsmen, for example, did not constitute a class seeking to preserve their positions and most of all to ensure their status through their progeny and by jealously maintaining their positions. Craft communities or corporations were very much attached to their privileges and monopolies: these monopolies were "the key to the decent level of living to which the corporation masters considered they had a right, and the basis of their economic independence" (M. Prak). At the high end of society, patriciates, like that of Venice, provide classic examples of the selfprotective group. The ranks of the nobility were nowhere more restricted than in Venice, where they remained closed from 1297 onward. Their members were listed in a golden book or in noble genealogies, and members could not form alliances with outsiders. This patriciate held all power and authority in Venice.

In Geneva also, the "Geneva aristocracy" completely dominated social and political life, just as it dominated trade and banking. Unlike other patriciates, however, it was more than willing to open its ranks, even to immigrants, when they were at the head of a great fortune or had acquired a great reputation in religion or the sciences. The Geneva patriciate was therefore remarkable by virtue of its cosmopolitan aspect, which clearly distinguished it from that of Venice.

The tendency for groups to remain closed was nevertheless a much more general phenomenon. In pre-Revolutionary, rural French society, many of the notarial acts to which families had recourse were aimed specifically at excluding girls from the greater part of the inheritance, particularly land inheritance. Girls received a dowry, usually a sum of money and some items of furniture (trousseau, bed, etc.) but the future inheritance went to the male heirs. There was much greater diversity for boys, ranging from egalitarian inheritance to the choice of a single distinctly privileged heir. There was in fact no standard, uniform practice. For example, customs in the region of Paris and Orléans aimed solely at preserving the family bond, paying no particular attention to whether the presumptive heir was male or female, older or younger. In Normandy and Anjou, however, the customary system was egalitarian, and estates in that region were far more difficult to preserve.

Furthermore, the closed nature of nobilities and patriciates was much less extensive than is often thought. It varied from period to period and from country to country. The sixteenth century was undoubtedly a period of great upward mobility in Europe as a whole. The high mortality caused by difficult living conditions combined with the effect of the multiple wars that marked the century to form a social context that was far less rigid than it later became. The passage to nobility was, indeed, more difficult from the eighteenth century onward. However, even when openness and mobility clearly existed, they were accompanied by a strong resistance to change, the Neapolitan nobility being a good example. Victory in the "Spanish affair" certainly ushered in some immediate upheavals in the positions of families, as well as many downfalls. Yet, the composition of the Neapolitan nobility manifested "a remarkable continuity compared to the previous period" (M. A. Visceglia). This resistance was no doubt facilitated by a shared belief in common values and social rules. Having been provost of Parisian merchants from 1622 to 1627 and having also become president of the parlement in 1627, Nicolas de Bailleul decided in 1639 to have his family tree drawn up. He managed to root the preeminence of his family in the distant past in order to erase the obstacles to his rapid ascension and efface all traces of social mobility in a world where prestige, virtue, and success were not linked to meteoric social ascension but to the reality of family and lineage.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Artisans; Family; Inheritance and Wills; Military: Armies: Recruitment, Organization, and Social Composition; Mobility, Geographic; Officeholding; Women.

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JEAN-PIERRE POUSSOU (Translated from the French by Liam Gavin)

MOHYLA, PETER (Romanian, Petru Movilă; 1596–1646), archimandrite of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves and Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev. Mohyla was the son of Simeon, hospodar (lord) of Walachia and Moldavia. He and his mother, the Hungarian princess Margareta, sought the protection of magnate relatives in the western Ukrainian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after his father's murder in 1607. Mohyla may have studied at the school of the Orthodox Lviv Brotherhood and at the Zamość Academy; one source suggests that he studied in western Europe. In any event, he received a thorough education, mastering Greek, Latin, Polish, and Church Slavonic, as well as Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox theology.

On 16 September 1627, with the support of the palatine of Kiev, Tomasz Zamoyski, Mohyla was named archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, replacing the recently deceased Zakhariia Kopystenskyi. During that year, Mohyla was drawn into a series of discussions about the reunification of the Ruthenian Church. He broke with Meletii Smotrytskyi's plans for Union at the council held in Kiev

in 1628; Smotrytskyi alleged that Mohyla was motivated by fear of the Cossacks and the lesser clergy.

Mohyla remained at the center of interest on the Uniate side. In a memorial to Rome in the spring of 1629, the Uniate metropolitan of Kiev Josyf Veliamyn Rutskyi proposed the creation of a Ruthenian patriarchate and suggested Mohyla for the office. Such discussions would continue, always foundering on Mohyla's insistence on the relative autonomy of the Ruthenian church and the suspicions of Cossacks and lesser clergy that such plans were simply a ruse to bring the Orthodox into the Roman church.

Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev Iov Boretskyi died on 12 March 1631. Mohyla had the support of King Sigismund III of Poland to succeed him, but, with the backing of the Cossacks, lower clergy, and middling Orthodox gentry, an implacable enemy of the Union, Isaiah Kopynskyi, was chosen instead. Mohyla turned his attention to education in the interim. He brought teachers from Lviv and opened a school in Kiev 1631, over objections of the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood, who had established their own school c. 1615. In 1632 Mohyla went to Warsaw for the parliament that elected King Władysław IV. There he worked for the legalization of the Orthodox hierarchy and was confirmed by the king as Orthodox metropolitan.

In July 1633 Mohyla removed his competitor Kopynskyi by force and took the St. Sophia cathedral in Kiev away from the Uniates. Under Mohyla the Orthodox Church was consolidated and centralized, and Kiev overtook Vilnius and Lviv as the center of the Ruthenian renewal, regaining some of its ancient splendor through the metropolitan's projects of archaeology, renovation, and new building. On 18 March 1635 the king gave his permission to transform the united schools of the brotherhood and the monastery into an Orthodox Ruthenian college (soon known as the Kiev-Mohyla College) with rights to teach dialectics and logic in Greek and Latin.

In the years 1637–1646 Mohyla oversaw a number of projects (liturgical and devotional books) at the printing house of the Monastery of the Caves, over which he remained archimandrite. A synod met in Kiev in 1640 to discuss dogmatic questions, and in 1645 the first partial edition of

Mohyla's catechism of the Orthodox faith appeared in print. Plans and cautious negotiations to create a Ruthenian patriarchate in some sort of relationship with Rome continued to surface in the 1630s and 1640s. Mohyla died in January 1647.

See also Orthodoxy, Russian; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Ukraine; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).

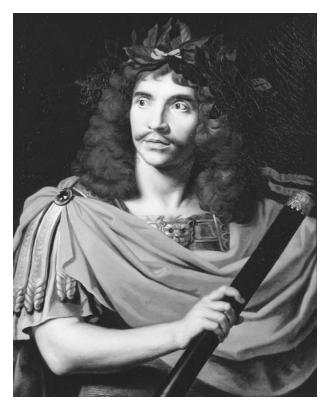
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DAVID FRICK

MOLIÈRE (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin; 1622-1673), French playwright, actor, and troupe director. Born into a successful merchant family, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin received an education from the Jesuits and was studying law when, at the age of twenty-one, he renounced his career to join a troupe of itinerant actors. In 1643 he signed a contract with the actress Madeleine Béjart and other members of her family to establish a troupe which they called the "Illustrious Theater," but they were soon unable to pay their bills and Poquelin, who had assumed the stage name Molière, was jailed for debt in 1645. Once released, he and his troupe departed to tour the provinces. From 1646 to 1658 they staged plays throughout the French countryside, with Molière gradually assuming a role as the troupe's leader, principal actor, and creator of scenarios for the farces that the group performed along with their centerpiece tragedies. In 1653 the prince de Conti, royal governor of Languedoc, engaged the actors as his personal troupe, granting them status and financial stability until Conti's abrupt "conversion" to a life of religious austerity led him to withdraw his patronage. In 1658 the Illustrious Theater returned to Paris and were granted another opportunity to please the more difficult audiences of city and court, where they played first at the Louvre



Molière. Painting of Molière as Julius Caesar, attributed to Pierre Mignard. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

palace. The king's brother Philip, duke of Orleans, became their sponsor.

Beginning in 1659, Molière focused on performing his own plays, though he professed ambivalence about his new status of published author in the preface to his play Les précieuses ridicules (1660; The affected young ladies). His attention to performance and staging and to the improvisational traditions of the commedia dell'arte remained paramount in his comedies, even as he developed an increasingly sophisticated vision of the comic genre. His greatest achievement as an author was to have invented a "comedy of character" that introduced psychological depth to stock comic situations, in the process drawing on traditions from popular farce and more serious drama. Beginning with L'école des femmes (1662; The school for wives), he wrote fiveact comedies in verse, as well as comédies-ballets combining music, dance, and poetry with the clownish elements of commedia dell'arte. His comic characters often have a single dominant trait or "mask," suggested in many of the titles of his plays,

as in *L'étourdi* (1655, The bungler) and *L'avare* (1668, The miser). They also portray the social obsessions of Molière's elite audiences, as in his satirical portrait of educated women, *Les femmes savantes* (1672, The learned ladies) or in his penetrating portrayal of salon society, *Le misanthrope* (1666).

Having secured the favor of the young King Louis XIV, Molière undertook to fight, from the stage, the attacks on the theater being mounted by radical religious parties of the Catholic reform movement. A first version of his play Tartuffe, portraying a religious hypocrite who deceives his gullible and devout host and attempts to seduce his wife, was staged in 1664. It was immediately banned by the church's censors and attacked in print by Molière's former patron Conti, among others. Molière withdrew the play, but continued to press for its revival, at great personal risk, until a final version, which included a flattering panegyric to the king, was produced under royal protection in 1669. Meanwhile, in 1665, he composed and produced Dom Juan, a disquieting and innovative version of the story of the legendary seducer of women, who in Molière's version is a libertine and an atheist, a modern, educated nobleman who has lost his moral bearings.

Throughout the first decade of the reign of Louis XIV, Molière produced plays commissioned for court spectacles, many of them on short notice, in which he also played the principal role. His L'impromptu de Versailles (1663) gives us an amusing inside look at his own troupe at work attempting to rehearse a play that Molière has not had the time to finish. George Dandin (1668) was first performed at Versailles with ballet and musical intermèdes written by the composer Jean-Baptiste Lully, and Monsieur de Pourceaugnac was commissioned for a court spectacle at the château de Chambord in 1669. Le bourgeois gentilhomme (The would-be gentleman), a comédie-ballet also produced in collaboration with Lully, premiered at Chambord in 1670.

Molière died 17 February 1673, after collapsing during a production of his play *Le malade imaginaire* (The imaginary invalid), in which he was playing the title role. Denied burial on sacred ground because of his profession, he was finally interred, secretly and at night, in his parish cemetery by special permission of the king. The manner of his



Molière. Molière as the title character from his play Sganarelle; or, The Imaginary Cuckold, 1661. Engraving by Jean de Gourmont. ©GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS

death has become part of his legacy; students of the theater regard him as an iconic figure, devoted to the stage, whose work bridges the gap that so often divides the play as text and performance. The chair in which Molière was seated during his last production is preserved in the halls of the Comédie Française, an institution founded by several of the members of his troupe six years after his death, and today the world's oldest theater company.

See also Commedia dell'Arte; French Literature and Language; Lully, Jean-Baptiste.

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ELIZABETH C. GOLDSMITH

**MONARCHY.** We know a great deal about the monarchs of early modern Europe, but we know much less about monarchy, that is, the institution of personal rulership. Until the French Revolution, monarchy was usually taken for granted by Europeans. Since it was endorsed by the Bible and Aristotle, the touchstones of written truth, few thought to analyze it further. Those who did, like Jean Bodin or Thomas Hobbes, were viewed with suspicion by more cautious minds. The adjectives that we employ today to describe types of monarchy, such as "absolutist," "divine right," or "constitutional," were not used in a systematic way before the eighteenth century because they were not greatly needed. Other terms, like "thaumaturgic kingship," "sacral kingship," "the king's two bodies," or "enlightened absolutism," were coined long after 1800. While they may be quite useful in understanding early modern monarchy, it would be a mistake to apply them too rigorously, as if monarchs adhered to them as underlying principles.

Institutions that everyone takes for granted tend to be conservative, and this was certainly the case with monarchy. It generally fostered a distrust of political change. Yet monarchs could sponsor the most daring innovations, which became more acceptable because of their support. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable feature of early modern European monarchy was its recurring dynamism, its ability to create or adapt to new circumstances. Unlike its counterparts in many other parts of the world, European kingship between 1450 and 1800 was constantly changing in response to competition or crisis. By the eighteenth century, European monarchs possessed more effective means of communication and control than their rivals elsewhere, combined with better military technology. These advantages encouraged them to impose themselves



Monarchy. Elizabeth I Addresses the House of Lords, engraving c. 1558-1603. @Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis

on other parts of the world. Their systems of governance may not have been superior, but their organization was, however haphazard it may seem to us today. Thus, the transformation of rulership in early modern Europe had global consequences.

# INSTITUTIONAL DEFINITIONS

If called upon to define "monarchy," we might say that it is rulership over a political entity by one person who inherits his or her position by hereditary succession, is crowned, reigns for life, and exercises authority by the will of God rather than by the choice of the people. While this may be a reasonable overall description, it does not fit most early modern European monarchies very precisely, because they were so diverse. To begin with, few of them were simple political entities. Most were composite states, amalgamations of regions, provinces, or even kingdoms, whose chief or only point of unity was the person of the monarch. Spain after 1516 was not a single administrative unit; rather, it was a collection of separate kingdoms united only by allegiance to a single ruler. The same was true of Great Britain between 1603 and 1707. Today, national states are held together by identities based on common values and impersonal institutions. It is hard for us to imagine a political body that would dissolve if a single office were vacant, but that was the case with most early modern monarchies.

This in turn complicated the meaning of rulership, which might relate to little more than the existence of a monarch at the head of a realm. The dayto-day direction of the polity might rest in the hands of the king only in an abstract sense. He was, to be sure, the ultimate source of authority in the kingdom. Yet nowhere did he make every political decision, either alone or in his council; and nowhere was his power unrestricted. Customs, privileges, traditions, laws, Estates, assemblies, and parliaments—all put boundaries on royal power, sometimes so severely that the king was able to do very little on his own. Besides, in the "age of the favorite," kings were often happy to delegate power to a leading minister, such as Olivares in Spain, Richelieu in France, Buckingham in England, Oxenstierna in Sweden, and Griffenfeld in Denmark.

Personal rulership was in flux during the early modern period. It was traditionally understood to mean two things above all: leadership in war and the

administration of justice. Both roles had seriously decayed by the mid-1700s. Medieval kings regularly led troops into battle and were eager to intervene in strategic decisions during wartime. This began to change with the expansion of armies in the 1500s, and by 1750, generals and military experts were firmly in charge. Kings stopped regularly dispensing personal justice in the late Middle Ages and rarely exercised direct supervision of judicial systems, although they continued to use pardons as a means of exhibiting their final say over the law. The expanded mechanisms of war and impersonal justice were made possible by tax collection, which was carried out by officials acting in the king's name. Taxation became the most important practical function of government. Those who resisted taxes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries liked to claim that the ruler was ignorant of the tyranny and corruption of his officers ("if the king only knew . . ."), but by the eighteenth century this polite fiction had worn thin. The rumor that Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) was involved in a pacte de famine against his own people was a crucial factor in the erosion of his rulership over France. In some eyes, the warrior leader and font of justice had become little more than a chief bureaucrat.

Was monarchy always strictly hereditary? Poland, Bohemia (to 1627), Hungary (to 1688) and the Holy Roman Empire were elected monarchies, and nobles in other countries, notably Muscovy, Denmark, and Sweden, could fall back on the elective principle in times of crisis. The only nation where hereditary right was fixed in law was France, which was why some observers, like Claude de Seyssel, thought the French monarchy was more stable than any other. Yet in spite of its supposed virtues, the Salic Law, invented to keep English claimants off the French throne by ruling out inheritance in the female line, was not imitated in the rest of Europe. The English determined their own succession by armed struggle in 1461, 1471, and 1485, by usurpation in 1483, by the novel principle of female inheritance in 1553 and 1558, and by parliamentary statute in 1689 and 1714. The Swedes, whose Vasa kings were viewed as mere usurpers by their former Danish overlords, thrice chose a king by legislative approval. The Spanish royal inheritance of 1702 was dictated by the testament of Charles II, not by lineage alone. The Ottoman succession was never secure. In spite of Mehmed II's edict requiring a new sultan to execute his brothers, the empire suffered several usurpations and wars of succession before the "law of fratricide" fell into disuse in the seventeenth century.

Did a king rule for life? Not necessarily. Charles I of England was tried and executed in 1649; his son James II was deposed in 1688, although Parliament declared it an abdication. Queen Christina of Sweden really did abdicate in 1654 (she expected to be treated with royal dignity for the rest of her life). Philip V took the unprecedented step of first abdicating in 1724, then reclaiming the Spanish throne after the premature death of his son, Luis. Victor Amadeus of Savoy's abdication in 1730 was perceived as a devious ploy to regain the throne with more power (it failed when he was imprisoned). Ottoman sultans could not abdicate, but they were regularly murdered, particularly by rebellious Janissaries. The same grim fate was meted out to several Russian tsars, including the false Dmitry, Peter III, and Ivan VI.

Not all kings were crowned. The Ottoman Empire lacked a coronation ceremony, as did Castile; in both cases, the ruler was simply proclaimed, and banners unfurled. Elsewhere, the coronation ceremony was carefully observed, but the ordines or rules that governed the ritual were always subject to revision. The church had at first resisted the idea that coronation made the king into a holy figure, like a priest. By the early modern period, however, the clergy had given way to royal assertiveness. The coronation was now represented as an ordination, replete with holy oils and chrisms for anointing the king's body. It conferred an aura of sacredness on the royal person. Yet in hereditary monarchies, coronation did not initiate rulership, which began at the death of the preceding monarch. This contradiction was often noted, never resolved. In the eighteenth century, the legitimizing power of the coronation declined throughout Europe, and it became simply another occasion for display and panoply.

While coronation ceremonies usually retained some form of popular acclamation, they tended to reinforce the idea that early modern kings ruled by the will of God rather than that of the people. This was a consistent message, even in Poland, where the king was elected by the nobles and was frequently bullied by them. In practice, however, the will of God could be narrowly interpreted, as the Providence that maintained the king on the throne and gave him victories. It might also extend to acts of the king that directly invoked the deity, like the miracle of the royal touch in England and France; but when the king laid hands on sufferers to cure scrofula, it was God, not he, who performed the healing. Divine sanction did not mean that the king was a saint (although Russian tsars, Louis XIII of France, and the martyred Charles I of England were represented in that way), or that specific acts of royal governance expressed the intentions of the Almighty. It was often the opponents of monarchs, from the French Catholic League to Belgian patriots of the 1780s, who were most strident in appropriating heavenly favor for their political actions. Kings were usually more wary; after all, they had to deal with the guardians of religion, who resented claims to God's approval that were made without their explicit support. Even the Ottoman sultan was circumspect in his use of the title "caliph" or heir to the prophet.

Monarchs gradually became bolder in asserting control over the clergy and religion. This did not make them more sacred, but it did make them controversial. Tsars Alexis Mikhaylovich and his son Peter I (Peter the Great) outraged traditionalists with their religious reforms; so did James II in England. The regalism of the Bourbons, especially Louis XIV in France and Charles III in Spain, created many critics among devout Catholics. The attack against Jansenism that was initiated by Louis XIV and continued by his successor created a political furor that lasted sixty years. The most daring offender against religious sensibilities may have been Emperor Joseph II, who dissolved monasteries, gave toleration to Jews, and aroused bitter clerical opposition. As a result, traditionalist church parties formed throughout Europe. What they had in common was disillusionment with monarchy, causing a distrust that could feed into revolutionary sympathies after 1789.

## THEORIES OF RULERSHIP

If we turn from institutional definitions of monarchy to the theories of political writers, we may be surprised to find how little connection there was between them. Inspired by the ancients, political



**Monarchy.** The Disembarkation of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles, by Peter Paul Rubens, c. 1624. One of the most revered painters in Europe, Rubens was commissioned to create a series of works intended to immortalize the life of the French queen. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE

philosophers usually wanted to write for the ages, not to address specific institutional questions. While they were deeply influenced by what was happening around them, they consciously sought to separate their writings from contemporary circumstances. The impact of their theories, however, was seldom what they had expected.

The main classical sources for European political theory were Roman law, Aristotle (often filtered through Cicero), and the Roman historian Tacitus. Roman law dealt directly with the question of imperium, which could be understood variously, as absolute sovereignty (the emperor was above the laws) or as some sort of limited rulership (the emperor was bound by the laws). The civil lawyers often regarded imperium as meaning both simultaneously: that is, the king normally had to observe the laws, but could in special circumstances dispense with them. This was the point of view of leading imperial jurists, like Dietrich Reinking. The breakdown of imperial power in the Thirty Years' War, however, led some legal writers, like Hermann Conring and Samuel Pufendorf, to deny that the Holy Roman Empire was descended from ancient Rome. As a result, sovereign authority was held by German territorial rulers, not the emperor. The empire survived, however, and by the eighteenth century, constitutional equilibrium rather than imperium was the main concern of its civil lawyers.

The impact of Aristotle was more pervasive and subtle. His emphasis on personal balance and selfrestraint informed countless manuals on lordly behavior, or "Mirrors for Princes." They appeared in Muslim as well as Christian lands; in fact, one of the first and most important of them was written by the Islamic scholar al-Ghazālī, in the eleventh century. Desiderius Erasmus wrote one, as did Justus Lipsius and, in the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great of Prussia. The reading of Aristotle and Cicero inspired an abhorrence of despotism and a belief in the public good as the ultimate end of government. Aristotelians from Thomas Aquinas to Francisco de Vitoria to the great Spanish Jesuit writers (Pedro de Rivadeneira, Juan de Mariana, Francisco Suárez) held to the view that kings should rule for the benefit of the people. Since most of them were priests, they also stressed the supremacy of the church over any secular monarchy. Protestant Aristotelians like Martin Luther himself and Henning Arnisaeus accepted the primacy of religion but were more willing to separate monarchy from popular approval.

The third classical strain in early modern European political thought was derived from the historian Tacitus, who excoriated the corruption and decrepitude of the Roman imperial state. His main follower in our period was Niccolò Machiavelli, whose books on princely amorality and republican virtue were formally despised, but rarely ignored, by other political writers. Admirers of Tacitus were not always critical of monarchy; like Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, in the eighteenth century, they might believe that only a strong, heroic ruler could restore decayed virtue. Similarly, Tacitus's view that empires must continually grow or necessarily decay could supply arguments to both opponents and defenders of imperial expansion.

The classical tradition gave only limited sustenance to those political writers who wanted a more "absolute" monarchy. In fact, Aristotle and Cicero could be read as consistent with an interpretation of the Bible that saw kings as responsible to the people rather than directly to God. This was expressed by certain followers of John Calvin, called "monarchomachs," notably the German Johannes Althusius, the Scot George Buchanan, and the Frenchmen François Hotman, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, and Hubert Languet. They vested ultimate authority in the magistrates, in legislatures, or in the people rather the king. Buchanan, like Mariana, even allowed that open resistance to a tyrant might be legitimate.

Where could defenders of a stronger monarchy turn? To the Bible, of course, and to Roman history. For the French lawyer Jean Bodin, the sovereignty of a monarch could not be divided, shared, or legally resisted because it rested on the patriarchal power exercised by an all-powerful God as well as by ancient Roman fathers. The Englishman Robert Filmer carried Bodin a stage further by making patriarchal power "arbitrary," so that the father-ruler could do whatever he wanted, without any right of resistance. Most apologists for royal power, like Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, did not go so far as either Bodin or Filmer; they simply maintained that the authority of the king was derived from God, to whom he was solely responsible. This did not



Monarchy. King George III of England, painting by Sir Nathaniel Dance Holland. THE ART ARCHIVE/GRIPSHOLM CASTLE SWEDEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

entirely rule out some sort of original agreement with the people; but as the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius pointed out, once such an agreement was made, the people surrendered their sovereignty and had no right to reclaim it. Thomas Hobbes repeated the point in his Leviathan of 1651, which presented government as the convergence of individual wills in an "artificial man," the state. Hobbes's unorthodox religious and philosophical views ensured that few in England would acknowledge his contribution for the next century. On the other side, only the most radical political thinkers, like John Locke, continued to argue for a right to resistance to monarchs by the end of the seventeenth century, and Locke was not very clear about how it could be activated.

The Enlightenment added a new dimension to these debates, by introducing a critical, comparative method. It was best exemplified in Montesquieu's *L'esprit des lois* (1748; Spirit of the laws), which sought to replace the ideal categories of classical

philosophy with observations of the ways in which peoples were actually governed. The aristocratic Montesquieu was often read as a proponent of a mixed constitution based on the post-1688 English model. Admiration for England was widely held, but it did not wholly sway every enlightened mind (Voltaire, for example, continued to praise Louis XIV's powerful, activist monarchy). Foreign observers, moreover, tended to misinterpret the centralist English constitution.

By the late eighteenth century, many enlightened writers (Cesare Beccaria and Denis Diderot among them) had decided that the form of government was less important than what it accomplished in terms of the public good. Kings, it was hoped, would become reformers: "the first servants of the state," in Frederick the Great's memorable phrase. They would abolish torture, establish religious toleration, grant freedom of expression, and spread education among the masses. They might even transform the European empires into federations of sovereign states, a sentiment expressed by several prominent Spanish reformers.

The American Revolution complicated such aspirations because it associated reform with republicanism. At the same time, some proponents of economic change, like the Marquês de Pombal of Portugal, had proven themselves to be less than enlightened in other areas. A renewed threat to monarchy emerged in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who scorned the "despotism" of kings and suggested that sovereignty rested not in them, but in an abstract conception of the "general will" determined by the whole people. Few read Rousseau's Du contrat social (Social contract) when it first appeared in 1762, but it made a great impact on the subsequent generation. By the early 1790s, some enlightened thinkers throughout Europe held the view that, if kings were not willing to lead the nation and the people into a golden age of reform, they might not be necessary after all.

# COURTS AND DISPLAY

The works of political philosophers shaped educated minds, but until the late 1700s, they made little difference to the conduct of royal courts. The court was the main arena of royal display and magnificence. In the absence of bureaucratic institutions, it was also the center of monarchical govern-

ment. Leading members of the king's councils usually held prominent positions at court. Local officials often had to go to court to transact important business. Aristocrats jockeyed at court for positions, titles, honors, and the prestige of personal proximity to the sovereign.

The courts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were often peripatetic, moving between royal palaces and cities, or installing themselves temporarily in the houses of prominent nobles. By the late 1500s this had become too expensive and complicated, so courts became more or less fixed in a few big palaces, in or near administrative centers. They also grew. The salaried officials of the French court numbered around one thousand under Francis I; they swelled to eight to ten thousand under Louis XIV. The Spanish court remained at around fifteen to seventeen hundred persons during the same period, and the English court included about one thousand officers until the Civil Wars. The much smaller Austrian Habsburg court did not exceed six hundred persons from the late 1400s to the late 1600s, but by the second quarter of the eighteenth century it had reached twenty-five hundred. None of them, however, compared with the 95,000 employees and officers of the Ottoman court, among them 68,000 soldiers, 2,146 doorkeepers, 5,003 gardeners, and 1,372 cooks.

The main purpose of the court was to bring together the king's principal servants, both government officers and members of his household, in one place. This was particularly vital in composite monarchies, where high-ranking royal officials came from disparate regions and might even speak different languages. The king could not live in all his territories, so he had to call their leading men to him. A court where rewards were to be had was one to which they would flock; a feeble court would indicate a lack of cohesion in the kingdom. Thus, the court was above all a point of contact between the crown and the elite.

It was also a locale for royal and aristocratic display. Kings lived out much of their daily lives in public, and their every move, from rising in the morning to dining to walking in the palace gardens, could be accompanied by elaborate ceremony. Religious observances were particularly important occasions for ritual. The Russian court, for example, was

highly ritualized until the reign of Peter I, because the tsar was expected to perform endless religious duties. Every member of the high aristocracy (between 24 and 153 men) had a part in these ceremonies. For similar reasons, the Spanish court under the Habsburgs was obsessed with ritual, partly derived from the ordinances of the dukes of Burgundy. The king of Spain's cousins at the imperial court of Vienna, however, were much more relaxed—the emperor even dined privately, with his wife! The ritual of the French court waxed under Henry III and waned thereafter, until it was reestablished by Louis XIV at Versailles. English court ritual was never formalized to the same extent, with the exception of the annual Garter Ceremony, a favorite duty of Charles I.

Participation in the rituals of the court was determined by etiquette—not a list of behavioral rules, but a ranking of courtiers by precedence. Etiquette dictated who sat or stood near the king, who handed him his clothes or his towels or his food, who had a right to wear a hat in his presence. A courtier's position might be determined by office, by birth, or by some other distinction, such as the holding of a chivalric order. The king was the ultimate source of precedence, and he could manipulate the system of etiquette as he could the distribution of political positions. Few monarchs, however, made dramatic changes in etiquette or used it arbitrarily to control the aristocracy. They tended to reward those who already had influence, wealth, and social prestige. The court was not a self-enclosed social system; rather, its etiquette reflected the wider hierarchical society beyond it.

Artistic patronage was also based at court. Most kings enjoyed theatrical performances—plays, ballets, operas, masques—that were designed to edify the court nobility. They might call for the ruler to appear directly on stage, surrounded by obeisant courtiers. Some kings, like Philip IV of Spain or Charles I of England, assembled magnificent collections of paintings, both religious and secular. A few, like Louis XIV at Versailles or Frederick the Great at Potsdam, wanted to make their courts into artistic centers for the whole kingdom. In evaluating the impact of court art, however, we should remember how restricted the audience usually was. Monarchs spent far more on clothing than on paintings, and

no court dominated artistic life as completely as its royal patrons hoped.

By the eighteenth century, there were signs that the larger royal courts were in decline. The English court was reduced in size after 1660 and lost its centrality in art patronage after 1688. The king's old palaces were not updated, and in the end George III had to purchase a new one, Buckingham House, from a subject. Versailles remained magnificent, but under Louis XV its ceremonies became increasingly empty of significance, and it gained a reputation for luxury and corruption. Philip V's palace at La Granja and the new Habsburg palace of Schönbrunn near Vienna were designed for the private relaxation of the ruling family, an indication that royalty was no longer willing to live fully in the public glare. The Swedish court in the "Age of Liberty" was perceived as geriatric and moribund. There were exceptions: the Russian court, removed to St. Petersburg and stripped of much of its Orthodox ritual, presented a brilliant show, albeit one with limited relevance to the wider nation. It was still possible for a royal court to transform a city, architecturally and culturally, as the kings of Sardinia did at Turin after 1730.

Courts were never universally admired, even by those who frequented them. Throughout the early modern period, they were criticized for waste and vice. It is difficult to judge how effective they were in impressing a sense of royal grandeur on the minds of the people. Yet they were vital instruments of royal power, and it is impossible to imagine early modern monarchy without them.

# MONARCHY BEYOND THE COURT

What did the people of Europe know about monarchy? Even in France or Russia, only a fraction of the nobility went to court. As for townspeople and peasants, they may not even have known where the court was. Yet they were exposed to various images of monarchy, and kings made a definite mark on their lives. Over time, the ruler's control over them appears to have increased.

Subjects who did not live near the court might see the monarch during a royal entry into a town or a progress through the countryside. These were more common in the sixteenth century when courts were peripatetic, but they continued into the eighteenth century. The events of a monarch's life, from birth and baptism to accession, coronation, and eventual death, were marked by public celebrations or mourning. Royal funeral ceremonies involved lyings-in-state, processions, grand catafalques, and numerous religious ceremonies that affected large numbers of people. The churches took an active part in almost every public ceremony of monarchy, as well as in the dissemination of royal messages. In France, Te Deum services proliferated in the seventeenth century to commemorate occasions of importance to the crown. The Ottoman sultans were regularly blessed at Friday prayers in mosques throughout their empire, just as the English monarchs were on Sundays in Anglican churches. In return, the king took every opportunity to associate himself with religion. Marching behind the Host in the Corpus Christi procession was an important annual ritual for many Catholic monarchs.

Graphic images of kings became more available in the late sixteenth century through engravings and woodcuts. Queen Elizabeth of England tried in vain to prevent the sale of unauthorized pictures of herself. The market for prints was concentrated in towns, among the urban nobility and bourgeoisie. Peddlers, however, carried prints into the countryside, along with printed chapbooks that might contain idealized images or descriptions of rulers. By the late eighteenth century, newspapers had spread throughout western and central Europe, and the doings of courts were among their favorite topics. While they were often heavily censored, and could be prosecuted for seditious libel even in a relatively tolerant kingdom like Great Britain or Prussia, newspapers gave a regular insight into court life that had previously been available only to a select few. They complemented the often scandalous court memoirs that became popular reading material. It would be unwise to argue that the growing awareness of the doings of courts bred disillusionment with royal government, but it certainly encouraged critics, including those French pornographers who invented lurid (and wholly fictitious) accounts of the orgies presided over by Queen Marie Antoinette.

Ordinary people often looked to the king's law courts for justice against their aristocratic overlords. In Tudor England, the Court of Star Chamber meted out cheap justice to the poor; and in 1665–1666, Louis XIV's Assizes of Auvergne passed

eighty-seven sentences against gentlemen, "to rescue the people from the oppression of the powerful." Even as the Holy Roman emperor's power was declining after 1648, his Aulic Council continued to hear two to three thousand lawsuits every year. It made a big impression when Joseph I deposed a German prince after the council had investigated his execution of a peasant without a trial. Distrust of the nobility explains why ordinary people generally seem to have favored a stronger rather than a weaker monarchy. In Stockholm in 1743, for example, crowds eager for a Danish rather than a Russian successor to the throne called out, "One king and not many! No Russian puppet!" Unfortunately for them, they got almost thirty more years of aristocratic domination.

Subjects could prove more rebellious if the king tried to implement policies that were perceived to be despotic or impious, as the revolts of the midsixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries demonstrated. After 1660, however, the privileged classes seem to have become less willing to support serious rebellions. This permitted monarchs to extend the state controls that had been building up for the previous two centuries. Their measures mainly involved military organization, conscription, and taxation; but state interference could spill over into new areas like social welfare, peasant labor services, comprehensive school systems, or even the structure of composite monarchy (for example, the union of England and Scotland, the dissolution of privileges in Aragón, or the annexation of the Ukraine). Reform did not always work; the French monarchs were amazingly ambitious in setting out plans for improving the economic conditions of their kingdom, but almost all of them ended in spectacular failure, due to the power of vested interests.

Did European monarchs lay the foundations of the modern state? In a fiscal and military sense, they certainly did; and they came up with the winning formula of controlling the individual by creating allegiance to a distant authority wearing a human face. Nevertheless, most rulers were resistant to the next, crucial step in state formation: the dissemination of national identities. A few, like George III of England and Gustav III of Sweden, were happy to be seen as patriot kings, although both made political havoc by overplaying the role. Frederick the

Great was hailed as a German patriot by his admirers, but did not take the idea seriously. Joseph II tried to force the German language on his recalcitrant Hungarian subjects not because he was a patriot, but because he thought it would be more efficient. Charles III of Spain failed to appreciate the patriotic opposition to his Italian advisers, until riots in 1766 forced him to dismiss them. Catherine the Great and Louis XVI wanted to have nothing to do with national sentiments. Catherine was lucky enough to rule over a country where they were embryonic. Louis XVI was not so fortunate; his people wanted a patriot king, and when it became evident that he was not prepared to be one, popular disillusionment contributed to revolutionary anger.

In the next century, of course, monarchs would willingly become national icons. Their initial hesitation to commit themselves to nationalism, however, was well considered. Identification with a particular nation meant the end of the composite state with which early modern monarchy was so closely associated. It also meant that the ruler was now beholden to a national community, that is, to the people; and if he failed them, as so many monarchs did at the end of World War I, he could not expect to retain their allegiance.

See also Absolutism; Authority, Concept of; Bodin, Jean; Court and Courtiers; Divine Right Kingship; Hobbes, Thomas; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Political Philosophy; Resistance, Theory of; Ritual, Civic and Royal.

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PAUL MONOD

# MONEY AND COINAGE

This entry includes two subentries: CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE WESTERN EUROPE

# CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the late-medieval silver famine finally came to an end with the development of many new silver mines in the Alps, in the Erzgebirge, at Schwaz in Tyrol, at Schneeberg, Annaberg, and Buchholz in Saxony, and subsequently at Joachimstal in Bohemia. The so-called central European copper-silver mining boom was the result of two technological innovations: one in mechanical engineering, which permitted much more effective drainage of deeper mining shafts; and the other in chemical engineering, the Saiger process, which, for the first time, permitted silver and copper to be separated from each other in their ore bodies.

When this mining boom peaked in the 1530s, Europe's silver supply had expanded at least five-fold. The character of the silver coinages also changed with this mining boom. During the later Middle Ages, both fiscal exigencies and periodic scarcities of silver had encouraged many European

governments to engage in coinage debasements that often drastically reduced the silver contents of their coins. But from the later fifteenth century, many princes and city-states began striking much larger and much finer silver coins. The first to do so was the Habsburg Austrian Archduke Sigismond of Tyrol who, in 1486, used his silver mines at Schwaz to mint a new prototype, the Guldiner, weighing 31.9 grams, which was worth 1 golden florin (Goldgulden). These silver Guldiner, Gulden Groschen, or Talers were of the general size that the English later adopted for their silver crowns and, subsequently, the Americans for their silver dollars. When the Counts Schick, who controlled the Joachimstal silver mines in Bohemia, began striking Joachimstaler (28.7 grams) in 1519, these Talers became very popular in Europe.

After the central European mining boom began to wane, the production of Talers was sustained by the large influx of Spanish-American silver from the 1550s to the 1660s. The Italians, however, did not strike what Carlo Cipolla calls the "maxi-silver coins" until the mid-sixteenth century. In 1551, Milan, then under Spanish Habsburg domination, issued a silver scudo, later called a ducatone (about five times heavier than a testone), modeled on the Spanish Real of Eight (real de a ocho); Venice followed suit in 1563, in issuing the piastre, weighing 32.896 grams (with 31.19 g fine silver), worth 6 lire 4 soldi, that is, the full value of the silver-based ducat money of account (see "Money and Coinage: Western Europe"). In 1567, Genoa struck a silver scudo, weighing 37.265 grams (35.71 g fine silver), and the next year, in June 1568, Florence struck its own scudo or piastra, weighing 32.6 grams (31.2 g fine silver).

Despite the vast increases in silver supplies from central Europe and then the Spanish Americas, and also some increase in gold supplies from Portuguese-African imports, monetary stability had not yet been obtained. International trade and warfare consumed increasing quantities of coins; coins were also the object of speculation. Many mints counterfeited the popular *Taler*, issuing imitations of the same size but with reduced silver contents. In accordance with Gresham's law, the imitations drove the original, full-bodied *Talers* out of circulation, and many of them were exported as bullion to the

East. Warfare was also financed, to some degree, by coinage debasements.

If, as the companion essay shows, early modern western Europe experienced far less war-induced debasements than it had in the later Middle Ages, such was not the case in Germany and eastern Europe. The most notorious is Germany's inflationary debasement known as the Kipper- und Wipperzeit, which took place during the opening phases of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), when the emperor tried to mobilize new resources for financing his armies. To do so, he leased the imperial mints to a consortium formed by several entrepreneurs, including the Bohemian Stadtholder Liechtenstein and Colonel Albrecht von Wallenstein. The consortium debased the silver coinage by two-thirds, and reaped huge profits. When so many bad coins were received by the Imperial treasury, however, the government soon ended this experiment, imposed a recoinage, and, as in most other German territories, returned to stable money. Although the consequences of the Kipper- und Wipperzeit did not prevent later princes from engaging in debasements to finance their wars—for example, Louis XIV during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—in the long run, monetary stability did come to prevail. In 1690, Brandenburg, Saxony, and Braunschweig-Lüneburg entered into a monetary union that created a homogenous Taler zone in territorially scattered Germany.

In the eighteenth century, new sources of gold from Brazil along with a revival in Mexican silver mining improved the metallic base of European coins. While Britain introduced the gold standard (from 1718; see "Money and Coinage: Western Europe"), France maintained a bimetallic system, and its Louis d'or (22 carats, with 6.189 g fine gold), first struck in 1640, became the model coin for central Europe. Moreover, banknotes and the expansion of the banking system made coins less and less required for internal European trade. The Asian trade, however, still required large shipments of precious metals, especially the Spanish reales de a ocho and Dutch ducatons, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; later in the eighteenth century, they were replaced by silver bars minted in Asia.

See also Austria; Banking and Credit; Coins and Medals; Commerce and Markets; Habsburg Territories; Portuguese Colonies: Brazil; Prussia; Saxony; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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MICHAEL NORTH

## WESTERN EUROPE

The coinages of early modern Europe, which were basically a continuation of those created in the medieval era, were composed of the two precious metals—gold and silver—and the base metal copper. Most European countries and regions continued to employ a monometallic system based on silver, but supplemented by gold and copper. Silver provided the essential link between physical coins and the monetary systems in most principalities, in that the silver penny (with a few exceptions) always equalled the value of one penny in that principality's money of account: i.e., the denarius, denaro, denier, Pfenning. From Carolingian times (c. 795), the most widely used system in western Europe (except in Spain and parts of Germany) was based on the pound (libra, lira, livre, Pfund)—originally equal in value to the Carolingian pound weight of silver (489.51 g). For accounting purposes, it was subdivided into twenty shillings (solidi, soldi, sous, Schillingen), which in turn were subdivided into twelve pennies or pence, so that each money-of-account pound always consisted of 240 currently circulating pennies. For centuries, the only silver coins struck were the various regional pennies (and their subdivisions); and not until the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries did some Italian city-states, and then France, introduce heavier weight silver coins, known as grossi or gros. The Florentine grosso or fiorino was in fact first struck (in 1237) with a value of 12d (denari), as was the French gros tournois (12 deniers), from 1266; but England did not issue such a "shilling coin," known as the teston, until 1504.

By that time, the English pound sterling (20s) contained, or was worth, only 186.621 grams sterling silver (92.5 percent fine) or 172.624 grams fine silver—just over half of the original Tower Pound mint weight of sterling silver, 349.914 grams, dating from shortly after the Norman Conquest; it was

1.430 times heavier than the French mint weight, the *marc de troyes* (244.753 g—which was one-half of the old Carolingian pound). The French *livre tournois* by 1504 contained a mere 4.36 percent of the original Carolingian weight, now the Paris *livre*, of silver *argent-le-roy* (95.833 percent fine). Over the ensuing centuries, the explanation for this break—often an extreme divergence—from that Carolingian monetary link was coinage debasement.

This development highlights the monetary importance of the base metal copper. Even the very finest coins were always alloyed with some copper, since a hardening agent was required for these soft and malleable precious metals. As indicated, English sterling silver had 7.5 percent copper, and the French argent-le-roy coins, 4.17 percent. For too many impecunious princes and city-state governments, the profits to be gained through substituting proportionately more and more of this base metal alloy—hence the term debasement—for less and less silver were too tempting to resist. A complementary technique for reducing a coin's precious metal contents was simply to decrease the weight of the coin itself; together, these techniques allowed the prince to mint more and more coins of the same nominal or "face" value from a pound or marc of fine silver or gold. A more precise definition of debasement is the reduction of the quantity of precious metal silver or gold—represented in the principality's money-of-account system, that is, the pound, livre,

The profits derived from coinage debasement came from a seigniorage tax on the mint's coinage output, a tax borne by those who sold bullion to the mint, but ultimately by the public at large. The government's objective in undertaking aggressive debasements was to increase its mint outputs, and thus its seigniorage revenues, by forcing its subjects to remint their former good coins into a greater number of inferior ones having the same nominal or "face" value and also by luring bullion away from foreign mints by offering a higher mint price for gold or silver. Merchants who received the debased coins from the mint would profit by spending them quickly (at home or abroad) before the almost inevitable inflation ensued. Neighboring governments were in turn compelled to engage in defensive debasements to maintain their own coinage outputs and mint profits.

The success of so many debasements can be explained by the crudity of medieval and early modern mint techniques. In the production of so-called hammered coinage, employing an upper and lower die (hammer and anvil) to stamp the coins as well as shears to cut them, no two coins from the same batch were exactly identical; even money changers, equipped with accurate scales and touchstones, generally had great difficulty in detecting small changes in coinage alloy (fineness) and weight. Obviously, the general public was far more readily deceived by such debasements and thus had to accept the seigniorage tax.

England's kings had long been a significant European exception in undertaking debasements only rarely, chiefly for defensive reasons, and almost always only by reducing their coins' weight, while maintaining the traditional sterling fineness. For example, in 1526, Henry VIII altered the silver coinage for the first time in sixty-two years (since 1464) to match the current circulating standard, which had deteriorated through wear and tear, by reducing the penny's weight, and thus its silver content, by 11.13 percent (from 0.719 g to 0.639 g). From 1542 to 1551, however, he and his successor undertook the famous "Great Debasement," which employed both mint-manipulating techniques. The long-traditional sterling silver standard (11 oz, 2 dwt silver) was debased to a mere three ounces of silver so that, with so much copper (9 oz), the coins "did blush with shame"; overall, the penny's silver content was reduced by 83.10 percent (to just 0.108 g silver). (Net profits from the "Great Debasement" of 1544-1551, from all mints, amounted to £1,270,864.10 sterling, an immense sum for that era.) In 1553, the government restored most of the fineness (to 11 oz) and some of the weight—and thus the penny's pure silver content to 0.475 g. That task was completed with Elizabeth I's general recoinage of 1560, which restored the sterling silver standard, increasing the pure silver content to 0.480 g. Subsequently (apart from a very minor debasement in 1578, reversed in 1583), the English silver coinage remained unimpaired for over forty years, until July 1601, when it underwent another minor weight reduction, reducing the silver contents by a mere 3.33 percent (to 0.464 g). Thereafter, the English sterling silver coinage remained completely unaltered for over two centuries,

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undergoing its final weight reduction in 1817 (by 6.03 percent, with 0.436 g pure silver in the penny).

If the Henrician "Great Debasement" was therefore a striking anomaly in English monetary history, it was also not readily imitated elsewhere in early modern western Europe. It stood in sharp contrast to the monetary chaos that had afflicted the French, Flemish, Spanish, and most Italian silver coinages during the later Middle Ages. For example, fifteenth-century French coinage had become so impoverished in its silver content that the denier tournois was no longer a useful coin; and the standard or link coin became the blanc couronne or douzain (= 12d tournois; in effect, the shilling). Strengthened in 1488 to contain 1.023 grams of pure silver, it remained unaltered until 1519, when Francis I's minor debasement (reducing slightly both fineness and weight) diminished its fine silver content by 11.72 percent (to 0.903 g). When this coin underwent its final alteration in 1572, it lost another 22.18 percent of its fine silver (with only 0.703 g)—if not a minimal loss, certainly not a drastic one compared to so many medieval debasements.

Thereafter, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French monetary history is characterized by the issue of chiefly heavyweight, much finer, silver coins (see "Money and Coinage: Central and Eastern Europe"), and they generally had a fineness of full argent-le-roy. Their periodic "debasements" were not effected by physical changes but were implemented by yet a third technique: an increase in their face or money-of-account value. For example, in 1641, French mints issued the écu blanc with 26.062 grams fine silver and nominal value of 3 livres tournois; by 1693 this coin, physically unchanged, had increased in value to 3 livres 12 sous tournois. By 1791, when the final French silver coin of the medieval tournois genre was issued, as the post-Revolutionary écu constitutionelle, nominally worth 6 livres (with 28.260 g pure silver), the *livre tournois* then contained just and exactly—one percent of the fine silver in the Carolingian *libra* of about a thousand years earlier.

In early modern Italy, the various city-states and principalities (including the papacy) continued to strike their own individual coinages; but sufficient documentation is available only for Florence (to 1597). Having undergone considerable debasement for much of the medieval era, its silver coinage enjoyed relative, if not complete, stability for the one hundred years from 1371 to 1471, during which time the penny or denaro picciolo lost only 13.15 percent of its fine silver contents. But in 1472, it suffered a further and most dramatic loss of 71.13 of its fine silver (with just 2.08 percent fineness); and, when last issued in 1504 (with the same silver contents), its value was raised to 2d. The effective "link" money had become the quattrino (4d), which, in the same year, 1472, lost 30.85 percent of its fine silver contents; by 1560, it had lost a further 44.02 percent of its silver (with a reduction in fineness from the original 16.67 percent in 1332 to 8.33 percent in 1560).

More complex were debasements of the Florentine grosso (originally, the shilling coin). While nearly always retaining its argent-le-roy fineness (95.833 percent pure silver), its weight was periodically reduced, and its money-of-account value was increased, from 2s 0d in 1296 to 5s 6d in 1390, and finally to 7s 6d, with its final issue in 1531. During that period, its weight had been reduced by 34.03 percent, so that the pure silver content of the lira money of account, as reckoned in these grossi, had fallen by 56.02 percent. In the sixteenth century, Florentine silver coinage issues were also chiefly in the form of much heavier, higher-denomination coins, again all with argent-le-roy fineness: the Barile or Giulio, valued at 12s 6d (from 1504); the Cosimo, at one lira (that is, 20s, from 1539); the Testone, at two lire (40s, from 1540); and finally, the *Piastra*, at seven lire (140s, from 1568). During this century (1504 to 1597), the silver content of the lira, as reckoned in these coins, fell by only 17.24 percent (15.04 percent by 1552): from 5.386 grams to 4.4575 grams.

Even greater monetary stability was to be found in the silver coinages of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Habsburg Spain. From 1497 to 1686, the Spanish crown consistently minted (with one exceptional minor deviation in 1642–1643) two silver coins at 93.06 percent fineness: the *Real*, with 3.195 grams pure silver (67 cut from an alloyed marc of 230.0465 g) and a nominal money-of-account value of 34 *maravedis* (375 to the ducat money of account); and the heavyweight *Real* known as the "piece of eight" (*real de a ocho*), with

just over eight times as much fine silver: 25.997 grams and a value of 272 *maravedis*. In 1686 it was subjected to a very minor weight reduction that lowered its fine silver content to 25.919 grams. The American dollar can trace its descent from this Spanish coin.

The more interesting Spanish monetary phenomenon was the issue of petty billon or vellon coinage, beginning with the blanca of 1583, with a fineness of just 1.39 percent (containing only 0.0146 g silver), and a nominal value 0.5 maravedí. That was followed in 1597 by the maravedí coin itself, with a fineness of only 0.35 percent (and a silver content of just 0.0063 g); in 1599 that became Spain's first purely copper coin (minted at 140 per copper marc, and from 1602 at 280 per marc). Certainly, some of the ensuing inflation in seventeenth-century Spain, with a widening gap between nominal and silver-based prices, ranging from 4.0 percent in 1620 to 104.2 percent in 1650, has to be explained by such issues of copper coinage. Large volumes of copper coinages were made possible first by the central European silver and copper mining boom (c. 1460-1535), but subsequently and more especially, by the enormous expansion in Swedish copper production, peaking in the 1660s. The first European principality to issue a copper coinage had been, however, the Habsburg Netherlands, in 1543 (France, only in 1607, and England, not until 1672).

The Spanish-dominated government in the Habsburg Netherlands (from 1506) managed to retain, until the Revolt of the Netherlands broke out in 1568, a remarkable monetary stability. (The previous Burgundian regime had managed to achieve some stability only toward its end, in the years 1496-1500, after almost a century of frequently severe debasements.) The one significant set of Habsburg monetary changes took place in 1521, under Emperor Charles V. The silver stuiver or double groot (2d) was debased very slightly, in fineness only, so that it lost a mere 3.26 percent of its silver content (from 0.977 g to 0.945 g); and the pound groot Flemish, in terms of 120 stuivers (240d), now contained 113.453 grams fine silver. The major objective of the monetary change was to issue a new, heavier-weight silver coin, the double Carolus or Réal, 93.40 percent fine, and thus similar to the Spanish Real, though containing just 2.858 grams

fine silver, and worth 6d *groot* (3 stuivers). These silver coinages remained unchanged until 1553, when the stuiver underwent a debasement of 4.80 percent, so that the pound *groot* Flemish now contained 108.00 grams fine silver. By 1567, on the eve of the Revolt of the Netherlands, the stuiver had lost another 10 percent of its fine silver; and during the revolt era (to 1648), the stuiver of the now Spanish Netherlands lost a further 37.04 percent of its fine silver, so that the pound *groot* Flemish now contained only 61.20 grams fine silver—less than half of the silver prescribed in Charles V's 1521 monetary ordinance.

The major consequence of the revolt was the secession of the seven northern provinces, which, by the Union of Utrecht, in 1579, became the Republic of the United Provinces, better known as the Dutch Republic. It gained its de facto independence from Spain in the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Its monetary and coinage system retained, however, some important links with the pre-revolt Habsburg system. Its basic silver coin was the same stuiver, which, however, formed the shilling in the Dutch money-of-account system. The reason for this seeming anomaly is simple. From the 1460s, when the market value of the Rhenish gold florin (Rhineland Electors) had risen to 40d groot Flemish, many merchants in the then Burgundian Low Countries adopted this "florin" as an additional silver-based money of account whose value was fixed at 40d groot—one equal in value to the old *livre d'Artois* or livre de quarante gros. Thus, this florin money of account contained 20 stuivers, or "shillings." The other common names for the old Rhenish florin were gulden and guilder, the term for the Dutch money of account (with the symbol f), which disappeared only with the arrival of the Euro in January 2002.

During the seventeenth century, the Dutch *stuiver* (as issued from 1619 to 1681) enjoyed a remarkable stability in fineness (33.333 percent fine) and weight (1.310 g) and thus in its fine silver contents, 0.436 g. The florin money of account, in terms of 20 *stuivers*, thus contained 8.725 grams fine silver (and the equivalent of the Flemish pound *groot*, as 120 *stuivers*, contained 52.348 g fine silver). In 1681, its silver contents were increased to 0.472 grams: by an improved fineness, to 58.30 percent, though with a reduction in weight, to

0.810 grams; and it retained that composition and unchanged value (9.445 g fine silver in the florin money of account) until it was last minted in 1791, on the eve of the French Revolutionary invasion of the Dutch Republic.

Throughout this long period, the Dutch Republic also issued various series of heavyweight silver coins, chiefly used in Dutch overseas commerce. The earliest, struck from 1606, were the Rijksdaalder ('state dollar'), a named derived from the Bohemian Taler (Joachimsthaler), 87.50 percent fine, with 25.264 grams fine silver, and a value of 47 stuivers; and the Leeuwendaalder ('lion dollar'), 74.30 percent fine, with 20.459 grams five silver, and a value of 38 stuivers. Their official values were raised to 52 and 42 stuivers, respectively, in 1659, when two new heavyweight coins were issued (both struck until 1798): the *Rijder* ('knight'), 93.80 percent fine, with 30.388 grams fine silver, and a value of 63 stuivers; and the Dukaat (ducat), 86.80 percent fine, with 24.241 grams fine silver, and a value of 50 stuivers. Surprisingly, not until 1681, when the stuiver's silver contents were enhanced, was an actual coin named the Gulden finally issued, with a value of 20 stuivers: 91.10 percent fine, with 9.557 grams fine silver. It is also significant that during the seventeenth century, the Dutch stuiver and the English sterling penny, as issued from 1601, with 0.464 grams fine silver, were virtually identical in silver contents, so that each had the market exchange value of the other.

The gold coinages of early modern Europe, commanding lesser economic importance, thus deserve less attention. In medieval and early modern Europe, according to many historians, their use was reserved for international trade and finance, for a reason made obvious by this example: in the years 1521–1525, a single Venetian ducat or Florentine florin (both containing about 3.45 g fine gold) could be used to purchase, on average, 628 eggs or 243 herrings on the Antwerp market; an English gold "angel" noble (with 7.735 g fine gold) could be used to purchase, on average, 934 eggs or 362 herrings. Obviously, one would never spend gold coins for such transactions; instead, a silver stuiver would more likely have been used to purchase sixteen eggs or six herrings on the Antwerp market. Yet, in the seventeenth century, western European merchants chiefly employed heavyweight silver

coins, and gold only infrequently, in conducting their trade with the Baltic, Russia, the Levant (eastern Mediterranean), and Asia, for three reasons. First, the initially wide divergences in the bimetallic ratios—the ratio of the values of gold and silver, ounce per ounce, on the market—between East and West meant that silver had a much higher purchasing power in goods in these regions than it did in western Europe. The massive increases in European silver supplies, first from the central European mining boom, and then, by the 1560s, from the influx of Spanish American silver, reduced the relative value of silver, and thereby increased the bimetallic ratio in England from about 10:1 in the 1450s to 16:1, by the 1660s. But second, when the bimetallic ratios in India and London had then both achieved this level by the 1660s—thanks to the massive inflows of western silver into Asia—the Asian payments systems were still designed to accommodate the well-known European silver coins more easily than their gold coins. Third, since western merchants had little of value in merchandise to sell in these regions, and thus required precious metals to purchase about 70 percent of the value of their eastern goods (spices, silks, etc.), the ships that sailed to these regions left western ports so empty that the silver, with from twelve to sixteen times the weight of the equivalent value of gold, served as a useful ballast. For reasons that seem less obvious to the economist, these large heavyweight silver coins also predominated, from the 1550s, in the international commerce of the great European fairs.

Nevertheless, within western Europe itself, before the large, heavy silver coins achieved their predominance, gold coins had served as the more useful medium of international exchange, for two reasons. The first, as just suggested, was a superior value: weight ratio, so that merchants requiring precious metals for their commerce (rather than bills of exchange) found it more economical to transport gold, when transport costs had become so high in war-torn late-medieval Europe. Second, gold coinages were far less subject to physical coinage debasements than were silver coins, especially those of small denomination. In view of the far higher value of gold coins, affluent merchants, engaged in international trade, were far more likely to test such coins for proper weight and fineness than were petty merchants using silver coins in domestic trade. Since

TABLE 1.

fear First Struck	Year Last Struck	Name of Coin	Fineness in Carats: out of 24	Percentage Fineness	Weight in Grams	Pure Gold Content in Grams	Value in Pence in Money of Account *	Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound	Grams Pur Gold in the Pound Money of Account
England							*pound sterling	ı	
1465	1525	Ryal, Rose Noble	23.875	99.48%	7.776	7.735	120	0.500	15.471
1465	1525	Angel-Noble	23.875	99.48%	5.184	5.157	80	0.333	15.471
1489	1525	Sovereign	23.875	99.48%	15.552	15.471	240	1.000	15.471
1526	1542	Sovereign	23.875	99.48%	15.552	15.471	270	1.125	13.752
1526	1542	Ryal, Rose Noble	23.875	99.48%	7.776	7.735	135	0.563	13.752
1526	1542	Crown	22.000	91.67%	3.714	3.404	60	0.250	13.617
1542	1545	Sovereign	23.000	95.83%	12.960	12.420	240	1.000	12.420
1542	1545	Ryal, Rose Noble	23.000	95.83%	6.480	6.210	120	0.500	12.420
1545	1546	Sovereign	22.000	91.67%	12.441	11.405	240	1.000	11.405
1545	1546	Ryal, Rose Noble	22.000	91.67%	6.221	5.702	120	0.500	11.405
1546	1549	Sovereign	20.000	83.33%	12.441	10.368	240	1.000	10.368
1546	1549	Ryal, Rose Noble	20.000	83.33%	6.221	5.184	120	0.500	10.368
1546	1549	Crown	20.000	83.33%	3.110	2.592	60	0.250	10.368
1549	1550	Sovereign	22.000	91.67%	10.978	10.063	240	1.000	10.063
1549	1550	Ryal, Rose Noble	22.000	91.67%	5.489	5.031	120	0.500	10.063
1549	1550	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.744	2.516	60	0.250	10.063
1550	1551	Sovereign	23.875	99.48%	15.552	15.471	288	1.200	12.892
1550	1551	Ryal, Rose Noble	23.875	99.48%	7.776	7.735	144	0.600	12.892
1551	1553	Sovereign	22.000	91.67%	11.310	10.368	240	1.000	10.368
1551	1553	Ryal, Rose Noble	22.000	91.67%	5.655	5.184	120	0.500	10.368
1551	1553	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.828	2.592	60	0.250	10.368
1553	1560	Sovereign	23.875	99.48%	15.552	15.471	360	1.500	10.314
1553	1560	Ryal, Rose Noble	23.875	99.48%	7.776	7.735	180	0.750	10.314
1560	1593	Sovereign	23.875	99.48%	15.552	15.471	360	1.500	10.314
1560	1572	Ryal, Rose Noble	23.875	99.48%	7.776	7.735	180	0.750	10.314
1560	1593	Sovereign	22.000	91.67%	11.310	10.368	240	1.000	10.368
1560	1572	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.828	2.592	60	0.250	10.368
1572	1578	Crown	23.875	99.48%	2.592	2.578	60	0.250	10.314
1593	1601	Sovereign	22.000	91.67%	11.310	10.368	240	1.000	10.368
1593	1601	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.828	2.592	60	0.250	10.368
1601	1604	Sovereign	22.000	91.67%	11.142	10.213	240	1.000	10.213
1601	1604	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.785	2.553	60	0.250	10.213
1604	1612	Unite	22.000	91.67%	10.033	9.197	240	1.000	9.197
1604	1612	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.508	2.299	60	0.250	9.197
1605	1612	Rose Ryal	23.875	99.48%	13.824	13.752	360	1.500	9.168
1612	1623	Rose Ryal	23.875	99.48%	13.824	13.752	396	1.650	8.334
1612	1623	Crown	23.875	99.48%	2.304	2.292	66	0.275	8.334
1612	1623	Unite	22.000	91.67%	10.038	9.202	264	1.100	8.365
1612	1623	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.510	2.300	66	0.275	8.365
1623	1626	Rose Ryal	23.875	99.48%	12.581	12.516	360	1.500	8.344
1623	1626	Unite	22.000	91.67%	9.103	8.345	240	1.000	8.345
1623	1626	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.276	2.086	60	0.250	8.345
1626	1649	Rose Ryal	23.875	99.48%	8.387	8.344	240	1.000	8.344
1626	1649	Unite	22.000	91.67%	9.103	8.345	240	1.000	8.345
1626	1649	Double Crown	22.000	91.67%	4.552	4.172	120	0.500	8.345
1626	1649	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.276	2.086	60	0.250	8.345
1649	1660	Unite	22.000	91.67%	9.103	8.345	240	1.000	8.345
1649	1660	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.276	2.086	60	0.250	8.345
1660	1686	Rose Ryal	23.875	99.48%	8.387	8.344	240	1.000	8.344
1660	1686	Unite	22.000	91.67%	9.103	8.345	240	1.000	8.345
1660	1686	Crown	22.000	91.67%	2.276	2.086	60	0.250	8.345
1686	1703	Unite	22.000	91.67%	8.387	7.689	240	1.000	7.689

TABLE 1-CONTINUED.

Year First Struck	Year Last Struck	Name of Coin	Fineness in Carats: out of 24	Percentage Fineness	Weight in Grams	Pure Gold Content in Grams	Value in Pence in Money of Account *	Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound	Grams Pur Gold in the Pound Money of Account
England							*pound sterling	J	
1686	1703	Double Crown	22.000	91.67%	4.194	3.844	120	0.500	7.689
1703	1718	Unite	22.000	91.67%	8.387	7.689	240	1.000	7.689
1703	1718	Double Crown	22.000	91.67%	4.194	3.844	120	0.500	7.689
1718	1815	Guinea	22.000	91.67%	8.387	7.689	252	1.050	7.322
1718	1815	Half Guinea	22.000	91.67%	4.194	3.844	126	0.525	7.322
France							*livre tournois		
1456	1483	écu neuf	23.125	96.35%	3.447	3.322	330	1.375	2.416
1474	1494	écu couronne	23.125	96.35%	3.399	3.275	363	1.513	2.166
1494	1519	écu sol	23.125	96.35%	3.496	3.369	435	1.813	1.859
1519	1541	écu sol	23.000	95.83%	3.439	3.296	480	2.000	1.648
1541	1550	écu croisé	23.000	95.83%	3.439	3.296	540	2.250	1.465
1550	1561	Henri d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.653	3.501	600	2.500	1.400
1561	1573	écu d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.376	3.235	600	2.500	1.294
1573	1575	écu d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.376	3.235	648	2.700	1.198
1575	1602	écu d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.376	3.235	720	3.000	1.078
1602	1640	écu d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.376	3.235	780	3.250	0.995
1640	1643	écu d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.376	3.235	1248	5.200	0.622
1640	1669	Louis d'or	22.000	91.67%	6.752	6.189	2400	10.000	0.619
1643	1669	écu d'or	23.000	95.83%	3.376	3.235	1254	5.225	0.619
1655	1669	Lis d'or	23.250	96.88%	4.046	3.919	1680	7.000	0.560
1669	1687	Louis d'or	22.000	91.67%	6.752	6.189	2640	11.000	0.563
1687	1689	Louis d'or	22.000	91.67%	6.752	6.189	2700	11.250	0.550
1689	1693	Louis à l'écu	22.000	91.67%	6.752	6.189	3000	12.500	0.495
1693	1704	Louis aux 4 lions	22.000	91.67%	6.752	6.189	3360	14.000	0.442
1704	1709 1716	Louis aux 8 lions	22.000	91.67%	6.752 8.158	6.189 7.479	3600 4800	15.000	0.413 0.374
1709		Louis aux 8 lions	22.000	91.67%				20.000	
1716 1718	1718 1720	Louis Noailles	22.000	91.67%	12.238	11.218	7200	30.000	0.374
1710 1719	1720	Louis Malte Quinzain	22.000 23.875	91.67% 99.48%	9.790 3.737	8.974 3.717	8640 3600	36.000 15.000	0.249 0.248
1719	1720		22.000	99.46% 91.67%	3.737 9.790	3.717 8.974	12960		0.246
1723	1723	Louis aux 2 lions Louis mirliton	22.000	91.67%	9.790 6.527	5.983	6480	54.000	0.100
1726	1740	Louis lunettes	22.000		8.158	7.479	4800	27.000	0.222
1740	1740	Louis funettes  Louis bandeau (lunettes)	22.000	91.67% 91.67%	8.158	7.479 7.479	5760	20.000 24.000	0.374
1740 1785	1705	Louis écu	22.000	91.67%	7.649	7.479 7.011	5760 5760	24.000	0.312
							*pond		
Souther	n Netherlar	nds					groot Flemish		
1466	1467	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	41.00	0.171	15.753
1467	1474	Philippus Florin	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	42.00	0.175	15.378
1474	1477	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	48.00	0.200	13.456
1477	1482	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	54.00	0.200	13.456
1482	1487	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	60.00	0.250	10.765
1487	1489	Grand réal	23.792	99.13%	14.834	14.705	432.00	1.800	8.169
1487	1489	Noble de Bourgogne	23.792	99.13%	7.417	7.352	216.00	0.900	8.169
1489	1492	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	40.00	0.167	16.147
1489	1492	Double Florin	23.792	99.13%	5.563	5.514	80.00	0.333	16.543
1492	1495	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	48.00	0.200	13.456
1492	1495	Florin de Bourgogne	18.500	77.08%	3.263	2.516	46.00	0.192	13.124
1495	1496	Florin de Bourgogne	19.000	79.17%	3.399	2.691	54.00	0.225	11.961
1496	1499	Toison d'or	23.792	99.13%	4.491	4.452	96.00	0.400	11.130
1496	1499	Philippus Florin	16.000	66.67%	3.308	2.205	48.00	0.200	11.025

TABLE 1-CONTINUED.

Year First Struck	Year Last Struck	Name of Coin	Fineness in Carats: out of 24	Percentage Fineness	Weight in Grams	Pure Gold Content in Grams	Value in Pence in Money of Account *	Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound	Grams Pur Gold in the Pound Money of Account
Souther	n Netherlan	ids (cont.)					*pond groot Flemish	ı	
1499	1521	Toison d'or	23.792	99.13%	4.491	4.452	100.00	0.417	10.685
1499	1521	Philippus Florin	16.000	66.67%	3.308	2.205	50.00	0.208	10.584
1500	1521	Philippus Florin	15.917	66.32%	3.308	2.194	50.00	0.208	10.529
1521	1556	réal d'or	23.792	99.13%	5.321	5.275	127.00	0.529	9.968
1521	1556	Carolus florin	14.000	58.33%	2.914	1.700	42.00	0.175	9.712
1556	1559	réal d'or	23.792	99.13%	5.321	5.275	140.00	0.583	9.042
1556	1559	couronne d'or	22.292	92.88%	3.423	3.180	80.00	0.333	9.538
1559	1567	couronne d'or	22.292	92.88%	3.423	3.180	82.00	0.342	9.306
1567	1572	florin de Bourgogne	18.583	77.43%	3.263	2.527	68.00	0.283	8.918
1572	1574	florin de Bourgogne	18.583	77.43%	3.263	2.527	69.00	0.288	8.789
1574	1576	florin de Bourgogne	18.583	77.43%	3.263	2.527	71.00	0.296	8.541
1576	1577	florin de Bourgogne	18.583	77.43%	3.263	2.527	76.50	0.319	7.927
1577	1577	double florin	20.000	83.33%	3.022	2.518	80.00	0.333	7.554
1577	1579	double florin	20.000	83.33%	3.022	2.518	86.00	0.358	7.027
1579	1580	rose noble	23.792	99.13%	7.649	7.582	265.00	1.104	6.867
1580	1581	double ducat	23.583	98.26%	7.199	7.074	240.00	1.000	7.074
1581	1589	double ducat	23.583	98.26%	7.199	7.074	268.00	1.117	6.335
1589	1590	double ducat	23.583	98.26%	7.199	7.074	271.00	1.129	6.264
1590	1599	double ducat	23.583	98.26%	7.199	7.074	284.00	1.183	5.978
1599	1609	double ducat	23.583	98.26%	6.993	6.920	300.00	1.250	5.536
1599	1609	Albertin	19.000	79.17%	2.914	2.307	100.00	0.417	5.536
1609	1610	Albertin	19.000	79.17%	2.914	2.307	104.50	0.435	5.298
1610	1612	Albertin	19.000	79.17%	2.914	2.307	105.00	0.438	5.272
1612	1614	Sovereign	23.708	98.79%	5.153	5.090	240.00	1.000	5.090
1614	1621	Couronne (crown)	21.167	88.19%	3.411	3.009	144.00	0.600	5.014
1621	1666	Sovereign	22.750	94.79%	5.531	5.243	266.00	1.108	4.731
1621	1666	Couronne (crown)	21.500	89.58%	3.411	3.056	160.00	0.667	4.584
1666	1700	Sovereign	22.750	94.79%	5.531	5.243	300.00	1.250	4.194
1700	1703	Sovereign	22.750	94.79%	5.531	5.243	400.00	1.667	3.146
1702	1713	Sovereign	22.750	94.79%	5.531	5.243	300.00	1.250	4.194
		<b>.</b>					*lira di		
Florence	e						denari piccioli	İ	
1466	1467	florin	23.652	98.55%	3.541	3.489	1344	5.600	0.623
1485	1485	florin	23.681	98.67%	3.528	3.481	1476	6.150	0.566
1485	1486	florin	23.861	99.42%	3.528	3.507	1500	6.250	0.561
1490	1490	florin	23.444	97.68%	3.528	3.446	1560	6.500	0.530
1490	1491	florin	23.530	98.04%	3.528	3.459	1560	6.500	0.532
1491	1492	florin	23.542	98.09%	3.528	3.460	1560	6.500	0.532
1510	1511	florin	23.831	99.30%	3.509	3.485	1680	7.000	0.498
1511	1511	florin	23.482	97.84%	3.509	3.434	1680	7.000	0.491
1511	1512	florin	23.516	97.98%	3.509	3.439	1680	7.000	0.491
1524	1525	florin	23.472	97.80%	3.500	3.423	1680	7.000	0.489
1530	1533	scudo	22.500	93.75%	3.412	3.199	1680	7.000	0.457
1531	1531	florin	23.820	99.25%	3.500	3.474	1800	7.500	0.463
1533	1535	scudo	22.000	91.67%	3.395	3.112	1680	7.000	0.445
1535	1548	scudo	22.000	91.67%	3.395	3.112	1740	7.250	0.429
1548	1556	scudo	22.000	91.67%	3.379	3.097	1740	7.250	0.427
1556	1571	scudo	22.000	91.67%	3.379	3.097	1824	7.600	0.407
1571	1597	scudo	22.000	91.67%	3.379	3.097	1824	7.600	0.407

TABLE 1—CONTINUED.

Gold Coinages Struck in Western Europe, 1456–1792											
Year First Struck	Year Last Struck	Name of Coin	Fineness in Carats: out of 24	Percentage Fineness	Weight in Grams	Pure Gold Content in Grams	Value in Pence in Money of Account	Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound	Grams Pure Gold in the Pound Money of Account		
							*ducat of				
Spain							375 maravedis	3			
1537	1566	escudo	22.000	91.67%	3.383	3.101	350	0.933	3.323		
1566	1609	escudo	22.000	91.67%	3.383	3.101	400	1.067	2.907		
1609	1642	escudo	22.000	91.67%	3.383	3.101	440	1.173	2.643		
1642	1643	escudo	22.000	91.67%	3.383	3.101	550	1.467	2.114		
1643	1686	escudo	22.000	91.67%	3.383	3.101	510	1.360	2.280		

gold coins were given a money-of-account value in terms of the silver coinage, merchants could easily have discounted the value of a debased gold coin by reducing its exchange value proportionately. If the silver stuiver were debased by, say, 10 percent, merchants and the public would have found it impracticable to discount its value from 2d to 1.8d; instead, they would have raised prices for merchandise to compensate for the lost silver. The other reason that explains why gold coins were so infrequently subjected to physical debasements was their symbolic relationship with sovereignty. Few princes—or even city-state potentates, such as the doge of Venice would have tolerated having their reputations tarnished abroad by allowing international circulation of their debased gold (or heavyweight silver) coins; as indicated earlier, debasements of smalldenomination silver coins posed no such threats since most circulated only within the prince's or city-state's territory. But, as with heavyweight silver coins, a government could effect a technical "debasement" of its gold coins by raising their domestic value in the silver-based money of account, as indicated in the accompanying table; that action was often necessary to maintain a desired bimetallic mint ratio when engaging in a silver debasement (which thus made silver coins relatively cheaper).

In later medieval and early modern Europe, by far the two most famous gold coins were the Florentine florin, struck from 1252 to 1533, and the Venetian ducat, struck from March 1285 (not 1284, as commonly stated) until the French invasion of 1797. In theory, both of these so-called "dollars" of the Middle Ages contained about the same

amount of fine gold: 3.536 grams for the florin and 3.545 grams for the ducat; and, indeed, exchangerate evidence for France, Flanders, and England for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reveals that they virtually always commanded identical values in each country's local currencies. In theory, both were supposedly pure gold of twenty-four carats, but in fact they usually contained about 23.875 carats (99.48 fine), the same as the English gold noble. But unlike the noble, which periodically (every fifty years or so) underwent weight reductions, the florin only infrequently varied in either weight or fineness, by any significant amount, according to the mint accounts. Such accounts are regrettably missing for the ducat, which has, perhaps for this reason, enjoyed a better reputation with monetary historians. As the accompanying table indicates, the fine gold content of the florin, during the years 1466 to 1531, varied from a high of 3.507 grams (1486) to a low of 3.423 grams (1524). The florin ceased to be issued in 1533, when its money-ofaccount value (originally twenty soldi or one lira of 240d, in 1252) had reached 7 lire 10 soldi in the Florentine moneta di piccioli; from that date it became a silver-based money of account with that fixed value. The florin had been superseded by another gold coin, known as the scudo (or écu, in French), valued at exactly 7.0 lire, inferior in both fineness and weight to the florin. It was first struck in June 1530, with only 22.5 carats (93.75 percent fine) and a weight of 3.412 grams, and thus a fine gold content of 3.119 grams. In 1533, its fineness was reduced to 22 carats (91.67 percent fine), which was retained thereafter, but by 1548 its

weight had fallen to 3.379 grams (3.097 g fine gold), while its official value has risen to 7 lire 12 *soldi*, increasing to 7 lire 12 *soldi* in 1556 (but remaining at that value for the rest of the century). As noted earlier, Florence also issued a series of heavyweight silver coins during this century.

In Venice, the ducat changed its name, though not its physical composition, in 1517 to become the zecchino (sequin d'or), a name derived from ducato di zecca (that is, ducat of the mint). The term ducat was then reserved for a silver-based money of account, with a fixed value of 6 lire 4 soldi Venetian (in current money). Subsequently (by or before 1563), the Venetians also issued a heavyweight silver coin, the ducato d'argento, more commonly called the piastra, containing 31.19 grams fine silver. All of these heavyweight silver coins—Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian, and Austrian—commanded continuous international respect, chiefly because they were not subjected to physical debasements for the same reasons that the major gold coins were spared this fate. According to Herman Van der Wee, the European predominance of the large silver coins lasted until 1718, when Great Britain issued its famous gold guinea (22 carats, with 7.689 g fine gold); in doing so-though more by accident than design, in overvaluing the coin at 21 shillings—the British inaugurated the modern era of the gold standard.

For monetary historians, as well as for numismatists, every gold and silver coin has its own interesting history. If a picture is worth a thousand words, perhaps the following table on European gold coinages from the later fifteenth to late eighteenth centuries, will suffice to reveal the varieties of gold coinages and their almost continuous "debasements" in terms of the fine gold content in each principality's or city-state's money of account.

See also Banking and Credit; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); City-State; Coins and Medals; Commerce and Markets; Dutch Republic; Florence; Francis I (France); Henry VIII (England); Netherlands, Southern; Venice.

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JOHN H. MUNRO

# MONINO Y REDONDO, JOSE. See

Floridablanca, José Moñino, count of.

**MONOPOLY.** Monopoly and competition are diametric terms used to describe complex relations among firms in a single industry. Simply put, monopoly is the exclusive control by one firm or group of firms of the means of producing or selling a commodity or service. As sole supplier, the monopolist can set any price, provided the sales generated are acceptable. Generally that price will be beyond production costs, and it will return profits in excess of normal return on investment.

When Adam Smith (1723–1791) wrote his sustained attack on monopolies in An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776), he did not have single-firm monopolies in mind. These are relatively rare, except for those established by state policy or subject to state regulation. Rather, Smith directed his criticism toward multifirm industries with statutory protection, like medieval guilds.

## MEDIEVAL COMPETITION

The medieval economy appears to have had a positive aversion to competition, which occurs in a free or atomistic form when the number of producers or sellers in a single industry is so large that each seller's share of the market is too small to affect the market share or income of any competitor. Thus, each seller must adjust output and price to reflect established market conditions. These conditions are affected, in turn, by the ease of entry into the industry, the concentration of sellers in the industry, and the degree of product differentiation in the industry. Given the widespread medieval presumption of fixed resources and limited growth, where pure competition would lead to failure and suffering, these conditions had to be regulated. So, medieval polities opted for monopolistic structures.

Monopoly constituted a form of political protection in most sectors of the medieval economy. Manorial agriculture relied on the guaranteed tenure of peasants on the land and the guaranteed rights of landlords, both of which were types of monopoly. Guilds strictly regulated access to markets and differentiation of products, thus establishing monopolies in most medieval industries. Shipping corporations exercised monopoly rights over transportation along certain routes, such as the Alpine passages. Merchant companies received extraction-and-purchase monopolies for metal ores from mines in certain regions, such as Tyrol or Saxony, in some instances expanding these to near domination of entire industries, as by the Fugger in copper or the Höchstetter in mercury. Nearly all corporations sought monopoly rights for themselves. In most cases, these were thought to guarantee the shared interests of all, producers and consumers alike.

## EARLY MODERN OPPOSITION

Attitudes began to change as early as the fifteenth century. More accurately, attitudes began to be recorded, published, and preserved more consistently at this time. Merchant companies came under suspicion of manipulating prices through monopoly. The 1425–1429 guild rising in the south German city of Constance demanded the dissolution of commercial firms, and the Reformatio Sigismundi (1438–1439) reflected this sentiment. (The Reformatio Sigismundi, a document attributed to the Emperor Sigismund [ruled 1433-1437], set forth a program of social and ecclesiastical reform within the Holy Roman Empire. Though not accepted in its day, many of its ideas resonated in the Protestant Reformation a century later.) Complaints multiplied against "monopolists," who hoarded commodities to keep prices artificially high. By the sixteenth century, "monopoly" had become a clarion call of opposition not only to monopolies in the strict sense, but also to cartels, syndicates, hoarders, and usurers who did not deserve it, however questionable their dealings.

Matters came to a head in the Holy Roman Empire, where large mercantile companies, such as the Fugger, Rehlinger, and Höchstetter, engaged in interest-bearing credit and investment transactions as well as price-manipulating monopolies and cartels to increase their profits. Such activities inspired opposition from many strata of society, not only artisans and peasants but also merchants and princes, all of whom saw their expenses rise and incomes fall within the environment of the "price revolution" of the sixteenth century. They found a compelling spokesman in Martin Luther (1483-1546), who viewed such commercial enterprises with a "peasant's mistrust." He wrote and preached repeatedly against interest and usury. His 1524 pamphlet "Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher" lumped monopoly among these other abuses according to the rationale that any price beyond a just price constituted usury—a violation of divine law.

By this time the issue had already engaged the attention of the imperial government for more than a decade. At the urging of estates in the territories of the Hanseatic League and Franconia, centers of opposition to monopolistic practices, the Imperial Diet of 1512 first considered limiting the activities of the great mercantile houses. In 1523, the Reichsfiskal, an institution of the imperial government charged with overseeing taxation and expenditures, lodged a formal complaint against the monopolistic practices of six Augsburg firms, the

Fugger above all others. Only the refusal of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558) to support the measure—prompted by the personal influence of his banker, Jacob Fugger himself—prevented the measure from becoming law. Yet the antimonopoly forces were not ready to admit defeat. The Reichsfiskal renewed its complaint and brought the matter before the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Its members moved to form a commission, which prepared a report for the "common good" on the monopolistic abuses of these great companies. It referred specifically to their trade in Oriental spices and metal ores, their use of interest-bearing instruments and transactions, and their manipulation of prices through speculation and hoarding. These techniques allowed the monopolists to alter market conditions in such a way as to unjustly inflate their profits from these enterprises, thus driving their more modest competitors out of business and the "common man" into the streets. The report also proposed that monopolistic practices be forbidden by law, that commercial firms be limited in size, that imported goods be subjected to price controls, that imperial subjects be forbidden to engage in overseas enterprise, and that foreign merchants in the empire be similarly regulated.

In the midst of such dangerous opposition, mercantile interests found a spokesman in Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547), merchant son, universitytrained jurist, Augsburg councillor, and renowned humanist. In a 1530 legal opinion, he defended monopoly as essential to the economic well-being of the nation. Through their entrepreneurship and audacity the accused monopolists drew international trade to the empire and, he argued, created profit and advantage for princes and plebeians alike. Their firms traded in large volumes of goods, thus lowering prices. Their capacity to concentrate capital enabled them to undertake ventures that were too costly or risky for smaller competitors. He argued that risk and profit should be linked. Indeed, the pursuit of individual advantage in economic life was not opposed to the common good, rather contributed directly to it and, as such, was both economically and morally justified. Peutinger became one of the first advocates of a truly modern economic ethos. Whether his arguments had any immediate bearing cannot be determined. Emperor Charles V saw fit to let the matter die an administrative death.

## UBIQUITOUS MONOPOLIES

The resort to monopolies—as well as opposition to them—continued in the Holy Roman Empire and elsewhere. Inspired by mercantilist thought, which emphasized protectionist legislation to shield domestic industries from competition, German princes granted production monopolies as a privilege to German manufacturers. Indeed, the catalogue of princely prerogatives, referred to collectively as Regalien, included the granting of monopoly rights. Although denied to the Holy Roman emperor by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), these prerogatives came into increasingly frequent use among territorial princes who were anxious to expand their power and increase their revenue. Nor were the Germans alone. State-sponsored monopolies were a common economic contrivance in Bourbon France and Tudor-Stuart England. Everywhere, trading monopolies played an essential role in commercial and colonial development. They involved the creation of charter trading companies to which the crown gave monopoly rights. The Company of Merchant Adventurers, the Levant Company, and the East India Company used political influence to exclude foreign competitors and limit export quotas in order to maintain market share and stabilize profits. Members paid a fee to trade under the aegis of company direction, a fact that led to bitter resentment among those excluded. An attack on trading companies was launched in Parliament in 1604, but their monopolies were not relaxed until late in the 1600s, when regulation of monopolies was no longer viewed as essential to commercial security. Monopolies were not limited to commerce. The reign of Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603) witnessed the expansion of the patent system as a spur to English manufacturing, whereby patents were granted the sole right to produce a given product by a given process, in effect monopoly control of a certain manufacturing process. Reliance on monopolies did not yield to faith in competition until physiocratic thinking made its influence generally felt in the course of the eighteenth century.

The early modern economy relied to a surprising extent on monopoly and monopolistic practices. Their effects were not uniformly deleterious. Yet the

period initiated a passionate debate about commercial activities and a turn toward freer competition that continues to this day.

See also Capitalism; Fugger Family; Luther, Martin; Smith, Adam; Trading Companies.

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

# MONTAIGNE, MICHEL DE (1533-

1592), French essayist. Montaigne was born at his family's château, which is still in existence, near Bordeaux, on 28 February 1533. The château de Montaigne and the title had been bought in 1477 by his great-grandfather Ramon Eyquem, who had made his fortune trading in wine and salt fish. Pierre, Montaigne's father, was the first of his family to "live nobly," that is, give up commerce, and Montaigne himself was the first to follow the aristocratic practice of adopting the name of the estate as his own. Pierre had married, in 1528, Antoinette de

Louppes (Lopez), from a family of *converso* Spanish Jews, and Michel was the eldest of their surviving children.

Montaigne's father took a great interest in the new humanist learning, and thus had Michel raised in the company of a tutor who spoke only Latin to him, so that Latin, rather than French, was his first language. Montaigne spoke fondly of this part of his childhood, but less fondly of his years at the Collège de Guyenne, whose harsh discipline he detested, although he admitted to having had a few excellent teachers. He went on to study law, in preparation for a career of public service. By the late 1550s he was a member of the Parlement of Bordeaux, a position he retained until 1570. It was there, around 1558, that he met Étienne de la Boétie, who became his greatest friend, and whose premature death in 1563 was the defining moment in Montaigne's personal life. In 1565, Montaigne married Françoise de la Chassaigne; around this time, he also began to translate, at his father's request, the Theologia naturalis of Raymond Sebon (d. 1436), which described a path to faith through rigorous self-examination. He finished the translation in time to present it to his father before the latter's death in 1568, and it was printed in 1569.

In 1570, Montaigne sold his parliamentary office, and officially retired from public service, out of (he said) a desire to devote the remainder of his days to study, writing, and contemplation. His "retirement" was, however, not complete. Himself a moderate Catholic, he was trusted by both Catholics and Protestants, and often played an important role in negotiations between them in France's Wars of Religion, work for which he was honored by both sides. He was at the same time working on the Essais, whose first edition, in two books, was published in 1580. In the same year, he embarked on a leisurely trip through central Europe to Italy, visiting various spas in search of relief from the kidney stones that had begun to plague him two years earlier. This trip resulted in the Journal de voyage, not rediscovered and published until 1774. While still in Italy, Montaigne was informed that he had been elected mayor of Bordeaux. He was initially reluctant to accept the office, and it was only at King Henry III's insistence that he returned home in late 1581 to take up his none-too-onerous duties. Two years later he was elected to a second term as mayor,

which kept him busy dealing with the Catholic League and working to reconcile Henry III and the Protestant leader Henry of Navarre (later King Henry IV).

He continued work on the *Essais* during this time, revising and adding to the essays of the first two books while writing the thirteen essays of the third book. In 1588 he went to Paris on a diplomatic mission, also bringing the new three-book version of the Essais to the printer. On this trip he met an enthusiastic reader, Marie de Gournay, who would become his literary executor. Montaigne kept working on the Essais up to the time of his death (13 September 1592), making notes, revisions, and extensive additions in the margins of his own copy of the 1588 edition. This book, the exemplaire de Bordeaux (Bordeaux copy), became the basis of the posthumous 1595 edition, whose publication was overseen by Marie de Gournay, and of most subsequent editions as well.

Montaigne has been credited with inventing in the Essais both the essay form and the modern notion of the self. In fact, neither claim is strictly true. Montaigne's earliest essays are in fact closely modeled on (even, sometimes, translations of) the moral essays of classical authors like Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch. Later essays, while ranging farther afield, always remain in dialogue with their classical models. Likewise, the notion of an approach to philosophical wisdom through autobiography has a long history in the Western tradition, from Augustine on. Montaigne's real innovation is to combine essay and self-examination into a genuinely unique result: the literary representation of the self as constantly evolving process. He intends, he tells us, to offer an entirely unvarnished self-portrait, including everything, no matter how trivial, and hiding nothing, no matter how embarrassing. Montaigne's selfdeprecatory attitude is, of course, partly ironic, since the inclusiveness of his project allows him to claim for it an exemplarity on a par with, or surpassing, that of his classical predecessors. And it is indeed inclusive; the Essais cover an astounding range of topics, from the deepest theological and philosophical questions to codpieces, motion sickness, and the drinking habits of Germans. Some essays are miniatures, a paragraph or two of comment on some classical topic, while others, especially those of the third book, are extended and complex, weaving together multiple themes (the *Apologie de Raymond Sebon*, a critique of Sebon running to nearly two hundred pages, is in a class by itself).

In the midst of such diversity, a few major themes, or rather sets of questions, unite the Essais. First, a radical skepticism, given its fullest expression in the *Apologie* but pervading the entire collection, through which Montaigne constantly calls into question his society's most fundamental assumptions. Second, a critical fascination with Stoic philosophy, influenced both by his readings in classical authors and his experiences in the Wars of Religion. Third, a kind of pragmatic Epicureanism, likewise conditioned by his readings (especially of Lucretius) and by his own experience of the limits of Stoicism. From all of these emerges, finally, a spirit of humility and tolerance, to which Montaigne is led by a thorough contemplation of human imperfection, including his own. Montaigne's style and language are as diverse as his subjects. Now discursively Latinate, now colloquial and blunt, his voice adapts constantly to his topic and mood. He is therefore a deceptively difficult author. The reader is sometimes lulled into complacency by the apparent ease and simplicity of Montaigne's style, only to find that the thought being expressed is far more complex than it had seemed. The Essais are Montaigne's running conversation with antiquity, with his own society, with the reader, and with himself; digressive, polyphonic, sometimes contradictory, often ironic, always generous and humane, they show us one of the finest minds of the Renaissance at work.

Montaigne's impact on his contemporaries was immediate and substantial, and he has occupied a central place in Western literature ever since. John Locke and the philosophes owed much to him, as did Shakespeare and Francis Bacon. Blaise Pascal rightly recognized in him a formidable opponent; the heart of the *Pensées* is therefore a critical dialogue with Montaigne. Many have applauded Montaigne's skeptical critique of both reason and religion, while others have found him a dangerous freethinker, but none have failed to recognize the necessity—and the pleasure—of conversing with this most engaging of authors. He has inspired some of the best literary criticism of the last halfcentury and continues to be a major presence in literature, as well as in political and moral philosophy.

See also Biography and Autobiography; French Literature and Language; Pascal, Blaise; Philosophes; Political Philosophy.

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DAVID M. POSNER

# MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES-LOUIS DE SECONDAT DE (1689–1755), parlementary judge, historian, and political philosopher. Montesquieu was born on 18 January 1689 at La Brède, near Bordeaux. His earliest education was with a local schoolmaster; in 1700 he was sent to an Oratorian institution near Paris emphasizing the

classics. Between 1705 and 1708 he studied law at the University of Bordeaux, receiving a license in law and becoming an advocate at the Parlement of Bordeaux. From 1709 until 1713 he resided in Paris, attending meetings of the Academy of Science and the Academy of Inscriptions, compiling notebooks on Roman law, and becoming acquainted with such luminaries as Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle and Nicolas Fréret.

Following the death of his father in 1713, he returned to La Brède to take charge of the family estates. In 1715 he married Jeanne de Lartigue, a wealthy Huguenot from a nearby village who bore him a son and two daughters and ably managed his estates during his many trips to Paris. In 1716 he inherited from his uncle the office of *président à mortier* (deputy president) in the Parlement of Bordeaux. For ten years he served in the Chambre de la Tournelle, the criminal section of this regional court, prior to selling his office in 1726 to procure more time for his literary and philosophical pursuits.

## EARLY WRITINGS AND TRAVELS

From an early age Montesquieu displayed the interests of a polymath. In addition to numerous youthful scientific papers, his early writings included essays on Cicero's politics and philosophy, on the problem of the French national debt, on political uses of religion in ancient Rome, on the obligations of citizenship and morality, on the decline of Spanish wealth, and on the respective roles of chance and determinism in the unfolding of history. His first published work, Lettres persanes (1721; Persian letters), was a brilliant excursion into comparative politics, juxtaposing the laws and customs of Islamic and Christian societies. Considered by many the point of origin of the French Enlightenment, this early work presented satirical portraits of French and Persian manners, customs, and religion amidst significant philosophical observations on such diverse subjects as justice, divorce, slavery, despotism, punishment, demography, English liberty, religious liberty, and principles of government.

In 1728 Montesquieu embarked on a lengthy tour of Europe and England. Prior to his departure, he had been favorably disposed toward republics. After reacting negatively to the aristocratic republics of Italy and Holland, however, and after observing English politics for eighteen months, he returned to

France in 1731 with renewed appreciation for the potential for achieving liberty in properly structured monarchies, whether based on a combination of monarchical and republican elements, as in the English system, or, as in France, constructed on feudal components and with intermediary and corporate bodies whose presence moderates absolutism.

## **ROMAN HISTORY**

In 1734 Montesquieu published a philosophical account of the causes of Roman greatness and decline, replacing Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's (1627-1704) providential explanation of an ordered concatenation of events with a secular philosophy of history stressing underlying general causes that produced predictable patterns. Montesquieu was critical of the Romans for employing a combination of force and fraud to achieve their goals, and his account of Rome can be read as an attack on Machiavellian tactics in both domestic and international contexts-thus setting the scene for his later pronouncement in Book XXI, chapter 20 of De l'esprit des lois (1748; The spirit of the laws) that Machiavellianism was waning, since bold strokes of political authority interfere with the economic interests on which power is based. Although he did not find Roman history on the whole an edifying spectacle, Montesquieu drew many lessons from it, including the importance of a balance of powers, the contributions of party conflict to political liberty, the benefits of strengthening patriotism with religious sentiment, and the connection between democracy and small republics that avoid imperial conquest.

## THE SPIRIT OF THE LAWS

Montesquieu's reputation hinges most substantially on *The Spirit of the Laws*. As Émile Durkheim and Raymond Aron have emphasized, Montesquieu's viewpoint contributed to an emerging social science perspective exploring the interconnection between all of the complex variables that shape laws, customs, religion, manners, and mentalities. While he by no means discarded the natural law perspective, which stressed an ordered universe, subject to laws embodying transcendent standards of justice, Montesquieu nonetheless introduced sociological perspectives into the study of positive laws. His stress on the influence on human development of laws, customs, religion, education, maxims of government, and modes of subsistence, combined with his

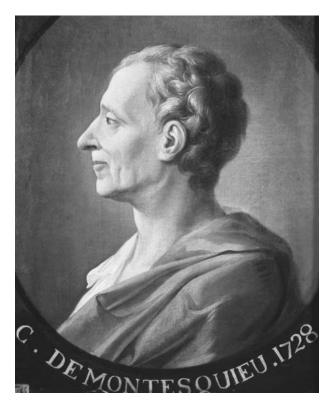
interest in such physical influences as climate and topography, inaugurated a new epoch in the study of society from anthropological and climatological perspectives and influenced numerous later theorists.

The Spirit of the Laws also contributed to recurring disputes regarding France's ancient constitution. For centuries theorists had debated the historical lineage of the respective components of the French constitution, with the legitimacy of absolutism hanging in the balance. The key question was whether the early Frankish monarchy had been absolute—having peacefully inherited the Roman Empire—or whether, following an early Frankish conquest of Gaul, the Frankish kings beginning with Clovis had been elected by noblemen, who kept a close watch on the exercise of monarchical powers. François Hotman contended in his Francogallia (1573) that the French monarchy had always been elective and restrained by a powerful aristocracy. Numerous absolutist theorists of the same century, however, including Jean Ferrault, Charles Du Moulin, and Charles de Grassaille, contended that both the parlements and the Estates-General of France represented illegitimate constraints on an originally absolutist monarchy.

Montesquieu supported the Germanic nobiliary thesis rather than the Roman royalist thesis concerning the origins of the French monarchy. Unlike Hotman and other proponents of a revived Estates-General, however, he believed that the Parlement of Paris functioned as the key bridle on absolutism through its right to register the king's edicts before they became law. His arguments in *The Spirit of the Laws* provided support for the *parlementaires* during their numerous clashes with Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) and Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1793) in the decades leading up to the French Revolution—until both the parlements and the crown were extinguished during a period of intense republican fervor.

# MONTESQUIEU'S LEGACY

The Spirit of the Laws was the most authoritative political treatise of its day. Montesquieu altered the language of politics by replacing the ancient political classification distinguishing between governments of the one, the few, and the many with a new typology contrasting moderate and despotic forms



Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu. Anonymous portrait, 1728. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./ CORBIS

of government and identifying republics, monarchies, and despotisms as the main types. Moreover, his selection of political virtue (defined as self-sacrificing, patriotic attachment to the needs of one's country) as the principle of republican government reverberated through both American and French political developments of the late eighteenth century. In America "virtue" was extolled by nearly all the patriots opposing a monarchy they considered corrupt, whereas in France Maximilien Robespierre adopted Montesquieu's language of virtue only to debase it by linking patriotic self-sacrifice with terror, claiming that both are necessary when forging a republic during revolutionary times.

Montesquieu bestowed lavish attention on republics within his governmental typology, but he was no republican by conviction—and certainly no democrat. He had a low opinion of the political abilities of the masses. Moreover, he considered democracy suited only to the extremely small city-states of classical antiquity. Like James Madison in America, he formed a negative opinion of the unsta-

ble democratic states of Greek antiquity, whose tendency to produce unmanageable factional strife had often led to the rise of dictators who could quell disturbances. Only monarchical constitutions, Montesquieu concluded, were well suited for governance of the large states of the modern world.

The Spirit of the Laws contributed significantly to the humanitarian legacy of the Enlightenment since Montesquieu employed devastating satire to ridicule such evils as slavery, disproportionate punishments, religious intolerance, and despotism. Above all, Montesquieu is remembered as a defender of political and civil liberty. Central to that goal, he concluded, is the division of governmental powers between executive, legislative, and judicial authorities to ensure that no one individual or group monopolizes power. Also central to the achievement of liberty is the presence of an independent judiciary enforcing a criminal code that punishes only offenses that threaten actual harm to others.

Montesquieu remained a hero to advocates of constitutional monarchy during the early phases of the French Revolution, but he lost favor as radical elements turned to Jean-Jacques Rousseau for inspiration. The depiction of the English government in Book XI, chapter 6 of The Spirit of the Laws as a mixed constitution combining monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements became the classic view taken over by William Blackstone in his influential Commentaries on the Laws of England (1765-1769). In America the framers of the constitution were so enamored of Montesquieu's depiction of the need to separate executive, legislative, and judicial powers that they made him the most quoted author during the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and divided the American government into three separate branches, each one empowered to check the others. Following the collapse of Communism in the late twentieth century and the French reassessment of the terror phase of their Revolution during the bicentennial of 1989, Europeans have shown a renewed interest in the liberal constitutionalism of Montesquieu, whose work stands as a timeless contribution to our understanding of political and civil liberty.

See also Enlightenment; Historiography; Parlements; Political Philosophy; Revolutions, Age of.

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DAVID W. CARRITHERS

# MONTEVERDI, CLAUDIO (1567-

1642), Italian composer of madrigals, operas, and sacred music; one of the most pivotal figures in the history of music. Claudio Monteverdi's music was a primary force in the change in style and aesthetics that marked the transition from the Renaissance to the baroque—the shift from the *stile antico* (old style) or *prima prattica* (first practice), as represented by Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina (1525–



Claudio Monteverdi. Undated portrait. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

1594) and Orlando di Lasso (1530–1594), to the stile moderno (modern style) or seconda prattica (second practice). Under the influence of humanistic discoveries—in particular notions about Greek drama—Monteverdi's contemporaries sought new ways to move the passions of the listener. The Renaissance ideal of complex vocal polyphony was abandoned in favor of a simple texture, often featuring one melodic line and a bass (monody) so that the music could respond spontaneously to the rhythms and meaning of the text. Rigid rules of counterpoint were discarded in favor of a freer treatment of dissonance and chromaticism. Monteverdi's adventurous tonal style and his use of irregular rhythms, dance patterns, and frequent shifts of texture not only enriched the newly invented genre of opera but transformed genres that had developed during the preceding century, including the madrigal, motet, and mass.

Monteverdi was born in Cremona and baptized on 15 May 1567. The young musician's genius was so precocious that his first collection of vocal compositions, the *Sacrae cantiunculae*, was published when he was fifteen, when he was still a student of

Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, the maestro di capella of Cremona Cathedral. While still in Cremona, he published his first book of madrigals in 1587 and a second on 1 January 1590. In 1590 or 1591, Monteverdi began a lengthy association with the city of Mantua and the Gonzaga family, entering the service of the Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. His third book of madrigals, dedicated to the duke on 27 June 1592, featured texts by Tarquato Tasso (1544-1595) and Giambattista Guarini (1538-1612). Guarini's poetry would do much to shape what Gary Tomlinson had referred to as the "epigrammatic" style that characterized the fourth book of madrigals (1603). Monteverdi was appointed maestro della musica in Mantua in 1601, and went on to dedicate his fifth book of madrigals (1605) to Vincenzo Gonzaga. During this period, Monteverdi's unconventional style had attracted the attention of a conservative Bolognese theorist, Giovanni Artusi, who attacked Monteverdi (among others) for his rejection of tradition; the often vitriolic exchanges between the two-which include Monteverdi's preface to the fifth book of madrigals and his brother Giulio Cesare's addendum to the Scherzi musicali (1607; Musical jokes)-provide insight into this new aesthetic in which words might be understood as the mistress of the music.

Monteverdi's duties at court included the composition of a variety of dramatic entertainments. His Orfeo (1607), described as a favola in musica (fable in music), has long been considered the first great opera. The libretto by Alessandro Striggio was certainly influenced by that of Euridice (1600) by Ottavio Rinuccini (c. 1562-1621), one of the early Florentine operatic experiments. But Monteverdi's Orfeo was the first to truly transform the pastorale play with music into a compelling, throughcomposed entertainment. Expressive monody, juxtaposed with dancelike madrigals and brief arias, vividly depict Orpheus's joy, subsequent despair, and musical virtuosity, as in the famous aria "Possente spirto" (Powerful spirit) addressed to Pluto; the highly dramatic use of a large instrumental ensemble (recorders, cornettos, trombones, and a basso continuo group of harps, harpsichords, and plucked instruments) captures the contrast between the pleasurable earthly existence and Pluto's underworld. In 1608, Monteverdi provided wedding entertainments for Prince Francesco Gonzaga and Margherita of Savoy, including the *Ballo delle ingrate* (Dance of the ingrates), and the opera *Arianna*, from which only the lament (which famously brought tears to the eyes of the court ladies) has survived.

In 1613, Monteverdi was appointed maestro di cappella of San Marco in Venice, a declining institution that he revitalized by hiring new musicians, expanding the music library, and raising the standards of performance. He was responsible for directing and composing music for all major church ceremonies and activities, such as masses, vesper services, feast days, and weddings. While maintaining his connections with Mantua and Florence, Monteverdi continued to publish madrigals: books 6 and 7 were published in 1614 and 1619 respectively, and his earlier madrigals were reprinted in both Venice and Antwerp around this time. The eighth book of madrigals (1638), known as the Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi (Madrigals of love and war), is a compendium of works written earlier. Monteverdi's attention to poetic detail is apparent in this volume, which includes settings of poems not only by Guarini, Tasso, and the revered Petrarch (1304-1374), but also the infamous Giovanni Battista Marino (1569-1625), whose influence on Monteverdi's aesthetics has frequently been observed. In book 8, Monteverdi invents a number of novel musical strategies to illustrate the popular topoi of love and war. Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda (1624/5; The battle of Tancredi and Clorinda), drawn from Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered, is noteworthy for the use of the stile concitato (agitated style) as discussed in the preface to book 8, in particular the innovative string techniques used to represent the battle scenes, including the use of pizzicato (plucking the strings) and col legno (striking the strings with the wood of the bow). Love is well represented by the Lamento della ninfa, in which the hypnotic soprano's complaint, set over a repeated descending bass pattern, became the model for numerous such laments.

When he was in his seventies, Monteverdi published his most important collection of sacred music, *Selva morale e spirituale* (1640; Spiritual and moral forest), and also profoundly influenced Venice's emerging opera industry. His 1639–1640 revival of *Arianna* was followed by a trilogy of threeact operas in Venetian style: *Il ritorno di Ulisse in* 

Patria (1639–1640; The return of Ulysses to his homeland); the lost Le nozze di Enea con Lavinia (1640–1641; The wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia); and L'incoronazione di Poppea (1642-1643; The coronation of Poppea), which some music historians believe was probably finished by Francesco Sacrati and others. Unlike in Orfeo, much of the expressive power of these works is concentrated in the closed forms (arias and duets) rather than recitative, as would become the norm in baroque opera. All three were written to librettos by members of the Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti, a group of freethinking patricians involved in both opera and publishing whose staunch patriotism, interest in the erotic, and playful attitude toward the classics seem to have inspired the composer at the height of his creative powers. From the representation of chaste marital fidelity in the recasting of Homer (in Il ritorno) to the seemingly immoral endorsement of physical love in imperial Rome (in Poppea), the surviving Venetian operas provide an eloquent testimony to Monteverdi's understanding of complex human emotions and his incomparable genius.

See also Baroque; Lasso, Orlando di; Mantua; Music; Music Criticism; Opera; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da; Tasso, Tarquato; Venice.

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## MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND ETH-

**ICS.** In early modern Europe "moral philosophy" often referred to the systematic study of the human world, as distinguished from "natural philosophy," the systematic study of the natural world. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries moral philosophy in this broad sense was gradually split up into separate disciplines: politics, economics, historical sociology, and moral philosophy more narrowly understood as the study of the ideas and the psychology involved in individual morality. It should be noted that moral philosophy was a part not only of Aristotelian philosophy but also, along with grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and history, of the humanities (studia humanitatis), and in this connection, the ethics of the Platonists, Stoics, and Epicureans also came under consideration.

## **NEW ISSUES**

The philosophers who created modern moral philosophy were familiar with the thinkers of classical antiquity; some had also studied the medieval scholastics. But neither the ancient nor the medieval philosophers faced the conditions that increasingly confronted the whole of Europe from the Reformation onward. Early in this period political and religious authorities struggled for control over all significant human activity. After the Reformation, religion no longer spoke with the single voice it claimed in the Middle Ages, but ministers of every denomination demanded obedience to the God they preached. For Lutheran and Reformed thinkers as well as for Catholics, all philosophy had to be subservient to theology. Philosophers had to reach conclusions that theologians could certify as agreeing with Christian doctrine. Monarchs claimed to rule by divine right and worked with their national churches to enforce social hierarchies that shaped daily life even in its details, but established institutions, practices, and beliefs were increasingly being challenged and were eventually severely weakened

or destroyed. Political and religious authority and the hold of custom and tradition were eroding. New kinds of groups were developing in which individuals interacted without attending to rank or class. In these new forms of sociability people treated one another as equals, able to get along together pleasantly and profitably without control by external authority.

All these changes called for the rethinking of both individual and political norms. Advances in scientific and geographical knowledge contributed greatly to the widespread feeling that everything from the past was open to question. But even without the advances in knowledge, the turmoil of religious controversy and social change made evident the need for a new understanding of morality.

Ancient moral philosophers thought that their task was to determine what was required for human flourishing—the highest good—and to show what virtues were needed in order to attain it. Christian theologians made ultimate human flourishing dependent on a proper relation to God, who alone was man's highest good. Laws of morality, which God teaches everyone through conscience, would guide us to the good of sociable living in this world. Conformity to them, however, could not guarantee salvation, for which God's grace was needed.

## MONTAIGNE'S CHALLENGE

Modern moral philosophy began as the effort to answer questions like those raised most effectively by Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). In his widely read *Essays* (1588) he presented himself as earnestly trying all the available theories about how we should live, asking if any of them could be followed. Although Montaigne was a devout Catholic, he used neither dogma nor theology to test claims about the good life. His attempts led him to think that neither he nor anyone else—aside from a few exceptional figures—could steadily follow Christian or classical models.

Montaigne concluded that we must each determine for ourselves what the good life is. We each have a distinctive natural form that tells us what we need and what we cannot tolerate. For each person that must be the supreme guide. Montaigne could find no grounds, outside religion, for believing in moral laws known to all. We should obey the laws of our country, he held, not because they are just but

simply because they are the established local law. Our individual form gives guidance to each but not guidance for all.

In an age already deeply unsettled by interminable debates about religion, Montaigne was taken to be a skeptic about morality. His conservative acceptance of local law and his claim to a private inner voice did not offer enough to a world in which confessional and international conflict was pervasive. His denial that there is a common highest good seemed to make it impossible to find a basis for working toward principles that could cross all the lines dividing Europe. Modern moral philosophy had to create new resources to underpin a common morality.

# NATURAL LAW AND INTUITIONISM

The two earliest lines of thought were started simultaneously. Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a Dutch Calvinist lawyer, initiated a new understanding of natural law theory with his Law of War and Peace in 1625. As part of it he outlined the view that natural law should be understood as empirically based directions for enabling sociable but quarrelsome people to get along with one another, no matter how much they differed about God or the good. In his On Truth (1624) Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582-1648) claimed that all humans have an intuitive grasp of certain basic moral truths that show us how to live. Though both thinkers believed in God, both wanted to minimize the extent to which God or his ministers had to be consulted about morality. Herbert also rejected the subordination of philosophy to theology, holding that religious claims in conflict with intuitively known moral principles must be false.

Grotius's themes were developed by the English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1599–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) and by the German lawyer Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694). All saw humans as needing to live together but as so prone to selfishness that they found this difficult. Moral laws of nature were basic directions for solving the problem posed by our unsociably sociable nature. With Luther and Calvin these thinkers held that morality requires law, that law requires a lawgiver, and that God is the ultimate lawgiver. Morality is obedience to divine commands. Since no one can command God, he alone is self-governing. God has left it up to

us to discover the contents of morality. Ordinary experience provides us with all the facts we need to infer the divine commands. We need not appeal to revelation.

Critics of modern natural law theory all objected that an ethics of divine command made God an arbitrary and unlovable tyrant. One group followed Lord Herbert's lead in working out how to defeat this kind of theory. Two Anglican clergymen, Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) and Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), held that eternally valid moral principles guide God. They are known by us because he has given us a power of intuition enabling us to grasp them. Moral knowledge thus makes us selfgoverning. Developed further by an Anglican bishop, Joseph Butler (1692-1752), and a dissenting minister, Richard Price (1723-1791), intuitionism received its classic form in the Essays on the Active Powers of Man (1788) by the Scottish professor Thomas Reid (1710-1796), who was a major influence on nineteenth-century British and French moral thought.

# PERFECTIONISTS AND MORAL SENSE THEORISTS

Another group, the rationalist perfectionists, including Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Nicholas Malebranche (1638-1715), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), and the Leibnizian Christian Wolff (1679-1754), held that ignorance, not quarrelsomeness, was the source of immorality. They argued that only increase of knowledge could improve our behavior and our happiness. The more we think as God does, the more perfect we become. God is guided not by an arbitrary will but by his knowledge of all facts and all values. We and our societies will become more perfect the more knowledge we have and the more we live according to it. People who know more than others are closer to governing themselves and are responsible for directing the lives of the rest.

Many eighteenth-century British thinkers shared the common reaction against divine command theory and its assumption that only punishments and rewards, here or in an afterlife, could make most of us act morally. We are not, they held, as selfish as Hobbes and Pufendorf said we are. We are benevolent as well as self-interested, and we feel moral sentiments of approval and disapproval, com-

ing from a moral sense that approves of what we do from benevolence. To be self-governing, we need no further guidance. Moral sense theorists like the Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and the Presbyterian minister Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) were not atheists, but their views began to make God marginal for morality.

The Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711– 1776) developed moral sense theory to its fullest and excluded God from morality altogether. Morality for Hume is just the feelings with which we respond to certain facts about people and their characters. We feel approval of people whose character leads them to be good company or useful to others and to themselves. People tend to feel benevolent toward those close to them. For dealing with strangers we invent rules, called laws of nature, governing property, contracts, and obedience to government; and we are moved to obey them because we can feel sympathy with those who benefit from them. Hume held that there can be no rules of obligation unless we naturally have or create sufficient motives to follow them. We need no divine threats or promises about an afterlife to make us virtuous. Even political authority springs from our sense of our own needs and how to meet them. We are wholly self-governing parts of nature, and nothing more.

## **EGOISTS AND UTILITARIANS**

Philosophers who rejected the sanguine portrayal of human nature given by the moral sense theorists followed Hobbes in arguing that rational self-interest alone could give rise to morality and decent government. Some saw God's providential hand in this happy outcome of selfishness. Atheistic thinkers in France, like the government official Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715–1771) and the wealthy Baron D'Holbach (1723–1789), saw it as showing that morality was nothing but instruction about how individuals could attain for themselves the highest good, a life filled with pleasure.

Many religious thinkers believed that God wills the happiness of all rather than purely private happiness and that we should therefore try to bring about as much happiness as we can. For many years *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1786) by the Anglican cleric William Paley (1743–1805) was the most widely read version of this doctrine,

but a secular counterpart had a much longer life. In his Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation (1789) the legal reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) set out the view later known as utilitarianism. The good, for Bentham, was pleasure and the absence of pain. Pleasures and pains can be balanced against one another, like credits and debits. The basic principle of morality instructs us to bring about the greatest happiness we can for the greatest number of people. To the extent that individuals are not naturally inclined to act this way, society and government should set up inducements that would lead them to do so. Bentham was sure that England's laws were not aimed at maximizing happiness. He set out to change them and gathered an active group of disciples to help him. Partly as a result, secular utilitarianism eventually became the main systematic alternative to Reid's brand of intuitionism in nineteenth century Britain.

## **KANT**

Secular theories basing morality on experience seemed always to rely on emotions and to take the highest good to be earthly happiness, no matter what its source, and whether for all or only for oneself. The British intuitionists fought against such views, as did the German Lutheran philosopher Christian August Crusius (1715–1775). But the most systematic opposition came from the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). He rejected divine command ethics but thought that perfectionist and intuitionist theories led inevitably to a morally objectionable reliance on an educated elite to control everyone else. He had learned from the Genevan writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712– 1778) to honor the common man. But Rousseau's views rested finally on sentiment, and Kant held that sentiment could not ground the kind of absolutely universal and necessary principles that morality needed.

Kant based morality not on pure thought or on emotion but on the will, which is the ability to make decisions for reasons. Our desires propose reasons for action, but the will can accept or reject any such proposal. Only proposals that match the will's own demands can become reasons for action. Kant identifies the basic demand that the rational will imposes on desires as the moral law—the voice of reason in practice. It comes to us as the form of a directive or

imperative that cannot reasonably be avoided. Kant calls it the categorical imperative. We can moreover be moved to act as the categorical imperative requires simply out of respect for our will's dictates. Because we govern ourselves not by knowing external laws but by following a self-legislated law, Kant called our form of self-governance "autonomy."

The categorical imperative says that I ought to act in such a way that the plan of action proposed by my desire could be a universal law. If a desire gives me a reason for action, it must give the same reason to anyone who has the same desire. We can use this principle to test our plans. We ask whether it would still be rational to follow our plan if everyone were to act on it. If not, we must reject it.

The categorical imperative requires us to treat all autonomous agents including ourselves with respect. We may pursue happiness in any way that the categorical imperative allows, and we ought to help others carry out their own plans for happiness if the categorical imperative allows those plans. Happiness, or the satisfaction of desires, is thus a goal to be pursued, on condition that we act fairly toward everyone in pursuing it.

Among other goals that the categorical imperative requires us to pursue is the highest good: the distribution of happiness in proportion to virtue. We know we need assistance to bring this end about. Hence morality requires us to believe that there is a superhuman being who can help us. Kant thus tried to avoid the naturalism that earlier thinkers such as Hume had championed. For Kant morality does not come from God. Instead it leads us to him.

## CONCLUSION

Natural law theories and perfectionism lost their hold by the end of the eighteenth century. Kantianism, utilitarianism, and intuitionism set the initial terms for future discussion. All three types of view grew from efforts to show how morality could be supported without reliance on tradition, authority, or revelation. To different degrees contemporary defenders of these still-living positions have argued that everyone can think through moral issues and be moved by themselves to do what they conclude is right. We can thus all be self-governing.

Modern moral philosophy developed while Europeans were increasingly treating people as equals who were capable of living sociably without external authority. Philosophy aided this movement by providing alternative ways to talk about how morality could structure an aspect of life that was not dependent on its religious and political aspects. In doing so modern moral philosophy created much of the vocabulary through which Europeans were enabled to envisage the kind of self-governing person needed to sustain modern liberal democratic societies.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Grotius, Hugo; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Montaigne, Michel de; Pascal, Blaise; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Spinoza, Baruch.

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J. B. Schneewind

MORAVIAN BRETHREN. The Moravian Brethren, also known as the Renewed Unity of the Brethren, developed out of the combined forces of Lutheranism, the German Pietist movement, and the drive to re-Catholicize the Habsburg holdings. The impact of the Moravian Brethren outstripped their numbers, largely due to their ecumenism, influential aristocratic members, and leadership in the Protestant missionary movement. Those influenced by their piety and social organization include the theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher, the poet Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg), and the social reformer Benjamin Owen.

# THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT: 1722–1736

The Brethren trace their heritage to the "Ancient" Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), a Hussite group that went underground after the resounding Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. A little over a century later, the last effort to unify religious practice in the hereditary Habsburg territories sent some groups of Protestants into exile just over the Czech border, where they sought refuge on the estate of the Pietist Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760). These groups formed the nucleus of what became the Moravian Brethren.

Initially the Protestant exiles, including Christian David, David Nitschmann, and Johann and David Zeisberger, who later held leadership roles within the Brethren, settled among the tenants of the village of Berthelsdorf. Soon, however, tensions between the new arrivals and the villagers led to the founding of a separate settlement that was given the name Herrnhut. Zinzendorf had little to do with the settlement until 1727, when religious dissension among the ever-growing number of refugees attracted his attention. The diversity of religious

roots within the community, including some of a more radical bent, led to bitter disputes. Zinzendorf, as lord of the manor, crafted two sets of regulations, one dealing with basic economic and social matters, and one dealing with spiritual issues. At the insistence of members of the Nitschmann family, the latter was based on the traditions of the original Unity, most notably the right to refuse to take oaths and bear arms, and the right to impose spiritual discipline. An emotional religious awakening on 13 August 1727 set the spiritual flavor of the newly ordered community, in which devotion to Christ overrode doctrinal disputes.

Herrnhut provided the initial model for the unique communities, called Ortsgemeinen, 'congregation places', which the Brethren founded throughout Europe and North America in subsequent years. When Zinzendorf revised the regulations governing Herrnhut in 1728, he combined both spiritual and mundane matters in a single document. These regulations reflected a blending of particular Pietist interests, such as the regulation of moral conduct and provisions for economic, educational, and social welfare, with governmental structures common to European villages and towns. The expectation underlying all aspects of the community was that the inhabitants shared a common love of Christ and a desire to act for the good of the whole. The combination of Herrnhut's continued growth as a center for religious refugees, and Zinzendorf's alienation from the influential Pietist center at Halle, led to his banishment from Saxony in 1736 on suspicion of heresy. As a result, the count and a central group of the Brethren, defined as a Pilgergemeine, 'pilgrim congregation', traveled across Europe and grew in numbers and influence.

# THE FLOWERING OF THE MOVEMENT: 1736–1760

The period from 1736 to Zinzendorf's death in 1760 saw the founding of several communities. In addition, during the 1730s and 1740s the practice of drawing lots to make decisions and the social/spiritual division of the congregations into "choirs" came into regular use. These years also saw the height of the Brethrens' popularity along with a firestorm of criticism.

Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony caused him to move quickly to ensure that Protestant refugees no longer allowed to settle in Herrnhut would have an alternative. This provided the initial impetus for the founding of other *Ortsgemeinen*, first in Wetteravia, then in America. Herrnhut's economic success led King Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia to invite the Brethren to set up communities in his territory in the early 1740s. The presence of noble members and patrons with ties to European courts opened more doors, and by 1770 congregation communities existed in several German states, as well as Denmark, the Netherlands, England, America, and Russia. In many cases, the founding of communities went hand in hand with support for their missionary endeavors, initially focused in the Caribbean and Greenland.

Despite (or perhaps because of) their ability to open doors at the courts of Europe, the Brethren faced hostility on both sides of the Atlantic. This hostility was largely generated by their popularity with people from all ranks and religious backgrounds, and by their clash with "orthodox" Pietism, which emphasized repentance and moral reform. The Brethren shared the Pietist concern with behavior but laced it with an often intensely emotional experience of connection with Christ. This found its most unusual expression in their designation of Christ as literal chief elder, whose will was revealed by the use of the lot. The records of the lot's use illustrate the mindset of the Brethren regarding their view of it as Christ's word; the decisions were always recorded as "The Savior approves" or "The Savior does not approve." During the height of its use, from the 1740s through the 1760s, the lot served as the final determiner of all decisions including business issues and marriage proposals.

The emotional bond between the individual member and Christ spilled over into a bond with fellow members. This bond was underscored by the official division of the membership into choirs, or groups defined by sex, age, and marital status. In most communities the Choirs of Single Brothers, Single Sisters, Widows, and Widowers each shared common housekeeping. Thus they formed a second type of family unit that rivaled the biological unit. The intense devotion to Christ and to community that characterized the Brethren reached extreme expression in the 1740s "Sifting Period." During this decade, and rippling beyond it, the devotional

language of the Brethren strongly resembled Catholic mysticism in its sexual overtones and close identity with the suffering and death of Christ.

# THE "TAMING" OF THE BRETHREN: 1760–1800

After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, the leadership of the Brethren faced the consequences of their expansion and a decade of controversy in the form of a rather large debt and a tarnished reputation. As a result, with the exception of their missionary outreach, the last decades of the eighteenth century saw them turn inward in an ultimately successful effort to ensure their survival. In the process, they made the final transition from a movement to an established church. This transition manifested itself in several ways. As early as the 1750s, the primary leadership had begun to shift from charismatic individuals to a series of elected and appointed committees. After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, most of the more "unconventional" aspects of the Brethrens' organization began to disappear, at least partially in response to outside criticism. The role of women became increasingly restricted, and more attention focused on the nuclear family unit. The role of the lot in decision making was gradually reduced, and unconventional imagery was removed from hymns and liturgies. Finally, the leadership directed much of their energy at educating, cultivating, and retaining those born within the circle of the church. By 1800, much of what had made the Brethren distinctive was disappearing from practice. The core of the vision survived, however, in the modern Moravian Church, the worldwide membership of which is largely non-Western and from a variety of traditions.

See also Lutheranism; Pietism; Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von.

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ELISABETH SOMMER

MORE, HENRY (1614–1687), English philosopher. Henry More was the most prolific of the group of seventeenth-century thinkers known as the Cambridge Platonists. Born in Grantham, Lincolnshire, he was educated at Eton College and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was elected fellow in 1641. Despite living through one of the most turbulent periods in English history, More retained his fellowship at Christ's during the English Civil War, Interregnum (1648–1660), and Restoration, devoting himself to a life of scholarship and publishing many works of philosophy and theology.

In his day More came to be regarded as one of England's leading contemporary philosophers. One of the first proponents of Cartesianism, he attacked Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza and was an enthusiast for the new science of Galileo and the Royal Society. His own philosophy owes much to Plato and Plotinus and is largely dedicated to the defense of religious belief against the twin forces of skepticism and atheism. Central to it is his philosophy of spirit, which underpins his arguments for demonstrating the existence and providential nature of God. More accounted for the operations of nature through his hypothesis of the Spirit of Nature or principium hylarchicum, analogous to Plato's world soul (anima mundi). His Platonism, first evident in his earliest writings, his Philosophical Poems (1647), was developed more fully in his Of the Immortality of the Soul (1659) and Enchiridion Metaphysicum (1671; Manual of metaphysics), in which he propounds the idea for which he is probably best known today: his concept of infinite space.

After repudiating predestinarian Calvinism in his youth, More subscribed to a tolerant Christianity that influenced the latitudinarian movement, which took a tolerant stance on doctrinal matters within the Church of England. Although he conformed at the Restoration (1660), he was nevertheless regarded as heterodox in High Church circles, principally on account of his adherence to Origen's

doctrine of the preexistence of the soul. In his later years More was much preoccupied with the study of biblical prophecy and the Cabala, sharing this last interest with Franciscus Mercurius von Helmont (1579–1644) and the German scholar Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689).

More's most famous pupil was Anne Conway (1631–1679), who owed her introduction to philosophy to him. Among those who came under his influence were the clergyman Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), the philosopher John Norris (1657–1711), and the naturalist John Ray (1627–1705). He was also known to Isaac Newton and to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

See also Cabala; Calvinism; Cambridge Platonists; Cartesianism; Philosophy.

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SARAH HUTTON

MORE, THOMAS (1478–1535), English humanist scholar, author, and statesman. Thomas More was born in London on 7 February 1478 and executed there for high treason on 6 July 1535. His father, John More (died 1530), secured an appoint-

ment for his twelve-year-old son as page to John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor under Henry VII (ruled 1485-1509). Grateful for the training in diplomacy, More paid tribute to Morton, a canonist who had helped to overthrow Richard III in favor of Henry VII, in both his Utopia (1515) and his History of Richard III (c. 1513, published 1543). Under Morton's influence More attended Canterbury College, Oxford, where he met such humanists as John Colet, William Grocyn, and Thomas Linacre. Under parental pressure, he left Oxford in 1494 for the study of law at New Inn, and later at Lincoln's Inn. While studying law he became deeply attached to the Carthusians of the Charterhouse and carefully discerned a religious vocation. But once he determined that he should seek God in the world rather than in ascetical retirement from it, he married Jane Colt, who bore him four children before her death in 1511. Six weeks later the widower married the widow Alice Middleton to provide his young children with a good stepmother.

The center of a group of humanists at London, More in 1499 first met Desiderius Erasmus, who honored his friend in the Latin title of his famous Praise of Folly (Encomium Moriae). More's earliest literary works date from this period, but legal work and a series of public offices increasingly consumed his time. He began to compose Utopia during a trade mission to the Low Countries in 1515, and in 1518 he formally entered the service of Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547) as a royal counselor. Mindful of the vagaries of political life, More dramatized the arguments for and against royal service in the first book of Utopia. While the philosophical seafarer Raphael Hathloday (whose account of Utopia fills the second book) refuses even to consider advising a European prince, lest he be sullied by contact with unprincipled courtiers intent on money, territory, or power, the character More takes a guardedly optimistic tone by arguing that politics is the art of the possible and that one need not necessarily be seduced or compromised if one is clear on certain nonnegotiable moral principles. While the second book has been interpreted in ways as widely different as heralding an ideal Platonic polis and prophetically anticipating a Marxist paradise, it may well be an ironical humanistic exploration of what a society would look like if it systematically abandoned the principles of political philosophy associated with Augustine's *City of God*, on which More had lectured as early as 1504 and to which he frequently returned in later political writings and in his own practice.

From 1518 to 1529 More proved himself an able member of the king's council, especially as a liaison between Henry VIII and Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (1475?-1530), then Lord Chancellor, who was laboring to secure a general European peace. More was knighted in 1521 and chosen as the speaker of the House of Commons in 1523. By that year he had joined the campaign against the Lutheran literature then beginning to flood England and wrote controversial works, some on the king's behalf and others in his own name, against Luther and against William Tyndale, Simon Fish, and others. At this time also Henry began to consult More on his proposed divorce from Catherine of Aragón. When More informed the king that after long study he could not support his case, Henry chose other officials to pursue his "great matter" and sent More off to France for the negotiations that eventually resulted in the Treaty of Cambrai (1529).

When Wolsey had to resign from office after proving unable to dissolve Henry's marriage during the 1529 trial, Henry named More as the first nonclerical Lord Chancellor on 25 October 1529. While Henry's policies veered toward a breech with Rome over the question of the divorce, they showed little inclination to any doctrinal changes of the sort that More considered heretical and that he had long opposed both by the controlled use of civil law and by his writings. In the business of the chancery he garnered a reputation for impartiality and promptness in handling a vast docket of cases, but his direct influence with Henry VIII waned as it became increasingly obvious that the king was willing to break with Rome in order to marry Anne Boleyn. More resigned his office on 16 May 1532, the day after the bishops capitulated to the king on certain questions that More considered non-negotiable.

For over a year he lived modestly in retirement at Chelsea. His ongoing efforts to inform the king's conscience took the form of pseudonymous works such as *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance*, a story about the Turkish invasion of Christian Hun-

gary in which one need not look terribly deep to find applications for the controversies between Protestant and Catholic religion in England. More managed to evade the various efforts of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's principal secretary and chief minister, to implicate him in treasonable activities, but he began to prepare himself for the inevitable by beginning to compose his Treatise on the Passion. He finished the work during his imprisonment for refusing to swear to the Oath of Supremacy when summoned to Lambeth Palace on 12 April 1534. Alert to various traps and ruses, he refused to reveal his conscience on the matter to anyone, even the much-loved members of his family. After confinement to the Tower of London for over a year, he was convicted of treason on 1 July 1535 on the basis of perjured evidence by Sir Richard Rich, one of Cromwell's lackeys. Only after the delivery of the verdict did he break his self-imposed silence about the reasons for his refusal to swear the oath when he delivered a great speech, claiming to have all the councils of Christendom in support of his conscience. After merrily joking with the executioner and insisting that he was "the king's good servant, but God's first," he died on the scaffold on 6 July 1535.

See also Cromwell, Thomas; Erasmus, Desiderius; Henry VII (England); Henry VIII (England); Humanists and Humanism; Utopia.

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MORISCOS. First recorded in 1500, the term Moriscos denotes Muslims who converted to Christianity after the fall of Granada in 1492. In effect, Morisco constitutes a highly ambiguous religiousethnic designator. From Muslims living near the Ebro River in Aragon to long-standing Castilian Mudéjares (Muslim subjects of the Christian monarchs) and from Valencian Muslims tied to local seigneurs to the conquered communities of Granada, this great variety of Muslim peoples converted to Christianity at various times and under different circumstances.

The conquest of Granada set in motion a process that would herald the conversion of Granadan and Castilian Muslims by 1502. Initially, the surrender capitulations granted extensive freedom of religion to Muslims. Their conversion to Christianity through preaching and patient persuasion—a proselytizing process always favored by the monarchy-began under Archbishop Hernando de Talavera. However, when Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros arrived in the city in 1497, he forced the mass conversion of Granada's elchesdescendants of Christians converted to Islam. This violation of the capitulations resulted in a violent revolt in 1499. Although the rebellion extended to the countryside, by 1501 the royal government's troops emerged victorious. In exchange for amnesty, Muslims throughout the kingdom converted to Christianity en masse. By 1504, approximately 150,000 Moriscos populated the Kingdom of Granada.

Castille's Mudéjares, numbering approximately 20,000, having lived in relative peace and tranquillity, now faced the repercussions of the Granadan insurrection. Instituting an explicitly militant policy, the royal government ordered their conversion in lieu of expulsion in 1502. Almost all converted to Christianity.

Muslims in the Kingdom of Aragon constituted, after those in Granada, the most important community in the Iberian peninsula. Valencia's Mudéjares may have numbered almost 100,000. Those in Aragon have been estimated at 50,000, while Catalonian Muslims numbered no more than 10,000. Protected by the local Christian nobility—especially in Valencia where Muslims constituted the cornerstone of the seignorial economy—these

communities were initially able to avoid the fate that befell their Castilian brethren. By 1522, however, widespread popular revolts in Valencia—the *germanías*—led to forced conversions of many Muslims. By 1525 the royal government ordered all remaining Aragonese Muslims to convert.

Thereafter, this large population of nominal Christians, still adhering to some degree to Islamic religious practices and Arab cultural norms, presented a host of problems. The royal government and the church hovered uneasily between patient evangelization and repressive assimilation. Until 1570, official attitudes towards Moriscos stressed tolerance and catechism. Morisco communities were sometimes spared investigation by the Spanish Inquisition, and some cultural manifestations such as traditional dress and dances were more or less tolerated. Even when inquisitors tried Moriscos for practicing Islam, the penalties applied were rather lenient. As it became evident, however, that Moriscos continued to resist attempts toward assimilation, attitudes increasingly hardened and Morisco religious and cultural practices were conflated and interpreted as signs of subversion.

In 1568 the widespread Morisco revolt of the Alpujarras in Granada against the increasing control placed upon their cultural and economic activities resulted in a bloody war that lasted until 1570. Drastic measures were taken in the revolt's aftermath. In four years, approximately 80,000 Granadan Moriscos were relocated to the Castilian interior and interspersed among Old Christians-Christians who apparently did not descend from converted Muslims or Jews. Moreover, the state adopted repressive policies against any kind of religious or cultural sign that denoted Islamic heritage. The Inquisition stepped up its prosecution of Moriscos. Assimilationist policies were curtailed, and Moriscos faced increasing hurdles in various cultural and professional pursuits.

Meanwhile, Morisco resistance to acculturation increased. Whereas some evidence points to increasing Christian influence in religious literature in the first half of the sixteenth century, by the 1580s Morisco communities and families had learned to defend their Islamic religious and cultural practices. Often with women safeguarding ancestral knowl-

edge, Moriscos successfully resisted pressures the state heaped upon them to assimilate.

In some ways, however, Moriscos and Old Christians continued to cooperate and enjoy cordial relations. Local studies have shown that Moriscos and their Old Christian neighbors often lived in relative harmony, continuing commercial transactions and economic cooperation. Some evidence even suggests that the efforts by church and state to highlight religious and cultural differences between Moriscos and Old Christians exacerbated social tensions that were mild beforehand.

By the early seventeenth century, the failure of Morisco assimilation, the fear of their contacts with the Ottomans, Barbary pirates, and Protestants, and the increasingly virulent polemics against them convinced the royal government to issue an edict of expulsion. Between 1609 and 1614 almost 300,000 Moriscos left Spain, mostly for North Africa and Constantinople, although, later, many secretly returned and effectively assimilated into the dominant culture. After 1614, traces of Moriscos both in Spain and in their new homes slowly disappear from archival records. Some Moriscos established a semiindependent pirate state in Salé, Morocco, and even entered unsuccessful negotiations with the royal government to return to Spain in 1631. Other Moriscos arrived in Tunis and established a strong cultural and commercial presence. (Chronicles referred to them until the middle of the eighteenth century.) Slowly, Moriscos became integrated into the dominant cultures of their new homelands, even as they left an imprint of their Spanish identity in various commercial and cultural pursuits that retained Spanish language and practices for decades.

The short-lived history of the Moriscos has had an appreciable impact on Spanish historiography. Their contribution to Spanish society, their level of assimilation or resistance, the attitudes of the state and the Old Christian majority, and the effects of their expulsion have consistently recurred as viable themes because they strike at the heart of Spanish political sensibilities and provide material for various historiographical traditions seeking to forge a particular view of a national past. Moreover, the vagaries of the place of Morisco communities within Christian society are particularly relevant for our understanding of various early modern phenom-

ena—the rise of the state, the increasing marginalization of minorities, and the delicate balance between central processes and everyday local structures—and these are reflected in the growing production of scholarship on Moriscos.

See also Cisneros, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de; Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain).

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CRISTIAN BERCO

MORISCOS, EXPULSION OF (SPAIN). Between 1609 and 1614, approximately 300,000 Moriscos—new Christians converted from Islam—were expelled from Spain. This mass relocation of people was the end result of a drastic decision that was many years in the making.

First discussed in government circles in 1582, the possibility of expulsion slowly gained credence as desirable government policy and merited full consideration after Philip III's accession to the throne in 1598. Three factors mainly determined the ultimate acceptance of the expulsion as a remedy for national ills. First, the utter failure of the assimilation of Moriscos into a normative religious and cultural mold underscored the seeming futility of previous governmental efforts. Throughout Spain, and especially in Valencia, where Moriscos were numerous and often lived in separate villages, Moriscos continued to cling to traditional religious and cultural practices. With women often serving as guardians of traditional knowledge, Morisco communities managed, despite great pressure, to maintain specific practices such as circumcision, the ritual slaughter of animals, traditional dress, prayer, and the production of aljamiado literature, which was written in Castilian with Arabic characters. A multitude of signs—no matter how equivocal convinced the authorities that Moriscos could never be fully assimilated into Christian society.

The failure of assimilation partly engendered another factor favoring expulsion that was critical at the time: state security. Constituting a large and visibly different minority, Moriscos often aroused suspicions of collaboration with Spain's enemies. Some contacts between Morisco communities and the Ottomans, Barbary corsairs, and French Protestants had occurred and were known to authorities. Moreover, given the rather hard-fought Morisco revolt of 1568–1570 in Granada, the crown worried about the possibility of another rebellion coupled with foreign invasion. This constant threat of Moriscos as potential traitors who could threaten the very safety of the state also influenced the decision to expel them.

Finally, the actions of individuals proved crucial to the government's decision. During the reign of Phillip II, fears regarding Moriscos were already evident and perhaps more compelling, yet expulsion was hardly discussed. During the reign of his successor, however, two figures stand out as crucial to the edict of expulsion: Juan de Ribera, archbishop of Valencia, and the Duke of Lerma, favorite of Philip III. Ribera, in a tireless and persistent fashion, was perhaps the most vocal advocate for expulsion. As early as 1601, he urged the king to expel the Moriscos because of their obstinacy, heresy, and the danger they presented to state security. The Duke of Lerma's support for expulsion likewise seems to have been crucial. Until January 1608, the Council

of State had continued to discount expulsion as a viable alternative. In an amazing turnaround, however, the Council of State, with Lerma presiding, voted to expel the Moriscos on 30 January 1608. Some historians have speculated that the duke stood to profit greatly from the confiscation of the estates of Moriscos in Valencia.

Spawned by this mixture of long-term causes and individual animosities and opportunities, the expulsion was carried out between 1609 and 1614. Of all the Morisco communities, the ones in Valencia suffered the most as they accounted for approximately 120,000 of the 300,000 expelled. In some areas of that kingdom, moreover, force was necessary to remove the Moriscos. A few thousand irregular troops and their families briefly resisted in the mountainous regions close to Castile before being decimated by Spanish soldiers. Although perhaps more peaceful, the expulsion of Moriscos from other areas inevitably resulted in serious hardship. From Morisco children being kidnapped to save them from the infidel to the abuse heaped on Morisco families by local authorities and seigneurs and from the perils of a voyage at sea to deaths due to malnutrition or banditry once they reached North Africa, the expulsion witnessed many tribulations. At the same time, sympathetic neighbors and local authorities sometimes helped Moriscos remain in Spain or even return after the expulsion. For example, the Count of Oropesa managed to certify the appropriate Christian behavior of his Morisco tenants who remained in Spain. In Catalonia, the Bishop of Tortosa protected many Moriscos and even allowed numerous families to return to his diocese. Other Moriscos remained after taking their case to the courts, while less fortunate ones sold themselves into slavery as the price of staying on Spanish soil. Despite these isolated cases of Moriscos who remained in Spain, the expulsion of 1609 was, for the most part, complete. Historians have estimated that perhaps only a few thousand managed, through some means or other, to remain, though precise numbers may never be known.

Most Moriscos settled in North Africa, Constantinople (Istanbul), and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, although small colonies emigrated to France and Italy. Their fate varied. While those in Tunis managed to prosper and become a political force, many unfortunates who disembarked on the

Algerian coast were robbed and killed by marauding Berber bandits. Likewise, while those arriving in Constantinople settled in a specific neighborhood and were reputed to be an influential minority, those who traveled to Morocco were not well received and were insulted as Christians. Their trail as a distinct community within their new homes disappears in archival sources around the late eighteenth century as they became integrated into the dominant communities.

Whereas the expulsion largely curtailed the Moriscos' viability as a distinctive cultural group, the consequences for Spain have been debated mostly from an economic point of view. Mired in an economic depression fostered by debasement, rising prices, and faltering population levels, Spain in the early seventeenth century presumably suffered from the expulsion of such a large and productive group. Valencian historians in particular have castigated the expulsion as harmful to that kingdom's economic viability. Although recent studies have helped contextualize the magnitude of the economic impact and have placed the somber specter of Spanish decline in a more nuanced light, few question that the expulsion of the Moriscos exacerbated an already gloomy economic situation in early-seventeenthcentury Spain.

See also Moriscos; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain).

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CHRISTIAN BERCO

MOROZOVA, BOIARYNIA (1632–1675). Feodosiia Prokof'evna Morozova, born

Sokovnina and known later as the nun Feodora, was one of Muscovy's leading aristocratic women associated with the Old Believers. After Morozova's death as a martyr in defense of the old forms of worship, she was venerated as the movement's principal female saint.

In 1662 Morozova obtained control over one of Muscovy's largest estates following the death of her husband, the Kremlin politician Gleb Ivanovich Morozov. Ruling in the name of her only son, she proved an effective administrator. However, she soon adopted an ascetic way of life and used her wealth for almsgiving. After the 1667 church council that condemned numerous male Old Believers to exile in the Russian north, Morozova's patronage became essential for the movement's long-term survival. Old Believers flocked to her Moscow palace in order to escape church persecution. She allowed priests to say mass according to the old rites in her palace chapel, and opened her doors to fugitive monks and nuns. One of these nuns, Sister Melaniia, became Morozova's mentor and convinced her to take the veil in late 1670. Morozova also protected persecuted Old Believer intellectuals such as the monk Avraamii. Her messengers maintained regular contact with exiled Old Believers and smuggled their writings to Moscow, where she had them copied by her scribes, thus promoting the dissemination of Old Believer literary culture.

Although Morozova's behavior greatly annoyed the Kremlin, she evaded arrest due to the tacit support of Tsaritsa Mariia Il'ichnina Miloslavskaia, the first wife of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676). After her death and the tsar's remarriage in 1671, Morozova was arrested by agents of the Secret Chancellery, put in chains, tortured, and threatened with execution. Staunchly refusing to betray her Old Believer loyalties, she was confined to a monastic dungeon, where she finally died of starvation in 1675.

Morozova's vita was compiled shortly after her death, probably on the initiative of her older brother. Revised at least twice by early-eighteenth-century authors, this enormously popular vita made Morozova a larger-than-life figure and inspired subsequent generations of Old Believer women. But while the story of Morozova's resistance against the Orthodox Church entered the Old Believer canon,

stories of other boyar women who engaged in similar resistance were not widely transmitted. Particularly noteworthy among the omissions is Morozova's sister, Evdokiia Urusova, whose correspondence with her children provides moving insights into the spiritual struggles that led her and other elite women to sacrifice their lives for their religious convictions. Another omission is Princess Elena Khrushcheva, who led the Moscow Old Believer community after Morozova's death and became so influential that the exiled archpriest Avvakum Petrovich considered her a major challenge to his spiritual authority. Other boyar women whose activities left substantial traces in church archival records include Anna Khilkova, Evdokiia Naryshkina, and Evdokiia Leont'eva. These and other largely forgotten elite women significantly contributed to the survival of the Old Believer movement during the late-seventeenth century.

See also Avvakum Petrovich; Nikon, patriarch; Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian.

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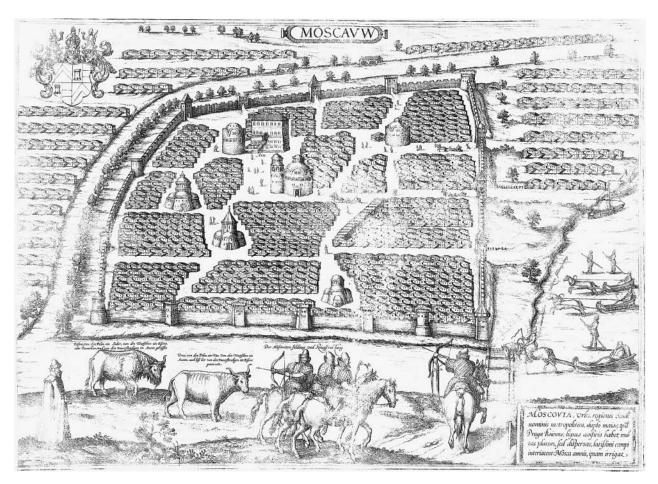
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**MOSCOW** (Moskva). The etymology of Moskva and the question of whether the name was applied first to the city or to the river on which it is located both remain in dispute. Moscow is located in approximately the center of the East European plain on the Moscow River, a tributary of the Oka River, which flows into the Volga. Among distinguishing reasons for Moscow's rise to power over its neighbors in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are the following. First, being centrally located among East Slavic principalities, its trade routes stretched far in all directions. Second, due to its central location, Moscow was protected to some extent by distance from hostile neighbors to the west (Poland, Lithuania, Baltic Germans) and to the south and southeast (Tatars). Third, its political system was relatively



Moscow. A map of Moscow first published in Braun & Hogenberg's collection of town plans *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published between 1572 and 1618. This somewhat fanciful view across the frozen Moskva River gives a sense of the many churches and wooden buildings within the walled center of the city. The armed horsemen depicted in the foreground reflect the growing military power of Moscow under Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible; reigned 1533–1584). Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

stable, thanks to long-lived rulers and to the adoption of primogeniture in the royal dynasty, which made princely succession more predictable than in rival principalities where succession was frequently a matter of rivalry among brothers and sons. And, fourth, Moscow princes frequently proved able, shrewd, and adept in acquiring neighboring principalities and in making strategic alliances with or against various Tatar khanates.

As Moscow grew, the original fortified settlement, or *gorod*, became the central citadel of a city that expanded outward in roughly concentric circles, with radial streets emanating from the citadel. By the sixteenth century, the citadel was being called the Kremlin (from *kreml*, a word that apparently origi-

nally denoted an oaken stockade); its walls, faced with red brick, had been reconstructed by Italian engineers and encompassed the present territory of the Kremlin, some seventy acres. During the course of the sixteenth century, districts of the expanding city were encircled with their own protective walls: first Kitai Posad/Gorod, a commercial district east of the Kremlin and containing Red Square; then the Belyi (White) Gorod, the walls of which are marked by the current Ring Boulevard around the combined Kremlin and Kitai Gorod; and finally, the Zemlianoi Gorod, whose walls made a full circle around the city, crossing the Moscow River. The latter walls defined the official city limits until the eighteenth century and were located along the present Garden Ring Road.



**Moscow.** Engraving of St. Basil's Cathedral, 1634. ©Austrian Archives/Corbis

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a protective semicircle of six fortified monasteries was built up outside the city walls along the southern perimeter, guarding against the frequent incursions of Tatar forces from that direction. Those monasteries, now well within city limits, are, from west to east: Novodevichii, Donskoi, Daniilovskii, Simonov, Novospasskii, and Andronikov. Something of a city planning and masonry construction office (*Prikaz kamennykh del*) was founded in 1584, the principal mission of which was to encourage masonry construction instead of wood and to plan firebreak areas where construction was forbidden. Despite such efforts, 72 percent of Moscow buildings were still wooden as of 1811.

Trustworthy population statistics for old Moscow are lacking. Frequently cited estimates number 30,000–40,000 residents in the fourteenth century,

100,000 in the sixteenth century, 200,000 in the mid-seventeenth century, although all those estimates may be too high. Moscow's first systematic census, in 1701, counted 16,358 households, from which an estimated population of 200,000 residents has been proposed. The first official census of individuals was in 1784, when the population count was 217,000, a figure reduced by substantial losses during the plague of 1771. The next detailed census was in 1811, when the population of Moscow was measured at 262,000 (another "official" document says 270,000).

With the shift of government to St. Petersburg and the buildup of that city beginning in the early eighteenth century, Moscow was reduced to second place politically. The three-hundred-year rivalry between Moscow, the old capital symbolizing traditional Muscovite Russian culture, versus St. Peters-



Moscow. Seventeenth-century map. THE ART ARCHIVE/PRIVATE COLLECTION/DAGLI ORTI

burg, the new capital representing Russia's turn to western European cultural norms, was well underway in the eighteenth century. Under Empresses Elizabeth (ruled 1741-1762) and Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796), some western European baroque and classical architecture was introduced in Moscow—the beginnings of a partial "St. Petersburgization" of the former capital. Moscow was still honored ceremonially, in that emperors and empresses, up to and including Nicholas II, continued to travel to Moscow for a formal coronation in the Kremlin Dormition (Assumption) Cathedral. The relative neglect of Moscow, however, is exemplified by two grandiose projects in Moscow that Catherine started but then decided to abandon: a gigantic reconstruction of the Kremlin in Classical style, and a huge neo-Gothic palace at Tsaritsyno, on the outskirts of town.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Elizabeth (Russia); Orthodoxy, Russian; Peter I (Russia); Russia; St. Petersburg.

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Jack Kollmann

MOTHERHOOD AND CHILD-

**BEARING.** Church, society, and their own expectations shaped the lives of early modern European women of childbearing age toward the goal of reproduction. Marriage was viewed not as the culmination of personal desire, whether sexual or economic, but as the gateway to a woman's proper destiny of motherhood and the perpetuation of the human race. For poor women, the birth of children could be viewed as insurance against the deprivations of old age. For wealthy women, the birth of an heir conferred status and frequently ensured both wealth and affection in an "arranged" marriage. In societies across Europe, children were essential for

the transmission of property, and women who failed to reproduce were looked upon as failures.

Women were most commonly in their midtwenties when they married, and could expect the birth of their first child twelve to thirteen months later. Motherhood was considered the highest calling for a married woman, but the unmarried mother was subject to moral, economic, and social censure. Poor, unmarried mothers were on occasion driven to commit infanticide, but the harsh penalties for such a crime were not always invoked.

In a barren marriage, the woman was always believed to be at fault. Against the despair and shame of infertility, women balanced their anxieties and concerns surrounding childbirth itself. Complications of childbirth, when they occurred, were often fatal. Many mothers in Italy, France, Holland, Spain, and England could call upon the services of capable and experienced midwives when they faced the childbed experience, but for others giving birth could prove disastrous. Throughout the countries of western Europe, the midwife played a key role in the event of childbirth, and women were well served for centuries by the traditional midwife, whose expertise had been acquired by observation and firsthand participation, usually as an apprentice to a more experienced midwife.

## THE MIDWIFE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Historians have increasingly turned their attention to the person and role of the midwife in early modern Europe, and the result has been a revised view of their competence and importance. Midwives were generally mature women who had themselves borne children. Often they were trained by their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and other relatives who were themselves practicing midwives.

Opportunities for training and licensing varied from country to country. In southern Germany midwives were solidly respectable women who answered to civic authorities and drew their salaries partly from municipal treasuries and partly from the women who were their clients. Farther north, in late-eighteenth-century Brunswick (Braunschweig), for example, the situation was more complex, with the board of health acting as examiners. The church in Italy exerted control over midwives, touching issues such as baptism and female sexuality, but by the end of the eighteenth century the

state had joined the church in attempting to regulate midwives. In eighteenth-century Holland midwives were generally regarded with respect, with the towns offering educational opportunities as well as paying their salaries and overseeing their work.

In France the French royal midwife Louise Bourgeois (c. 1563-1636) published a three-volume treatise based on her personal experiences as a midwife. Written between 1609 and 1626, this work, generally known as Observations diverses, was the first on the topic of childbirth by a female author. It was highly popular throughout the seventeenth century and a number of English translations appeared. Although facilities existed in Paris for teaching a relatively small number of midwives at the famous Hôtel Dieu, by 1759 the need for a training program, particularly for rural midwives, was so great that King Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) appointed Angélique Marguerite du Coudray (1715-1794) as the national midwife. She traveled throughout France for the next thirty years not only instructing midwives in the practical techniques of delivery but also publishing a midwifery manual. In early modern Spain women traditionally called upon the services of midwives who shared knowledge among themselves and were relatively free from outside control. In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, this changed as the surgeons began to control midwifery, assisted by royal legislation that permitted them to prescribe and enforce a restrictive curriculum for midwives.

# LONDON MIDWIVES

Of all the midwives, the English midwives, licensed by ecclesiastical authorities, have been the subject of the most intensive investigation. In particular the lives of seventeenth-century London midwives have been brought to light, and a wealth of information has been uncovered about their training, licensing, work, and in some cases their social and economic profiles.

London midwives trained in an unofficial apprenticeship system whereby less-experienced deputy midwives worked with highly experienced licensed midwives for periods varying from several years to several decades. A deputy midwife could become a licensed midwife by presenting proof, in the form of sworn "testimonials," of her competence and character before a church court, where

she usually was accompanied by women whom she had successfully delivered as well as her midwife mentor. In addition the midwife paid a substantial fee to the ecclesiastical authorities for her license. Quakers, who rejected the tenets of the Church of England, were served in most cases by their own competent Quaker midwives, who also had non-Quaker clients.

The midwife drew her clientele from all levels of society, delivering both rich and poor women, as promised in her oath. In London a competent midwife could earn more from one delivery than a member of the working class earned in two weeks. As London inhabitants, a number of midwives were women of substance. All London midwives were either married or widowed, and their husbands were merchants, artisans, tradesmen, professionals, and gentlemen. Research on English midwives in the countryside supports this view of respectability and prosperity, and there is evidence emerging in studies from other European countries of midwives' general responsibility and competence.

A prospective mother usually saw the midwife for the first time when labor had begun. Births took place in the home, frequently in a room crowded with female relatives, friends, and neighbors. Childbirth was viewed as a strictly female affair, and the presence of males was taboo. For this reason knowledge of normal birth processes was the exclusive preserve of the traditional midwife until well into the eighteenth century. In England by the seventeenth century most women were delivered in bed. Italian and Dutch midwives employed a "birthing chair," which they carried with them to deliveries. Ninety-five percent of deliveries were uncomplicated. If a problem arose, such as a breech or other abnormal position, experienced midwives corrected the problem and successfully delivered the infant. Only in the worst situations would a surgeon be called, who then used his instruments to destroy the fetus in an attempt to save the mother's life. Midwives, aware that the medical profession was helpless in the face of a life-threatening event, such as postpartum hemorrhage, endeavored to ensure that the placenta or afterbirth was delivered whole so the mother would not continue to bleed. Cesarean section was seldom attempted by a surgeon and usually resulted in the loss of a woman's life.



Motherhood and Childbearing. Ladies Celebrating the Birth of a Child in an Elegant Boudoir, with Two Gentlemen Looking on from Behind a Screen, by Hieronymous Janssens, Dutch, seventeenth century. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

After the baby was successfully delivered, the midwife cut the umbilical cord with her scissors or a knife. If it was a male, this action was carried out with considerable care, since conventional belief related the length of the penis to the length of the remaining cord. After tying off the stump of the cord, ensuring that the airways were clear, and checking for any deformities, the midwife or one of the female attendants swaddled (closely wrapped) the infant and placed him or her near the fireplace. According to Christian beliefs, each newborn must be christened or baptized. If the infant was in critical condition, baptism was performed immediately, in some instances by the midwife. Babies who were not in any danger were baptized in a more elaborate church ceremony before godparents and friends, usually a few days to several weeks after birth. Frequently the midwife who delivered the baby was in attendance, but the mother would not attend if the baptism took place during her lying-in period. In

England, toward the end of the seventeenth century, private baptism came increasingly to replace the public ceremony, especially among the upper classes. The ecclesiastical service in church was transformed into a domestic occasion for eating, drinking, and gift giving from which the new mother was not excluded.

## LYING-IN

After delivery the midwife washed the new mother and helped her change into clean garments. The bed was freshly made, frequently with elaborate "child bed linen," in order for the new mother to receive visitors and begin her four-week lying-in period. During this time she was relieved of many if not all of her normal household responsibilities. In addition husbands were expected to forego sexual relations with their wives for this period. In London parish officials engaged and paid for the assistance of a woman, who was usually herself the recipient of

poor relief, to assist other poor women during their lying-in periods. The complication most feared by postpartum women in Europe and by far the most common cause of maternal mortality was childbed fever or puerperal sepsis, a bacterial infection. In an era when bacteria were as yet not understood, it could strike down unsuspecting mothers within two or three days after delivery. The sudden onset of chills was an ominous sign of the dreaded infection and frequently heralded septicemia, the excruciating pains of peritonitis, and death. Women delivered at home by a competent midwife using acceptable standards of hygiene were not at high risk for succumbing to its deadly effects. But in London, with the opening of lying-in hospitals in the first half of the eighteenth century and deliveries increasingly carried out by male midwives, the death rates of women stricken by childbed fever soared.

Once their lying-in ended, English women, the majority of whom were communicants of the Church of England, went to be "churched." This ceremony was performed with the new mother and her midwife appearing before the parish congregation and has been variously interpreted as a service of thanksgiving, celebration, or purification. By their participation, women affirmed their status as new mothers and their gratitude for surviving the perils of childbirth before parishioners and the whole community. The churching rite provided an occasion for happy celebration and partying. It was an important and positive ritual in the life of childbearing women. Once "churched," the woman could partake fully of all rites of the church, including Communion. In France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, traditionally Roman Catholic countries, mothers went to church for a blessing after a fortyday period of purification following the "impurity" of giving birth, as instructed by the Council of Trent.

## FEEDING THE NEWBORN

Although Puritan writers of the period as well as occasional medical authors urged women to breast-feed, there is no evidence that their advice met with widespread acceptance. Until the middle of the eighteenth century mothers followed the counsel of most medical writers and looked with distrust on placing the baby at breast immediately following delivery. Instead, many gave the infant frequent

purges for one or two days. This was thought to aid in clearing the bowel of meconium. Others gave the newborn pap, a watery mixture of cereal and liquid. In the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century, women were often advised to wait for a month after delivery before attempting to breast-feed. The value of colostrum, the thin fluid that new mothers produce for several days before the breast milk is established, was not appreciated until the 1670s. Even so, the babies of wealthy women continued to be purged for several days and then sent to a wet nurse.

The practice of wet-nursing was a well-established social institution throughout western Europe by the sixteenth century. It began to decline in the eighteenth century, but until at least 1800 the institution flourished. Initially popular among the aristocracy and aspiring gentry in France and England, the practice of employing a wet nurse spread to the lower classes, where a woman's situation (illness, type of employment) might discourage breast-feeding. Wet nurses were usually married and had children. They were of the lower ranks of rural society, although not poverty-stricken, and nursed the infants in their own homes. In the case of London parents, the wet nurse might live twenty or thirty miles away. The infant would seldom, if ever, receive parental visits. Not surprisingly there was a high mortality rate among "nurse children." Deprived of the protective elements provided by their mother's colostrum and milk and exposed to the new germs of their wet nurses' homes, they succumbed by the score to gastroenteritis as well as a host of other illnesses of bacterial origin. Many foundlings, already in poor condition upon arrival at the wet nurse's home, were particularly at risk and failed to survive the first six months of life.

Wet nurses were employed by the family, and in Florence, for example, the father of the infant hired the wet nurse and oversaw all arrangements regarding her duties and obligations. In some cases wet nurses were engaged by parishes or foundling hospitals to nurse abandoned infants. Earning more than the occupations of indoor servant or dry nurse, the occupation of wet nurse was seen as a profitable and respectable one for many women of the period. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the benefits of putting the newborn to breast within twenty-four hours of delivery began to at-

tract attention. It was noted that neonatal feeding practices among poor women greatly reduced the incidence of milk fever, an affliction involving high fever, abscesses of the breast, and possible death. Not only was maternal mortality from milk fever decreased by putting the infant to breast soon after birth, infant mortality in the first twenty-eight days was lowered. The increased opportunity for bonding also resulted in a more positive attitude toward infants and their well-being. In mid-eighteenth-century Paris, however, fully 10 percent of infants were still sent out to wet nurses, and the aristocracy throughout Europe was slow to abandon the practice.

Because of high infant and child mortality rates from infections and communicable diseases, it was not uncommon for women who had experienced ten or twelve pregnancies to enter middle age with only one or two surviving children. Despite the expectation that many infants would not survive the early months of life, mothers were devastated by the loss of their little ones. Although women were well aware of the risks they faced in childbearing in an era when licensed physicians and qualified surgeons had nothing to offer by way of assistance in life-threatening situations, most of them chose to dwell on the celebratory aspects of childbirth. Well into the eighteenth century the majority of women continued to place their trust in God and the ministrations of their midwives.

See also Childhood and Childrearing; Marriage; Midwives; Obstetrics and Gynecology; Orphans and Foundlings; Women.

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Doreen Evenden

# MOZART, WOLFGANG AMADEUS

(1756–1791), Austrian composer, widely considered one of the most gifted figures in the history of Western music. Born in the archbishopric of Salzburg, a territory of the Holy Roman Empire, Mozart by the age of six had already acquired a reputation throughout Europe as a musical prodigy. According to his father, Wolfgang was already composing minuets at the age of four, and he was barely six when he performed on the harpsichord for the Habsburg imperial family in Vienna. Yet Mozart's astonishing precocity as a composer and performer should not obscure the role of his father, Leopold, in nurturing his genius. Leopold, the son of an Augsburg bookbinder, became a musician at the Salzburg court in 1739 and in 1763 secured an appointment as deputy kapellmeister. He was himself an accomplished musician and composer who in 1756, the year of Wolfgang's birth, published what would become a highly influential treatise on violin playing. He was therefore able to provide Wolfgang and his sister, Maria Anna ("Nannerl"; 1751-1829), with superb musical tutelage. Leopold could be a demanding and irascible father, proud of his son's talents but also possessive and manipulative, and the bitter conflicts that marked his relationship with Wolfgang in later years have made it easy for some biographers to portray Leopold in an unflattering light. But even those scholars inclined to highlight his shortcomings (see, for example, Maynard Solomon's brilliant but controversial biography) acknowledge Leopold's crucial role in fostering the talents and career of his son.

This role was evident above all in the series of European tours he arranged for Wolfgang between 1763 and 1772, when Leopold journeyed with his son to such major musical capitals as Vienna, Paris,



Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Contemporary portrait. 
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Naples, Milan, Mannheim, and London. These journeys were undertaken with the purpose of landing Wolfgang a position more suitable to his talents than what was then available in Salzburg. Mozart failed to secure a permanent appointment and for most of the period up to 1781 would remain formally in the service of the Salzburg court. But the grand tours of the 1760s and early 1770s did have the effect of exposing the young composer to an exceptionally broad array of musical influences and genres. In this respect the extensive travels of Wolfgang's youth certainly helped foster what would become a key element of his gifts as a composer, namely his universality. Mozart would not only master every musical genre of his day, but leave a lasting imprint on each—sacred music, keyboard and chamber music, concertos and symphonies, opera—and although a composer of his talents was certainly more than the sum of his musical influences, the range of styles and genres to which his father helped expose him fostered the conditions under which Wolfgang's genius could flourish.

But the young Mozart's travels also bred a growing dissatisfaction with his patrons at the

Salzburg court, where he spent most of the years from 1773 to 1780. Mozart's unhappiness came partly in response to the policies of the new archbishop, Hieronymus Colloredo (in office 1772-1803), whose reform-minded efforts to lower court expenditures and curtail the use of instrumental music in the Mass further reduced what to Mozart already seemed a dearth of musical opportunities. Growing tension between the two, heightened by the efforts of the Mozart family to find employment elsewhere, culminated in the composer's unceremonious dismissal (in Mozart's words, "with a kick on the ass") by the archbishop's court chamberlain in 1781. Mozart's break with the archbishop later acquired legendary and dramatic force as the romantic embodiment of the clash between unrequited genius and mediocrity.

But the incident also pointed to the growing importance of Vienna, where Mozart now resolved to make his fortune, as a musical and cultural capital. The 1780s, which coincided with the reign of the reformist Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), marked the high point of Enlightenment culture in the Habsburg capital. The city's expanding musical and theatrical venues help explain why Mozart could take a step so unusual for a composer of his day, namely that of embarking on a freelance musical career in lieu of one based on court patronage. Legends to the contrary, Mozart enjoyed considerable success in Vienna. The concerts he presented earned him noteworthy sums, due substantially to the popularity of his concertos, while the city's lively stage provided a vehicle for Mozart's operatic ambitions. The Viennese premier of his German Singspiel, Die Entführung aus dem Serail (1782; The abduction from the seraglio), was a major success, as was Le nozze di Figaro (1786; The marriage of Figaro), his first of three collaborative efforts with the Italian librettist Lorenzo da Ponte (1749-1838). The Viennese reception of Don Giovanni (1788) and Così fan tutte (1790), for which da Ponte also wrote librettos, was more muted, though the former had earlier premiered to an enthusiastic audience in Prague. Die Zauberflöte (1791; The magic flute) masterfully blended North German chorale, Viennese popular comedy, and Italianate coloratura, while its Masonic themes of brotherhood, reason, and justice (Mozart had become a Freemason in 1784) mark the opera as one of the highest expressions of the Viennese Enlightenment. There Mozart's universality is once again evident, not only in the opera's synthesis of diverse musical traditions but also in the transcendence of its moral universe.

Although Mozart's annual income during most of his Viennese years was relatively comfortable and roughly approximated that of a merchant or higher government official, his failure to achieve financial security is legendary. Personal extravagance, aggravated by the need to maintain a style of living proper to his status as a composer, was partly responsible. Later scholars have sometimes blamed Mozart's financial insecurity on his wife Constanze (née Weber), the daughter of a Mannheim court musician, whom Mozart had married in 1782. But charges that Constanze, after "entrapping" Mozart in marriage, drove the pair to financial ruin through her spendthrift ways, appear to be groundless. Evidence suggests that she was a supportive wife and a competent if not shrewd household manager. At least in his later years, what was chiefly responsible for Mozart's precarious finances were deteriorating health, which reduced the income he would otherwise have earned through teaching, performing, and composing. The causes of his death in 1791 remain a subject of speculation, with rheumatic fever the most widely accepted explanation. Serious scholars have dismissed the sensationalist claim, first advanced in the 1820s and later revived in stage (1979) and film (1985) versions of Peter Shaffer's Amadeus, that Mozart died of poisoning at the hands of the composer Antonio Salieri (1750-1825).

See also Music; Music Criticism; Opera; Vienna.

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**MUNICH.** Although settlement along the Isar River, south of the Danube, dates from Roman times, this city owes its German name München (meaning 'monks') to the brothers of the Benedictine abbey of Tegernsee, who first nurtured an agricultural outpost in the region in Carolingian times. In 1158, the Saxon duke Henry the Lion granted the town its first market charter, allowing the fledgling settlement to compete commercially against the rival trade and diocesan capital of Freising, about thirty miles north of the modern city center. Despite fits and starts, Munich's role as a commercial outpost developed from its control of an important bridgehead on the Isar and its strategic location on the trade route between Salzburg and the north. Its commerce in Bavarian salt, gold, and other commodities grew in the later Middle Ages, although its population lagged far behind the other great cities of the German south, including Augsburg (which by the sixteenth century had a population of around forty thousand), Nuremberg (with around twenty thousand), and Regensburg (fifteen thousand). The city's fourteenth-century defensive walls proved largely sufficient to hold Munich's population until the eighteenth century, and the town's inhabitants probably numbered around five thousand in 1500. Despite its modest size, Munich's prosperity is attested to by the surviving monuments of the late fifteenth century, including the imposing Frauenkirche (Church of Our Lady; 1468-1488) and the Altes Rathaus (Old Town Hall; 1470–1480). During the sixteenth century the city rose to prominence as a center of government, of Catholic reform, and of art. As a result of the brief Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg (Bavarian Succession War; 1503-1505), several previously separate Bavarian possessions in the region were joined into a single duchy, and in the course of the century that followed, the Wittelsbach dynasty increasingly identified Munich as their capital. In the city a lavish building program began in the 1560s with the expansion of the ducal palace, the Residenz. Its Antiquarium or library, completed between 1569 and 1571, was hailed in the early modern period as the "eighth wonder of the world." Other additions to the Residenz followed, including the rococo-era Cuvilliés Theater (constructed between 1746 and 1777). Although minorities of Protestant artisans were present in Munich during the mid-sixteenth century, the

building program also expressed the attachment of the Wittelsbachs and the city's burghers to Catholicism. These included the massive Michaelskirche (Church of St. Michael; completed 1597), the first structure in northern Europe to be modeled on the famous Roman church of the Jesuit order, Il Gesú; the seventeenth-century Theatinerkirche (Church of the Theatines), which was decorated for more than a century by a succession of Italian and French artists and architects; and the fantastically ornate Church of St. Johann Nepomuk (also known as the Asamkirche), designed by the brothers Cosmas and Aegidius Asam and built between 1733 and 1746. The role of architecture was considerable in establishing a Catholic confessional identity in early modern Munich. At the same time, the Wittelsbach dynasty pioneered governmental innovations that were mimicked elsewhere and were designed to rid the city and the surrounding territory of Protestant sympathizers and to foster a new purified culture of Catholic religious practice. In the late sixteenth century Munich became home to the duchy's Clerical Council, an institution of both clerical and secular officials that supervised the Catholic clergy and all aspects of religious practice in the duchy for more than two centuries. Music was yet a third prong of the Wittelsbach's counteroffensive against Protestants. In 1556 Duke Albrecht V recruited the Franco-Flemish musician Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594) to serve in his court chapel, elevating him to the status of musical director in 1562. During his more than thirty years in this position, Lasso reigned as the greatest composer of the Catholic Reformation in Europe, with hundreds of his compositions being printed in France, the Netherlands, and Italy. The alliance between the Wittelsbach dukes and artists deepened in the seventeenth century, although the city's fortunes fell into a decline for a time during the Thirty Years' War, especially during the years between 1632 and 1634, when occupation by the Protestant King Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden and an outbreak of the plague decreased the town's population by as much as a third. Munich's staunchly Catholic allegiances softened somewhat during the eighteenth century, as the Wittelsbach dukes adopted an enlightened despotic stance similar to that of the Habsburgs in Austria or the Hohenzollern in Brandenburg-Prussia. The more worldly sensibilities of the age are displayed in the monuments of that time, including

the suburban pleasure palaces of Schloss Nymphenburg and the Amalienburg on Munich's outskirts, as well as the grand, but naturalistic Englischer Garten (English Garden) first laid out in the city in 1789. While the great monuments of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries show that Munich was an important early modern provincial capital, its rise to the status of a major international city occurred only in the nineteenth century as the town's population increased fivefold in the half century after 1850. During the early modern centuries Munich displayed traits typical of many German provincial capitals, including local autonomy, guild dominance, concerns for confessional purity, and grand dynastic pretensions.

See also Bavaria; Palatinate; Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria).

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MÜNSTER. The prince-bishopric of Münster was the largest and most populous Catholic ecclesiastical territory in the Holy Roman Empire. Founded in 805 c.E., it covered 4,571 square miles (12,100 square kilometers) in the Westphalian region (Kreis) of northwestern Germany and had 311,341 inhabitants in 1800. It was predominantly rural apart from Münster itself, which, with 14,000 inhabitants, was the largest Westphalian town. Grain and cattle were the main products, and most peasants remained bound by varying degrees of feudal servitude until the early 1800s. As in other German prince-bishoprics, the cathedral canons elected each bishop and dominated the administration together with the local nobility, who controlled the territorial Estates, or assembly. The spread of Lutheranism in the city of Münster heightened longstanding tension between its inhabitants and the bishop, particularly after the election of Franz von Waldeck (1491-1553) in 1532. Defense of civic autonomy became enmeshed with the expression of new religious ideas, notably Anabaptism, which attracted a large following around the Dutch immigrant Jan van Leyden. Leyden's followers seized control in 1534, initiating a radical social experiment that included polygamy. The bishop blockaded the city with the assistance of other princes who regarded the Anabaptists as godless subversives. Many Lutheran citizens shared their opinion, and Leyden's regime collapsed amidst growing internal discontent and external military pressure in June 1535. Leyden was executed in 1536, but the city retained some autonomy, and Lutheranism spread to the surrounding countryside by the 1580s, while most of the nobles became Calvinists under Dutch influence.

The election of Ernst of Bavaria (1559–1612) as bishop in 1584 signaled an important change of direction. Ernst had secured control of the archbishopric-electorate of Cologne in a disputed election the previous year and was a representative of militant Catholicism. Münster remained linked to Cologne until 1650, as his successor, Ferdinand of Bavaria (1577–1650), was also elected there. The association with Cologne was continued by other dual elections in 1683-1688 and 1719-1802 and considerably increased Münster's political importance within the empire. It also complicated the territory's own politics, since the Estates generally resented initiatives from Cologne, where their ruler preferred to reside. Ferdinand joined the Catholic League and coordinated its policy in northwest Germany during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The canons tried to curb external influence by choosing a local noble, Christoph Bernhard von Galen (1606–1678), as Ferdinand's successor. Galen proved to be Münster's most ruthless and significant bishop. Known as Bommen Berend, 'Bomber Bernhard', and the Kanonenbischof, 'Cannon Bishop', for his enthusiasm for the military, he was determined to reimpose Catholicism and secure his territory against the Protestant Dutch and Swedes. Skillfully exploiting the divisions between the canons, the Estates, and the city, he raised taxes for an army that sometimes numbered twenty thousand men. This was loaned to other powers, particularly the emperor, in return for subsidies and political support. The latter proved crucial in Galen's long struggle with the city, which endured four sieges before finally capitulating in 1661. Episcopal authority was firmly established, and Münster became solidly Catholic by the eighteenth century. Further

involvement in later European wars drained territorial resources, and Münster declined to only regional importance, despite the continued association with Cologne. Prussia gained influence in Münster after 1795 and annexed it in 1802.

See also Anabaptism; Cologne; Leyden, Jan van.

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# MURATORI, LUDOVICO ANTONIO

(1672–1750), Italian historian, reformer, and ecclesiastic. Probably the most important figure of the early Italian Enlightenment, Muratori at first pursued erudition and cultural reform as separate areas. Following his education in civil and canon law at the University of Modena, he became involved in the movement, sponsored by the Rome-based Accademia degli Arcadi, to redeem literature from the supposed decadence of the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, he learned Greek and Latin paleography from the Benedictine scholar Benedetto Bacchini (1651–1721), a disciple of the pioneer medievalist Jean Mabillon (1632-1707). Soon after the turn of the seventeenth century, he began to think that effective reform of civil life could only come from a reinforced Christianity and an accurate understanding of the emergence of modern institutions from those of the past—the ancient past—and even more pertinently, the medieval past in which they were really rooted. He thus repudiated the Arcadi and began his own movement, whose major tenets he explained in *I Primi disegni della repubblica letteraria* (1703; First designs of a literary republic).

Following his appointment as librarian at the Ambrosiana in Milan, he became ducal librarian and archivist for the Este family in Modena. In this position, where he remained for the rest of his life, he published a remarkable body of works aimed at excavating the unknown medieval roots of the societies all over the Italian peninsula, culminating in the twenty-eight-volume *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (1723–1751), still a primary source on the Italian Middle Ages. Meanwhile, drawing upon this and other scholarly foundations, he published a series of influential polemics on contemporary civil society designed to provide guides for the enlightened monarch and for the enlightened citizen alike.

To the monarchs, he directed a searing attack on current legal systems (Dei difetti delle giurisprudenza [On the defects of jurisprudence], 1742), advocating simplification and codification of law and reform of procedure. He argued for better systems of public health, denounced economic differences, and called for more equitable systems of taxation (Della pubblica felicità oggetto de' buoni principi [On public happiness, the object of good princes], 1749). He called for removal of inheritance practices that prevented large quantities of land from being cultivated efficiently, advocated a reduction in the number of feast days so the poor would be able to earn more money working in the fields, and urged governments to sponsor agricultural improvements as well. To both the monarch and the citizen, he tried to show that Christianity properly understood—informed by sacred and profane learning, supportive of creativity, constructively encouraging the duties of all, responsive to human needs, and freed from distracting and irrelevant practices—could lead to both spiritual and material well-being (Della regolata devozione de' Cristiani [On the moderate devotion of Christians], 1747). In spite of disagreement with Muratori's respect for church traditions, more radical figures like Pietro Giannone built upon the solid foundation he provided. His last great project was a monumental history of Italy to his own time (Annali d'Italia, 12 vols., 1744-1749), reiterating many of the great themes of his life's work.

See also Enlightenment; Giannone, Pietro.

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Brendan Dooley

# MURILLO, BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN

(1617–1682), Spanish painter. Orphaned at the age of ten, Murillo was adopted by a sister, who arranged his apprenticeship with Juan de Castillo (1590–1657). By 1538, he was working in Seville. Heavenly and Earthly Trinities (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, c. 1638/1640), one of his earliest known works, incorporates characteristic features of several prominent artists, including the elegant facial types of Alonso Cano (1601–1667), the sculpturesque draperies of Francisco de Zurbarán (1598– 1664), and a celestial vision in the manner of Juan de Roelas (c. 1560–1624). Murillo's first major commission was a series of eleven pictures for San Francisco in Seville (1645–1648). Part of this series, the Angels' Kitchen (Paris, Louvre, 1646) helped establish his reputation as the leading artist of the city; this large painting depicts an unidentified Franciscan saint, floating in rapture, as elegant angels and putti prepare an elaborate repast.

In the 1650s Murillo received prestigious commissions for the Seville cathedral. In 1655, he painted *San Isidoro* and *San Leandro* for the sacristy; the glowing colors of the saints' garments set off their resolute facial expressions. The *Vision of Saint Anthony of Padua* for the cathedral baptistery (1656) imitates the dynamic baroque style that Francisco de Herrera the Younger (1622–1685) had recently introduced from Madrid.

Murillo spent most of 1658 in Madrid, where he studied paintings by a wide range of Spanish and foreign artists. With Herrera, he founded in 1660 the first art academy in Seville; until 1674 it offered classes in life drawing. In *Birth of the Virgin* (Paris, Louvre, 1660), Murillo achieved his definitive manner. Firm contours are dissolved through loose,



Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. Young Beggars Playing Dice. The ART ARCHIVE/ALTE PINAKOTHEK MUNICH/DAGLI ORTI

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sketchy brushwork and soft, glowing light. This style perfectly corresponded with the tender piety predominating in Spanish religious life of the era.

His many commissions of the 1660s included a group of eighteen altarpieces for the Capuchin church in Seville (1665-1670). For the Hospital de la Caridad, a confraternity devoted to caring for the sick, he produced eight large pictures (1668–1670) depicting good works. Compassionate expressions, warm colors, and hazy atmospheric effects emphasize the theme of loving forgiveness in Return of the Prodigal Son (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1667-1670). His altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception for the Hospicio de Venerable Sacerdotes, Seville (Madrid, Prado, 1678), determined the later iconography of the theme. This jubilant image eliminates almost all traditional attributes; the young, beautiful Virgin is surrounded by celebrating putti, who dissolve into soft clouds and golden light. As the Sevillan economy worsened during the 1670s, Murillo sought patronage in Cádiz, where he was working at the time of his death on altarpieces for the Capuchin church.

Murillo also produced many independent devotional paintings for private clients, some of whom collected his work in large numbers. His five paintings of the Old Testament story of Jacob (including Jacob Setting the Peeled Rods before the Flocks of Laban, Dallas, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, c. 1660) incorporate extensive landscapes, based on northern prototypes. Especially popular were his charming images of the infancy of the Christ Child and of Saint John the Baptist. Typical of these, The Infant Saint John the Baptist and the Lamb (London, National Gallery, c. 1660–1665), shows the Baptist, smiling at the viewer, as he embraces a lamb.

Murillo produced approximately twenty genre paintings, such as *Children Playing Dice* (Munich, Bayerishche Staatsgemäldesammlungen, c. 1665–1675). In most of these, two or three impoverished children are playing or eating in a pastoral landscape featuring a picturesque ruin. The strong sentimentality distinguishes these paintings from Dutch prototypes. Usually interpreted as a brothel scene, *Two Women at a Window* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, c. 1655–1660) may depict an innocent flirtation.

Murillo was esteemed as an elegant portraitist. Don Antonio Hurtado de Salcedo (Spain, private collection, c. 1662/1664) is one of the few hunting portraits by a seventeenth-century Spanish artist. The extensive landscape, the three dogs with their keeper, and numerous genre details emphasize the hunting theme. For his Self-Portrait (London, National Gallery, c. 1670–1673), Murillo utilized a Netherlandish formula, depicting himself in an elaborate oval frame, on which he rests his hand. The inscription and professional attributes suggest the status artists had attained in Spain.

Murillo's many followers included Francisco Meneses Osorio (c. 1640–1721), who finished his series for the Capuchin church in Cádiz. Murillo's work strongly influenced painting in Seville until the late eighteenth century. British collectors avidly sought his paintings throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His paintings of children were imitated by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788). In the Victorian era, Murillo was regarded as one of the greatest artists of all times.

See also Baroque; Gainsborough, Thomas; Painting; Reynolds, Joshua; Seville; Spain, Art in; Zurbarán, Francisco de.

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RICHARD MANN

**MUSEUMS.** Early modern museums were very different from the modern institutions that bear that name, so much so that some scholars suggest that museums per se did not exist before the eighteenth century. Many museologists believe that the true

history of museums begins with the creation of institutions like the British Museum (1753) and the Louvre (1793). What came before the eighteenth century was a chaotic phenomenon, unrelated to the careful, scientific classification and exhibition of the natural and human-crafted world witnessed in modern art galleries and museums of natural history, civilization, and science and technology, among others. It is true that earlier collections lacked some of the basic features of modern institutions. The earliest were privately owned elite institutions not open to the general public. As a group they lacked the orderliness common in collections today, and they were frequently idiosyncratic in composition, focusing on the unusual, shocking, and even disturbing. Even the name "museum" itself was uncommon: it is more correct to refer to cabinets of curiosity (cabinet des curiosités; Kunstkammer) or wonders (Wunderkammer) well into the seventeenth century. But there are good reasons to discount the claims that such cabinets lack any place in the history of museum development.

Perhaps the most obvious reason to challenge the notion of an unbridgeable divide between the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cabinets on one hand and the modern museum on the other is the sheer ubiquity of collecting in the early modern period. This period witnessed an unparalleled upsurge in collecting throughout Europe that continues right through the modern era. It is here that long-standing collections emerge in the Italian peninsula, the Habsburg Empire, Switzerland, France, England, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Russia, many of which are the foundations of later national museums. Though early modern cabinets were privately owned—often by a noble, a ruler, or an institution of learning—it became increasingly common for their owners to grant admission to worthy guests. These cabinets lured natural historians and philosophers of the age who were striving to understand the workings of nature, but visiting such collections also became part of the educational tour of worthy young men from all over Europe. The demand for access proved so widespread that printed catalogs detailing the contents were created for those who could not visit them in person. Their popularity was enhanced when individuals lower down the social scale began collections in imitation of their social superiors, as they did in increasing

numbers during the seventeenth century. It is in the sheer numbers of these collections and the constant traffic to them that some scholars now identify the first glimmers of the modern museum-going public.

The collectors and travelers were undoubtedly experiencing something very different from the modern museum visitor, however. Early collections could easily be described as chaotic because it was often the aim of the owner to encompass universal diversity in his cabinet, and the organization schemes would seem very confusing today. Though there were collectors who specialized in a single type of item, many simply included anything they deemed appealing, intriguing, rare, exotic, or valuable. Collectors might have particular interests, and their cabinets reflect those: the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand II (1529-1595) had an especial interest in arms and armor and dedicated three rooms of his four-room collection to them; Peter the Great of Russia (1672-1725) was interested in woodcraft and archaeology, among other things, and kept an extensive collection of tools and archaeological finds from Siberia and the Caspian Sea; England's Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) gathered printed matter. Other collectors specialized in coins, clocks, shells, biological or anatomical materials, books, or metal objects; the possibilities were as numerous as the collectors themselves.

Though most collections did not rigorously specialize, they did not necessarily lack any organizing impulse. Recent research and examination of individual collections suggests that there were organizational principles at work, though they are not methodologies at use in museums today: Pepys, for instance, organized his immense collection of books by size, not author. One particularly prevalent goal was the desire to create coherence from chaos. The collection of the Royal Society (founded in 1660) was meant, according to its first curator, Robert Hooke (1635-1703), to provide the opportunity for visitors and scholars to "peruse, and turn over, and spell, and read the Book of Nature." Following Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) proposed program of investigation, the mysteries of nature would be uncovered and explained through the careful examination of, in particular, her "miracles." It was, therefore, incumbent upon collections to focus on the anomalies even to the exclusion of examples of the mundane and regular. Although we can see here an

emphasis that is different from modern museums, the explicit agenda certainly foreshadows the type of investigation that underpins modern museum exhibits.

Perhaps the failure to recognize the underlying structure of these collections stems in part from the fact that the cabinets might be very cramped; hundreds of items from various parts of the globe would necessarily be housed in very close proximity, creating a sense of astonishing and exuberant bounty. Whatever organizing principle was employed, the collector would be sure that it accentuated plenitude since the object was to awe (even overawe) the visitor, in the process increasing the collector's reputation and celebrity. In an era when ownership of physical things and consumerism was to become a basis for honor and prestige, the cabinet of rarities was very visible proof of an individual's status.

It is a consequence of the owner's desire for notoriety and eminence that the private cabinet became increasingly more public in the seventeenth century. Though a ruler might wish to defend the exclusivity of his or her personal collection, for the rising merchant, professional, or emergent scholarly group, publicity was desirable. The more visitors, the greater the potential for renown. (Of course, the opening of collections to the general public had the advantage of providing income as well.) Despite this apparently modernizing development, it was the "un-modern" character of the early modern collections that made them so popular; people traveled to see these collections precisely because they were filled with the singular, the anomalous, and the monstrous. When a collector chose to publish a catalog, he did so to highlight the breadth and the uniqueness of the collection; educating the audience, while often an important motivator, was usually ancillary to stunning and amazing it. Museologists argue that it is this reversal of priorities and the lack of "rational" categorization and specialization that make such collections primitive and inferior. And yet for the early modern collector and his audience, such collections were the means to encapsulating and understanding a fecund and ingenious nature; without such collections and the study they enabled, nature's constitution, methods, and limits would remain shrouded in mystery.

See also Bacon, Francis; Hooke, Robert; Marvels and Wonders; Natural History; Pepys, Samuel.

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**MUSIC.** Just as artists, poets, and men of letters looked to antiquity for direction in the mid-fifteenth century, the musically minded in early modern Europe also spoke of ancient powers lost to modern times.

The composer Johannes Tinctoris in 1474 yearned for the former potency in melody "by whose virtue gods, ancestral spirits, unclean demons, animals without reason, and things insensate were said to be moved!" Humanists read in Polybius that music could enrage, elevate, or enfeeble; in the Republic, Plato schooled his guardian class in modes that hardened and conditioned them for civic duty and emboldened the weak and effeminate; and Aristotle, in the Politics, distinguished the vulgar use of music in public entertainments from its proper use to educate. The generation of composers who came of age around 1500 was responding in part to new calls for the recovery of music's forgotten force in the civic and moral life of the community. At issue for humanists was how to sharpen and enhance the effects of the text. Renaissance composers employed novel techniques to do this, including a system of emphatic syllabic declamation called musique mesurée, promoted by the French humanist Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532-1589). In his letters patent approving Baïf's academy, Charles IX praised its aim "of improving the morals of its citizens and promoting the welfare of the city." Composers found a more fertile path in fashioning melodic phrases to mirror the poetic line in length and emotional direction. Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) used extreme chromaticism and elaborate polyphony in his twelve-motet cycle *Prophetiae sibyllarum* (c. 1555) to evoke the unnatural voices of ancient seers. "Polyphonic songs which you hear with a chromatic tenor," he wrote, "these are they, in which our twice-six sibyls once sang with fearless mouth the secrets of salvation."

The music from such composers as Pierre de La Rue (c. 1450-1518), Jacob Obrecht (c. 1450-1505), Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450–1517), and Josquin des Prez (c. 1440-1521) was self-consciously revolutionary, rejecting predecessors and forging a fresh style. They employed greater musical variety, added instruments to sacred songs to supplement what had been a cappella singing, and drew attention to emotional expression. Josquin was the boldest innovator of his time, moving away from plainsong and chant as his musical foundation to freely composed and self-generating phrases that he wove into interlocking parts. The composer of some 20 Masses, over 100 motets, and more than 75 secular works, Josquin achieved a pliancy and sumptuousness in his writing that stands in marked contrast to the more angular, Gothically inflected works that preceded him. Music in the Renaissance progressed from theory-laden books to concrete and practical applications. It also expanded into the vernacular and away from liturgical settings. Popular expressions were the French chanson and the Italian madrigal; varieties of the latter became the continuo song and cantata in the baroque age.

The Renaissance courts of northern Italy were centers of innovation and patronage. "Seek not to deprive our Courtier of music," Castiglione advised in The Book of the Courtier, "which not only soothes men's minds, but often tames wild beasts." Ercole I d'Este schooled his children in music, and Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) sang. Competition among Renaissance princes for grandeur and power sparked bidding wars for professional talent and even cases of musical espionage. The rivalry was especially keen among Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, Milan, and the Papal States. On the low end of the social scale were singers and poets on the peripheries of power: itinerant improvisatore, cantimbanchi, and ciarlatini moved from court to court to sing about King Arthur, Orlando, and Charlemagne. At the high end of the scale were highly sought after talents

like Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), whose sixteen-year association with the Gonzaga family of Mantua produced three books of madrigals, the operas Orfeo and L'arianna, and numerous other works for festive and commemorative occasions. Musicians allegorized and elevated the might of their patrons with lavish works for weddings, feasts, private celebrations, dances, theatrical displays, and liturgical services. Music was also a prominent feature in state ceremonials: in Venice, the announcement of victory at sea over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 came with a flourish of drums and trumpets; choirs in St. Mark's greeted a diplomatic delegation from Japan; and the annual marriage of Venice and the sea celebration on Ascension Day, when the doge announced his "true and perpetual domination" over the Adriatic, was consummated to music. Each artistic center proudly claimed priority in leading music out of its medieval darkness. The theorist and composer Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) blamed the "ravages of time" and the "negligence of men" for bringing music to its degraded state and credited God for sending "one of the rarest intellects ever to have practiced music" to Venice, Adrian Willaert (c. 1490-1562). As maestro di capello at St. Mark's and composer of Masses, motets, madrigals, and chansons, Willaert pioneered the use of split choirs situated throughout the basilica for stereophonic effect, a technique taken up by Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1553–1612) and, much later, Hector Berlioz (1803-1869).

The printing press speeded the pace and broadened the diffusion of musical innovation. Its appearance helped to shape a new profile of the composer around 1500, as music masters moved away from church administration and toward uniquely musical pursuits. The first music printed with movable type came from southern Germany in the 1470s. The first published volume for multiple voices and intended for large-scale distribution was Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A (1501), which came from the Venetian house of Ottaviano de' Petrucci; Petrucci later published volumes of single composers including Josquin, Pierre de La Rue, Obrecht, Agricola, and Isaac. The other major musical publishing centers were Rome, Milan, Ferrara, Florence, Naples, Antwerp, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. Publishers sought to establish a particular niche in the rapidly growing commercial market by affiliating themselves with a single composer, building more specialized lists in secular or sacred music, offering music across a range of levels and abilities, and providing simplified arrangements of well-known works for the amateur. The large firms sent scouts to Rome and other Italian cities to recruit young talent. Instruction books geared toward the nonaristocratic public fed a growing popular appetite for private music making, particularly in lute and keyboard works. By 1550, musical presses in Italy and the German states were publishing vocal part books by the tens of thousands. In England, by contrast, there were comparatively few works of music published in the sixteenth century, an early sign that English and Continental music were already on separate paths of development. A single published volume of polyphony from the first half of the sixteenth century anthologized the music of William Cornysh (c. 1465–1523), Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521), and John Taverner (c. 1495-1545).

# MUSIC AND THE REFORMATION

The level of music making varied widely across early modern Europe, from the superb organists and choirmasters of cathedral towns to unlettered singers of rudimentary plainchant at parish churches. Most people experienced music through vernacular songs in the streets and inns. Towns employed municipal musicians for popular entertainment and to trumpet fanfares on special occasions. Folk songs encompassed a wide array of types, including narrative ballads, lovers' laments, parting songs, drinking songs, devotional songs, and saints' day songs. There were also more pointed songs, like this 1520 lyric urging the expulsion of Jews from the German city of Rothenburg:

Ein Reichstat an der Tauben legt, Ist Rottenburg genannt. Da haben die Juden lange zeit, Getreiben grossen Schand. Mit Wucherei und schärfer List Damit gar mancher Trümmer Zu Grund verdorben ist.

(A city on the Tauber lies, Whose name is Rothenburg. There, for many years, the Jews Have spread their shame. They saw waste and destruction Through usury and other cunning tricks In order to bring ruin.)

Vernacular songs furnished ready tunes for new texts, a practice that proved useful for religious instruction given the minuscule literacy rates. In France, the tune Quand j'ai pensé en vous, ma bien aimée ("When I think of you, my beloved") was kept but the words reworked to become Quand j'ai pensé en vous, Bible sacrée ("When I ponder vou, O sacred Bible"). Such substitutions provided the vehicle and the message for the spread of the Reformation. Easy to memorize and quick to spread, Lutheran songs rapidly became a weapon more potent than the flood of anti-Catholic books and pamphlets. Hundreds of popular tunes, many of them originally Catholic, were rewritten with Lutheran texts. Posted at inns and passed by travelers from town to town, the songs were used to "sing down" priests as they spoke.

The uncertainty and dissent among Reformers about the proper use of music is testimony to the extent of innovation since 1500. In the minds of many Reformers, new musical styles revealed the dangers of the humanists' project. In The Genevan Psalter (1543), John Calvin warned of music's power to pervert the morals of its listeners and urged strict controls: "Just as wine is funneled into a barrel, so are venom and corruption distilled to the very depths of the heart by melody." The English Puritan Phillip Stubbes wrote in his Anatomie of Abuses (1583) that music "corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef," while Erasmus censured the appearance of brass and stringed instruments in liturgical settings, which caused people "[to] flock to church as to a theater for aural delight." Calvin banned polyphony from services, though it was permitted in social gatherings; Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) banned all music in services. In England, Anglican reforms vastly simplified music in both style and text: statutes in Lincoln Cathedral specified that the choir was to sing no anthems to "our Lady or other Saints, but only to our Lord, and them not in Latin." Catholic reform undertaken by the Council of Trent went in the same direction, stopping just short of Calvin's move to ban all polyphony. The council censured music composed merely "to give empty pleasure to the ear" and urged composers to write in such a way as to make the words easily understood by all. Within fifteen years of his death, Giovanni Pierluigi

da Palestrina (c. 1525-1594) was hailed as having saved polyphony in the wake of the council's decrees by crafting an audition piece for the Vatican that convinced the authorities of its value through sheer beauty as well as its calculated propriety. The story is likely apocryphal, but it captures the tension between the direction of musical development and the liturgical needs of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. It also highlights Palestrina's own solution, which was to craft a style less ornately contrapuntal than that of Lasso by alternating chordal sections and free movement among independent lines. Palestrina was one of the most prolific of all composers, writing some 104 Masses, 250 motets, 68 offertories, 65 hymns, 35 Magnificat settings, and various lamentations and litanies.

In contrast to the other major religious reformers, Martin Luther (1483–1546) embraced the widest possible variety of musical expression. He called music "the mistress and governess" of human emotion, deserving highest praise "next to the word of God," and yet more eloquent than the most powerful orator in its "infinite variety of forms and benefits." Luther's musical ecumenicism, which helped to inspire the popular musical education that spread throughout the Lutheran lands on every level of society, had lasting consequences for music in Germany. The highest expression of this encompassing vision came in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), whose 200 known sacred cantatas (about three-fifths of what he is thought to have composed) convey their texts with remarkable subtlety, variety, and precision. Here, as well as in his keyboard and orchestral works, Bach employed virtually every European style, high and low, sacred and profane, from the grand French overture to dances of the popular classes. Famously provincial in his aversion to travel, Bach nevertheless drew from all available printed sources to produce works of universal appeal and enduring mastery. Bach's six keyboard partitas, for example, transformed popular dance forms known throughout Europe into virtuoso solo pieces. These included the corrente, a zigzag, hop-stepped Italian dance; its more fluid French counterpart the courante; the noble German allemande, a grave dance involving couples in a line; and the Spanish saraband, a slow, dignified dance of great sweeping gestures. Living on the threshold of musical classicism, an aesthetic whose simplified

style he steadfastly resisted, Bach was doggedly antiprogressive. From within this conservative world Bach also surveyed and on occasion borrowed from more recent styles of such contemporaries as Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) and Carl Heinrich Graun (1703–1759). Like Dante before him, Bach brought the elements of a passing age together in magnificent synthesis. Bach resisted any notion that he possessed special powers of genius; composers were instead to be craftsmen. He said: "I have had to work hard; anyone who works just as hard will get just as far."

#### PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PERFORMANCE

Throughout the seventeenth century, and owing to the wide availability of printed scores, amateur music making was increasingly viewed as a pastime for the great and small. One source was the Protestant tradition of hymn singing. The 1561 Sternhold and Hopkins edition of the Psalms in English included a brief introduction on the "Science of Music" that urged readers to sing in common worship and "privately by themselves or at home in their houses." There was much secular music, too. New wealth and a taste for luxury among the moneyed in late-sixteenth-century England supported a flourishing publishing industry, with some eighty collections of vocal music published from 1587 to 1630 intended primarily for the amateur market. The large number of dedications to gentry and noble patrons in England in lute and madrigal collections is one indication of their likely audience, but the presence of merchants and tradespeople among the dedicatees suggests that private performance was not limited to elites. Thomas Morley's Canzonets to Five and Six Voices (1597), a volume of five- and sixpart madrigals with lute accompaniment, was dedicated to "Master Henrie Tapsfield, Citizen and Grocer of the Cittie of London," and Thomas Weelkes's Balletts and Madrigals (1598) was dedicated to Edward Darcye, a groom in the royal household. Such examples notwithstanding, private music making throughout Europe was largely a pursuit of those with the time and money to devote to refining their skills and acquiring the music and instruments. The lute was the aristocratic instrument par excellence in much the same way the piano became a fixture in nineteenth-century middle-class interiors. There are glimpses of social mixing in private performance even at the highest levels. Roger North (1653–1734), gentleman and brother to Baron Francis North, who was keeper of the Great Seal of England, described musical evenings of his childhood involving solo and ensemble performances by his sisters, the servants, the steward, and the clerk of the kitchen.

In England, public concerts were first offered in private houses, taverns, and other meeting halls. Old forms of patronage persisted into the eighteenth century—and in some places on a scale greater than ever—but the new public concerts fundamentally recast the relationship between composer and audience by granting immediate access to large numbers and creating a venue for the rise of popular individual performers. The first truly public musical recital in England, and probably in Europe, occurred in 1672 when the composer and violinist John Banister opened his home for regular 4:00 P.M. performances given, as the London Gazette promised, "by excellent masters." Other series soon followed, with their success a part of the overall exuberance in public entertainments associated with the Restoration. Cromwell's destruction of organ pipes with battle-axes at Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Peterborough, Canterbury, and Winchester was only the most dramatic example of the socalled purification of music during the Protectorate. The appearance of public concerts also marked a shift from church-sponsored to more secular music, much of it tied to the court. Entrepreneurs such as Banister and Robert King, who obtained a license to offer concerts in 1689, also oversaw performances within the royal household.

This was the context for one of England's most versatile and gifted composers, Henry Purcell (c. 1659–1695), who was appointed composer-inordinary for the king's violins in 1677, just four years after his voice changed. Principal organist at Westminster Abbey from a young age and later at the Chapel Royal, Purcell also wrote for the stage. His output included anthems, overtures, "semioperas," entr'actes, dances, instrumental works for harpsichord, organ, and viol consort, and royal birthday odes and welcome songs. He was also famous for his catches, a popular form that in England displaced the madrigal and which, especially in Purcell's hands, delighted in randy lyrics. His catch on the plot of Titus Oates includes a characteristic mix of politics, religion, and sport:

Now England's great council's assembled To make laws for English-born freemen. Since 'tis dang'rous to prate of matters of state Let's handle our wine and our women.

Let's drink to the Senate's best thoughts
For the good of the King and the nation.
May they dig on the spot as deep as the plot
As the Jesuits have laid the foundation.

A plague of all zealots and fools, And each silly Protestant hater; Better turn cat-in-pan and live like a man Than be hanged and die like a traitor.

As court composer and keeper of the king's instruments, Purcell wrote music for state occasions including five welcome songs for Charles II, three for James II, and six birthday odes for Queen Mary—but neither he nor his contemporaries undertook the kinds of lavish productions deifying the monarchy that composers in absolutist France were perfecting at the time. There is a discreet reference to William and Mary in the prologue to Purcell's best-known work, Dido and Aeneas (1689), an opera staged at the Josiah Priest Boarding School in Chelsea just after the Glorious Revolution. A Nereid announces the appearance of a "new divinity," to which the chorus responds: "To Phoebus and Venus our homage we'll pay, / Her charms bless the night, as his beams bless the day."

In eighteenth-century France, private concerts in aristocratic salons were an important feature of upper-class sociability, though, as Mozart related to his father, the attention of the listeners was not always fixed on the musicians. "What vexed me most of all," he wrote of a performance for the duchesse de Chabot's circle, "was that Madame and all her gentlemen never interrupted their drawing for a moment, but went on intently, so that I had to play to the chairs, tables, and walls." The first public concerts in France began in 1725 with the Concert Spirituel, a regular series of sacred music held in the Tuileries Palace. Among favored works, performed by an orchestra of forty players and a chorus of fiftythree singers, were motets by André Campra (1660-1744), Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657-1726), and Jean-Joseph de Mondonville (1711-1772) and chamber works by Guiseppe Tartini (1692-1770) and Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741). Given the high ticket prices, concert audiences were necessarily the moneyed, and the atmosphere was uniquely aristocratic. There were other semipublic

concerts in France later in the century, most notably those sponsored by the celebrated musical patron Alexandre-Jean-Joseph Le Riche de La Popelinière, a wealthy tax farmer who invited the likes of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) and Johann Stamitz (1717–1757) to conduct their own music with an orchestra whose members lived on the premises. Late in the century, subscription concerts, one of them sponsored by the Freemasons, attracted a broader public with programs that regularly featured the symphonies of Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809).

Until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, music making in Paris was dominated by the Opéra, whose state monopoly on virtually all staged productions dated from its 1669 establishment as the Académie Royale de Musique. France's most celebrated composer in the epoch of Louis XIV was Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), whose operas came to define the French style of the grand siècle with their characteristic mix of stately pomp, dazzling effects, and refined graciousness. Lully reworked and enlarged the elements of Italian courtly spectacles in the Renaissance to produce a musical formula that shaped the monarchy's public image, depicting and occasionally casting Louis XIV in productions that were transparent homages to the state in the dress of Olympians. "The Peace which Your Majesty has given as generously to his conquered enemies," Lully wrote of his work Le temple de la paix (1685), "is the subject of this ballet." While French operatic audiences retained their aristocratic complexion in the decades before the French Revolution, such royal allegories receded before the ambitious musical innovations of Rameau, whose dense textures and bold orchestral effects shocked some listeners, and the reforms of Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714-1787), who simplified plotlines and concentrated musical expression to heighten the dramatic intensity of his operas.

# THE COMPOSER AND HIS PUBLIC

The relationship of Haydn and Mozart to their publics, which grew in many ways from their differing professional status as composers, shaped the nature and style of their works. Haydn was among the last of the great classical composers to live on the premises of his patron; over a thirty-year period beginning when he was twenty-nine, Haydn existed as

a virtual ward of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy. He was required by contract to dress in uniform at all times and to provide music whenever requested; he was regularly denied visits to Vienna and forbidden to copy his music or compose for others without the prince's permission. Nevertheless, pirated editions of his symphonies flooded Europe, possibly with his clandestine assistance. The isolation and routine of Esterháza castle proved extraordinarily fertile for the composer, whose prodigious output revealed the expressive range of the classical form. Deft, witty, harmonically rich, and endlessly inventive, Haydn's string quartets are the essence of eighteenth-century grace and refinement. "A certain kind of humor takes possession of you, and cannot be restrained," Haydn remarked to a visitor. Haydn typically led over 100 concerts a year that featured newly composed orchestral, chamber, vocal, and keyboard repertoire. His oeuvre includes 107 symphonies, over 60 string quartets, 58 keyboard sonatas, 42 keyboard trios, and 24 operas.

Mozart, by contrast, was the first major composer to flourish without a permanent position or sustained patronage. His famous indignation over his treatment by his employer, Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg ("When I see that someone despises me and treats me with contempt, I can be as proud as a peacock"), was a mark of his temperament, but it was also an indication of the changed relationship between the artist and his public. It was possible for Mozart to leave his position as Konzertmeister only because of new public opportunities in the Vienna of Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765-1790). Vienna was home to two flourishing opera companies, the Italian-language Hofoper and the German Singspiel, both of which mounted his productions. Mozart also taught privately, encouraged commissions, and wrote numerous works, for his own performances and those of his students, with particular audiences in mind. His letters are explicit and even gleeful about his opportunities as a free agent. In a 1778 letter to his father he wrote: "I pray to God daily to give me grace to hold out with fortitude and to do such honor to myself and to the whole German nation as will redound to His greater honor and glory; and that He will enable me to prosper and make a great deal of money."

The rise in public musical performance encouraged the explosion of new forms in the eighteenth

century. Audiences in rapture over virtuoso performers fueled the composition of solo instrumental and vocal works. The fireworks of Mozart's Queen of the Night aria in Die Zauberflöte were an exuberant and gloriously exaggerated version of what attracted many to opera in the late 1700s, a lesson not lost on Rossini and the nineteenth-century school of bel canto. The eighteenth century witnessed the appearance of keyboard sonatas and solo concertos in unprecedented numbers, as well as the birth of the symphonie concertante, a concertolike genre involving multiple soloists and orchestral accompaniment. The development of the string quartet from the 1760s is among the century's most important musical achievements, with the quartets of Haydn and Mozart the best known among a field of composers that included the Chevalier de Saint-Georges (c. 1739-1799) and François Joseph Gossec (1734-1829) in Paris, Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787) in London, and the Italian Luigi Boccherini (1743-1805). Between 1760 and 1780 over five hundred quartets were printed in Paris alone. At the same time, the modern symphony found immense approval in public settings, with some twelve thousand composed in Europe from 1720 to 1810. Its centers were Vienna, Mannheim, Paris, and London.

In many ways, the musical public in European capitals on the eve of the French Revolution resembled modern audiences. Its tastes increasingly drove programming decisions and influenced compositional styles. The public could select from among competing theaters and concert halls. It was the key ingredient in an increasingly commercialized art. The French Revolution and its effects across Europe hastened these tendencies and introduced others that changed the nature of public performance by ending state theater monopolies and reducing aristocratic and church patronage. The new taste for "ancient music"—works generally over twenty years old—formed an emerging canon of classics to be performed, preserved, and repeated in everlarger concert halls and opera houses.

See also Bach Family; Buxtehude, Dieterich; Calvin, John; Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Haydn, Franz Joseph; Hymns; Louis XIV (France); Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Luther, Martin; Monteverdi, Claudio; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Music Criticism; Opera; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da; Printing and Pub-

lishing; Purcell, Henry; Rameau, Jean-Philippe; Reformation, Protestant; Songs, Popular.

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JAMES JOHNSON

MUSIC CRITICISM. Diverse literary genres emerged in the early modern period that voiced opinion on works of music or their performance, and as such constituted the field of music criticism. The genres most commonly associated with such writing in the present day, the formal, critical review of a concert, opera, edition, or recording, were, however, only beginning. The main genre in music criticism as a whole was the essay, usually done in polemical terms.

It was unusual to write upon specific works or composers in any context prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. The study of music in philosophical and scientific theory by definition did not concern itself with music itself; the closest it normally got to musical practice was in the field of tuning. Treatises or handbooks on musical composition defined rules and practices; they only occasionally gave examples from particular works or discussed the style of any composer. (One exception might be noted: the commentaries of the Franco-Flemish theorist and composer Johannes Tinctoris upon the music of his contemporaries in *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of 1477.) Yet we know that a vigorous critical discourse took place among people involved in music. It can indeed be argued that the music review grew directly out of informal discourse in opera boxes, foyers, and salons.

The most important context within which publishing music criticism emerged at the turn of the eighteenth century was the "quarrel," a highly contentious dispute between intellectual factions. Such disputes, and the polemical essays written in their regard, were related to the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, the debate over the authority of ancient sources in France and England in the 1690s, but took particular directions within the musical world. The first querelle in Paris arose over an essay contending the virtues of Italian music by François Raguenet in 1702 (La parallèle des italiens et des français, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéras) and that of his critic Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville in 1704 (La comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française). Raguenet argued in acid, polemical terms that French music was stuck in an outdated style; Le Cerf called him a traitor to French musical tradition. Querelles broke out periodically in Paris, over Jean-Baptiste Lully in the 1730s, over a visiting Italian company (the Bouffons) in 1752–1754, and over the rivalry of Christoph Willibald von Gluck and Niccolò Piccinni in the 1770s. A parallel series of quarrels over Italian opera took place in London, begun by John Dennis in his 1706 Essay on the Operas after the Italian Manner and revived by a variety of authors through the 1730s.

Religious discourse also spawned critical commentary that played an important role in the evolution of public musical performance. In England in 1711 the Reverend Arthur Bedford, a colleague of Jeremy Collier in the movement against the theaters, called for great music of the past to serve as models for the present, a very new idea, in his influential *Great Abuse of Musick*. In France both orthodox and Jansenist writers claimed that sacred music was being secularized and attacked the grow-

ing practice by which churches put on public concerts for paying audiences.

Music criticism first took root in theoretical treatises and in periodicals in Germany, chiefly in Berlin and Leipzig. The main figures tended to be at odds with court musical life; they shaped a polemical discourse that laid the groundwork for the German intellectual leadership of musical life in the nineteenth century. Johann Mattheson began the tradition in Hamburg, originally in Das neueröffnete Orchestre (1713) and the periodical Critica Musica (1722-1725). Johann Forkel, organist at the University of Göttingen at the end of the century, wrote the first biography of Johann Sebastian Bach, but in one of his short-lived periodicals attacked the master's son Johann Christian Bach for pandering to the nobility and writing superficial music.

The burgeoning of periodicals during the eighteenth century brought practical music into a far closer relationship with other areas of written discourse than ever before. In the course of the century, treatment of music evolved from simple reportage to critical commentary. Lists of newly published works gradually took on a critical dimension, especially in the many German periodicals. Reports on opera and concerts at first only gave the names of works and performers, as well as details of notables present, but by the end of the century often had an important critical element. In some periodicals, the Mercure de France most notably, the author reported opinions supposedly voiced variously by the public and connoisseurs. Neither the author nor the connoisseurs he cited yet had strongly based intellectual authority. By 1800 critical reviews had developed the most fully in Parisian daily newspapers and in German music magazines. One senses a fully empowered reviewer in reading pieces on new opera productions in the French capital and reports on concerts in the Leipzig-based Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung.

Another important new authority that began to develop in music criticism during the eighteenth century was the canon. Prior to around 1700 there existed few repertories where old works were performed regularly in any sense as classics. That practice began first in England, in the performance of older works as "ancient music," and then in France as la musique ancienne. The querelle des bouffons was in fact fought over the entirely unprecedented authority that stage works by Jean-Baptiste Lully had acquired in their regular revivals. In Berlin the operas of Karl Heinrich Graun and Johann Adolf Hasse stayed on stage in similar terms. By the same token, commentary on the many performances of music by George Frideric Handel bestowed upon him a respect no composer had ever received. Throughout Europe, a new kind of canonic language thus began to develop in music criticism, whose only precedent was the honoring of masters such as Giovanni Palestrina and Girolamo Frescobaldi as pedagogical models. Nevertheless, in France and Germany the works did not stay on stage after the late 1780s, and a new movement of canonic taste began as music by Franz Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven was established as "classical" internationally.

See also Ancients and Moderns; Bach Family; Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Handel, George Frideric; Haydn, Franz Joseph; Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Music; Opera; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da.

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WILLIAM WEBER



NANTES, EDICT OF. As Catholics flocked to Henry IV's side after his 1593 conversion to Catholicism, the French Calvinists, or Huguenots, began to consider the once unthinkable possibility that they would have to go to war against the very man who had for so long championed their cause. One sign of their disaffection was the fact that few Huguenots lent their support to the king's war against Spain, declared in 1595. They greatly worried that their precarious freedom to worship might be taken away from them. Henry IV also dreaded the notion of fighting the Huguenots, even though Catholic pressure grew upon him to restrict their rights in order to prove his sincerity as a Catholic. The situation called for decisive action by the king lest a new religious war break out, especially as negotiations to end the war with Spain moved ahead, culminating in the Treaty of Vervins in May 1598.

In a bold move to avert this crisis, Henry IV reached a historic settlement with the Huguenots on 13 April 1598 in the Edict of Nantes. This famous accord has been seen as an important step forward for the idea of religious toleration as well as a victory for the notion that politics takes precedence over religion. Upon closer examination, however, neither of these interpretations can be sustained. The Edict of Nantes stated as its principal goal the eventual peaceful reunion of the king's subjects in one agreed-upon faith. In the meantime, the king wished to ensure religious coexistence of the two confessions so that this process of reunion

could go forward. The Edict of Nantes therefore affirmed the age-old French heritage of "one king, one faith, one law" rather than looking forward to modern ideas about toleration and secularism. It testified more to the growing authority of the crown than any willingness to accept religious differences on a permanent basis.

In the Edict of Nantes, Henry IV tried to solve the dilemma he faced of reassuring the Huguenots without alienating the Catholics. A closer look at the edict shows how he hoped to achieve these contrasting goals. Four separate documents actually made up the Edict of Nantes. The first one consisted of ninety-two general articles, while the second one had fifty-six "secret articles" that granted exemptions from the general articles to particular towns and persons. The last two documents were royal writs known as brevets. The reason for all this complexity in the edict stemmed from the political circumstances that Henry IV faced. The first two sets of articles had to be registered in the Parlement of Paris, which was the chief judicial court in France, in order to receive the force of law. Royal brevets, by contrast, did not need to be registered because they ended once the king who originally issued them had died. They were thus provisional in nature. Henry IV put the most controversial concessions to the Huguenots in the royal brevets because he knew that the Parlement of Paris, which was controlled by the Catholics, would never register them. In fact, it took nearly a year for the parlement to accept the first two sets of articles. How long the Edict of Nantes would last was therefore, from a legalistic point of view, an open question right from the outset. Henry IV's declaration in the preamble that the edict was "perpetual and irrevocable" actually meant only until such time as another edict was issued and registered to replace it.

The provisions making up the Edict of Nantes did not break new ground but rather returned quite explicitly to earlier edicts of pacification, such as the Peace of Bergerac (1577) and Peace of Fleix (1580), sometimes word for word. First, the king consigned all events since 1585 to oblivion, making it a crime to stir up the memories of past grievances. The edict recognized the Huguenots' right to freedom of conscience and liberty to worship in all towns that they controlled as of August 1597. It also guaranteed the right of Huguenots to hold political office and established special new courts with both Huguenot and Catholic judges to enforce the provisions of the edict. At the same time, the Edict of Nantes also addressed Catholic concerns. It reaffirmed, for example, the Catholic character of both the crown and the kingdom. While Huguenots could only worship in specially designated areas, Catholics could practice their faith anywhere in France. In fact, the Edict of Nantes called for the reintroduction of Catholicism in places where Huguenots had long forbidden it, most notably Béarn. All of these general principles in the first set of articles became decidedly less firm when considering all the exceptions to them contained in the second set of "secret articles." The most significant concessions to the Huguenots came in the two royal brevets, the first of which provided generous royal funds to help subsidize the French Calvinist Church, while the second allowed the Huguenots to fortify and garrison towns under their control. These measures thus provided financial and military security to the Huguenots, but only while Henry IV was king.

The Edict of Nantes thus brought a temporary end to the Wars of Religion, which broke out once again after Henry IV's assassination in 1610 as the Huguenots tried to secure the substantial gains they had made in the royal brevets. They ultimately failed to do so when Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, finally defeated the Huguenots in 1628 after the siege of La Rochelle. Louis XIII stripped the Huguenots of their former military independence and subsidies in the Grace of Alais (1629), though he recognized their right to worship in places already established.

The provisions in the two sets of articles came to an end in 1685 when Henry IV's grandson, Louis XIV, revoked the remaining provisions of the Edict of Nantes in the Edict of Fontainebleau. He did so because he mistakenly believed that most of the Huguenots had returned to the Catholic Church. The resulting persecution forced the French Calvinist Church to go underground, while many Huguenots emigrated to Germany, England, and North America. French Calvinists only enjoyed the right to worship publicly later on, in 1787, just prior to the French Revolution.

See also France; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; Louis XIV (France); Parlements; Toleration; Wars of Religion, French.

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MICHAEL WOLFE

NAPLES, ART IN. Although the second largest city in Europe, Naples was, until the second half of the seventeenth century, considered of little interest or import artistically. Giorgio Vasari asserted that until he worked in Naples (1544–1545), no one since Giotto had produced any painting of importance there. Even as, over the course of the seventeenth century, Naples became one of the most important artistic centers in Italy—perhaps the most important by the end of the century—the development of its art was greatly dependent on the presence of foreign artists and their works, although

the exact nature of that dependence is still much debated. The list of artists from outside Naples visiting or working in the city in the first half of the century is impressive; it includes Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi), Paul Brill, Goffredo Wals, François de Nomé, Guido Reni, Matthias Stomer, Diego Velázquez, Pietro Novelli (called il Monrealese), Artemisia Gentileschi, Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri), Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Viviano Codazzi, Giovanni Lanfranco, Charles Mellin, and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione. The Spaniard José (Jusepe) de Ribera constitutes a special case in that, after working briefly in Parma and Bologna and for several years in Rome, he relocated to Naples in 1616, where he spent the rest of his career, establishing himself as the leading painter of the first half of the century. Works by other artists came to Naples, and the artists themselves may have visited the city; among them were Louis Finson, Domenico Fiasella, Simon Vouet, and Nicolas Poussin.

Although many Neapolitan artists visited Rome, they had virtually no impact there, with the exception of Naples's most famous permanent expatriate, Salvator Rosa. Similarly, a few Neapolitan works found their way into collections outside of Naples, but there was no significant awareness of them, except in Spain. In the second half of the century, however, Neapolitan art gained international recognition, especially owing to the impact of the highly prolific Luca Giordano, who worked in Venice, Florence, Rome, and Madrid, as well as in his native city; and later Francesco Solimena, whose career lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century. For Bernardo De Dominici, whose three-volume Lives of the Neapolitan Painters, Sculptors, and Architects was published in 1742-1745, Solimena represented the acme of art and the proof of the international import of the Neapolitan school.

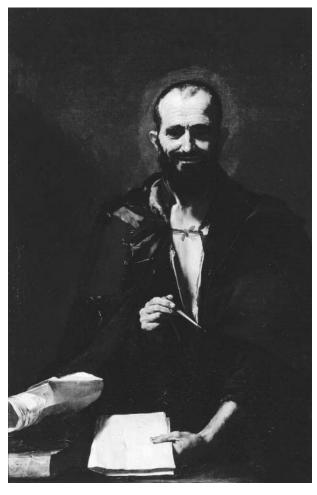
#### STYLE

Four significant shifts in style occurred in Neapolitan painting over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: first, the introduction, in the first decade of the century, of a strong tenebrism and trenchant naturalism; second, a lightening of the palette around 1630; third, a loosening of compositions and a use of a more full-bodied figure style from the 1650s on; and lastly, a withdrawal from

"baroque" illusionism to a less ostentatious classicism at the turn of the eighteenth century.

The prevailing mode in Neapolitan painting at the turn of the seventeenth century was a competent version of the "reformed" style developed elsewhere in Italy in the preceding decades. The most prominent practitioner of the style in Naples was Belisario Corenzio, who persisted in using it to the end of his career in the fourth decade of the century. The paintings executed by Caravaggio, including the Seven Works of Mercy, during his two brief sojourns in the city (1606-1607, 1609-1610) had a remarkable impact on the local school. As early as 1607, Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (Battistello) produced a strikingly Caravaggesque Immaculate Conception with SS. Dominic and Francis of Paola, a remarkable change from his earlier style developed under the aegis of Corenzio, and he maintained a stark tenebrism to the end of his career. The greatest exponent of Caravaggism in Naples was Ribera, who had already worked in this style in Rome. His rise to prominence in Naples further entrenched Caravaggism as the dominant mode there, although he developed in a direction not pursued by Caravaggio or his close adherents, namely toward bravura brushwork and use of what De Dominici called a "tremendous impasto."

After his earliest works, Ribera had generally substituted for Caravaggio's plebeian figures and sometimes awkward compositions more elegant figures and coherently organized compositions. In these aspects, and in his continuing tenebrism, he shared stylistic concerns with his rival as leading Neapolitan painter, Massimo Stanzione, although the two are often seen in stark opposition. In the late 1620s, he moved further from Caravaggio's example, lightening his palette, often using outdoor settings, and increasing the painterliness of his brushwork, evident in his Holy Trinity of the early to mid-1630s. Ribera's stylistic shift was shared by many Neapolitan artists and paralleled developments in Rome. In both instances, the artists' attention to sixteenth-century Venetian painting, whether directly or indirectly, seems to lie at the root of the shift. Reinforcing this "neo-Venetianism" in Naples may have been the presence or work of Reni, Anthony Van Dyck (possibly through the Sicilian painter Novelli), Velázquez, or others, although the matter has been vigorously debated.



Art in Naples. Democritus, painting by Jusepe de Ribera.
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH
MARTIN

Although the great plague that decimated the population of Naples in 1656 took several painters, foremost among them Stanzione, Neapolitan art was already beginning a significant change before that date, in part because of the passing of a generation of artists, but also because of the arrival, in 1653, of another outside artist, Mattia Preti. The well-traveled Calabrian had developed his earlier tenebrist manner into a vigorous, dramatic style that worked well in large canvases and fresco projects. Perhaps because of Preti's presence, and from 1664 also that of Giovan Battista Beinaschi, Neapolitan artists finally began to assimilate the Roman "grand manner" frescoes that Giovanni Lanfranco had executed in Neapolitan churches—the Gesù Nuovo, S. Martino, SS. Apostoli, and the Cappella del Tesoro in the cathedral—during his sojourn in the city (1634–1646). Although Preti left Naples in 1660, his work had a profound effect on the artistic development of the young Luca Giordano and was consciously evoked and refined years later by Solimena.

A less dramatic shift occurred around the turn of the eighteenth century within the art of Solimena, with important repercussions for his followers, especially Francesco de Mura and, in turn, de Mura's followers, who dominated the field in the second half of the eighteenth century. While some artists, namely Giacomo del Po and Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, continued to develop an exuberant, painterly style, Solimena began organizing his works with increased restraint and monumentality, in a style that has been termed "anti-baroque." In a different direction, Paolo de Matteis, who vied with Solimena for dominance in the early eighteenth century, pursued a classicizing version of Giordano's style. Giordano's brilliant, airy Triumph of Judith (1703–1704), decorating the vault of the treasury of the Certosa di S. Martino, which has been called "the source of the Italian rococo," had surprisingly few echoes in Naples itself.

#### PATRONAGE AND SUBJECT MATTER

Giorgio Vasari famously stated that Polidoro da Caravaggio, who worked in Naples in 1527-1528, nearly died of hunger because Neapolitan noblemen are so "little curious about the excellent things of painting" and "value more a horse that jumps than someone who can paint with his hands figures that appear alive." To be sure, the most important patronage in Naples through the eighteenth century was ecclesiastical. Most of the hundreds of churches in Naples were decorated in this period, many of them lavishly. The most important projects of the seventeenth century were the decoration of the Capella del Tesoro (or di S. Gennaro) of the cathedral (with frescoes and altarpieces by Domenichino, Lanfranco, and Ribera and sculptures by Giulio Finelli, Cosimo Fanzago, and others, largely executed in the 1630s-1640s) and the Certosa di San Martino, which is perhaps the most splendid artistic complex of the Italian seicento. Situated with a commanding view of the city and bay of Naples, the fourteenth-century monastery underwent massive rebuilding and decoration beginning in the late sixteenth century. From 1623, Fanzago was responsible for the architecture, also contributing sculpture and elaborate marble revetments in the church. Frescoes and canvases in the church and throughout the charterhouse were provided by most of the leading painters in the city—Corenzio, Ribera, Stanzione, Caracciolo, Lanfranco, Domenico Gargiulo, and Paolo Finoglia, among others—and include as well Reni's monumental *Adoration of the Shepherds* (c. 1640). Further campaigns in the eighteenth century included work by Giordano, de Matteis, and de Mura, as well as lavish sculptural decoration by Vaccaro.

Some of the viceroys in Naples—first Spanish, then, in the eighteenth century, Austrian-were significant patrons and collectors, sometimes playing important roles in the traffic of objects and the dissemination of style between Naples and Spain, the rest of Italy, and Central Europe. Many of the seventeenth-century viceroys employed Neapolitan artists, sometimes on behalf of the king of Spain, and a few amassed substantial collections, most notably the Count of Monterrey (viceroy 1631–1637) and the Marquess del Carpio (viceroy 1683–1687). Of the Austrian viceroys, the most important collector was Count Alois Thomas Raimund Harrach (viceroy 1728-1733), who extended his already vast collection while in Naples, not only commissioning contemporary artists, especially Solimena, but acquiring seventeenth-century Neapolitan works as well.

Large-scale decoration of private palaces was rare in the seventeenth century, and nearly all the many such projects from the early eighteenth century, especially by de Matteis and del Po, have been destroyed. But over the course of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, private collecting became much more extensive, ultimately belying Vasari's severe (and biased) judgment. Foremost among the collectors of the seventeenth century was the fabulously wealthy Flemish merchant Gaspar Roomer, whose vast collection included Peter Paul Rubens's *Feast of Herod*.

Religious subject matter predominated, especially in the seventeenth century, for both ecclesiastical and private patrons, but significant works with other subjects were produced. Mythological subjects were somewhat unusual, as in Spain, but important examples were executed by Ribera, Stanzione, and others. Relatively few portraits were

produced in Naples in the seventeenth century, although the local painters—foremost among them Solimena and Giuseppe Bonito—caught up to international practice in the eighteenth century. Naples also did not have a highly developed tradition of genre painting until the eighteenth century, when it is best represented by Bonito and Gaspare Traversi. Seventeenth-century landscape painters, especially Gargiulo (who also showed himself a brilliant frescoist in his work at the Certosa di S. Martino), tended toward the dramatic, rather than the idyllic or classical. Fanciful architectural settings were common. In the eighteenth century, idealized views predominated, produced at their highest level by Angelo Maria Costa and his pupil, Leonardo Coccorante. Neapolitan painters of still lifes—with a penchant for foodstuffs and flowers—especially Luca Forte, Paolo Porpora, Giovanni Battista Ruoppolo, and members of the Recco family, were among the most important in Italy from second quarter of the seventeenth century.

See also Architecture; Art: Artistic Patronage; Baroque; Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Classicism; Rococo; Rome, Art in; Vasari, Giorgio; Venice, Art in.

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**NAPLES, KINGDOM OF.** The early modern kingdom of Naples, whose twelve provinces compromised the southern third of the Italian peninsula, was the military and fiscal cornerstone of Spain's Mediterranean empire from its conquest in December 1503. It provided significant resources of men and money in a subordinate political role as a

viceroyalty in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish imperial system. After the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the kingdom passed to the Austrian Habsburgs in 1713. During the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), a cadet branch of the Bourbons made Naples the capital of a new, independent Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1734. The capital vied with Paris as western Europe's largest city until the plague of 1656 halved its population with 150,000 deaths; yet Naples still remained western Europe's third largest city into the nineteenth century.

#### POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Spanish Naples (1504–1713) saw itself as the defender and legitimate successor of the formerly independent Aragonese kingdom destroyed by French invasions in 1494 and 1499. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453-1515), the Great Captain, led an innovative military campaign that resolved more than two hundred years of Angevin-Aragonese rivalry in southern Italy. Charles V (king of Spain as Charles I, 1516–1556; Holy Roman Emperor, 1519-1556) confiscated pro-French nobles' titles, fiefdoms, and offices to forge an alliance between the absentee Spanish monarchy and the loyal local nobility, while Eleonora of Toledo, daughter of viceroy Pedro de Toledo (ruled 1532-1553), was married to Cosimo I Medici (ruled 1537-1574) of Florence as part of the Spanish pacification of Italy. This pax hispanica quelled factional feuding among the local nobility, put a stop to open warfare between the Italian states, and protected Italy from the Ottoman Turks. Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) encouraged powerful Genoese families as merchants and financiers in the kingdom and supported lawyer-administrators (togati or nobles of the robe) as middlemen between the baronial nobility and the monarchy. The city and countryside unsuccessfully revolted against Spain for nine months in 1647/1648. Spanish Habsburg rule ended with the death of Charles II (ruled 1665–1700) and the accession of the French Bourbon Philip V (king of Spain, 1700-1746), grandson of Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643-1715). The Austrian Habsburgs occupied Naples in 1707 during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Austrian Naples (1713–1734) became an Austrian viceroyalty by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Administrative structures remained relatively unchanged under Austrian Habsburg rule, but international rivalries led Sicily to be reunited with Naples in 1720. The War of the Polish Succession displaced the Austrian Habsburgs, and Philip V's son, Charles of Bourbon (king of Naples, 1734–1759; king of Spain as Charles III, 1759–1788), conquered Naples in 1734 and reestablished an independent kingdom.

The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1734–1860) became a model of Enlightenment reform under Charles and his chief minister, Bernardo Tanucci (served 1755–1776). Charles III became king of Spain and left Naples to his third son, Ferdinand IV (king of Naples, 1759–1806; king of the Two Sicilies as Ferdinand I, 1816–1825). Ferdinand IV lost Naples briefly during the five-month Jacobin republic in 1799 and fled the Napoleonic conquest to exile in Sicily from 1806 to 1815 before his restoration.

A population density of 35 people per square kilometer in the mainland kingdom's 79,477 square kilometers counted a countryside population of about 1.5 million people in 1505, 2.5 million in 1595, 2.0 million in 1669, 3.0 million in 1700, 3.5 million in 1750 and 5.0 million in 1800. The capital numbered roughly 10 percent of the kingdom with an additional 100,000 inhabitants in 1500, 250,000 in 1600, 350,000 before the 1656 plague, 215,000 in 1707, 315,000 in 1742, and more than 400,000 by 1800. No other city in the kingdom had more than 20,000 inhabitants, and rural populations clustered around provincial capitals, coastal enclaves, or localized markets in Aquila, Foggia, Bari, Lecce, Taranto, Reggio di Calabria, and Salerno, whose regional economies were tied to Tuscan, Venetian, and Genoese trade. In 1520, export of agricultural raw materials created a trade imbalance of 10:1 in favor of exports. By 1771, however, imports had outpriced exports by a 6:5 margin, and the kingdom's agricultural riches could no longer offset higher-priced industrial imports.

The feudal nobility and foreign merchants controlled the agricultural economy through contracts and loans that kept an indebted rural population far removed from the wealth and power enjoyed by their regional lords. Provincials escaping feudal dues and jurisdiction swelled the teeming plebs in the



capital, and the feudal nobility too was drawn to Naples where they formed part of the ruling class with the old Neapolitan patriciate, foreign officials, merchants, and financiers; the new "robed" bureaucracy, professionals, and artisans made up a small middle-class *popolo*. Food-provisioning needs in the city were of primary concern, with shortages causing revolts in 1508, 1533, 1585, and 1647. The famine of the mid 1580s–1590s precipitated a

sharp economic downturn, but the disastrous famine of 1763–1764, which struck the kingdom with the resonance of the Lisbon earthquake, was especially severe with some 200,000 people—5 percent of the kingdom's population—dying in 1764 alone. Only the two revolts against the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in 1510 and 1547, the lone examples of coalition between nobles and *popolo*, succeeded.

#### POLITICS AND CULTURE

Renaissance Naples's local variant of "feudal humanism," which concerned itself with the problems and values of the ruling baronial elite, continued into the early sixteenth century as humanist natives of the city or kingdom sought to interpret its failures and conquest in the Italian Wars. Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503) continued to be read, and Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) published his influential pastoral poem, Arcadia, in 1502. The university reopened in 1507 and was known for its faculities of philosophy, law, and medicine, but the humanist Neapolitan academy was suppressed in 1542. Spanish Naples hosted the Spanish mystic Juan de Valdés (1500-1541) and his circle, the anti-Aristotelian philosophy of Bernardino Telesio (1508-1588), numerous academies and salons including the suppressed Accademia dei Segreti and later the Accademia degli Oziosi, both led by the scientist and dramatist Giambattista della Porta (1535–1615), while Torquato Tasso (1544– 1595), born in exile in Sorrento, was a favorite son among the Neapolitan literati. The university's seat in the monastery of San Domenico spawned two Dominican geniuses who ran afoul of the Inquisition, Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639).

Baroque Naples witnessed a cultural flowering in literature, music, art, and architecture. The poetry of Giambattista Marino (1569-1625) defined a century-long European aesthetic (marinism), which glorified the "marvelous" through wit, surprise, and artifice; while in Neapolitan dialect, Giambattista Basile (1575-1632) founded the new European genre of the literary fairy tale in the Pentamerone (1634-1636). Naples also became a Spanish literary topos of luxury and libertinism, as in the opening seduction scene in Tirso de Molina's El Burlador de Sevilla y el convidado de piedra (The seducer of Seville and the stone guest), the first literary appearance of Don Juan, in 1630. Musical culture flourished in church and court settings with early conservatories and composers. Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) moved Neapolitan music to the world stage, and after 1700 Naples began to rival Venice in operatic production, to develop comic opera, and to boast the musical training of stars such as the poet and librettist Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) and the castrato singer Farinelli (Carlo Broschi) (1705-1782). A distinctive Neapolitan school of painting took off after Caravaggio's *Seven Acts of Mercy* altarpiece (1606–1607). Major artists such as Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652), Massimo Stanzione (1585?–1656), Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652/53), Bernardo Cavallino (1616–1656), Salvatore Rosa (1615–1673), Luca Giordano (1634–1705), and Francesco Solimena (1657–1747) had prominent careers. A spectacular building boom began to revive the city, with more than 150 projects begun between 1600 and 1650 alone, and important architects such as Domenico Fontana (1543–1607), Cosimo Fanzago (1593–1678), and Luigi Vanvitelli (1700–1773) distinguished themselves in Naples.

Enlightenment Naples became a privileged venue on the early modern European grand tour as much for its great men as for its natural beauty and ancient ruins. Political thought about the end of Spanish rule matured with Paolo Mattia Doria (1662–1746), Pietro Giannone (1676–1748), and Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), whose The New Science (1725; 1730; 1744) is a philosophy of humanity and universal history. Ferdinando Galiani (1728–1787) published his pathbreaking book On Money in 1751 and enjoyed a reputation as one of the major figures in intellectual life in Paris, where he served as Neapolitan ambassador from 1759 to 1769. Antonio Genovesi (1712–1769), who published widely on political and economic reform, held the first European university chair in "Mechanical Arts and Commerce" (political economy) in 1754. Genovesi's school produced government reformers such as Francesco Longano (1728-1796), Giuseppe Maria Galanti (1743–1806), Domenico Grimaldi (1735–1805), Francesco Antonio Grimaldi (1741-1784), and Francesco Maria Pagano (1748-1799). Gaetano Filangieri's (1752-1788) Science of Legislation (1780–1785) proposed a radical model for society that influenced the American founding fathers. He joined a reform council of finance with Giuseppe Palmieri (1721-1793) that included Melchiorre Delfico (1744-1835) after Filangieri's death. When Goethe wrote in the diary entry of 12 March 1787 for his Italienische Reise (1816; Italian journey) that Naples was a paradise in which everyone—including himself—lived in "intoxicated self-forgetfulness," he was perpetuating the persistent myth of a carefree people in a land of plenty and the romantic

fantasy of finding one's true self in the liberating southern sun.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Italian Literature and Language; Italy; Naples, Revolt of (1647); Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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**NAPLES, REVOLT OF (1647).** On 7 July 1647 a protest in Naples against a tax on fresh fruit by both the *popolo* (non-noble professionals and artisans) and plebs of the city spread to the rural provinces. The protest initiated a nine-month revolt against the heavy fiscal burdens that had been imposed on the city and kingdom as a result of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the feudal and oligarchic government of the local elites, and the monarchical rule of Spain. In the first days of the revolt,

the houses of financiers, tax collectors, and nobles

were burned. Armed neighborhood militias took control of the city under the charismatic leadership of a fishmonger named Masaniello (Tomaso Aniello d'Amalfi) and his intellectual ally, an eighty-year-old lawyer named Giulio Genoino, who had in 1619–1620 been unsuccessful in an attempt to lead a constitutional reform in Naples.

After Masaniello, on the order of the viceroy and with the complicity of Genoino, was murdered on 16 July, divisions emerged among rebels in the capital and between them and rebels in the provinces. Bombardment by a Spanish fleet in October failed to break the urban resistance, and Naples was declared a free republic under the French duke of Guise, Henry of Lorraine. The uprising foundered, however, when no consensus could be reached among rival political factions on whether to create a bourgeois democratic, oligarchic, federated, constitutional, or military republic, on Dutch, Swiss, Venetian, or new models. A negotiated settlement allowed the Spanish to retake Naples on 6 April 1648, with limited concessions granting some tax reductions and a nominally greater role for the popolo in fiscal and administrative affairs. The failed revolt strengthened the compact between the Spanish monarchy and the local nobility, increased the power of bureaucratic elites and privileged orders in the city, and further subjugated the countryside to the feudal nobility and the capital.

See also Naples, Kingdom of.

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**NASI FAMILY.** The Hebrew word *nasi*, meaning 'elevated one' or 'prince', was used as a surname by a prominent Sephardic (Spanish-Jewish) family of the sixteenth century. Family members included some of the most powerful merchants and courtiers of the time, both in Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

When all practicing Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, members of the clan were among the six hundred wealthy families who managed to purchase sanctuary in Portugal. Five years later, however, they, along with all other Lusitanian Jews, were forced to convert to Christianity. Paradoxically, forced baptism opened up opportunities for these "New Christians," or conversos, to participate fully in the rapidly expanding Portuguese spice trade with the Far East. The brothers Francisco and Diogo Benveniste, now known under the Christian name Mendes, were the leading members of a consortium that marketed the annual spice shipment and provided vital financial services to the Portuguese crown. At the same time, they were leaders in the unofficial converso community, working especially to keep the horrors of a Spanish-style Inquisition from being instituted in Portugal.

Despite their strenuous efforts and the expenditure of large sums both in Lisbon and in Rome, the conversos could not overcome the religious and social forces of the time. By 1531, the papacy had authorized an Inquisition in Portugal, and in July of 1532, Diogo Mendes, then representing the family firm in Antwerp, was arrested for Judaizing and other crimes. Substantial monetary payments as well as vigorous protests from the city's merchant community, England's King Henry VIII (ruled 1509-1547), and Portugal's King John III (ruled 1521– 1557) and Queen Catherine secured his release, but the family's safety remained precarious. When Francisco died in Lisbon in January 1535, his young widow, Beatriz de Luna, soon departed for Antwerp with her daughter and the family's wealth, narrowly escaping the inquisitorial fires that would begin burning the following year. In 1543, Diogo too

died, and Beatriz took over leadership of the family and its business interests and began looking for a safer home.

Cautiously, and over a lengthy period, the family transferred members and assets from Antwerp through Venice and Ferrara to Istanbul, where at last they could openly adopt Jewish identities under the common surname Nasi. At each step along the way they were tempting targets for official rapacity and personal greed. The years of transition were marked also by bitter family quarrels and scandal, by sensational court cases, and by political intrigue at an international level. Still, by 1553 Beatriz was triumphantly ensconced in a palatial home in Istanbul. There she promoted wide-ranging trading ties with both western and southeastern Europe. Known now as Doña Gracia or simply "La Señora," she played an active role in the life of Ottoman Jewry through her generous support of charitable, religious, and cultural institutions. She also continued the family's well-established practice of preserving wealth through endogamy: just as she and her sister had married their uncles, the brothers Mendes, she now married off her own daughter, Reina, and her niece, Gracia (la Chica), to her close cousins, the brothers João and Bernardo Micas. They, as open Jews, had adopted the names Joseph and Samuel Nasi.

Joseph (1524–1579), who had grown up close to court circles in Brussels, capitalized on his European experience and contacts and gained considerable influence at the Ottoman Sublime Porte. Named duke of Naxos in 1566, Joseph was generally content to rule his Greek island territories from Istanbul. There he could participate actively in palace politics, consistently advocating an anti-French and anti-Venetian line when it came to relations with Europe. He is reputed to have been a major instigator of the campaign that took Cyprus from Venice in 1570, and he expected to be made king of that island after the Turkish victory, though this was not to be.

Although exceptional in the degree of their wealth and power, the Nasis were representative of the influential Jewish merchant dynasties that operated across religious, national, and even imperial boundaries in the early modern period. The family left a lasting mark as patrons of Jewish culture, giv-

ing generously to Jewish religious institutions and supporting both converso and rabbinic writers. When, in 1556, Pope Paul IV arrested former conversos living in Ancona and had many of them executed as heretics, the Nasis organized Jewish merchants for a retaliatory boycott of that city. Though the effort eventually foundered, it does illustrate the increasing efforts by early modern Jews at coordinated political action. In a similar vein, the family secured control of Tiberias from the Sultans and invested heavily in rebuilding the city and its economy while helping Jewish refugees to settle there. The messianic overtones of Jewish settlement in the land of Israel under Jewish governance were celebrated by contemporary Jews and protested by their non-Jewish enemies. Doña Gracia may actually have lived there briefly before her death in 1569. Don Joseph died in Istanbul, politically marginalized but still wealthy, a decade later.

See also Conversos; Inquisition, Spanish; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Jews and Judaism; Messianism, Jewish; Toleration.

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**NATIONAL IDENTITY.** The appearance, extent, and character of nationalism in European society has attracted much debate among historians and sociologists. Although there is little consensus regarding the forces responsible for its manifestation, most specialists on nationalism believe it to be an essentially modern phenomenon, appearing in the late eighteenth century in Europe and North America.

Three theorists stand out in the genealogical debate over nationalism. Eric J. Hobsbawm defined nationalism as the popular realization of political rights in a sovereign state. A populace linked itself to a limited national territory and was embodied through a centralized government, an event Hobsbawm believed first occurred during the French Revolution. If nationalism was a modern invention, so were nations: the nation-state was the result, rather than the origin, of nationalist discourse. Ernest Gellner adopted an economically reductionist approach, deeming nationalism a necessary function of industrialization. Because industry required skilled labor, a common vernacular, and high rates of literacy, he argued, the need developed for a national "high culture," promoted by a state-run educational system. Simultaneously, the old agrarian order faded away and societal anonymity replaced provincial distinctness, facilitating the creation of a homogenous national culture. Like Hobsbawm, Gellner sought to dispel teleological notions of the nation as eternal; nationalism was a modern invention, created in response to the needs of a new economic system, even if it represented itself as a natural, historical phenomenon.

The theory of the nation as invention was taken further by Benedict Anderson, who saw nationalism as a process of "imagining communities." The decline of universal religious paradigms and the rise in print capitalism allowed for this cultural construction to flourish in the eighteenth century. The mass consumption of newspapers and novels enforced a common vernacular, linked a populace to urban centers, and encouraged common participation in a shared (imagined) culture. Anderson implied that the Reformation and the printing press did more to encourage nationalism than did the advent of industrialization. Despite their differences, all three of these prominent theoreticians identified nationalism, and by association the nation-state, as a phenomenon of the last few centuries.

If nationalism is a modern novelty, then what came before? Certainly the terms *nation*, *patrie*, and *Vaterland* were used before the modern period. What did they mean? Faced with this question, modernists distinguish between nationalism as political ideology and nationalism as cultural identity. Most postulate that the former occurs only in modern society, starting with the French Revolution,

while the latter had early modern antecedents. The early modern variant is usually referred to as "national identity" or "proto-nationalism," and it implies an awareness by the populace, at least in part, of a common national culture not yet manifest as a motivating political ideology. Cultural bonds could be found in common language, religion, and custom as well as in the common social condition of being dynastic subjects. Citing these bonds, some historians see modern nationalism making an appearance as early as the sixteenth century.

Conversely, the historian Eugen Weber has argued that if the modern definition requires that nationalism be popular in scope, then nationalism did not permeate the French countryside until the late nineteenth century, when public schools and railroad access exposed the rural population to cosmopolitan cultural norms and formalized instruction in the French language. These latter two interpretations call into question the importance of the French Revolution in the development of modern nationalism.

Time, then, is not the most useful tool for categorizing nationalism or national identity. Nationalism appears irregularly and is dependent on a variety of historical factors or "accidents" that escape structural categorization. And one cannot simply label national identity as embryonic nationalism: not all national identities function within nations, and not all nations have "proto-national" origins. Moreover, national identity should not be seen as something that replaces local attachments. Identities were conterminous, and awareness of national belonging was appended to local and provincial identities. The historian Peter Sahlins has described early modern identity as a series of "counter-identities," in which local communities defined themselves through a multitude of attachments: village, county, province, nation—all of which were distinguishable from the "other," that is, the foreigner.

Throughout the early modern period, the character and intensity of national identity varied widely from place to place. Spain is an excellent example of the potential ambivalence of early modern identity. Spanish subjects generally did not think of themselves as Spanish, but rather as Castilian, Valencian, or Catalan; the formation of a Spanish identity was further hindered by the presence of multiple king-

doms in Spain and the unwillingness of the Habsburg monarchs to promote their association with the Spanish state, particularly in their Castilian exclusivity. Identity was further complicated by the Jewish and Moorish populations on the peninsula, which added a racial character to Spanish identity construction. Nonetheless, Catholic beliefs were widely shared among the inhabitants of Spain.

In Italy, certain Renaissance writers encouraged national awareness through an appeal to an ancient Roman homeland and by evoking civic pride in the cultural accomplishments of the Renaissance. Certainly some contemporary writers idealized Italy: Francesco Guicciardini's revealingly titled Storia d'Italia (History of Italy, written 1536-1540) describes the decline of independent Italian states during the early sixteenth century. The Italian Wars resulted in Spanish occupation of much of the peninsula, and local elites became Spanish clients. Additionally, the papal resurgence during the Counter-Reformation discouraged national consciousness, as the papacy claimed a universal jurisdiction that transcended national limits. Italy remained a geographical expression rather than a nation, and national identity only resonated in elite literary circles. The situation in Germany—conceived of as the homeland of the ancient Germanic tribes, the descendants of whom shared a common ethnicity (as members of a single Volk)—was similar. Germany was a patchwork of small principalities under the nominal authority of the Holy Roman Empire, but the empire was divided between Protestant and Catholic communities; it was not exclusively Germanic; and it lacked a strong central government. German identity was not political or territorial; rather, it was a cultural affinity consisting of linguistic, ethnic, and historical associations.

State centralization played an essential role in the development of national identity in France. The vicissitudes of the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) imbued the French monarchy with a national character that, though threatened during the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), was reinforced over the course of the seventeenth century. The crown was a powerful unifying factor in French society, and belonging to the French nation meant allegiance to the French king. Royal patronage of art, literature, and historical writing promoted French culture, and the international acceptance of the French language

and Parisian styles as the epitome of civilization at least among European elites, contributed to the sense of its distinctiveness and superiority. The monarchical association with the *patrie* faded only during the eighteenth century, as Enlightenment discourses posited the French people, rather than the king, as the legitimate repository of national sovereignty.

Before nationalism became central to French revolutionary discourses, the Netherlands and Great Britain—two relatively isolated North Atlantic Protestant states—seem to have developed strong national identities, the Dutch in the seventeenth century and the British in the eighteenth. They may thus meet the key criterion set out by modern definitions of nationalism—a widely held political ideology that identifies the nation-state as a distinct and sovereign representation of a particular people and as the embodiment or defender of its culture. In the cases of both the Dutch and the British, national identity was deeply entwined with religion, economic wealth, and political revolt. Protestantism was essential to the creation of both nationalisms. Protestant theologians' insistence on widespread vernacular literacy, combined with the rise of print capitalism, facilitated the creation of a national religious community. Urbanization and a rising middle class gave common people a vested interest in the political order, and as the historian Linda Colley has shown, patriotism and profit went hand in hand. Daniel Defoe's The Complete English Tradesman (1726) provides an excellent example of this growing national identity, as it explicitly links the social benefits of international trade to national pride in being English. Military crises—particularly the struggles against a Catholic "other" — augmented Britons' burgeoning national sentiment by juxtaposing religious and national sovereignty against the fear of foreign invasion.

Significantly, both the Dutch and the British endured severe political crises that resulted in the demise of monarchical regimes. The resulting insecurities over political legitimacy necessitated justifications for revolt, and contemporary writers constructed a new kind of legitimacy based on a pseudo-historical national ethos. Dutch and British writers used classical allegories as reflections of contemporary political conflicts and as means of constructing essentialized notions of national unique-

ness. Seventeenth-century coins, medals, and pamphlets associated the new Dutch Republic with the Batavians, ancient barbarians who fought Julius Caesar, or, more often, with the Israelites. The Dutch saw themselves as a chosen people threatened by subjugation, and they deployed such images to distinguish themselves from surrounding peoples and states. In the British case, even if the English, Scots, and Welsh had individual claims of separate identity, they all knew that they were fundamentally different from the Catholic French. Protestantism for them became synonymous with "Britishness," hence the litany of characteristics the British believed themselves to exemplify: freedom, prosperity, and rationality, contrasted forcefully against the perceived superstition and impoverishment of the oppressed French.

The concept of national identity is complex, and its intensity, character, and origins vary with time and place. Some areas of Europe were completely ambivalent to national sentiment, while populations elsewhere could be considered exceedingly patriotic. Different classes and orders could display varying degrees of national identification, and there could be differences between urban and rural populations as well. While the development of national identity remains a difficult historical problem, several general conclusions may be offered. Although most early modern European societies did not develop national identities to the same degree as the British and the Dutch, they did readily contrast themselves with their neighbors. In the early modern mind, "nation" might primarily mean place of birth, yet it also carried cultural weight: one's nation connoted perhaps ethnicity, perhaps language, but almost certainly religion. Religious homogeneity played a vital role in the construction of national identity, not just for the cases cited above, but also for the Scandinavian states and for Russia and much of eastern Europe. One can state with fair certainty that most people saw themselves as part of a wider community, one that was occasionally national in scope, and that religion, language, and local political structures played prominent roles in determining that identity.

See also Dutch Republic; England; Enlightenment; France; Germany, Idea of; Holy Roman Empire; Sovereignty, Theory of.

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ERIK J. HADLEY

NATIONALISM. See National Identity.

NATION-STATE. See State and Bureaucracy.

NATURAL HISTORY. Columbus's first voyage to the Americas in 1492 transformed natural history perhaps more than any it did other early modern science. The ensuing development of European maritime empires of trade and commerce opened new routes for the acquisition of specimens, supplied museums of natural history with countless new species, and ultimately shaped natural history itself into a science intimately embedded within European systems of colonial governance over non-European peoples, floras, and faunas.

Natural history, as a discipline, had existed since classical times, and fifteenth-century Europeans were very familiar with Pliny the Elder's Historia Naturalis (40-79 C.E.; Natural history). Throughout the early modern period, natural history continued to be acknowledged as the science that described the three kingdoms of the natural world: animals, plants, and minerals. Many other types of enquiry and interpretation would be undertaken under the umbrella term natural history between 1450 and 1789, but natural history as an enterprise of acquisition and description was mirrored in the sites in which it was practiced: collections. The early modern museum, cabinet, Wunderkammer ('chamber of wonders') or studio ('study') developed out of the medieval treasury and other settings—usually princely or ecclesiastical—in which rare, precious, and exotic items were amassed. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, collections continued to be largely the province of princely owners, making visible not only their personal wealth, but also their ability to gain access to unique objects from other parts of the world. Universality and comprehensiveness was the leading characteristic of these collections, which were designed as microcosms of the whole world, and in which natural rarities and works of artifice were not separated. Early modern collections were both showpieces that displayed power and repositories that preserved value.

#### **HUMANIST NATURAL HISTORY**

Sixteenth-century natural history was part of the humanist tradition of learning with its literary and artistic orientation, typified by the writings of the Dutch scholar and theologian Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536). The study of the natural world in the early modern period was first and foremost a philological pursuit. Authors of new publications plundered earlier manuscript and published works of natural history for descriptions, anecdotes, and proverbs concerning natural objects, including many that would today seem quite foreign to a scientific approach. The Milanese jurist Andrea Alciati's Emblemata (1522) configured animals as literary puzzles, with an obscure image and motto that the reader could decode by means of an epigrammatic poem. Emblematic texts of natural history accumulated literary materials rather than observations: fables, emblems, proverbs, allegories, sympathies. This emblematic tradition emphasized the symbolism of animals alongside their uses, rather than their anatomy or classification; it continued to dominate natural history until the very end of the sixteenth century, exemplified in the writings of naturalists such as the Lutheran Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534–1598).

By the end of the sixteenth century, learned men across Europe collected natural history objects and advanced explanations for their nature, types, and transformations. Massive publication projects were often associated with collections like the famous studio of the "Bolognese Aristotle," Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605). The great collections of individuals like Aldrovandi, the Neapolitan apothecary Ferrante Imperato (1550-1631) or the Dane Olaus Worm (1588-1654) were famous throughout Europe, visited by princes and noblemen, and documented in printed descriptions and catalogs such as the Museum Wormianum of 1655 in Leiden. Collections continued to play a central part in princely and scholarly identity, as in natural historical practice, throughout the early modern period, although the principles of their construction varied over time. In his many writings, the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626) called for the ejection of philology from natural history and for greater attention to wonders and monsters, the exotic and the rare. By the 1660s, museums were theaters of marvels, where the scholarly observer was encouraged to contemplate the philosophical issues raised by the juxtaposition of neighboring objects, which might reveal contrasts or similarities, the variety or the uniformity of nature. The wondrous natural or artificial object served as a basis for philosophical analysis, natural theology, and reflection on the role of the human observer, both as part of the natural world and as the transformer of its materials by art. Such studies always had a theological purpose as well: museums of natural history were described as "books of nature," which the scholar could read alongside the great book, the Bible, for pious purposes. This natural theological approach was typified by the writings of the Cambridge botanist John Ray (1627-1705).

## ACCUMULATING AND CLASSIFYING

A number of important institutions of European science were founded during the Renaissance, sup-

ported by rulers, nobles, universities, and municipal authorities. Alongside observatories, laboratories, and anatomy theaters came the first botanical gardens: Padua (1546) and Pisa (1547). Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603), professor of philosophy, medicine, and botany at Pisa (1555-1592) and director of the botanical garden (1554-1558), was also the creator of one of the first herbaria and the inventor of botanical systematics. Cesalpino's classificatory system was an attempt to bring natural history within the purview of scholastic philosophy, with its logical categories and formulae. This exercise in conferring scholarly prestige upon an activity hitherto largely limited to medical herbalism enshrined botany within the universities and gave it the status of a science. Up until the end of the eighteenth century and beyond, natural historical classifications, such as that invented by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708), professor of botany at the Jardin du Roi in Paris (founded 1635; since 1793, the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle), continued to draw on Cesalpino's work. Of all the subdisciplines of natural history, botany was the first to be formalized independently and to be practiced within institutions dedicated to its pursuit. Classification demanded not only the generation of logical categories based on a philosophical system, but also the material and practical enterprise of sorting, preserving, identifying, naming, distributing and, sometimes, propagating specimens from the three kingdoms of nature, animals, plants, and minerals. Botanical specimens far outstripped other natural history specimens such as animal carcasses or mineral samples in their portability and ease of preservation. By contrast, animal classification was contested, and reliable methods of preservation did not emerge until the very end of the seventeenth century at the hands of the Dutch anatomist Frederik Ruysch (1638–1731). Minerals, with the exception of gemstones and precious metals, were less amenable to transportation or exploitation, although they were well represented in collections devoted to local natural history.

Natural history as a cumulation of objects and observations provided both factual certainty and greater knowledge of God, but it also had economic outcomes. Europe's botanical gardens were important centers for the acquisition, propagation, and distribution of new species derived from voyages of

discovery and conquest undertaken with increasing frequency towards the eighteenth century. The potential of replicating useful plants, including coffee, potatoes, pineapples, and nutmeg, was explored throughout the early modern period, but more systematically after the formation of the first colonial botanical gardens in the late seventeenth century. Scientific participation in the proceeds of imperialist enterprises increased substantially during the eighteenth century as naturalists presented the organized pursuit of useful plants, animals, and minerals to rulers and patrons as indispensable to national wealth. Curious natural history thus coexisted with a repertoire of activities and practices—cultivation, exchange, consumption—that would transform the flora, fauna, foods and other natural resources of western Europe forever. Such an approach to natural history as a science of resources, peaking in the eighteenth century, required extensive cooperation among naturalists as well as vast financial support. A resource-oriented approach to natural history also justified the publication of local natural histories itemizing the flora, fauna, and mineral wealth of one province or state, especially in England and the German lands.

# COMMERCE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The distinction between private and public collections, or between curious and useful, was rarely clear-cut in botanical gardens, academies, or princely collections. Even naturalists wholly lacking institutional affiliations depended for their collecting upon the growth of European commerce and exploration. Natural history specimens ranked alongside valuable works of art from porcelain to paintings in the households of wealthy collectors and fetched nearly as much in the marketplace. The Dutch Republic was a center for fashions in the collection of natural objects, from tulips in the 1630s to shells in the 1710s. Both depended on the wide global reach of Dutch trade and colonization to supply new specimens. From a private collector's viewpoint, there was no categorical distinction to be made between beautiful objects of nature and art; seventeenth-century collectors admired the artifice of nature in decorating flowers or butterflies in much the same way as they appreciated the artistry of antique coins or sculpture. Natural objects acquired value within the marketplace, and their meaning was often controlled by wealthy connoisseurs of the fine arts and by the merchants who sold to them. This commercialization of natural history affected even rulers. As part of his attempt to westernize Russia by founding scientific institutions, Peter the Great of Russia (ruled 1682–1725), entered into negotiations with several naturalists to buy a collection worthy of his nation, finally succeeding in purchasing that formed by the Dutch apothecary Albert Seba (1665–1736). Although institution-based naturalists called for the separation of natural history objects from other types of collectables and the formation of collections dedicated exclusively to the natural world, such goals were not systematically pursued anywhere before 1789.

As were most sciences of the period, natural history was largely a male pursuit, with women collectors, such as the German artist Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717), greatly in the minority. Because imported specimens were rare and costly, early modern collectors were usually rich. The Dutch turn toward fashions in collecting was the start of a bigger Europe-wide transformation in natural history that paralleled the growth of a middling market for books and luxury items. By the eighteenth century, natural history publications, specimen sales, and public, pay-on-entry collections proliferated. Critiques of the pursuit of luxury among the middling sort accordingly hit hard at certain versions and practitioners of natural history. Private collectors were castigated for unscholarly amassing of natural objects as a means to display their personal wealth, and rulers were exhorted to support enterprises for a useful, rather than spectacular, natural history.

The lack of formal methods for accrediting scientific expertise meant that early modern naturalists in institutions were effectively on a par with unaffiliated private collectors. In early modern Europe there were no university degrees in natural history and no formal training programs or diplomas in the natural sciences. Individuals entered posts in princely or municipal institutions through personal patronage from social superiors. Often they acquired their knowledge and skills through a sort of informal apprenticeship under renowned naturalists, by participating in botanizing journeys or at the dissecting table. To acquire renown and scientific authority as a naturalist in the early modern period was thus no easy task, involving extensive social

interaction and material manipulation, much of which has left little historical trace. If any one category of individuals had a privileged relationship with the objects of natural history, it was licensed medical practitioners. Apothecaries routinely dealt with large masses of animal, plant, and mineral material, and physicians often had a working knowledge of botany and anatomy. Thus many prominent early modern naturalists were also physicians, from Ruysch in Amsterdam to Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) at the Royal Society in London. Right up to the mid-eighteenth century, this privileged relation between medicine and natural history persisted, and it is only from 1750 onwards that the beginnings of its unraveling can be seen in the filling of natural historical posts by non-medically trained individuals.

#### FROM EMBLEMS TO EXPERIMENTS

In combining an emphasis on the literary and stylistic description of nature with a concern for its experimental and instrumental investigation, early modern natural history challenges preconceptions about linear progress in the history of scientific activity in the West such as are frequently represented in histories of the "scientific revolution" and the Enlightenment. The history of natural history relates to the history of display, order, and power for the early modern period, as well as to the history of early modern commerce and consumption. It was characterized by a close relationship with language, philology, and art, but, like other disciplines, it was transformed by the emergence of specialized institutions across Europe and by the rise to prominence of experimentation and observation as principles of practice in the scientific study of nature from the mid-seventeenth century. It was a science typified by social practices—correspondence and exchange—as much as by texts, objects, and classifications. More than almost any other scientific activity, it was also shaped by the dependency of collections upon the gradual process of global scientific conquest. The transformation in natural history between 1450 and 1789 was dramatic. Emblems had vanished, fabulous beasts were vilified, and naturalists boasted less of their literary skills than of their powers of accurate observation. Whole groups of animals had disappeared from natural history, from the mermaid and unicorn to the hippogriff and basilisk, and others, such as the molecular animals

(microorganisms), had entered it, symbolizing a shift in attention from texts to instruments, experiments, and observation.

Thanks to the new forms of experimental natural philosophy characterizing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scientific activity, natural history was gradually ceasing to be a science of words and objects alone. From the 1660s onwards, European naturalists investigated animal and plant physiology, opening up new domains of interpretation for natural beings, as for example the inquiries into plant sexuality pursued by Sébastien Vaillant (1669-1722) in Paris and the English botanist Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712). By the end of the eighteenth century, experiment had a prominent place in natural history, matched only by ambitious and laborintensive networks of communication that gave naturalists access to specimens from around the world. Old and new traditions alike were evident in the activities of the Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné, better known as Carl, or Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), who drew upon Cesalpino's scholastic logic to create his sexual system, a classification based entirely on the sexual parts of the plant. The system, first published in Systema Naturae (1735; System of nature) and propagated by a European network of proselytizing Linnaean students, would earn lasting renown for its author as the "Prince of Botanists." Less well-known are Linnaeus's extensive experiments on naturalizing animals and plants within Sweden, and his close connections to supporters of cameralist politics there. His natural history was both a classificatory and an economic enterprise, grounded in a concern to understand the workings of Providence in distributing resources for mankind across the globe.

On the face of it, nothing could have been more different than the radical classificatory skepticism advanced by Linnaeus's archrival, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), the head of the Paris Jardin du Roi, in the famous *Histoire naturelle* (1749–1788, 1789; Natural history). Utterly different from Linnaeus's dry, aphorismic style, Buffon's poetic descriptions sketched cosmogonies and sweeping portraits of man's past, present, and future place in nature. Yet he was as active as Linnaeus in supporting a global program of acquisition and acclimatization of natural productions at his institution. More secular and more radical than Linnaeus,

Buffon, the "French Pliny," concerned himself primarily with animals, opening the way for his institution to become the leading European center of natural history by 1800, and for zoology to become the nineteenth century's model of natural historical enquiry.

See also Academies, Learned; Biology; Botany; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Linnaeus, Carl; Marvels and Wonders; Medicine; Museums; Scientific Classification; Zoology.

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E. C. Spary

**NATURAL LAW.** Natural law is a contribution to the perennial discussion of the nature of justice and morality; it is an attempt to root them in something beyond human convention and creation. The notion has had various meanings and con-

tents—no less than the word nature itself—most of which can be traced back to Saint Thomas Aguinas (1225–1274), Roman Stoicism, and ultimately, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.). Constant to all its meanings is that natural law is coherent, suprahuman, objective moral order that contains the standards of what is good and just; and that it contains the standards by which human or positive law is to be judged from the perspective of a harmonious and coherent universe and is inherent in the "nature" of the world. It was born of attempts by ancient philosophers and jurists to discover—or determine—what was common to all legal systems in order to eliminate what would today be seen as the problems of "relativism" and cultural and legal "diversity." The presumption that there is a common core to all systems of morality and law that provides the standards by which they are to be evaluated leads to the issues of discovery, validation, and enforcement.

#### UNIVERSALITY AND PERMANENCE

Natural law, like justice, aims at universality and permanence. Operationally, like all law, it is dutycontradict, a series of moral prohibitions, permissions, and requirements. It proclaimed the union of morality and politics and emerged from an ancient worldview that saw a singular harmony in nature, manifested in the universal jus (or ius) gentium (international law). That universality was subsequently incorporated by Christianity into its conception of the divine ordering of all creation. Aquinas separated this classical understanding into the eternal, the divine, the natural, and the human (or positive) laws. The natural was still common to all humanity and was part of God's will and was the direct source for human law. In keeping with its Stoic roots, the natural law as conceived by Aquinas was discoverable through the use of natural reason, with the difference that for Aquinas that reason had been planted in everyone by God. Justice was an irresistible, rational necessity of naturally sociable human beings.

In this Aristotelian-Thomist form, for the most part, natural law continued into the early modern period. Even Jean Bodin (1530–1596), famed for his conception of political sovereignty as the absolute power to make and enforce law, held in his *Six livres de la République* (1576; Six books of the com-

monwealth) that the state in general was under the moral aegis of the overarching law of nature and limited sovereign absolutism to the positive law.

Protestant and secular natural-law theorists retained the understanding of humans as naturally sociable and rational and viewed the natural law as that which superintended human laws. The *Vindiciae*, *contra Tyrannos* (1579; Defense of liberty against tyrants; written by Philippe de Mornay, known as Duplessis-Mornay [1549–1623], but published anonymously) pointed to violations of the natural law as one of the signs of tyranny, and the sixteenth-century Anglican theologian Richard Hooker (1553 or 1554–1600) espoused a conception of natural law that was heavily indebted to Scholasticism in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593, et seq.).

# REASON AND NATURAL SOCIABILITY

The seventeenth century witnessed the beginnings of a series of remarkable changes in natural-law theory, starting with the Dutch thinker Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who made reason and natural sociability, rather than divinity, central to the conception developed in his *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (1625; On the law of war and peace). So strong was his reliance upon these two that he suggested that the natural law would obtain even without God. Grotius was certainly not an atheist, but that charge was hurled at Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), the English philosopher whose understanding of natural law shared many features with that of Grotius.

Sociability, Grotius argued, drove humanity into society from its prepolitical, state-of-nature beginnings; people were capable of understanding the ruling law of nature through their natural reason. Aquinas and the early-seventeenth-century Jesuit natural-law philosopher Francisco Suárez (1548-1617) had seen rationality as a reflection of divinity that enabled humans to understand God's will. Grotius appeared to have minimized that relationship, treating reason as a semiautonomous—albeit divinely implanted—and extremely important aspect of human nature. In his hands and those of his successors, this radically secularized and rationalized natural law was potentially removed from the realm of experience in which it had previously been rooted. The inherent human capacity to reason and the use of "right reason" independent of actual experience could lead to universal moral, social, and political principles by which human life was to be governed.

Perhaps the most important and influential proponent of this Grotian view of natural law was Samuel von Pufendorf (1632-1694), the first holder of a chair in natural law in a German university. In his De Jure Naturae et Gentium (1672; On natural and civil law), Pufendorf went even further and separated the natural, sociable world of human affairs and the natural law that governed it from the spiritual realm of theology. In this form, the new, secular natural law was adopted by many seventeenthand eighteenth-century philosophers, especially Richard Cumberland (1631-1718), bishop of Peterborough (whose De Legibus Naturae [On natural laws] was published the same year as Pufendorf's work) and Jean Barbeyrac (1674-1744), the translator of Grotius and Pufendorf into French and historian of moral philosophy.

Cumberland had reached his conclusions independently of Pufendorf and was acknowledged in later editions of *De Jure Naturae*. Paradoxically, perhaps, Cumberland had developed some of his argument in opposition to the writings of Thomas Hobbes, who had denied natural sociability and ignored, if he did not actually deny, divinity. But Hobbes was subsequently to be ranked by Barbeyrac in the company of Grotius and Pufendorf as one of the great innovators in natural law theory.

# STATE OF NATURE

Hobbes's theory, most notably in Leviathan (1651)and earlier in his De Cive (1642; On citizenship), began with an utterly undeveloped, fiercely competitive, and dangerously uncertain state of nature in which the natural law gave everyone the right to all things within their reach. People escaped this state of nature by voluntarily establishing a conventional absolutism in accord with the natural law requirement of self-preservation. Where traditional natural-law doctrine had provided a natural and rational basis for rights and liberties that persisted in some form in political society and had imposed varying limits on political authority, in Hobbes's hands, the inevitable destructiveness of natural freedom led only to a rationally established absolutism in which subjects had only as much freedom as their rulers permitted. It was the conceptual genius of Hobbes

to subvert the appeal to natural law by many of his contemporaries—especially the Levellers—to attack the rule of Charles I as antithetical to their natural rights.

This Hobbesian reworking of natural law created great difficulties for his successors—he was frequently attacked and his books were subsequently banned in England—especially John Locke (1632-1704), who sought to establish a notion of secular natural law as leading to limited government. Locke is better known for his doctrine of natural rights than for his theory of natural law. The state of nature described in his Two Treatises of Government (1690) was sociable and far more peaceful than that of Hobbes, precisely because it was governed by the God-given natural law that people recognized and generally obeyed. The establishment of political or "civil," as Locke often called it-society, accomplished by consent, was fully in accord with the law of nature and enabled people to achieve their natural ends by overcoming the uncertainties and insecurities of the state of nature. Locke's political state was to be limited by the natural justice contained in the natural law, and prolonged violations of that justice legitimated—in some cases, even required—a resort to revolution.

# THE PROBLEM OF DIVINE WILL

There is a paradox inherent in a natural law theory that depends on divine will. Grotius and those who followed him recognized this problem. If God is the author or legislator of the law of nature, and its validity is a consequence of his will, then things are right or wrong because God has so directed, which makes him into something of an arbitrary but benevolent ruler. If, on the other hand, there are principles according to which God has decreed the natural law, as Aquinas seemed to have implied, then God is not omnipotent. Consigning all this to the realm of divine mystery severely limits its applicability to human affairs. The role of reason is crucial, but reason that is God-dependent simply pushes the problem one step further away. Aquinas, following Aristotle, argued for the relationship between divine natural law, reason, and human experience. But an independent reason of the sort advocated by Pufendorf requires some standard of validation. Locke tacitly sidestepped the issue in his Two Treatises, but at an earlier period in his life, in a

series of lecturers he delivered in 1664 but refused to publish (published from the manuscripts in 1954 as *Essays on the Law of Nature*), he had agonized over the source of natural law and how and whether it could be known.

This series of questions was faced by Pufendorf, who concluded that the will of God in matters of natural law could be determined by consulting what is humanity's long-term and therefore best interests, thereby opening the door to a rational natural law that could be professed without any direct reliance upon divine will and revolution, which was ultimately a major break from the Scholastic tradition. He further urged that the author of this break was Grotius. The focus of natural law for Pufendorf and Grotius—shifted from the morally requisite duties of individuals to the preservation of society, a view that was passed on to the eighteenth century by Barbeyrac. He published French translations of Grotius and Pufendorf that were translated into English and enjoyed wide popularity in both languages. His Historical and Critical Account of the Science of Morality (English translation, 1729), which prefaced his edition of Pufendorf, accepted and furthered Pufendorf's understanding of Grotius as the author of the radical break in naturallaw theory. Barbeyrac argued for a new school of natural-law theory that included Grotius, John Selden (1584-1654), Pufendorf, Hobbes, Cumberland, and Locke, and his view became the accepted history of modern moral philosophy.

# HUMAN WILL

These moves would make human will the determiner of natural-law precepts, leaving altogether open the issue of how to resolve conflicting accounts. Ultimately, this would be dealt with by the reintroduction of experience as that upon which reason operated. And, in keeping with the precepts of natural sociability, a standard of social utility extended over time would become the measure of justice as secular natural law gave place to utilitarianism. The Scholastic doctrine of natural law remained alive in Roman Catholic philosophy and theology.

Yet another and not unrelated direction for the development of natural law thinking was already present in Locke's conception of natural rights, for his emphasis was upon the natural *entitlements* as

limits on the behavior of others and on the actions of government. The popularity of this doctrine represents the triumph of what has been called "individualism." This part of the natural law story ends with Thomas Jefferson's (1743-1826) invocation in the Declaration of Independence of the "law of Nature and Nature's God," a cosmetic reversion to the earlier theistic conception, from which he quickly moved to the self-evident, God-given "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" as the only legitimate ends of government. Expanded into the universal "human rights" of contemporary international politics, the modernized version of natural rights has become one of the primary alternatives to utilitarianism and social good as the test for good and just government.

See also Bodin, Jean; English Civil War Radicalism; Enlightenment; Free Will; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Rights, Natural.

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GORDON SCHOCHET

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. See Natural Law; Nature; Rights, Natural.

NATURAL RELIGION. See Deism.

NATURAL RIGHTS. See Rights, Natural.

**NATURE.** Nature is often taken to be the reality of the physical and material world. It is placed in opposition to culture, the product of human intervention and production. Yet historians recognize that nature is actually a product of human culture—a complex concept that has changed according to the views of particular individuals and cultures in history. Nature can be thought of in terms of its components—for example, the cosmos or material substances—and it can be conceptualized as an entity in itself. In both respects the early modern era marked numerous controversies concerning the nature of nature and concerning the makeup and behavior of its constituent components.

# ARISTOTELIAN NATURE

Any investigation of the idea of nature in the early modern era must take into account the Aristotelian framework that was defended well into the seventeenth century. Aristotle explicated his views on nature (physis in Greek) in the second book of Physics, in the seventh book of Metaphysics, and in the first book of Parts of Animals. He considered the natural and the artificial to be distinctly separate entities. Animals, plants, and the four Aristotelian elements-earth, air, fire, and water-exist by nature. A natural thing has an essence that makes it a genuine kind of species. It possesses the principle of movement or change and rest within itself. This principle can entail local motion, that is, growth and shrinkage, or qualitative changes, that is, modifications. Nature is the distinct form of things that have within themselves the principle of motion. That form moves toward its final cause or goal, for the sake of which it exists. In contrast, art can imitate nature but can never be natural. Artificial things do not have a principle of motion. Any change to a fabricated object is accomplished by the actions of an external agent. A tree grows by nature, whereas a house must be built by a builder. Art is separate from nature and is always inferior to it.

The Aristotelian natural world, described most completely in Aristotle's *On the Heavens*, was made up of two spheres, the sublunar and the supralunar. In the sublunar sphere matter consisted of four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—each of which had a tendency to move to its natural place. Earthly bodies, for example, tended to move down toward the center of the Earth, whereas fiery bodies tended

to move up. Motion contrary to such natural motion, as when a stone (made of the element earth) was thrown upward, was unnatural or violent. The region above the Moon was made up of the quintessential element that was entirely different from the four sublunar elements. This fifth element was unchanging and perfect. Its natural motion was circular. Aristotle argued that the elements that made up the cosmos were eternal, rather than created. Matter was continuous. The universe was not infinite but limited, the cosmos was circular, and the Earth was at rest in the center.

Early modern scholars and natural philosophers were thoroughly schooled in the principles of the Aristotelian natural world and in the complex traditions of commentary and discussion that surrounded it. The Aristotelian corpus provided the foundation of the university curriculum. Natural philosophy, which included both the physical and the life sciences, was particularly emphasized in the Italian universities, where it was considered prerequisite to the study of medicine.

Particular discoveries or interpretations that arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries undermined the entire Aristotelian edifice of nature. The heliocentric system of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) provided an alternative to Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology but also subverted the Aristotelian doctrine of the natural place of the element earth. Galileo Galilei's (1564–1642) comparison of the surface of the Moon to that of the Earth and his discovery of the moons of Jupiter suggested that the supralunar realm was identical to the sublunar. Observations of comets and sunspots suggested novelty in the heavens rather than the presence of an unchanging quintessential element.

# HUMANISM, PLATONISM, AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHIES OF NATURE

Renaissance humanism entailed an intellectual movement focused on moral philosophy, history, and rhetoric that included an intense interest in antiquity and the desire to restore Latin to the language of Cicero. By the late fifteenth century humanists had begun to influence the university curriculum. In their rediscovery and extensive study of ancient texts, they reedited the works of Aristotle and brought other ancient works into view. For example, Lucretius's atomism, explicated in the

newly discovered *On the Nature of Things*, could be set against the Aristotelian doctrine of continuous matter. The many Neoplatonic texts that became available from the late fifteenth century provided a basis for the development of new philosophies of nature.

In the *Theologia Platonica* (1482; Platonic theology) Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) posited the universe as a hierarchy of being in which a rational soul (that included the human soul within it) was at the center of the universe between the perceptible corporeal world and the noncorporeal intelligible one. Ficino believed that the cosmos and its forces exhibited numerous correspondences among all the different levels. Other natural philosophers, influenced by Ficinian Platonism, developed innovative visions of the natural order. Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588) postulated that the principles of heat and cold constituted the causes of all earthly processes, while the Sun, a unique natural fire, provided the underlying motive force. Telesio's system of nature was characterized by "the living character of everything and the consequent connections between man and the cosmos" (Ingegno, p. 252). Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) endorsed the Copernican system of Earth moving around the Sun but went beyond Copernicus in his description of an infinite universe of innumerable solar systems in which the elemental processes were everywhere the same. Francesco Patrizi (1529-1597) wrote an immense encyclopedia of natural philosophy, Nova de Universis Philosophia (1591; New philosophy of universes), in which he suggested that the illumination of the world proceeds from the first divine light. This illumination, which is both corporeal and noncorporeal, fills all space and motivates all heavenly and earthly processes. It is a hierarchical universe in which soul is intermediary between the corporeal and noncorporeal realms.

The new philosophies of nature often placed the individual human soul in contact with the divine and with the spirits of the noncorporeal cosmos. Many such philosophies included a doctrine of correspondences in which things within both physical and noncorporeal realms reflected and influenced one another. The belief in the ability to exert influence from a distance through correspondence underlay magical outlooks wherein the magus or magician could manipulate divine powers for material

ends. Renaissance nature philosophers were often anti-Aristotelian, and they were vulnerable to charges of using demonic magic and of heresy. Patrizi's vast encyclopedia was put on the Index of Prohibited Books by the Roman Inquisition. Bruno was burned at the stake for heresy in 1600.

# NATURAL, SUPERNATURAL, PRETERNATURAL, ARTIFICIAL, AND UNNATURAL

Lorraine Daston has noted that early modern views of nature can be investigated only if the modern dichotomy between nature and culture is put aside. The early modern period instead utilized a variety of categories defined vis-à-vis the natural. The supernatural was a category largely created by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) in the thirteenth century. He viewed miracles—supernatural events—as God's intervention in the natural order and therefore above that order. A second category, "preternatural," described events that were highly unusual, "beyond nature," but not supernatural. Examples include monstrous births, bizarre weather, the occult powers of plants and minerals, and other deviations from ordinary natural events. A third category, the artificial, comprised objects fabricated by humans that could imitate nature but could never become part of the natural world. Finally, the unnatural was a moral category used to describe acts, such as patricide and bestiality, that transgressed the natural order ordained by God.

During the early modern era the boundaries that defined these categories were increasingly called into question. Miracles as events brought about by supernatural intervention became contested territory in the context of the Protestant Reformation and Catholic reform movements. A religious movement labeled "enthusiasm" developed in northern Germany, England, and the Netherlands in which members of Quaker and other Pietist religious groups claimed direct experience of the Divine as a result of enthusiastic inspiration. Yet the enthusiasts were condemned as a threat to political order and religious orthodoxy. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enthusiasm and miracles in the present (as opposed to the distant past) became increasingly unacceptable within established political and religious orders.

The category of the preternatural presents a complicated history. From the sixteenth century through the mid-seventeenth century natural philosophers, such as Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576), Pietro Pompanazzi (1462–1525), and Francis Bacon (1561–1626), focused on preternatural events, such as celestial aberrations, monstrous births, and other odd occurrences. Such events became a significant focus of the early scientific societies as even the briefest perusal of the *Transactions of the Royal Society* attests. By the 1720s, however, these wonders of nature came to be largely ignored. Preternatural phenomena had been subsumed under the natural.

Substantial evidence points to a further development—the disappearance of the boundary between the natural and the artificial. Objects of nature and objects of art came to be interchangeable. In the 1490s Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), in his treatise on machines and mechanics, Madrid Codex I, made analogies between natural and constructed objects as a way of trying to understand the workings of each. Little more than a century later Bacon and René Descartes (1596-1650) each insisted upon the identity of the essential attributes of the artificial and the natural. Such identity and interchangeability was evident in the great collections naturalists accumulated in the seventeenth century. These collections displayed a mixed conglomeration of natural specimens, preternatural wonders, and objects made by humans. Human artifice had gained in status, taking its place beside and becoming interchangeable with the myriad objects of the natural world.

# EXPERIENCE AND EXPERIMENT

Attitudes toward nature were influenced by the growing importance of material objects within society and by the exchange of those objects within commercial relationships that extended across Europe and beyond. Early modern Europeans exhibited a growing interest in conspicuous consumption as well as a fascination with novelty, including objects and marvels from lands recently discovered and colonized. The makers of objects—artisans and men and women skilled in crafts—enjoyed increased cultural status that developed as a result of the growing positive valuation of practice and hands-on experience. Artisans began to value their

practices as generative of a kind of knowledge derived from direct and intimate experience with materials and with nature. Artisan-trained individuals and others of various backgrounds wrote books in which they validated their own experience by means of the authority of nature. For example, the potter Bernard Palissy (1510-1589) described his many experiments to find a formula for a new glaze and repeatedly endorsed the value of practice over theory. The physician Paracelsus (1493-1541) not only railed against the book learning of contemporary medicine in the universities but also endorsed direct experience with nature as essential to knowledge concerning the natural world, including knowledge of health and disease. Reading the "book of nature" for Paracelsus entailed experiencing it directly and thereby being able to read God's "signatures," external signs that revealed the internal nature of things.

Bacon's empirical approach envisaged a vast cooperative project of collecting the facts of nature. Bacon hoped to create detailed descriptions of natural phenomena and of processes of the "mechanical arts," such as metallurgy and glassmaking. From such histories, Bacon advocated the creation of axioms that would allow humans to read the "book of nature." For Bacon this book was authored by God. Humans could know God's works through its operations, to be had through the senses. Words are not "reliable signs of things." Rather, things provide "the only reliable criteria for shaping words properly" (Bono, pp. 218-220). The "secrets" of nature can be discovered initially through the collection of sense data and through controlled experiments. Simple data collection is insufficient, however. Careful creation of axioms and an attempt to understand the relationship of diverse things to each other would allow the book of nature to be understood.

Increasingly the observations of particulars and the positive valuation of individual experience gained credibility as a way of knowing the natural world. Individual experience and observation could be used in a variety of ways—the investigation of plants and animals, the gathering and study of objects both natural and fabricated in collections, or the dissection of human bodies. Individuals from a variety of backgrounds undertook to discover the "secrets" of nature, sometimes characterizing their

pursuit as a kind of hunt. Perhaps, as one scholar has suggested, a traditional view of nature—as an inviolable, feminine entity to be protected from curiosity and aggressive exploration—declined.

Especially from the late sixteenth century investigators began to construct special kinds of individual experiences known as experiments. Experimentation developed as a great variety of practices designed to test and validate knowledge claims about the natural world. The experimenters were compelled to defend their methods against the Aristotelians. The Aristotelian term common experience referred to experience agreed upon by everyone. In contrast to the evident and universal premises of Aristotelian experience, experimenters claimed knowledge as a result of specialized, contrived experience using often complex apparatus or instrumentation. Much investigation in the history of science has been devoted to analyzing specific experiments to understand what was done, how the experiment was taken to verify particular claims about the natural world, and the ways in which the experiment was "legitimated." Often in the early modern era the reports of reliable "witnesses" lent credibility to the claims of the experimenter.

An important development was the application of mathematics to physical phenomena. This took many forms, from Galileo's analysis of balls rolling down inclined planes to Isaac Newton's (1642-1727) experiments in geometric optics. The new "physico-mathematics" of the seventeenth century rejected Aristotelian assumptions that made mathematics a self-referential discipline irrelevant to the material world and physics nonmathematical. It also either implicitly or explicitly assumed that nature itself was in some way mathematical. Descartes removed mind and spirit from the physical world and defined physical matter as extension. If the world comprised geometric extension, it could be understood by analyzing the mathematical relationships within it.

# DESCARTES AND THE LAWS OF NATURE

Descartes developed a view of nature and its workings called "the mechanical philosophy." For Descartes the world consisted of particles of matter that move whenever necessity forces them to move. Matter was extension in three dimensions. Natural philosophy consisted of describing the mechanisms

of moving particles as they produced all the variable phenomena of nature. The universe was a plenum. Motion was possible because the entire mass of matter moved together. The universe consisted of a huge number of immense particle whirlpools called vortices. Particulate matter in motion explained all phenomena in nature. The mechanical philosophy developed by Descartes was highly influential. Although Descartes's successors modified the particulars of his system, it dominated European thought by the end of the seventeenth century.

Descartes first formulated physical laws that could be expressed mathematically and that were valid for all physical phenomena. Appearing in chapter seven of The World (1629-1633), they concerned inertia, collusion, and a law stating that particles of matter tended to move in a straight line. Later philosophers, such as Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), criticized some of Descartes's specific conclusions but continued to describe the physical world in terms of laws that governed matter in motion. Newton's Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica (1687) included the three laws of motion that laid the foundation for classical physics. Newton's laws described the motion of bodies and the mathematical relationships between the forces that governed those motions.

In the eighteenth century, the "Age of Enlightenment" as the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) first called it, the notion prevailed that a scientific revolution had occurred in the prior century and that it was ongoing. The two key words of the Enlightenment were "reason" and "nature." The laws of reason had become synonymous with the laws of nature. Experimentation had become the way of reasoning about nature. Enlightenment philosophers and the public alike made Newton into a hero. They attempted to find further natural laws that would predict natural events completely and accurately. They sought greater determinism in nature. Although they did not fully succeed, most Enlightenment natural philosophers believed that experiment would continue to augment the progress that had occurred in understanding the natural world.

See also Bacon, Francis; Bruno, Giordano; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Earth, Theories of the; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Huygens Family; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Leonardo da Vinci; Newton, Isaac; Paracelsus; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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PAMELA O. LONG

# NAVIGATION. See Shipbuilding and Navigation.

**NAVIGATION ACTS.** The Navigation laws enforced a system of economic management designed to ensure that England's colonial trade was controlled for the benefit of the mother country. There was nothing unique in this arrangement, later referred to as mercantilism, since all the major European powers operated similar systems. Unfortunately, the weak state of England during the second quarter of the seventeenth century meant that much of its colonial trade had been taken over by foreign powers, notably the Dutch. Accordingly, in 1651 the Commonwealth Parliament introduced the first Navigation Act, which required that all plantation goods imported into England be shipped in vessels owned and (three-quarters) manned by Englishmen or in vessels belonging to the country of origin. The expectation was that these restrictions would exclude the Dutch from England's colonial commerce while increasing England's wealth and naval power. The immediate result was the first Anglo-Dutch Naval War of 1652-1654.

Despite the successful exclusion of the Dutch from the carrying trade, it was quickly perceived that the act of 1651 was deficient because it still allowed colonial goods to be shipped directly to Europe in the vessels of other nations, resulting in a loss of revenue and trade to the mother country. Accordingly, a new bill was drafted in 1660 that not only banned foreign vessels from English colonial ports but declared that certain high-value commodities such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo must be shipped to England before being reexported elsewhere. However, because the colonies were not

only exporters of raw materials but also importers of finished goods, a third Navigation Act was deemed necessary in 1663 to ensure that foreign manufactures reached the colonies only via England, where they first could be taxed, to make them less competitive with English products, while at the same time raising revenue for the crown.

While the acts of 1660 and 1663 constituted the heart of the system of navigation laws, further measures proved necessary over time. In 1673 a fourth act was passed to bring the colonies into line regarding the enumerated duties, notably the one penny duty on a pound of tobacco and the five shilling duty on a hundredweight of white sugar, which up to this time were collected only in England. Then in 1696 a new administrative agency, the Board of Trade, was established to monitor the system more effectively. Simultaneously, special vice-admiralty courts were created to punish those breaking the acts of trade.

Until this time the colonies had been seen primarily as producers of exotic goods and consumers of British manufactures. Now a new consideration began to influence British imperial policy: the need to protect metropolitan producers from colonial competition. In 1699 the Woollen Act was passed, which banned the export of colonial woolen garments to Britain. It was followed in 1732 by the Hat Act and in 1750 by the Iron Act, both similarly aimed at prohibiting (or at least regulating) the production of finished articles in the colonies. These acts, however, were poorly enforced and largely unnecessary since colonial output was rarely of sufficient quality to challenge British manufacturers.

Opinions vary about the economic effects of the Navigation Acts. Most historians believe that the system on balance was beneficial to the colonies: the advantages of being part of an expanding British economy greatly outweighed the disadvantages of these poorly enforced trade restrictions. In any case, there were few complaints about the Navigation Acts in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776. Indeed, the Americans, finding that economic independence was not necessarily as attractive as political independence, sought to negotiate partial reentry into Britain's mercantilist system after the Peace Treaty of 1783.

See also Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; British Colonies: North America; Commerce and Markets; Mercantilism; Shipping.

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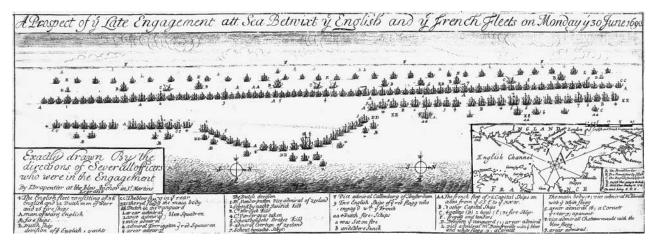
RICHARD MIDDLETON

**NAVY.** Up to the late fifteenth century, permanent navies with ships built only for warfare were unimportant in Europe. Wars at sea were fought with infantry weapons and they could be used on merchantmen temporarily armed for war. Maritime cities with many large cargo carriers could rapidly form powerful navies, and mercantile power was easily converted into sea power. The only specialized warships were the oared galleys, but they could be built quickly in large numbers when a war began. The sea power of a state became visible only during

wars. One part of this system was retained in most early modern navies as, to a considerable extent, they were manned with seamen recruited from the mercantile marines. In peacetime, only a nucleus of seamen was employed by the navies. Permanency was created by warships, dockyards, and cadres of leaders, which gradually became corps of officers.

The introduction of heavy guns able to damage ships at a distance stimulated the development of specialized, heavily built, sailing warships that could carry such guns, use them efficiently in combat, resist gunfire, and stay at sea during long periods of time. Guns and specialized warships were expensive, and only states were able to make major naval investments. The size of the permanent navies became increasingly important for the control of the sea for offensive and defensive purposes and for diplomatic influence. Guns and warships also gave states a new role as the most efficient protectors of private shipping. The growth of the European navies reflected both the improved efficiency of a specialized technology and the increased centralization of resources to the states.

Galleys and sailing warships had different capabilities, and they were often regarded as parts of different organizations. Most Mediterranean galleys were of about the same size in all navies. There was a general rise in their size from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century, but otherwise



Navy. A view of the 1690 Battle of Beachy Head in the English Channel during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), drawn perhaps by Jan Drapentier, an engraver active in London around this time. An outnumbered Anglo-Dutch fleet was defeated by the French, giving them brief command of the Channel. This near-contemporary plan, "Exactly drawn by the directions of Severall officers who were in the Engagement," identifies the ships involved and their positions. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

galley navies can be measured by number of galleys. In contrast, sailing warships were built in widely different sizes at the same time and size increased over time. The average size of European ships-of-the-line grew from around 1,200 modern displacement tonnes in 1680 to 2,400 displacement tonnes in 1790. Consequently, the number of ships is of limited value in comparing the navies.

The displacement, that is, the weight of the ship including stores, began to be used to measure size in the eighteenth century. For earlier centuries, approximate displacements can be calculated from dimensions, contemporary tonnage calculations, or the size of crews. This makes it possible to compare different navies and measure fluctuations over time with one measurement that reflects fighting power and manpower requirements. Typically, galleys that relied on muscle power for their propulsion had about one man per tonne displacement. Sailing warships in the latter half of the seventeenth century had manning establishments that required around one man to three tonnes displacement while eighteenth century warships normally had around one man to four tonnes.

#### MEDITERRANEAN GALLEY NAVIES

The early permanent navies in the Mediterranean developed with the traditional galleys as the main component. Their rise was closely connected with the power struggles for control of the Greek archipelago and Italy and trade in the Mediterranean Sea. In 1450, only Venice had a major peacetime galley navy. Up to about 1500 the Ottoman and Venetian navies increased in size during the struggle for control of Greece. After that, the Italian Wars (1494-1559) stimulated the growth of the French and Spanish galley navies. The latter included the naval resources of Sicily and Naples. The Papal States, Tuscany, Genoa, and the Order of St. John on Malta developed minor galley navies. Finally, from the 1540s to the 1570s, the great contest between Spain and the Ottomans led to a dramatic increase in the galley navies. In terms of manpower (including chained oarsmen) and requirement of provisions, they were the largest concentrated military forces of the sixteenth century. Logistical problems often made them sluggish in operation.

The end of the imperial contests in the Mediterranean around 1580 was followed by a major reduc-

TABLE 1

# **The Mediterranean Galley Navies**

Approximate number of galleys in continuous service and in reserve

	1500	1525	1550	1575	1600	1650	1700	1750
Venice	150	120	150	175	150	75	50	20
The Ottoman Empire	200	100	125	300	100	100	30	15
Spain	-	15	60	150	70	40	30	-
France	10	20	50	20	-	36	42	12
The Papal States	3	3	3	6	10	5	5	4
The Order of St. John	3	3	4	4	5	6	8	4
Tuscany	-	-	5	6	6	6	6	-
Genoa	-	1	1	3	6	10	6	6
Naples								4

A hyphen indicates that the state existed but it had no navy. A period means that the state did not exist at that date (and consequently no navy could exist). Naples was part of the Spanish monarchy from around 1500 to 1713/14. The Dutch Republic was created in a revolutionary process around 1580.

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

tion of the galley navies, which continued during the seventeenth century. The limited utility of oared forces was revealed during two wars between Venice and the Ottomans (1644–1669 and 1684–1699), and both powers reduced the number of galleys. They were now primarily used for routine patrols and transfer of troops, and all major Mediterranean powers created sailing navies as their main force at sea during the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth centuries galleys were abolished or cut down to insignificant numbers, and by the end of the century they had disappeared in the Mediterranean.

# EARLY SAILING NAVIES, 1500-1650

Sailing warships with guns began to be built by several states in the decades around 1500. They were few in number and major fleets were still formed by requisitioned or hired merchantmen. Merchantmen often protected themselves by sailing in convoys. Early sailing, gun-armed navies were developed primarily by states without strong mercantile marines: Portugal, France (Brittany), England, Denmark, and Sweden. They were closely related to royal ambitions to explore new technology in order to control coasts, territories, and trade routes, but a sailing navy was not regarded as necessary for great power status. The Habsburgs, who controlled Spain and the Netherlands with their large mercantile marines, for a long time did not

develop naval power in the Atlantic, and for the French kings the sailing navy usually had a low priority. The Mediterranean powers preferred galleys, which at least up to the mid-sixteenth century proved viable as a weapons system in competition with sailing warships, which were still in their infancy.

The sailing navies grew during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century without entirely replacing temporarily armed merchantmen as an important instrument of warfare. Experience of war such as the Anglo-French contests up to 1559, wars in the Baltic in the 1530s and 1560s, and the Anglo-Spanish confrontation from 1585 to 1603 showed that specialized gun-armed warships had considerable advantages over traditional great cargo carriers provided with infantry and a few guns, which were gradually abolished as combatants. Merchantmen built to carry a substantial number of guns, and specialized for trade in contested waters such as the Mediterranean and the East and West Indies, became useful as temporary warships from the late sixteenth century up to the 1650s and 1660s. The English, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, and Swedish navies were reinforced by considerable numbers of armed merchantmen during major wars, and Venice fought the war with the Ottomans from 1644 to 1669 with hired English and Dutch merchantmen. Armed merchantmen were used for the European penetration of the Indian Ocean and the China Seas, and they remained the main Euro-

TABLE 2

## Major Sailing Navies, 1500-1650

Total displacement (in 1,000 tonnes) of warships owned by state navies or, in the case of Spain, on long-term charter by the states. Portugal and Spain were governed by the same Habsburg monarchs. All figures are approximate and figures in parentheses are uncertain.

	1500	1520	1545	1570	1600	1630	1650
England	5	14	15	14	27	31	49
France	(10)	(12)	(5)	(3)	-	27	21
Portugal	?	?	?	?			(25)
Denmark	?	(8)	(8)	15	11	19	22
Sweden	-	(1)	7	21	24	17	28
Spain	-	-	-	3	(50)	(50)	(30)
The Dutch Republic	с.				(20)	40	29

A hyphen indicates that the state existed but it had no navy. A period means that the state did not exist at that date (and consequently no navy could exist).

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

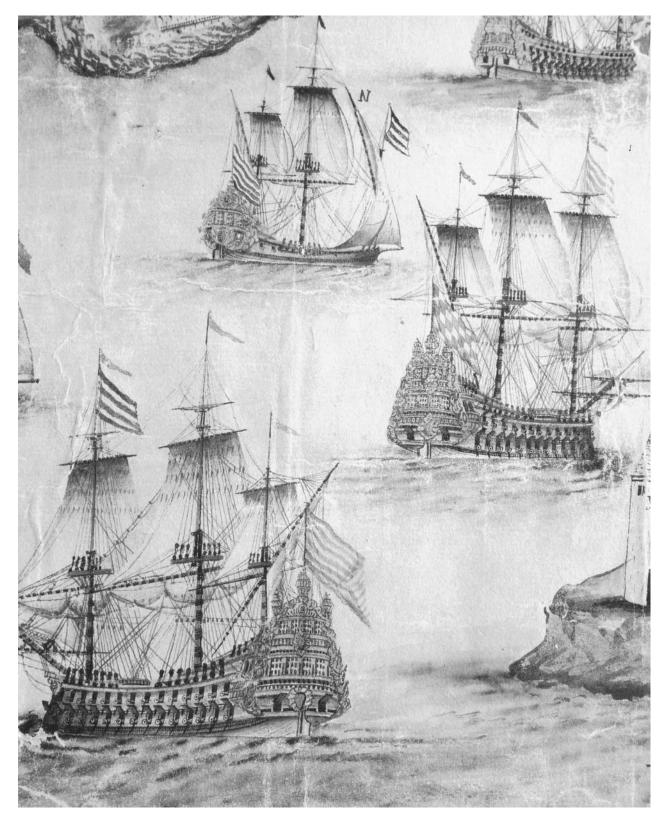
pean force at sea in this area until the early nineteenth century.

It is not meaningful to look for a European balance of power at sea in this period, but powers who were antagonists, such as Denmark and Sweden in the Baltic and Spain and the Dutch in Western Europe, attempted to balance each other. The English and French navies were primarily maintained for control of the Channel, although the French civil wars rendered France almost powerless at sea from the 1560s to the 1620s. The absence of a French threat gave the English the opportunity to deploy the navy in the Atlantic during the war against Spain (1585–1603). The sixteenth-century Portuguese navy, of which too little is known to quantify its size, was primarily developed for control of the sea route to India. When Portugal was united with Spain in 1580, it formed the nucleus of a new Habsburg navy.

### THE EUROPEAN BATTLE FLEETS, 1650-1790

The three Anglo-Dutch maritime wars from 1652 to 1674 and the rise of the new strong monarchy in France was the start for a major growth and transformation of the European fleets. Armed merchantmen were still chartered in large numbers during the first Anglo-Dutch Wars, but they proved deficient in combat with major warships. The English and the Dutch fought several intense battles for control of the Channel and the North Sea. It became obvious that fewer large ships with heavier guns had an advantage over more numerous smaller ships. This realization resulted in a long-term increase in the size of warships and made it uneconomical to use armed merchantmen in naval warfare. Tactics changed to make full use of large ships, which could continuously fire heavy broadsides and resist enemy gunfire. Growing corps of sea officers developed professionalism and a new doctrine that emphasized disciplined battle lines and well-drilled gun crews. Improved foundry technology made it possible to produce cheap iron guns that reduced the cost of permanent naval armament.

The naval conflicts between England and the Dutch were influenced by competition about trade and colonies. The French fleet expanded dramatically in the 1660s mainly as a result of increased royal power. It gave France naval supremacy over its traditional antagonist Spain as the Spanish navy de-



**Navy.** A drawing of French navy ships at the Battle of Port Mahon, Minorca, 1756, during the Seven Years' War, when French naval forces seized the Mediterranean island from British control. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DE LA MARINE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI.

TABLE 3

TOTAL APPROXIMATE DISPLACEMENT (IN 1,000 TONNES)								
	1650	1660	1670	1680	1690	1700	1710	1720
England	49	88	84	132	124	196	201	174
The Dutch Republic	29	62	102	66	68	113	119	79
France	21	20	114	135	141	195	171	48

clined to a medium-sized force in the latter half of the seventeenth century. France could also challenge the two great maritime powers at sea in conflicts that predominantly were Continental. However, the combined Anglo-Dutch navies gained superiority at sea over France in the 1690s and could use their navies to support allies in the Mediterranean and for military actions on the Iberian peninsula in the early 1700s. French naval power collapsed in the 1710s and Great Britain emerged as the dominant sea power. Britain retained this position until the twentieth century, and other great powers were reduced to more or less successful challengers of British supremacy over the European and transoceanic sea-lanes.

The first of these challenges came from a new combination of naval powers, France and Spain, which began to act as allies in the eighteenth-century struggle over colonies and trade in America and Asia. The new Bourbon regime in Spain launched an ambitious Atlantic naval policy that made Spain into the third largest naval power in Europe for most of the century. During the war of 1739–1748, both Bourbon powers were defeated by Britain at sea. They started major programs of new construction, but the war of 1756–1763 resulted in a victory for Britain, partly because Spain joined the war after France already had suffered large losses at sea. During the 1760s and 1770s French and Spanish battle fleet strength outpaced the British by a wide margin, and during the War of American Independence the combined Bourbon navies were frequently able to place severe limits on British operational freedom on sea and on land. France and Spain continued with large shipbuilding programs in the 1780s, with the intention to renew the challenge against Britain in future contests in the Atlantic.

The other two Atlantic powers, Portugal and the Dutch Republic, preferred neutrality during most of the eighteenth century. Both were primarily interested in defense of their worldwide empires of trade and colonies, but not in expansion. Portugal had maintained a navy of around 20,000 to 25,000 tonnes after it regained independence in 1640, increasing it to 25,000 to 35,000 tonnes in the eighteenth century. The Dutch navy was kept steady at a level of 60,000 to 70,000 tonnes from the 1720s to about 1780. The failure of the Dutch policy of neutrality in the War of American Independence forced the Dutch to join the Atlantic naval race and increase the navy to around 120,000 tonnes during the 1780s.

In the Baltic, Denmark and Sweden remained the only major naval powers up to the early 1700s, when Russian conquests of Swedish-controlled territories made it possible for Russia to build a navy. Sweden and Denmark traditionally regarded it as important that the other power should not be able to control the Baltic Sea, and this shaped their naval policy. Russia under Peter I rapidly created a major navy and for most of the eighteenth century, the Danish, Swedish, and Russian navies were of the same magnitude. Denmark usually had the largest battle fleet, but the other two navies also maintained large oared flotillas of galleys, oared frigates, and, by the 1780s, gunboats. By 1790, the Swedish navy had to a considerable extent become an archipelago fleet. Oared vessels were intended for cooperation with the army along archipelagic coasts, not for the open sea. From around 1780, the Russian navy began to expand and created a new fleet in the Black Sea. This was a part of Catherine II's expansionist policy in the Balkans, and it was the beginning of a period when Russia was a major European power at

TABLE 4

TOTAL APPROXIMATE DISPLACEMENT (IN 1,000 TONNES)								
	1720	1730	1740	1750	1760	1770	1780	1790
Great Britain	174	189	195	276	375	350	372	473
France	48	73	91	115	156	219	271	324
Spain	22	73	91	41	137	165	196	253

TABLE 5

### The Baltic Sailing Navies, 1650-1790

### **TOTAL APPROXIMATE DISPLACEMENT (IN 1,000 TONNES)**

	1650	1675	1700	1725	1750	1775	1790	
Denmark-Norway	25	29	46	47	66	83	87	
Sweden	28	35	53	34	45	50	48	
Russia	-	-	-	55	59	75	145	

A hyphen indicates that the state existed but it had no navy.

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

sea, replacing Spain in the nineteenth century as owner of the third largest battle fleet.

In the Levant, Venice and the Ottomans began to build sailing navies in the 1670s, although information about the latter navy is incomplete. Both navies had reached a size of around 40,000 tonnes by 1700. The Venetian navy did not expand further but the Ottoman navy grew to one of the largest in Europe, with a strength of around 60,000 tonnes in the 1720s. Both navies were gradually reduced as a result of the long period of peace in the eastern Mediterranean after 1718, and the Ottoman navy was unprepared for the new challenge from Russia in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea from 1768 on. The Turks responded with a new expansion from a low level to about 70,000 tonnes in 1790. Russia had by then a fleet of around 45,000 tonnes in the Black Sea, while Venice since the mid-eighteenth century had maintained a navy of around 20,000 tonnes.

The total size of the European sailing navies was around 200,000 tonnes in 1650, around 750,000 tonnes in both 1700 and 1750, and almost 1.7 million tonnes in 1790. After that they declined markedly. Rising timber costs and reduced naval ambitions in several European states in the wake of a series of British naval victories during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars limited further growth.

See also Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Armada, Spanish; Galleys; Italian Wars (1494–1559); Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping.

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JAN GLETE

**NEOCLASSICISM.** One of the last truly international European aesthetic movements, neo-

classicism left virtually no aspect of visual culture untouched. Despite its practical and theoretical connections to the classical tradition of Western art, neoclassicism was perceived by eighteenth-century critics as a revolutionary rejection of the decadence of the baroque that had held sway since the early seventeenth century. In addition to its formal stylistic characteristics, which include a propensity toward the emulation of ancient Greco-Roman art and an emphasis on dignity, restraint, and grandeur of scale, neoclassical art was often endowed with an ideological imperative. Seeking to reform society from above, many neoclassicists enlisted ancient virtue, morality, and ethics as antidotes to what they considered to be the frivolity, licentiousness, and sybaritic luxury of eighteenth-century elites. This reforming spirit was especially notable in France, where progressive artists embraced classical subjects that taught lessons in morality. The most important example in painting is Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii* (1784). Visualizing La Font de Saint-Yenne's 1749 dictum, neoclassicism helped to redefined art's role in society as an agency that "made virtue attractive and vice odious."

As an artistic phenomenon, neoclassicism's impact may be seen in an astonishing variety of objects, from teaspoons and wallpaper to ecclesiastical architecture and equestrian monuments. Its earliest stirrings may be traced to the 1740s. Neoclassicism was given considerable impetus by the keen interest in archaeological excavation spurred by the discovery of the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii; regular excavations at Herculaneum began in 1738 and at Pompeii in 1748. Major excavations on the Palatine Hill in Rome, at Ostia and at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli captured the imagination of Europe. Ancient



Neoclassicism. The Oath of the Horatii by Jacques-Louis David, 1784. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS



**Neoclassicism.** The Ante Room at Syon House, designed by Robert Adam in the 1760s. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/ CORBIS

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sites in Spain, France, England, and elsewhere also received increased scrutiny. Such excavations created a mania for antique artifacts that led to numerous publications of the often spectacular finds. These books usually had engraved illustrations that did much to inspire artists, who quickly created both public and domestic spaces decorated by classically inspired art. Robert Adam's country house interiors, such as the great vestibule at Syon House, are important examples of neoclassicism's impact on the decorative arts and architecture inspired by neoclassical motifs. Josiah Wedgwood's ceramic works, fired at his factory in the English Midlands, reveal the ubiquity of the neoclassical aesthetic in both decorative and utilitarian objects.

Neoclassicism's epicenter was unquestionably Rome. As the artistic entrepôt of Europe and primary museum of the Western tradition, the city's privileged position as an international capital built on the decaying fabric of antiquity's greatest urban center gave Rome a unique luster. Enlightened papal policies led to the creation of Europe's first public museums, the Capitoline and the Pio-Clementino, which prominently featured canonical antiquities such as the Apollo Belvedere, the Capitoline Venus, and the Laocoön. These ancient marble sculptures were considered ideal exemplars of beauty and truth and inspired emulation by such artists as Antonio Canova, John Flaxman, and Bertel Thorvaldsen, among others. Indeed, Canova's Theseus and the Dead Minotaur of 1781-1783 is unimaginable without considering the artist's assiduous study of Greco-Roman sculptures preserved in Rome's museums and aristocratic collections.

The central aesthetic debates of neoclassicism also centered on Rome. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a Prussian scholar and aesthete who served as librarian to Cardinal Alessandro Albani, gave a rationalist underpinning to developing neoclassicism with the 1764 publication of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of ancient art). Quickly translated into most European languages, Winckelmann's book had an unprecedented impact on ideas about art and its relationship to society. It also posed questions about the fundamental differences between ancient Greek and Roman art, resolved in favor of the former. Winckelmann viewed the development of antique art as cyclical, from perfection in

classical Athens to the bombastic decadence of the Roman Empire. His view was supported by Cardinal Albani's favorite artist Anton Raphael Mengs, who painted *Parnassus* in 1761 to adorn the ceiling of the grand salon of Albani's chic new villa on the Via Salaria, completed in 1760 by the architect Carlo Marchionni. This fresco is the first fully developed essay in neoclassical painting. The Villa Albani's collection of ancient sculpture was the finest private collection in existence, and the villa became a major attraction for visitors who helped to spread neoclassical ideas.

Albani, Mengs, and Winckelmann as champions of the Greeks did not go unchallenged. The leading exponent of the superiority of Roman art was the Venetian architect and engraver Giambattista Piranesi. Through myriad publications, above all Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani (On the magnificence and architecture of the Romans) of 1761, Piranesi consistently championed the grandeur of scale and fantasy of invention of ancient Roman artists and architects, whom he believed had perfected the simplicity and nobility of form achieved by the Greeks. The Greeks-versus-Romans polemic was one of the major intellectual debates of mid-eighteenth-century Europe. Piranesi's publications also had a profound impact on foreigners because of their wide distribution. Visitors were often disappointed because the scale of both ancient ruins and modern buildings was much smaller than Piranesi's prints had led them to imagine.

The grand tour, that elite practice of transalpine travelers venturing to Italy to study the remains of antiquity and the canonical works of both ancient and modern art, was also a crucial factor in the development and dissemination of neoclassicism. Rich tourists created a thriving market for antiquities and created an industry based on the production of pastiched statues and outright fakes of everything from paintings to cameos. A casual visit to almost any British country house will reveal the extent of the collecting mania for all things ancient. The tour promoted the notion of an upper-class, cosmopolitan culture based on the primacy of the classical tradition and helped to create a republic of letters that gave Europe an unprecedented degree of intellectual and aesthetic unity.

While obviously retrospective in nature, by the last years of the century neoclassicism had also attained a utopian thrust that was exploited in the interest of political, social, economic, and spiritual reform. The antique panacea was offered to an ailing Europe for such perceived ills as obscurantism, religious fanaticism, superstition, and social inequality. It was the rationalist basis of neoclassicism that so appealed to progressive Enlightenment thought and that led proponents of the French Revolution to embrace it for regimist purposes. Later, Napoleon co-opted the Roman Empire as both a precedent for and a justification of his own. The Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel (1806–1807) in Paris, executed by Charles Percier to celebrate French victories at Austerlitz and Jena, was based on the precedent of Rome's Arch of Constantine. The fact that both Jacobins and Bonapartists could claim the same cultural and political inheritance is vivid testimony to neoclassicism's pervasiveness and flexibility.

By 1830 neoclassicism had evolved from a progressive style extolling ancient virtue and aesthetic reform while opposing luxury and decorative self-indulgence to become the chief expression of modern empire and military dictatorship. Increasingly identified with an academic pedagogy that many younger Romantic artists considered stifling and outdated, neoclassicism also was associated with conservatism and aristocratic privilege, principles it had challenged and partly overcome in its early phases. Neoclassicism's afterlife has included its adoption by both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. It continues to be a rich source of forms and motifs for postmodern artists, architects, and designers.

See also Canova, Antonio; Classicism; David, Jacques-Louis; Mengs, Anton Raphael; Piranesi, Giovanni Battista; Renaissance; Republic of Letters; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.

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NEOPLATONISM. Early modern Neoplatonism was a complex, syncretic phenomenon. It revived the thought of late antiquity but had deep roots too in the Greek Fathers, in medieval Augustinian spirituality, and in late scholastic Aristotelianism; it was also indebted to the Plato-Aristotle controversy among Renaissance Byzantines, notably to the speculative (and probably heretical) ideas of George Gemistos Pletho. Keyed to the revival of interest in, and renewed access to, Plato's texts that began with such early fifteenth-century humanists as the Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni, it culminated in the work of four distinguished if very different philosopher-theologians: the Greek émigré Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472), the German conciliarist Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus (1401– 1464), the Florentine cathedral canon, scholar, and teacher Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), and his "fellow Platonist," the eclectically brilliant Giovanni Pico, count of Mirandola (1463–1494), who ended his brief life as a devout follower of Savonarola.

Strictly speaking, Neoplatonism is the Platonism that originated with Plato's monistic thirdcentury interpreter, Plotinus, and that attained its most scholastic elaboration in the work of the fifthcentury Proclus. Dominated by metaphysical concerns, it was based on Plato's middle and later dialogues, preeminently the Parmenides, Timaeus, Sophist, Philebus, Republic, and Phaedrus, and on passages and arguments elsewhere, particularly in the Symposium, that addressed these concerns. From the onset, however, Plotinus and his followers claimed to be expounding not only Plato's Platonism but also the doctrines that Plato had learned from Pythagorean teachers, themselves the inheritors of proto-Platonic doctrines from the remotest Orphic, Egyptian, and Persian-Chaldaean pasts. All this came to be thought of by the Renaissance Neoplatonists as an ancient theology, a perennial gentile wisdom, bestowed and sanctioned by God, that was parallel to, and consonant with, the wisdom revealed to the Hebrews via Moses and the prophets, and that had been perfected in Christ, the new Zoroaster, the new Orpheus, the new Plato. This was not simply a declaration of faith. They could turn to the opening of St. John's Gospel and his First Epistle with their meditations on the descent of the Word, to various passages in St. Paul's Epistles, and above all to the treatises of one Dionysius the Areopagite, whom they identified with St. Paul's Athenian disciple (mentioned in Acts 17:34), but who was, we now realize, a late fifth- or early sixth-century follower of Proclus. These treatises incorporated many features of Proclus' Neoplatonic scholasticism, and propounded a dialectical theology centered on negation and analogy that was deeply indebted to the late ancient Neoplatonic interpretation of the second part of Plato's *Parmenides*. But their misdating to the first century had the dramatic effect of making St. Paul a Proclian Neoplatonist, and his teaching on the Hill of Mars, an exposition of the mysteries of Plato's supreme exercise in dialectic.

Other misdatings or misattributions—the notion for instance that Plotinus had been taught by a Christian, Ammonius Saccas, and had been a fellow disciple of the Christian Origen—helped to establish Christ and his disciples as the perfection of Platonism, and to validate Neoplatonism as the Christian philosophy. The seal to this interpretation was Augustine's acknowledgment of the role played by "certain books of the Platonists"—in all likelihood Marius Victorinus' Latin translations of extracts from Plotinus—in his reconversion to Christianity. Thus Augustine and the Areopagite, the two thinkers who had laid the foundations of medieval theology, were made central to the story of Christian Neoplatonism. Finally, to complicate matters still further, when the study of Aristotle was revived in the West in the thirteenth century, some of his governing notions had already been partially Neoplatonized by ancient commentators such as Themistius, and by Arab misattributions and mistranslations. Variously incorporated into Thomism and Scotism, these hybrids (the notion of participation is an example) persisted into the early modern period, despite scholarly controversy and elucidation. Additionally, parts of Proclus' works were already known in the medieval period (and were rendered into Latin), while those of Plato and Plotinus remained essentially unknown except for the first half of the Timaeus and the lemmata in Proclus' commentaries; this ensured a Proclian take on many issues that also persisted. It was a tangled situation that obviously lent itself to the revival of the ancient search for a Neoplatonic subordination of Aristotle to Plato, and of both to Christianity.

This was largely the work of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). Earlier humanists had already translated some of the dialogues, including the Republic, into Latin, but Ficino published the definitive Neoplatonic rendering of the entire canon in 1484 and went on to translate Plotinus' Enneads and a number of other dependent texts, and to furnish them with extensive, penetrating commentary. An original philosopher, teacher, medical theorist, and priest, he embraced the missionary goal of Neoplatonizing Christianity. In particular he argued on Neoplatonic grounds for the soul's immortality in the hope both of strengthening the faith of the intellectual elite and of initiating them into the mysteries (the psychology) of the soul's ascent into mind, into unity, into the highest of all metaphysical principles, the One. This captured the imagination of influential secular and religious figures, patrons, and artists throughout Europe, especially in Italy, France, and Hungary (though whether he was ever the head of a Platonic academy in Florence in any sense other than a circle of friends and admirers is doubtful). His arguments in Platonic Theology (1482) even contributed to the soul's immortality being declared an article of faith at the Lateran Council in 1512.

Though Jacopo Mazzoni and Francesco Patrizi eventually occupied newly created chairs of Platonic philosophy, Neoplatonism never managed to supplant the entrenched Aristotelianism of the universities, even as it attracted influential academic support in France, and eventually in England with such midseventeenth-century Platonists as Ralph Cudworth and Henry More. In fact, Ficino's Neoplatonized Latin Plato and Plotinus translations continued to be used well into the nineteenth century (we have Samuel Taylor Coleridge's notes, for instance, on Ficino's Plato); and they contributed to the revival of an interest in Plato's later metaphysics among German philosophers and theologians such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Friedrich Schleiermacher.

Neoplatonism's greatest impact, however, was on several speculative thinkers outside of, or merely on the fringes of, the universities. These included most notably Giordano Bruno, Tommaso Campanella, Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, and Robert Fludd, men who were variously interested in magic, demonology, the occult, mystical mathematics, har-

mony and love theory, medical astrology, and the notions of the World Soul and of an ensouled nature. Such a rich medley of interests also accounted, predictably, for Neoplatonism's eclipse during the Enlightenment, and for the often harsh dismissal by historians like Johann Jakob Brucker of its Renaissance proponents. By the same token, the Romantics rediscovered in it a mystical, at times even a pantheistic, tradition that was opposed not so much to Cartesian rationalism as to scientific empiricism, and that had heretical if not explicitly anti-Christian aspects. Arguably indeed Plotinus and Neoplatonism had a profounder impact on early modern Europe, directly and by way of opposition, than the "pure" Plato and the dialogues themselves; certainly a non-Neoplatonic appreciation of the latter only peaked after the educational reforms of the nineteenth century had made an understanding and appreciation of Greek literary prose—the early and middle dialogues are wonderful examples—an integral part of the establishment's patrician education. Even so, poets and theologians continued to turn to Plotinus and his followers, as did a few scholars haunted by the possibility that they were in truth Plato's most luminous interpreters.

See also Cambridge Platonists; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Philosophy.

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**NEPOTISM.** The term "nepotism" (from Latin *nepos*, 'nephew') refers to the popes' practice of appointing a "nephew" to the curial office of cardinal-nephew. The term can also refer more generally to the appointment of a close relative or other favored person to an ecclesiastical position. Because clerical celibacy generally meant that prelates had no sons, siblings' sons or other close relations were chosen for positions requiring discretion and confidentiality. In the early modern era there were instances of a pope's natural sons filling such positions, as with Alexander VI's son Cesare Borgia (1475/1476-1507), who was made archbishop and later cardinal. (The term "nephew" might in fact be used to refer euphemistically to the natural son of a prelate.) Nepotism also refers to the practice of granting to family members, friends, or others ecclesiastical offices, benefices, preferment, and favors. Dispensing ecclesiastical offices and wealth as personal property to those one favored rather than those worthy to receive them was considered a serious abuse and was forbidden by canon law.

The genesis of the office of papal cardinalnephew is obscure, but it can be traced back well into the Middle Ages. In the early modern papacy, the office of cardinal-nephew became crucial, as it safeguarded a papal family's control over finances, affairs of state, diplomacy, ecclesiastical appointments, theological issues, and matters pertaining to the papal family's social status. Cardinal-nephews looked out for the aggrandizement of the papal family (which was also their own) in the short duration of the pope's reign. Nephews held the ecclesiastical dignity of cardinal, but many were not ordained; they might also hold a clerical rank from cardinal-deacon to cardinal-archbishop. They often functioned as secretaries, advisers, managers, and supervisors over the affairs of the Papal States. Their responsibilities often varied greatly from one pontificate to another. Most cardinal-nephews interacted closely with other clerical officials, especially the secretary of state (who might also be a nephew). Based on the closest ties of kinship, the nephews' trustworthiness gave them privileged access to popes and to the inner circles of curial deliberations; it also provided opportunities for acquiring enormous wealth.

Though sometimes appointed very early in life, some cardinal-nephews proved to be highly competent, indispensable administrators. Among these were Carlo Borromeo (1538-1585), a nephew of Pius IV who later became archbishop of Milan, and Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), grandson of Paul III. Others proved dissolute, and some, like Paul IV's nephew Carlo Carafa, who was executed for his shameless activities, were disastrous. The Barberini nephews of Pope Urban VIII, Francesco (1597-1679) and Antonio (1607–1671), caused a diplomatic crisis in 1634 when one became cardinalprotector of Spain, the other of France. Many cardinal-nephews were great patrons of the arts. Scipione Borghese, for instance, was patron of the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). At the close of the seventeenth century, Innocent XII (reigned 1691-1700) eliminated the office of cardinalnephew, as reformers pressed for popes who did not put family aggrandizement first. The cardinalnephew's duties were subsumed by the secretary of state.

See also Borromeo, Carlo; Papacy and Papal States.

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# NETHERLANDS. See Dutch Republic.

# NETHERLANDS, ART IN THE

This entry includes three subentries:
ART IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1500–1585
ART IN FLANDERS, 1585–1700
ART IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS, 1585–1700

## ART IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1500-1585

While in the fifteenth century the church and courts had been the dominant patrons for the arts, in the sixteenth century a new wealthy urban merchant class in the area comprising roughly present-day Belgium, the Netherlands, and northwestern France also began to commission and collect works of art. Moreover, followers of a growing Protestant movement began to clash with the established Catholic Church, whose supporters included the Habsburg rulers of the region. Artists, who began to produce works not only on commission but also for an open market, responded to these changes with an increasing diversity of subject matter. A greater mobility of art and artists gave rise to styles that responded both to local traditions and to foreign, particularly Italian, styles.

The paintings of Quinten Massys (or Metsys, c. 1466-1530) provide a good example of this diversity. The composition of his Lamentation, the central panel of an altarpiece created for the Antwerp Joiners' Guild (1508–1511, Musée des beaux-arts, Antwerp), recalls that of a painting of the same subject by Rogier van der Weyden, while the scene is suffused throughout with a soft Italian light; the flanking wings are mannerist in style. Like many of his contemporaries, Massys also worked in other genres, including portraiture, such as the diptych friendship portraits of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Pieter Gillis (1517, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; and Longford Castle, Wiltshire) created as a gift from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, and secular works that seem to have moralizing associations, including the Money-changer and his Wife (1514, Louvre, Paris) and *Ill-Matched Lovers* (c. 1520/25, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

Courts continued to be a vital center for artistic production. After establishing himself as a master in Antwerp, Jan Gossaert (or Jan Mabuse, c. 1478–1532) traveled to Rome in the service of Philip of Burgundy, where he copied antique sculpture and

may have seen some works by Michelangelo. The work he produced upon his return, such as his Danaë (1527, Alte Pinakothek, Munich), combined archaizing elements of the northern tradition with some of the first elements in the north of an Italian experience: classicizing architectural settings, linear perspective, and occasional references to Roman sculpture. Gossaert's work had an important impact on the next generation of artists, including the late prints of Lucas van Leyden (c. 1494–1533).

Lucas created the monumental triptych with *The Last Judgment* as a memorial in the Pieterskerk for the lumber merchant Claes Dircksz. van Swieten (1526–1527, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden). Its relatively traditional iconography was presented in intense bright coloring and included several different levels of perspective. Lucas's roughly two hundred engravings, influenced by the work of Albrecht Dürer and, later, Marcantonio Raimondi, gained for him an international reputation while he was still alive.

After training with Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen in Amsterdam, and possibly also briefly with Gossaert in Utrecht about 1515-1517, Jan van Scorel (1495-1562) traveled extensively, including a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and a year as the curator of the Vatican collections under the Dutch Pope Adrian VI, before returning to Utrecht. There he established a thriving studio where his works were much in demand by patrons ranging from ecclesiastics and aristocrats to humanists and city magistrates. Three panels painted for the Utrecht Brotherhood of Jerusalem Pilgrims (Centraal Museum, Utrecht), of which he was a member, and one for that in Haarlem (c. 1528, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem), are among the earliest group portraits painted in the northern Netherlands. His religious paintings range from the intimate Mary Magdalen (c. 1530, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) to monumental altarpieces such as the Finding of the True Cross (c. 1540, Grote Kerk, Breda). Scorel trained two important artists, Maerten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) and Antonis Mor (1516/20-c. 1576). The latter moved to Antwerp by 1547 and established the format for imposing court portraiture for noble patrons throughout northern Europe and the Habsburg empire.

It was during the sixteenth century that the features of both landscape and still life, which had previously existed largely as subsidiary elements in religious works and portraiture, became a larger constituent of some paintings. Joachim Patinir (c. 1485-1524) was described by Albrecht Dürer as "the good landscape painter." His figurative subjects, such as the Landscape with St. Jerome (c. 1520-1524, Museo del Prado, Madrid), are usually buried in a "world landscape," a vast panorama filled with incidental detail and viewed from a so-called bird's-eye perspective. Patinir creates recession through color zones, going from warm brown in the foreground through green and finally to a cool background of blue and gray. This, and the abstract, craggy rock formations serving as mountains, highly influenced landscape imagery for nearly a century.

Works of art created in the Netherlands in the second two-thirds of the sixteenth century were produced in the midst of dramatic social change and tumultuous political and religious strife, culminating in the iconoclastic riots that swept through Catholic churches and destroyed countless works of art in 1566. Religious tensions and social changes produced a culture of uncertainty and anxiety for many, which in turn created a demand for, and appreciation of, works that engaged the viewer's consideration of the complexities of life. The subject or message of these works is not always clear; pictures frequently present puzzles rather than didactic messages.

This seems to be the case with the work of Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508/09–1575) who frequently buried his religious subjects in the background of large-scale still lifes, such as his *Butcher's Stall with the Flight into Egypt* (Uppsala University Art Collections, Sweden), dated 10 March 1551, the middle of Lent. The carcasses in the foreground might have brought to mind the old, largely abandoned practice of giving meat to the poor during Lent, while the Holy Family in the background offering alms to a beggar and his son would certainly have advocated generosity to the poor. The painting seems to ask the viewer to consider his or her own wealth in light of the kindness of the Holy Family, rather than simply condemning wealth outright.



Art in the Netherlands. Lucas van Leyden, *The Just Awaiting Their Assumption*, central panel of the triptych *The Last Judgement*, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Some of the most original and complex works of the century were produced by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1527–1569), who left an indelible impression on subsequent generations of artists. Bruegel began his career designing engravings and then turned to creating enigmatic paintings based on popular proverbs as well as peasant scenes and reli-

gious subjects for patrons that included humanists and wealthy businessmen. His *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1562, Musée royaux des beaux-arts, Brussels) depicts a concatenation of bizarre creatures that recall the work of Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516); the *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin) represents nearly

one hundred proverbs in the guise of the daily activities of the inhabitants of a Flemish village. His moving *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1564, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) sets the event in a Flemish world landscape and buries Calvary in the far distance.

While many of these works challenge the viewer with thought, the Catholic Church responded with others that were emphatically didactic. The muscular bodies in Frans Floris's (c. 1519–1570) striking Fall of the Rebel Angels (1554, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) recalls the figures of Michelangelo that he studied in Rome. The work's theme asserts the power of the Catholic faith in a century convulsed with Protestant rebellion.

See also Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Bruegel Family; Painting; Prints and Popular Imagery; Reformation, Protestant.

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## ART IN FLANDERS, 1585-1700

In 1579, driven by economic interests and supported by Protestants who wished to be free of repressive religious policies, a group of provinces of the northern Netherlands declared their independence from Philip II, the Habsburg king of Spain (ruled 1556–1598). The division of the Netherlands into two regions, the Netherlands in the north

and what became known as Flanders in the south, was effected on 17 August 1585 when Philip II's commander-in-chief and governor of the Netherlands, Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma, accepted the surrender of the rebellious city of Antwerp, although it was not until the Treaty of Münster in 1648 that the separation was legally recognized.

Although artists traveled between the two regions, Flanders, along with the rest of Catholic Europe, developed a culture very different from that of the northern Netherlands. In Flanders, Antwerp remained the center of artistic production. Two masters in this city, Maerten de Vos (1532–1603) and the more internationally well-known Otto van Veen (also called Octavius Vaenius, 1556–1629) played a major role in producing large-scale altarpieces to replace those that had been destroyed during the iconoclastic riots and those surviving works that no longer seemed appropriate after the Council of Trent (1563) dictated that religious paintings should be clear in both narrative content and visual structure and should engage the emotions of the worshiper.

Van Veen was eclipsed in 1608 by the return to Antwerp from Italy of his former pupil, Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). For eight years, Rubens had studied antique sculpture and the art of his Italian contemporaries as well as those of the preceding century. Almost immediately, he was offered important commissions by the church, wealthy citizens such as lawyer and burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox and merchant Cornelis van der Geest, and monarchs both at home and abroad. The style of works executed immediately after his return to Antwerp, such as his Samson and Delilah, painted for Rockox (c. 1609–1610, National Gallery, London), or the Raising of the Cross (1610–1611, Antwerp Cathedral), combined the strong figurative style of Michelangelo, Caravaggesque light effects, and warm Venetian coloring. These were followed by the more classical Descent from the Cross (1612–1614, Antwerp cathedral), which may have responded to the more conservative sixteenth-century tradition as well as the clarity demanded by Counter-Reformation dogma. Dynamic composition and strong emotional effects returned in such works as his Battle of the Amazons (c. 1618) and the Fall of the Damned (c. 1620, both Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

From the early 1620s, Rubens began designing monumental painting cycles and cycles of tapestries for monarchs across Europe, some of which went hand-in-hand with important diplomatic missions. He often created preliminary oil sketches for these that were used by members of his vast studio in their execution of the works. These included cycles for the Jesuit church in Antwerp (destroyed by fire in 1718), the French queen Marie de Médicis (1622-1625), her son Louis XIII (1622–1623), archduchess Isabella (1625-1627), King Charles I of England (1629-1635), and Philip IV of Spain (1636-1638). Rubens also oversaw the production of a large number of prints, creating both independent designs and reproductions of his own works in other media.

Among the many artists with whom Rubens collaborated, two assistants stand out: Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) and Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), both of whom had become independent masters before working with him on his cycle Mysteries of the Rosary (c. 1617-1620, St. Paul's Church, Antwerp). Van Dyck worked in Italy between 1621 and 1627, and in London between 1632 and 1640. His paintings display an animated virtuosity, elegant figures, and free paint handling that bring to mind the late work of Titian. Jordaens, who never went to Italy, created scenes populated by more down-to-earth folk characters animated by colorful local detail. After the death of Rubens in 1640 and Van Dyck in 1641, Jordaens was overloaded with commissions, particularly for allegorical and mythological subjects. The figures in his late paintings come close to caricature, and the compositions are more decorative.

Wealthy and sophisticated urban patrons created a demand for paintings in a wide variety of independent genres, many produced for the open market. Artists such as Hendrick van Balen I (1574/75–1632), Frans Francken II (1581–1642), and David Teniers I (1582–1649) created cabinet-sized history paintings of small-scale mythological or religious scenes located in landscape settings or architectural interiors (often painted by a different artist) as well as small copies of the work of better-known masters.

Genre paintings, showing several figures engaged in contemporary everyday activities, depict a

wide range of themes. Scenes of peasants were popular, as they helped both to establish the distance of the urban patron from rough country life and to bring to mind the leisurely country life of the aristocracy. Pieter Breughel the Younger (1564–1638) and Jan Breughel (called "Velvet" Breughel, 1568-1625), sons of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1527-1569), painted copies and pastiches of their father's work in addition to inventions of their own. Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06-1638), David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), and David Rijckaert III (1612-1661) also produced popular images of lowlife characters. At the other end of the spectrum, elegant courtly scenes were painted by Hieronymus Francken I (1540–1610), his nephew Hieronymus Francken II (1578–1623), and the latter's brother Frans Francken II (1581-1642), along with Sebastiaan Vrancx (1573-1647) and Louis de Caullery (before 1582-1622). Scenes showing the influence of Caravaggio were created by Gerard Seghers (1591-1651) and Theodor Rombouts (1597-1637), while Italy provided the settings of genre paintings by Jan Miel (1599-1664) and Michiel Sweerts (1624-1664). Many of these images allude to popular aphorisms or embody a moral lesson.

The pastoral subjects of some genre paintings were thematized more directly in landscape paintings popular with wealthy urban merchants who were buying country houses, reading pastoral poetry, and enjoying bucolic plays. Notably, sixteenthcentury visual conventions remained fashionable well into the seventeenth century: world landscapes with a high horizon viewed from above, with distances indicated by a sequence of three colors. Also collected were woodland views depicted from the near distance with towering decorative foliage by such artists as Kerstiaen de Keuninck (c. 1560-1632/33), Joos de Momper (1564-1635), and Alexander Keirincx (1600–1652) before his move to Amsterdam in 1628. Jan Wildens (1586–1653) painted scenes of the hunt while seascapes were created by Bonaventura Peeters (1614-1652), and scenes of Mediterranean ports by Hendrik van Minderhout (1632-1696).

Hendrik van Steenwijck II (c. 1580-before 1649), Pieter Neeffs I (c. 1578-after 1656), and Wilhelm Schubert von Ehrenberg (1630/37-c. 1676) created town views and architectural interiors

in which the buildings (often churches) are frequently identifiable. These perspective views exaggerate the recession of backgrounds and the size of buildings (relative to their diminutive human figures) to a great degree; the scenes appear almost imaginary. Images of art collections (some of which were also imaginary) within an oversized interior were created with similarly exaggerated architectural conventions. Some of these by Frans Francken II and David Teniers II (1610–1690) embody allegorical themes referring to painting, or to the sources of the objects that comprised such collections (nature and man-made art). Jan "Velvet" Breughel created a series of the Five Senses in collaboration with Rubens (1617–1618, Prado, Madrid). Perhaps the best known of this type of work is *The* Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest (1628, Rubenshuis, Antwerp) by Van der Geest's curator Willem van Haecht, which includes actual portraits of Antwerp painters as well as the archdukes and King Ladislas Sigismund of Poland.

Country life was also celebrated in animal still lifes that alluded to the hunt, a prerogative reserved for the nobility and princes in earlier periods. Frans Snyders (1579–1657) and Paul de Vos (c. 1596– 1678) depicted living animals and close-up views of animals in hunting scenes, while Jan Fijt (1611-1661) painted still lifes of dead game. Still lifes of subjects ranging from perishable foods in so-called breakfast pieces by Osias Beert (c. 1580-1624) and elaborate kitchen pieces by Frans Snyders to valuable ewers in gold and silver by Clara Peeters (1594–after 1657?) show objects displayed across a table top. Flowers emerged as a separate still-life genre around 1600. Perhaps the best known of these are by Jan "Velvet" Breughel, who meticulously rendered in a single bouquet portraits of actual flowers drawn at different times and in different locations. His pupil, the Jesuit painter Daniel Seghers (1590–1661), produced flowers woven into wreaths and festoons, often surrounding images of the Virgin and other devotional subjects. Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606–1683/84), who moved to Antwerp from Utrecht shortly before 1635, created elaborate, sometimes flamboyant spreads of fruits, flowers, and meats, often set off by a curtain theatrically pulled back overhead.

In one way or another, each of these genres helped to create and reaffirm the self-image of an established aristocracy and the growing urban patriciate who identified with it. No genre did this more directly than portraiture, commissioned not only by ecclesiastics, rulers, and the nobility but also by a broad range of the bourgeoisie. Until around 1620 the forms remain relatively conservative, updating conventions inherited from the sixteenth century: bust or half-length pairs on two panels, the husband on the heraldic left of his wife, set before austere backgrounds. Increasingly, however, wealthy merchants began to commission portraits in the fulllength format formerly reserved for members of courts across Europe, and in more informal poses. Group portraits of nuclear families in domestic or landscape settings (sometimes called conversation pieces) began to be produced in the second half of the seventeenth century by artists such as Gonzales Coques (1614-1684) and Gillis van Tilborch (1625-c. 1678).

See also Antwerp; Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Bruegel Family; Daily Life; Peasantry; Rubens, Peter Paul; Van Dyck, Anthony.

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ANN JENSEN ADAMS

# ART IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS, 1585-1700

Within a few decades after Antwerp fell to the armies of Philip II in 1585, its population was reduced by half, to around fifty thousand. Because the northern Netherlands now controlled the entrance to the Scheldt River on which Antwerp lay, the city lost to

Amsterdam its position as the leading port in northern Europe. Artists were among the thousands of inhabitants who fled to the northern Netherlands as Protestants sought relief from the repressive policies of the Catholic Habsburg rulers, while the ambitious followed the growing economic opportunities offered by the northern provinces. They responded to the tastes of a predominantly Protestant culture (although Catholics still made up as much as half the population) and the growing wealth of a broad middle class that was concentrated in the cities. Established churches no longer commissioned altarpieces while collectors, engaged in commerce (and many interested in the new science), developed a taste for imagery that was more secular and naturalistic than that of the previous century.

## CLASSICISM, WEALTH, AND PORTRAITURE

The earliest examples of a uniquely northern Netherlandish art may be located in Haarlem in the 1580s. According to his biographer, Karel van Mander (1548–1606) along with Hendrick Goltzius (1558– 1617) and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562-1638) founded an academy where they could "study after life," although this also may have referred to studies after other artists. In fact, the first works these artists produced were dramatically mannerist, a style reported to have been inspired by some drawings by Bartholomaus Spranger (1546-1611) and introduced to the group by Van Mander. Cornelis's monumental Massacre of the Innocents (1592, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem) with its muscular bodies in contorted poses and its dramatic recession toward a view of distant buildings flanked by an open arch, is characteristically mannerist, as are a number of masterful prints by Goltzius. After returning from Italy in 1591, Goltzius's work, and that of such pupils and followers as Peter de Grebber, Salomon and Jan de Bray, and Caesar van Everdingen became emphatically classicist. In Utrecht, Joachim Wtewael (1566-1638) also worked for a time in a mannerist style on both large canvases and small supports, for example the gem-like Mars and Venus Discovered by the Gods on copper (c. 1603-1604, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

The new Protestant faith had little use for religious imagery. Nevertheless, religious paintings continued to be produced (although on a much smaller scale) for hidden Catholic churches to which

municipal authorities turned a blind eye, for private devotion in the home, and even for Protestant collectors. The largest concentration of Catholics, and the center of religious painting in the first half of the century, was in Utrecht. Many of these artists had traveled to Italy and, influenced by Caravaggio, have come to be known as the Utrecht Caravaggisti. These include Gerrit van Honthorst (1590-1656), known for his dramatic night scenes, Dirck van Baburen (c. 1590-1624), and Hendrik ter Brugghen (or Terbrugghen, 1588–1629), who spent ten years in Rome. Ter Brugghen's Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene (1625, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin) combines Caravaggio's large figures and dramatic light effects with a northern tenderness and quiet intimacy. Protestants did not eschew religious paintings altogether, however, although they tended to prefer Old Testament subjects that may have brought to mind similarities between the trials of the Israelites and the citizens of a new republic which, until 1648, was suffering from hostilities with Spain.

While the Dutch are better known for secular subjects and contemporary scenes, they also produced important history paintings. Pastoral subjects, from classical mythology and contemporary plays, were popular with members of the stadtholder's court. Later, a taste for such works was developed by wealthy burghers who increasingly aspired to an aristocratic lifestyle. Perhaps it is no coincidence that two of the most extensive sets of history paintings were commissioned at midcentury, around the time of the truce with Spain. An allegorical biography celebrating the stadtholder Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) was commissioned by his widow Amalia von Solms (1602-1675) for the Oranjezaal, the central room of her palace, the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague, from Jacob van Campen (1595–1657), the Flemish Protestant artist Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678), and others. Above all, history paintings on a grand scale were commissioned for town halls. Built between 1648 and 1655, the town hall of Amsterdam was decorated with images from classical mythology, Roman history, and from the Dutch past, including Rembrandt's Oath of the Batavians to Claudius Civilis (1661–1662, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm), though it was removed after only a few months.

While history painting traditionally enjoyed the highest prestige, there was a tremendous demand for portraiture as well in a culture where men and women were amassing fortunes and defining new social roles. Michiel van Mierevelt (1567–1641) and Gerrit van Honthorst created portraits for members of the stadtholder's court in The Hague in formal poses, surrounded by signs of rank in the tradition established by Anthonis Mor (1516/20c. 1576). With lively brushwork, Frans Hals (c. 1581/85–1666) in Haarlem depicted his sitters not only in quiet and sober poses, but also informally as in his portrait of the couple Isaac Massa and His Wife Beatrix van der Laen seated beneath a tree in a landscape (c. 1622, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). In Amsterdam, Thomas de Keyser (1596–1667) invented the genre portrait, showing sitters in the fulllength format normally reserved for aristocrats and monarchs—but surrounded by objects of daily life. After he moved to Amsterdam in 1631 or 1632, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669) transformed portraiture with animated poses and facial expressions that suggest thought and emotion, the best known of which is The Night Watch (1642, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Later in the century Gerard Terborch (1617-1681) created portraits with exquisite attention to detail, particularly of fabrics, on small panels.

Genre painting—depictions of men and women in contemporary interiors, from a broad range of social classes, and engaged in mundane tasks—has always been closely associated with seventeenthcentury Dutch art. Jan Steen (1625/26-1679) depicted humorous images of quack doctors, drunken couples, and peasants at play; Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685) represented brawling peasants and affecting interiors of peasants at home. In exquisitely worked paintings, the fijnschilders (fine painters) Gerard Dou (1613–1675) and his student Frans van Mieris (1635–1681) painted quiet domestic interiors and, later, stylish scenes of men and women engaged in making music. Gerard Terborch's elegant and enigmatic scenes of courtship are the inheritors of this genre. The best known of these genre painters is Jan Vermeer of Delft (1632–1675) who left only about thirty works. Art historians have long debated how these images were understood: did they have moralizing associations, did they celebrate the artist's skill—or both?

## STILL LIFES AND LANDSCAPES AS SUBJECTS

Nowhere is the Dutch artist's apparent close record of the world around him as evident as in still-life painting. Nonetheless, while transcribing nature in detail, these images were carefully contrived. Ambrosius Bosschaert's (1573–1621) exquisite flower paintings are portraits of individual flowers—but arranged in bouquets that could never have existed: many of their flowers bloomed at different times of the year. The popularity of these images, and the high prices that they fetched, went hand in hand with the high value that was placed on new floral types and a new scientific interest in botany. Later in the century, bouquet still lifes by Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606-1683) are overabundant, almost a metaphor for a century exhausted by its own rapidly developing wealth.

Vanitas still lifes were popular particularly in the first half of the century. Painted in subdued monochromatic colors, those of Pieter Claesz (1597/98-1660/61) depict skulls, hourglasses, and smoke drifting from a pipe, all suggesting the transience of life. These images gave way in the second half of the century to pronk still lifes, exuberant showpieces of expensive objects, such as Willem Kalf's (1619-1693) Still Life with Nautilus Cup and Wan-Li Bowl (1662, Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, Madrid). Here the biblical figure of Jonah being devoured by a whale in the Nautilus cup may caution against the riches of the world—represented by the silver and gold support of the cup itself—and at the same time celebrate the painter's skill and the material goods filling Dutch warehouses from the four corners of the world. The virtuoso trompe l'oeil paintings and sophisticated perspective boxes of art theorist and painter Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678) evidence the mathematical and scientific concerns that lay behind the close visual analysis of the material world.

The Dutch literally created much of their land, and they were among the first artists in Europe to make it the subject of a painting devoid of figures that gave it a narrative. Early winter scenes by Hendrick Averkamp (1585–1634) show a high horizon and are still populated with figures, people skating and enjoying being out of doors. The next generation of landscape painters, however, took the landscape itself as a subject. Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) produced monochromatic images, freely and

quickly worked—economic to produce for a rapidly growing market. Salomon van Ruysdael's (c. 1602– 1670) nostalgic ferries on a river show a form of transportation that was quickly passing into history. In the second half of the century, Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29-1682) produced images that monumentalize simple cloud formations, trees, windmills, and waterfalls. He created some of the only images of work on the land: the bleaching fields of Haarlem, as well as two versions of the Jewish Cemetery (c. 1655-1660, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; and Detroit Institute of Arts) that are profoundly moving. It is not surprising that for a country whose wealth was built in part on maritime trade, seascapes were highly popular, including those by the Sunday painter Jan van de Cappelle (c. 1624–1679), and the father and son Willem van de Velde I (1611-1693) and Willem van de Velde II (1633-1707).

In observing the world around them, Dutch painters developed a unique genre, the church interior painting. The best known of these are Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692) in Amsterdam and Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) in Haarlem. The latter's *Interior of the Church of St. Bavo, Haarlem* (1648, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh), while appearing to record the church exactly, manipulates both the perspective and details of the interior.

While the best-known Netherlandish landscapes picture familiar Dutch topography, one landscape genre was more directly influenced by Italy: scenes with imaginative Italian ruins, Italian harbors, or rolling hills infused with a Dutchman's attention to Italian light in painting, often with small figures from biblical narratives, such as those by Cornelis van Poelenburgh (c. 1586–1667), Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1599–1657), and others known as Italianate landscape painters.

See also Amsterdam; Antwerp; Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Dutch Republic; Hals, Frans; Mannerism; Rembrandt van Rijn; Vermeer, Jan.

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ANN JENSEN ADAMS

NETHERLANDS, SOUTHERN. The southern Netherlands were those provinces of the Low Countries inherited in 1555 by Philip II of Spain (ruled in the Netherlands 1555–1598, in Spain 1556–1598) that remained under Habsburg rule following the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609, which admitted the de facto independence of the United Netherlands (Dutch Republic). Known first as the Spanish Netherlands, the provinces became the Austrian Netherlands when transferred to the Austrian Habsburg dynasty by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714). The greater part of them forms present-day Belgium.

# THE NETHERLANDS DIVIDED

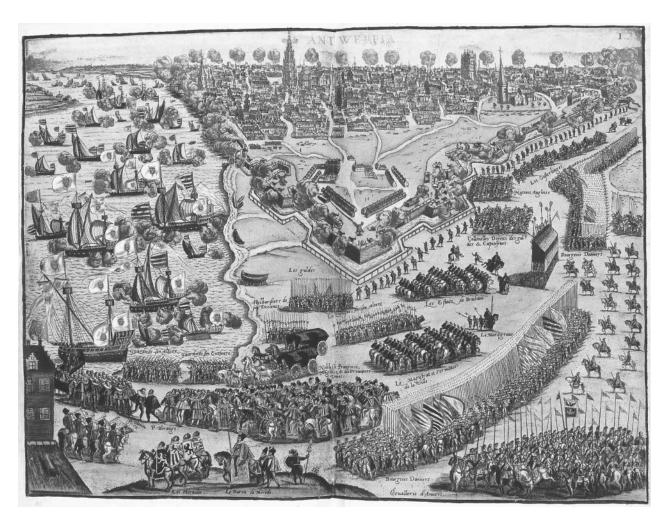
The revolt of the Low Countries against Philip II, involving religious, political, and national issues, peaked in 1576, when the full States General of the Netherlands agreed to the Pacification of Ghent. But divisions between south and north and Catholic and Protestant, as well as social strife fueled by militant Calvinism in many towns, soon undermined the agreement. In January 1579 the estates of the southern Walloon provinces of Hainaut, Artois, and Tournaisis and delegates of the towns of Lille, Douai, and Orchies in Walloon Flanders formed the Union of Arras to defend the Catholic faith and asserted their obedience to Philip II. At first acknowledging Archduke Matthias (1557–1619), lured in 1577 by the States General to serve

as governor-general, in May they came to terms with the governor-general appointed by Philip, Alexander Farnese (1545–1592), the future duke of Parma, whose army occupied Namur. Through Parma, Philip promised to respect the ancient constitutional liberties of the Netherlands reflected in the Joyeuse Entrée (Joyous Entry), which dated from mid-fourteenth-century Brabant and was amplified and confirmed by subsequent Burgundian and Habsburg rulers of the Netherlands.

As the Walloon provinces formed the Union of Arras, seven northern Dutch-speaking provinces, led by Holland and Zeeland, formed the United Netherlands through the Union of Utrecht (1579) to safeguard the Calvinist faith and traditional liberties. In 1581 the Union of Utrecht abjured Philip II and in 1587 vested sovereignty in their

States General. Luxembourg, separated from the other provinces of Philip II's inheritance by the independent bishopric of Liège, had never joined the revolt and remained attached to the southern Netherlands. Cambrai, legally an independent bishopric, was tied to the southern Netherlands by a citadel, originally erected and garrisoned by Philip's father, Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556; ruled Spain as Charles I, 1516–1556).

Advancing from the "obedient" provinces, Parma by 1587 had taken the town of Tournai, most of Flemish Flanders (save for Ostend), and most of Limburg, Brabant (including Brussels, Antwerp, and Mechelen), and Gelderland from the rebels and had won over large areas in the northeastern provinces that resisted incorporation into the Dutch Republic. Distractions that included prepa-



**Southern Netherlands.** The Seige of Antwerp, Culminating in Capture in 1585 by Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, undated engraving. The ART ARCHIVE/BRITISH LIBRARY

rations to invade England with the Spanish Armada (1587–1588) and intervention in the French Succession (1589–1598) prevented further gains and allowed the Dutch to eliminate the loyalist strongholds in the northeast and gain footholds south of the Rhine, Waal, and Maas rivers.

In a bid to reunite the revolt-torn Netherlands peacefully, Philip II in 1598 separated them from the Spanish crown and bestowed sovereignty over them to the "archdukes," his daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566-1633) and her husband Archduke Albert (1559-1621). But if the archdukes, each over age thirty, had no heir, sovereignty would revert to the Spanish crown. This fact, along with differences over religion, trade with the Spanish empire, commercial rivalries, and the archdukes' dependence on Spain for money and troops, prevented reunification. Conflict persisted. The archdukes' general, Ambrogio Spinola, conquered Ostend (1604), and privateers sailing from Dunkirk menaced Dutch shipping. But Sluis was lost (1604), and the war overall seesawed. The depredations of raiders and religious persecution on both sides engendered bitterness between the two populations. Following an armistice in 1607, the archdukes, Philip III (ruled 1598-1621) of Spain, and the Dutch Republic in 1609 agreed to a Twelve Years' Truce that left the Low Countries divided between the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands.

# THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS

By general reckoning, the "obedient" provinces numbered ten, even if parts of them had been lost to the Dutch. They were the duchies of Brabant, Upper Gelderland, Limburg, and Luxembourg; the counties of Artois, Hainaut, Namur, and Flanders; and the lordships of Walloon Flanders and Tournai. They formed a congeries, each with its particular institutions, each possessed by its appropriate title, each jealous of its rights, and each stingy in matters of taxes. All but Luxembourg had been devastated by nearly forty years of strife and had lost considerable numbers from a population that once neared two million people. Perhaps 100,000 fled to the Dutch Republic or England, taking their skills and businesses with them. The Flemish cloth industry was in ruins, and the formerly great port of Antwerp was cut off from the sea by the Dutch closure of the River Schelde estuary. The provinces were linguistically divided, with Walloon French spoken in the south and Dutch Flemish in the north and west. Roman Catholicism held them together.

Peace permitted some recovery in industry and population. The archdukes centralized power in Brussels with the traditional councils of state, justice, and finance; left the provinces to the nobility and the towns to prominent burghers; and after 1600 did not summon the southern States General. Yet under the archdukes a nascent sense of national identity developed. Led by the Jesuits, the Roman Catholic Church revived. Each province had an episcopal see, a result of the controversial reform of 1562, and the archbishop of Mechelen served as primate. The universities and colleges of Louvain and Douai became centers of classical scholarship and Catholic theology. Cornelis Jansen (1585-1638), bishop of Ieper (Ypres), propounded austere doctrines that had a major impact on seventeenthand eighteenth-century Catholic thought. The baroque style flourished in splendid churches and public buildings. The painters Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) gained international fame. Demand continued for Flemish tapestries and lace.

In 1621, following the death of Albert without an heir, the Spanish Netherlands reverted to Philip IV of Spain (ruled 1621–1665), and with the expiry of the truce, war with the Dutch resumed, becoming part of the larger Thirty Years' War. Isabel continued as governor-general. Dunkirk privateers and the armada of Flanders went after Dutch shipping and destroyed a herring fleet. In 1625 Spinola captured the Dutch stronghold of Breda, but in 1628 he was ordered to Italy. The Dutch in 1629 took the stronghold of 's Hertogenbosch and in 1632 Maastricht. A few ranking noblemen sought annexation by France, where the high nobility had kin. Confronted by setbacks and sedition, Isabel summoned the States General to Brussels in 1632 in a vain effort to seek peace with the Dutch. A few still talked of reunion. On Isabel's death in 1633, Philip IV sent his brother, Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando, to serve as governor-general. On his way from Spain in 1634, Fernando helped defeat the Swedes at Nördlingen, driving France, which supported the Swedes and Dutch against the Habsburgs, to enter the war openly. France had claims in the southern Netherlands, where a welter of feudal



Southern Netherlands. Seventeenth-century view of Brussels. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

rights marked its historic border with the Holy Roman Empire.

The Spanish Netherlands became the cockpit of Europe. While the cardinal-infante conquered Roermond and Venlo in 1637, he lost Breda. In 1639 the Dutch in the Battle of the Downs mauled a Spanish armada bringing him treasure and reinforcements. The armada of Flanders often had to serve in Spanish waters. In 1640 the French captured Arras. In early 1641 the cardinal-infante died, succeeded by the soldier Francisco de Melo (1597– 1651). When the French soundly defeated Melo at Rocroi in 1643, he was dismissed. Vital aid from Spain dwindled, and misery spread. Negotiations for peace between Philip IV and the Dutch opened in 1644, and in 1648 they were concluded at The Hague and then at Münster as part of the Peace of Westphalia. The Spanish Netherlands lost North Brabant and Maastricht to the Dutch.

War with France continued. In 1646 Philip appointed Archduke Bishop Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662), brother of Emperor Ferdinand III

(ruled 1637–1657), governor-general. Of limited competence as a soldier, Leopold Wilhelm conceded numerous privileges to localities and corporate bodies to maintain loyalty. More battles and towns were won and lost. Dunkirk was lost in 1646 and recovered in 1652. In 1656 John Joseph of Austria (1629–1679), Philip IV's legitimized son, replaced Leopold Wilhelm and brought new energy to the war. But the addition of England's power under Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) to that of France led to the loss of Dunkirk and much of southwestern Flanders. Philip IV in 1659 signed the Peace of the Pyrenees with France, ceding Gravelines, Artois, and bits of Flanders, Hainaut, and Luxembourg. In 1662 England sold Dunkirk to France.

For the Spanish Netherlands peace did not last. When Charles II (ruled 1665–1700) succeeded Philip IV, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France, wedded to Philip's eldest daughter Marie-Thérèse, claimed that Hainaut, Brabant, and more "devolved" on her. In the War of Devolution

(1667-1668) Louis's army invaded the helpless Spanish Netherlands. Fearing the approach of French power, the Dutch joined England and Sweden in a Triple Alliance that forced Louis to settle by the Treaty of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) (1668) for Walloon Flanders and a corner of Flemish Flanders, much less than he wanted. More wars followed as Louis XIV turned against the Dutch in 1672 and continued to nibble at the Spanish Netherlands. Towns and districts were taken and lost, their fates settled by the treaties of Nijmegen (1678) and Ryswick (1697). Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria (1662-1726) became governor-general in 1692, just as he lost his wife Maria Antonia (1669-1692), granddaughter of Philip IV and daughter of Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658-1705). Their son Joseph Ferdinand (1692-1699) was briefly a candidate for the Spanish throne. Though at war most of the time, Maximilian Emanuel managed to improve canals and tried to make a proper port of Ostend. The treaty of Ryswick closed Ostend, while it permitted the Dutch to maintain barrier fortresses against France in the Spanish Netherlands.

On the succession of the Bourbon Philip V (ruled 1700–1746) to the Spanish throne in 1700, his grandfather Louis XIV moved French troops into the Spanish Netherlands in his name. Elector Maximilian Emanuel sided with him. The Dutch, English, and Austrians declared war on Louis XIV and Philip V, and for ten years the region was again a battleground. John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, won his great battles of Ramillies (1706); Oudenarde (1708), assisted by Prince Eugène of Savoy; and Malplaquet (1709) on Flanders's fields and conducted successful sieges. The war ended with the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714), which allotted what now became the Austrian Netherlands to Emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711-1740), the Habsburg claimant. After 1672 Cambrai and more of southern Hainaut, Namur, and Luxembourg, all bordering on France, were lost to Louis XIV. Louis yielded a couple of towns north of Dunkirk. The Dutch and Prussians divided Upper Gelderland.

# THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS

What remained was most of Flanders, Tournai, Hainaut, Namur, Luxembourg and Limburg (with Roermond isolated by Dutch Maastricht), and South Brabant. A generation of peace promoted prosperity, even if the Dutch and English continued to block Antwerp from the sea and forced the suppression of the Ostend Company, established to engage in overseas trade. The population of the Austrian Netherlands gradually recovered from a decline that set in around 1660, and neared three million people by 1790. Agriculture persisted with smallholders, usually under manorial tenures and obligations, selling to local markets. Some wheat was exported, and Flanders led Europe in developing the potato as a food staple. Textiles, especially linen from mills and cottages, proved competitive, though they could not match English production, which owed much of its start to Flemish refugees. To travelers the region appeared comfortably backward, with none of the imperial excitement of the Dutch Republic.

Prince Eugene of Savoy, Austrian governorgeneral from 1714 to 1726, delegated his powers to Ercole Turinetti (1658–1726), marquis of Priè. Turinetti ran afoul of corporate privileges and in 1719, to assert his authority, had Frans Anneesens, a prominent guildsman and popular leader, executed. Anneesens subsequently entered Belgian folklore. More respect for privilege and tradition was shown by the next governor generals, Archduchess Maria Elisabeth (1680-1741), Charles VI's sister; and Charles, prince of Lorraine (1712– 1780), brother-in-law of Empress Maria Theresa, and the empress's sister Maria Anna (1718–1744), appointed jointly in 1744. Maria Anna died that year, but Charles continued in the office until his death. Though he was a competent general, in the War of Austrian Succession (1740-1748) Charles could not prevent the French marshal Maurice, comte de Saxe from overrunning the Austrian Netherlands. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) (1748) restored them to his government. Little affected by the Seven Years' War, the provinces prospered with new roads and canals and held Charles in great esteem.

Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), who succeeded Maria Theresa in 1780, proved hostile to privilege and tradition and believed the Austrian Netherlands, the richest of his dominions, was in need of improvement and reform. He appointed his sister, Archduchess Maria Christina (1742–1798), governor-general and visited the provinces in per-

son. He coerced the Dutch from their barrier fortresses but failed to reopen the Schelde. He promulgated religious toleration and curtailed the privileges of the church and powerful corporate bodies and guilds, which raised opposition from all three Estates in the States General. His "enlightened" overhaul of the administrative and judicial systems in 1787 provoked more outbursts. Stirred by the lawyers Hendrik van der Noot (1731–1827) and Jan Frans Vonck (1743–1792), both in touch with the Dutch Patriot movement, the Estates of Brabant and Hainaut in 1788 refused Joseph's annual subsidy. In June 1789 Joseph suppressed them. A popular rising ensued, and Austrian authority, unmindful of growing discontent, collapsed. The bishopric of Liège also underwent revolt, and a United Belgian States was proclaimed. The terms "Belgian," "Belgic," and "Belgium," which had long been used by Latinists for the entire Netherlands, had come to apply to the southern Netherlands, while "Batavia" and "Batavian" applied to the north, the United Netherlands.

In the Belgian States General van der Noot's faction favored the "ancient laws" and traditional social order, while Vonck's faction promoted democracy. When Emperor Leopold II succeeded Joseph in 1790, he offered Belgium autonomy under its States General, but the Belgian States General refused him. They wanted neither monarchy nor democracy and hounded Vonck and his followers, who fled to France. At the end of 1790 the Austrian government, which negotiated with the Vonckists against the States General, took back power with its army. Count Florimond Mercy d'Argenteau (1727–1794) became governor-general of the Austrian Netherlands and proclaimed a general amnesty. Though not happy with the states party, he became uneasy about the democrats in light of French developments. It soon ceased to matter, as war between Austria and France erupted in 1792. By 1795 French armies had conquered Belgium, which by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) became an integral part of France. In 1814 Belgium was incorporated by the Congress of Vienna into a kingdom of the Netherlands under the house of Orange. With well over two hundred years of their own history and customs, the Catholic Belgian provinces chafed under what they perceived as Protestant Dutch domination. Between 1830 and 1839

revolution and negotiation established the modern kingdom of Belgium.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Devolution, War of (1667–1668); Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Dutch War (1672–1678); Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XIV (France); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Patriot Revolution; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Rubens, Peter Paul; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Utrecht, Peace of (1713); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); William of Orange.

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PETER PIERSON

# NEUMANN, BALTHASAR (1687-

1753), German architect. Born in Eger (western Bohemia, now Cheb, Czech Republic) to an impoverished weaver, Neumann was trained in a foundry and also learned about hydraulics and techniques of fireworks display. In 1711 he settled in Würzburg (southern Germany), where he developed his career as an architect and city designer as well as military officer. This coupling of professions occurred often at this time because military training included surveying and drawing, geometry, and mathematics, disciplines basic to the practice of architecture. Neu-



**Balthasar Neumann.** The grand staircase of Würzburg Palace. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

EUROPE 1450 TO 1789

mann's major clients were members of the Schönborn family, important political and ecclesiastical leaders within the hierarchy of the Holy Roman Empire and major patrons of the arts. Neumann's extensive practice included several score churches, almost two dozen palaces, other secular and utilitarian structures, and urban projects.

His buildings comprise some of the most complex and sophisticated explorations of architectural space ever created in the West. In them, space is shaped by open, curved, elegant frameworks and vault shells, rather than being shaped by the continuity of wall. Their space is transparent and lucid, charged with direction and counterpoint, the unexpected, and the startling. Huge windows deluge the interiors with light, which Neumann orchestrated with dramatic certainty. He promoted the integration of painting, statuary, stucco, color, gilding, metalwork, and carving to amplify spatial splendor and specify its meaning. This conception of design contrasted with traditional practice in the West, where continuous surfaces defined the interior. Only at moments during the Byzantine and medieval periods and in seventeenth-century Italy and France did the relation between mass and space depart from this norm. In the twentieth century, modern architecture would again be based on continuities of open, transparent space and lightweight, minimal (though reticulated) structure. A curvilinear architecture was recovered later, in the twentieth century, but based on different geometries than those employed by Neumann and his contemporar-

Neumann's most ambitious secular structure is the Residenz in Würzburg, with which he was involved from the beginning to the end of his career. The imposing Residenz, which served both the court and government of the principality, was a statement of political prestige—the impressive representation of a well-organized, wealthy state. Based on a C-shaped plan, the centers and corners of the facade were marked by projecting pavilions, and the entire exterior was painted and gilded, giving it a festive appearance. For the major public areas inside, Neumann created one of the grandest sequences of spaces known in the West: a rectangular vestibule large enough for coaches, an oval garden hall, a grandiose stair spanned by a single vault, an elaborately stuccoed white hall, and the spectacular throne hall. This sequence of spaces served rituals of arrival and reception for important visitors to the principality.

Neumann's churches are greater in number and design variety than his almost two dozen palaces, in which the epic power of his architectural language is boldest. He employed a range of design strategies to achieve extraordinary spatial compositions, exploring relations between spatial figures, their arrangements within differently shaped outer shells, and lucid transparencies of the whole. He choreographed movement in the architecture (and for the user), orchestrated light, and promoted the elaboration of all his innovations by means of various artistic media such as painting, sculpture, stucco, and gilding. His great pilgrimage church at Vierzehnheiligen (1743-1753; completed 1772) and monumental Benedictine monastery church at Neresheim (1749–1753; completed 1792) are two of his most spectacular churches.

Neumann also undertook urban design projects for Würzburg, including its water system, transforming the walled medieval town into a representative Residenz city. Throughout Franconia, he built houses, monasteries, hospitals, a hotel, a city hall, a courthouse, and miscellaneous religious structures as well as fortifications for several towns, barracks, bridges, gardens, and fireworks displays.

Neumann worked within the design traditions for secular and sacred architecture that extend back into the sixteenth century. Even the more recent phenomenon of an architecture based on space composition had become an accepted approach among Neumann's central European contemporaries such as the Asam brothers and Johann Michael Fischer (1692–1766), the Vorarlberg architects, and the Dientzenhofers. But Neumann accepted this common ground only as a point of departure for explorations of architectural space that showed astonishing range and brilliance. With consummate authority, he combined clarity with complexity in plan and section. He boldly charged interiors with light and dematerialized mass, and thrust both into powerful encounters with space. Neumann orchestrated spatial experiences for the beholder in ways that were at once striking, lucid, and imposing, gradually revealed, demanding, and human, thereby transforming standard architectural assemblages into unique and bold statements.

See also Architecture; Art: Artistic Patronage; Baroque; Dientzenhofer Family.

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CHRISTIAN OTTO

**NEW YORK.** First settled by Dutch traders in 1624, New Amsterdam, called New York after its transfer in 1664 to the English, grew from about thirty families to a population of three thousand by 1680. By 1776, it boasted twenty-five thousand inhabitants, chiefly of Dutch, English, and African origin.

Unlike its colonial neighbors Boston and Philadelphia, New York was settled for commercial rather than religious purposes. Initially a trading center for furs, fish, and timber products (including shipbuilding materials such as pitch), New York's protected harbor was ideal for large ships, encouraging immigration and trade of all kinds. Ships that traveled the seas bearing slaves, rum, sugar, tobacco, and rice originated in New York harbor throughout the eighteenth century. New York also incubated the American colonies' burgeoning urban culture, embracing newspapers, coffeehouses, colleges, gentlemen's clubs, and political groups.

New Yorkers' trading relationships kept them closely tied to England during the tumultuous 1760s and 1770s. Although New York was host to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, it was a reluctant rebel for the most part. The British took the city after winning the Battle of Long Island in 1776, and held it throughout the war.

In spite of its Tory sympathies, after the Revolution New York became the first capital of the new nation, hosting the inauguration of George Washington in 1789. When the capital moved to Philadelphia in 1790, the political center of the republic shifted, but the economic centrality of New York remained. The creation of the New York Stock Exchange in 1792 only underlined the city's status as the center of American trade and finance, a role it retains to this day.

See also Boston; British Colonies: North America; Dutch Colonies: The Americas; Philadelphia.

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FIONA DEANS HALLORAN

**NEWSPAPERS.** See Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets.

NEWTON, ISAAC (1642-1727), natural philosopher, lay theologian, and administrator. Isaac Newton was born on Christmas Day 1642 in the tiny Lincolnshire hamlet of Woolsthorpe. Named after a father who died before his birth, Isaac at the age of three lost his widowed mother, Hannah, who left Woolsthorpe to marry an elderly clergyman. He would not live under the same roof as his mother until, after being widowed a second time, she returned with three additional children in 1653. Two years later, Newton was sent to the King's School in nearby Grantham. Although he received little instruction in mathematics, he benefited from a thorough preparation in the classics and the Bible. Described later by the daughter of the apothecary with whom he lodged at Grantham as "a sober, silent, thinking lad," he eventually emerged as the top-ranked student of his class. Nevertheless, Newton's mother took him from the grammar school at fifteen so he could begin to fulfill his duties as lord of Woolsthorpe manor. After Newton proved himself almost worthless as a farmer, Hannah reluctantly gave in to the admonishments of his schoolmaster and sent him back to the King's School to prepare for university. In June 1661, a year after the Restoration, Newton matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge.

# CAMBRIDGE STUDENT, FELLOW, AND PROFESSOR

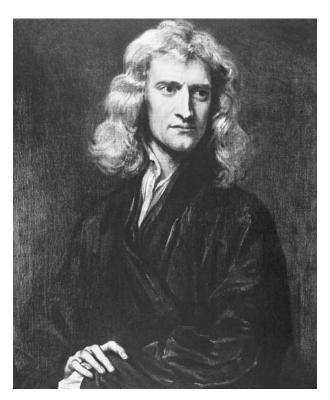
Having enrolled as a sizar, Newton was required to serve and wait on scholars of higher status. He still found ample time to devour the undergraduate curriculum, which focused on Plato and Aristotle and such traditional disciplines as logic, rhetoric, and chronology. But Newton was not long detained with the medieval curriculum; he was increasingly drawn to the thought of the new mechanical philosophy, adding, among others, Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, and Robert Boyle to his academic fare. By the time he took his B.A. in the spring of 1665, he was poised to make his own contributions to the new philosophy. The plague that swept through Cambridge that summer brought academic life at the fenland university to a standstill. But for Newton, after returning home to Woolsthorpe, the pace of his intellectual journey only quickened. While at Woolsthorpe, Newton finished his development of calculus, thus providing a new and effective tool for mathematicians to work out problems relating to curves and rates of change. He also carried out refraction experiments with prisms that confirmed the heterogeneous nature of light. A second Newtonian icon also came from this period. As an elderly man, Newton recalled that on one summer evening at Woolsthorpe during the plague, he saw the falling apple that would provide a crucial clue to his understanding of universal gravitation. It was also around this time that Newton took up a serious interest in the secret arts of alchemy. He remained in the domestic sphere for almost two years, a period often referred to as Newton's anni mirabiles. Shortly after his return to Cambridge in the spring of 1667, he was made a fellow of Trinity College. In following year he received his M.A. In 1669 the twenty-sixyear-old Newton was elected Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, after Isaac Barrow (1630–1677), who recognized Newton's great talents in this discipline, resigned in the latter's favor. The same year, after acquiring two furnaces, some chemicals and the alchemical manual Theatrum Chemicum, he initiated his quest for the Philosophers' Stone.

## OPTICS, CONTROVERSY, AND THEOLOGY

It was not long before Newton's innovations came to the notice of the wider intellectual world. The Royal Society of London had learned that Newton had constructed the first working reflecting telescope. When Barrow brought a specially made copy of this telescope to a Society meeting in late 1671, it was an immediate sensation. Encouraged by this success, Newton sent a paper on his optical discoveries to the Society's secretary Henry Oldenburg (c. 1618-1677). This now-celebrated paper on colors graced the pages of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society in 1672. But Newton soon found himself embroiled in a controversy when the Royal Society's Robert Hooke made his skepticism known, and continental readers complained that they could not replicate the paper's experiments. Around the time that this controversy was driving him back into the safety of the cloisters of Cambridge, Newton commenced a more dangerous revolution.

As one of the requirements of his Trinity fellowship, Newton was obligated to take holy orders by 1675. This may help explain the sudden explosion of theological studies in the early 1670s. Whether or not the pending ordination deadline was a factor, Newton's thorough research of early church doctrine and history led him to conclude that the doctrine of the Trinity was not a part of the primitive Christian faith. As an anti-Trinitarian heretic, Newton could not become an Anglican clergyman in good faith. Expressing the reasons for this was out of the question, and he had resolved to resign his fellowship quietly when a special dispensation came in 1675 from Charles II permitting Lucasian Professors to retain their College fellowships without ordination. Newton thus continued on at Cambridge as a secret heretic.

Newton's most important theological discovery was that the Bible taught that only the Father was God in an absolute sense. Christ, although not "very God" in the Nicene formulation, was nevertheless central to Newton's eschatology and view of the atonement. Although a precise categorization of his beliefs would be artificial, it can be said that he arrived at a Christology similar to Arianism. Newton concluded that the Athanasian or homoousian party of the fourth century had corrupted the church by imposing on it the Trinity—a doctrine Newton be-



**Isaac Newton.** Portrait by Godfrey Kneller, 1689. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

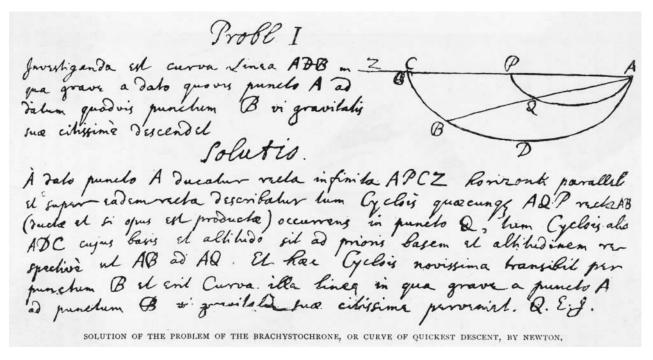
lieved to be post-biblical and inspired by Greek metaphysics. Denial of the Trinity was illegal in Newton's day and for a long time afterward. Thus, for more than half a century, he confined his heresy to the private sphere, while outwardly conforming to the Anglican Church. Newton's theological explorations were not limited to doctrine. Taking one of his leads from the Cambridge prophetic exegete Joseph Mede, Newton adopted a premillenarian eschatology, writing his first manuscript treatise on the Apocalypse in the 1670s. Even in his prophetic views, he differed from the mainstream. Although retaining the standard Protestant opinion that the "whore" of Revelation was the Roman Church, Newton added as the chief sin of the Catholics the introduction of the Trinitarian dogma, thus bringing his heresy and prophetic interpretation together.

# THE PRINCIPIA

Newton devoted much of his fourth decade to studying biblical doctrine, taking notes on church history, analyzing the early creeds, studying the Book of Revelation, and carefully writing out the

results of his research on enough manuscript sheets to fill several large books. Additionally, a large portion of this time was spent copying out alchemical recipes and working feverishly over his furnaces as he sought the secrets of chemical and metallic matter. He also fulfilled the duties of his mathematics professorship. Newton's penetrating mind was once again drawn to natural philosophy in earnest when, during the summer of 1684, Edmond Halley came to Cambridge to ask him if he could provide a mathematical explanation for the elliptical orbits of planets. This elicited from Newton later that year a short manuscript bearing the title De Motu Corporum in Gyrum (Concerning the motion of revolving bodies). But this was just the beginning. For close to two years, Newton refined and expanded the inchoate physics of De Motu. Important to this refinement was his and Halley's work on the comets of 1680 and 1682, which demonstrated both that comets move in close, albeit highly parabolic, orbits and that Descartes's system of fluid planetary vortices was untenable. Newton worked out his laws of motion and a theory of universal gravitation that dissolved the traditional distinction between celestial and terrestrial physics. The final result was published in the Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica (Mathematical principles of natural philosophy), its title an apt description of its contents. Although it was retained by some in France until the 1740s, Cartesian physics was immediately rendered obsolete.

Those few mathematicians who could understand this virtually impenetrable book recognized its revolutionary nature at once. Fewer still understood that its author was powerfully motivated by the Renaissance topos of the prisca sapientia and was convinced he was recovering knowledge lost by the ancients rather than discovering secrets that Nature had never before yielded to humanity. This helps explain why Newton hid much of his analysis behind a classical facade of geometry. Nor was there more than an oblique hint here and there of the work's theological substratum. Not only were Newton's influential notions of absolute space and time underpinned by his conceptions of God's omnipresence and eternal duration, but he believed the Principia contained within its pages an armory of testimonies to natural theology. As he wrote to Richard Bentley in late 1692, "When I wrote my



**Isaac Newton.** Newton's notes and illustration for the solution of the problem of the brachystochrone, or curve of quickest descent. ©Bettmann/Corbis

treatise about our Systeme I had an eye upon such Principles as might work with considering men for the beleife of a Deity & nothing can rejoyce me more then to find it usefull for that purpose."

With the *Principia* in print and beginning to draw praise and near worship for its contents, Newton redirected his attention to theology. In the late 1680s and early 1690s he produced a lengthy commentary on Revelation, an attack on Athanasius and his Theologiae Gentilis Origines Philosophicae, an exploration of the original religion of Noah and the roots of idolatry. Perhaps emboldened by the success of his work on mathematical physics, in 1690 he sent his friend John Locke a work of antitrinitarian textual criticism entitled "Two Notable Corruptions" for anonymous publication on the Continent and only suppressed the publication at the last moment. The post-Principia period also brought the commencement of Newton's public life, which was signaled by his public opposition in 1687 to the attempt of James II to force the University of Cambridge to grant a degree to a Catholic priest and his election as university M.P. in 1689, shortly after the Glorious Revolution. By the early 1690s, Newton was also looking for a way to move on from Cambridge.

# LONDON: THE MINT AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

Newton's opportunity came in 1696 with the wardenship of the Royal Mint in London. As warden, he was charged with bringing "coiners" to justice. Having already traced doctrinal corruption in church history, textual forgery in the Bible, and the corruption of natural philosophy, Newton exerted the same zeal and energy in the pursuit of counterfeiters. In 1699 he was promoted to the position of master. He retained this post for the rest of his life, demonstrating considerable talents as an administrator as he led the Mint efficiently through a recoinage.

More honors came his way. In 1703 he was elected president of the Royal Society, a position he also kept until his death. Once at the helm, Newton reinvigorated the stagnating experimental program at the Society. Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714) knighted him at Cambridge in 1705. A year before, Newton had published his *Opticks*. Unlike his *Principia*, this work was written in English and contained a heavy experimental focus. The appended Queries, which grew in number in later editions, proposed questions about the nature of heat, light, and the ether, as well as the forces responsible for attraction

and repulsion, thereby laying out a research agenda for many years to come. A Latin edition of the *Opticks* was prepared by the Newtonian Samuel Clarke and published in 1706. His work on the calculus (fluxions) was edited by William Jones and appeared as *De Analysi per Aequationes* in 1711.

Newton's increasing fame and status, along with his further entrenchment in the British establishment, led to rising confidence and occasional displays of hubris. Although his portrait was first painted as late as 1689, in the early eighteenth century Newton sat for portraits with growing regularity. He also became entangled in a dispute over priority in the discovery of calculus with Leibniz, doing himself little honor in the process. He fired volleys at the philosophies of Leibniz and Descartes in the General Scholium he added to the second edition of the Principia in 1713. The theologically astute recognized in this same appendix an encoded attack on the Trinity. More apparent in this appendix was Newton's advocacy of the design argument, his espousal of induction in natural philosophy, and his attack on vain hypothesizing. Shortly after this, Clarke represented Newton's views in a literary debate with Leibniz on the nature of natural philosophy and providence.

Although he almost completely left alchemy behind when he departed Cambridge, Newton's theological studies continued unabated. His overall theological system, which included believers' baptism, mortalism, and a denial of a literal devil, finds close parallels in the thought of continental radical reforming movements such as the Anabaptists and the Polish Brethren. His religious ethos was similar to English Nonconformity. Spiritually, Newton also felt close to the primitive church, and his uncompromising monotheism reveals a strong Hebraic strain.

His millenarianism and commitment to a prophetic outlook shows the stamp of his puritan roots. As he grew older, he set the time of the end, which he believed would see the fall of the corrupt church, the preaching of the original Gospel, the return of the Jews to Israel, the Second Coming, and the battle of Armageddon, further and further into the future. One rough date he set for these events, and the future peaceful reign of the saints on earth, was 2060 c.E. As death neared, he labored to complete his work on

chronology. When death came on 20 March 1727, Newton shocked his nephew-in-law John Conduitt by refusing the last sacrament of the Anglican Church. In this act, he finally broke with the corrupt church, within which he had so uneasily communed, and found his peace with God.

## LEGACIES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

In stark contrast to the humble funeral of his father some eighty-five years before, Newton was given a state funeral, his body borne by nobles with great pageantry to the pantheon of British greatness, Westminster Abbey in London. A young Voltaire was among the mourners and was incredulous that a natural philosopher could be so honored. Within a few short years, Voltaire would make some of the first contributions to the Enlightenment conception of Newton as a secular saint of the Age of Reason.

Newton's literary remains helped fuel imagemaking on both sides of the English Channel. There appeared after his death the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended (1728), De Mundi Systemate (1728; published in English as System of the World in the same year), an English translation of the Principia (1729), the Cambridge optical lectures (1729), the fourth edition of the English Opticks (1730), the Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John (1733), and the Method of Fluxions and Infinite Series (1736). To these works by the master were added a plethora of popular texts by Newton's disciples rendering Newton's philosophy easy for the masses.

Partly because Newton hid his alchemy and heretical theology from the prying eyes of the public and partly due to the remaking of Newton by Enlightenment apologists, most still know Newton primarily as a great, perhaps the greatest, scientist of his time. More than two and a half centuries after his death, with his private manuscripts available for scrutiny, scholars are revealing a mind that seemingly knew few limits, moving freely through the fields of mathematics, natural philosophy, alchemy, history, and theology in a career befitting a child of the seventeenth century.

See also Alchemy; Boyle, Robert; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Hooke, Robert; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Mathematics; Oldenburg, Henry; Physics; Reason; Scientific Revolution.

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STEPHEN D. SNOBELEN

# NIJMEGEN, TREATIES OF (1678–1679). See Dutch War (1672–1678).

**NIKON, PATRIARCH** (Nikita Minin, 1605–1681), patriarch of Moscow and all Rus' (1652–1666), best known for initiating liturgical reforms that were strongly opposed by the Old Believers. Nikon's quest for power and wealth generated hostility among the Kremlin elite and eventually led to his deposition by Tsar Alexis I Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676).

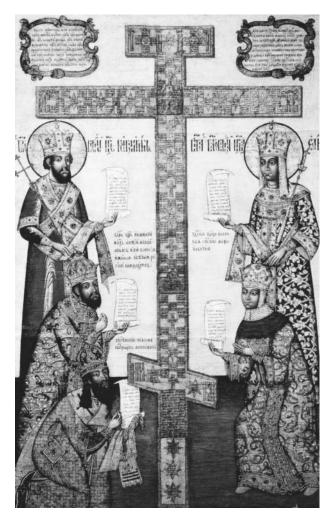
Nikon's meteoric rise from his peasant background began with his acceptance as a novice by the Makar'ev Monastery (outside Nizhniy Novgorod), which was then a vital center of the Orthodox revival favored by the Romanovs. Nikon met influential churchmen at the monastery who supported his promotion to the rank of *hegumen* (abbot) and probably also brought about his fateful encounter with Tsar Alexis at the Kremlin in 1646. Impressed with Nikon's bold vision of religious reform, the tsar appointed him to key church positions, first as archimandrite of the Novospasskii Monastery in Moscow and then as metropolitan of Novgorod.

After Nikon's election to the patriarchate in July 1652, he quickly embarked upon the revision of liturgical books that would bring Russian forms of worship into line with those of the Greek Orthodox world. Among Nikon's principal innovations were the three-finger sign of the cross (instead of the customary two-finger sign) and the printing of new liturgical books based on Greek and Ukrainian manuscripts. Under Nikon's orders, the church councils of 1654 and 1656 excommunicated Old Believers who refused to accept these innovations.

The boyars resented Nikon's close personal relationship with the tsar as well as the patriarch's growing secular ambitions, evidenced by his systematic accumulation of monastic estates, construction of luxurious palaces, and purchase of sumptuous vestments and carriages. Relations with the boyars became even more strained when Nikon ruled as regent in the tsar's absence during the Russo-Polish War (1654–1667). Boyar intrigues finally convinced the tsar that Nikon intended to expand church power at the Kremlin's expense. When Nikon retired from the patriarchal court to a monastery in July 1658, in protest of boyar insults, the tsar refused to allow his return to Moscow.

Nikon did not abdicate, however, and continued to rule as patriarch on his estates. When the Kremlin made preparations to depose him, Nikon argued in a nearly thousand-page "Refutation" (Vozrazhenie) that secular authority had no right to dictate ecclesiastical affairs. Even after his demotion to the rank of monk and his subsequent exile in December 1666, Nikon maintained his title and refused to recognize the legitimacy of his patriarchal successors.

Nikon captured the imagination of both his contemporaries and later generations. Old Believers denounced him as a precursor of the Antichrist or as the Antichrist himself. Popular rebels saw the exiled patriarch as a victim of Kremlin intrigues and dreamed of restoring him to power. And many ordi-



Patriarch Nikon. An icon depicts the Roman emperor Constantine, regarded as a saint in the Orthodox Church, his mother, St. Helena, who is credited with discovery of the Holy Cross, Tsar Alexis, Tsarina Natalya, and Patriarch Nikon (bottom left), 1780. THE ART ARCHIVE/RUSSIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM MOSCOW/DAGLI ORTI (A)

nary Russians made pilgrimages to Nikon's grave. Historians have mostly viewed Nikon as a visionary leader who strove for the parity of church and state. Had he been successful, the abolition of the church's autonomy under Peter I (ruled 1682–1725) might have been prevented.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Avvakum Petrovich; Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian.

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GEORG MICHELS

# NOBILITY. See Aristocracy and Gentry.

**NOBLE SAVAGE.** One of Europe's most important oxymora, the noble savage was the man of nature who lived according to the dictates of natural law, thought according to natural reason, and understood God and creation by way of natural religion. Unencumbered by the prejudices and partisanship of modern life and thought, the savage was primitive man, remote from Europe in either the most ancient past or the New World. At its very core the concept was self-contradictory: natural man acquired all he knew via sense perception, in Lockean fashion, and the only things that were real for him were those that were visible and evident to the senses. On the other hand, the noble savage's natural reason was Cartesian, autonomous, universal, and imagined to be uncorrupted by social mores and tradition. The noble savage was a fiction, a literary device that allowed social critics to invert European culture, to point out its flaws, and to suggest ways it might be improved.

The savage was the man—singular and usually male—who lived without society. This is the condition John Milton's (1608–1674) Adam yearned for when, upon recognizing his sin and shame, he lamented (*Paradise Lost* [1667], IX, 1085),

"O might I here In solitude live savage, in some glade Obscured."

"Savage" could be applied as an epithet to plants, indicating that they were uncultivated and overgrown. With animals, "savage" implied ferocity. When applied to people it carried similar implications, in addition to being rude, wild, untamed, undomesticated, ungoverned, and ungovernable. French essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592)

considered savage people wild only in the sense that fruit was considered wild when it grew in nature without cultivation. Europeans had once been savages too.

What made some savages noble was their rejection of the luxuries with which Europeans made life more comfortable. The noble savage desired nothing beyond the necessities of life, acquired from nature without work, and he subsisted on venison, fruit, and acorns. Content in his existence, he displayed neither ambition nor avarice, and from Thomas More's (1478-1535) Utopia (1516) to Voltaire's (1694-1778) El Dorado (in Candide [1759]) primitive societies were depicted as surrounded by unrefined gold ore, which the natives ignored as a useless metal. The noble savage knew nothing of Europe's awkward courtesies. What little society he had was egalitarian, governed by merit, with few privileges for the king or tribal leader, or perhaps with no government at all.

The very concept of natural man implied that there was something "natural" about human beings that could be isolated or abstracted from the "social." It was the search for a universal human nature, for the essence of humanity that lay beneath the accidents of culture, that led Europeans to take such an interest in primitive societies in the first place. Many prominent thinkers of the Enlightenment assumed that human beings were endowed with a basic nature that society and history could do little to alter. John Locke (1632-1704) supposed, "Men, I think, have been much the same for natural endowments, in all times" (Of the Conduct of the Understanding [1706], sec. 24). David Hume (1711–1776), the historian of Britain, echoed that sentiment in his An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding (1748) when he wrote, "Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature."

If human nature was universal and immutable, one could construct a history of human society from the state of nature to modern society on the basis of conjecture. Conjectural history, and with it the ideas of the state of nature and the noble savage, was a tool to explain modern Europe to Europeans. To claim that savage man was noble was to assert that

human beings were essentially good at heart and that somehow from the evils of society their natural innocence might be redeemed.

In the dark age of the English Civil War Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) had concluded the opposite, that the state of nature was a state of perpetual war, every man against every man, "and the life of man solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short" (Leviathan [1651], ch. 13). Following the Glorious Revolution (1688), Locke took a more moderate position, in which "the state of nature has a law to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions" (Second Treatise on Government, sec. 6). The most sanguine view of human nature emerged in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who argued, "above all we shall not conclude with Hobbes that just because he has no idea of goodness, man must be naturally wicked; that he must be vicious because he does not know virtue; ... nor that by virtue of the right he reasonably claims to the things he needs, he foolishly imagines himself to be the sole proprietor of the whole universe" (Discourse on the Origin of Inequality [1751]).

### HISTORY OF THE IDEA

Although the term "sauvage" emerged toward the end of the Middle Ages in Old French and Middle English (derived ultimately from the Latin silva, 'forest'), its connotations had long been a part of European thought, reaching back—like so many ideas in early modern Europe—through the medieval period to antiquity. In the first century B.C.E. Strabo (Geography VII, 300-303) praised the ancient Scythians as thrifty and self-sufficient, the most honest and least deceitful of people, although lately they had taken to robbing and murdering strangers because of the Greek luxury that had reached them. Strabo found Homer's claims correct, that in the lands of "Europe" far to the north there were innocent nations, uncorrupted by luxury and decadence, which owned no property and cultivated no land, but drank mare's milk and lived in honesty. When Darius the Persian (c. 550-486 B.C.E.) challenged the retreating Scythians to stand still and fight like men, Herodotus (Histories 4, 128-129) reported

their response: They were not running away but simply following their nomadic custom; they had nothing to fight for, because they had no cities and no cultivated land.

To the Romans the Germanic tribes of northern Europe were noble savages, and they described them in terms similar to the Greeks on the Scythians. Julius Caesar (100–22 B.C.E.) described the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine as devoting their whole lives to hunting and war. Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120 C.E.) admired the monogamy of the Germans, who neither laughed at vice nor considered it fashionable to corrupt or to be corrupted as his fellow Romans did. Salvian (fifth century C.E.) lambasted the behavior of decadent Roman Christians who were being defeated by the more virtuous, although pagan, Goths.

In medieval Europe the noble savage was still present, although the terms necessarily changed as those formerly virtuous Germans had become Europeans themselves, now Christianized and centuries removed from their primitive condition. At the same time, there was plenty of empirical evidence to vilify the savage. Ovid (43 B.C.E.-?17 C.E.), exiled for the final years of his life among the Getae and Sarmatians on the Black Sea, found little noble about them. The northern barbarians whom the Greeks and Romans extolled in contrast to their own decadence were to Christian authors the murderers of the evangelists, and particularly in medieval hagiography (Sulpicius Severus's Life of St. Martin [fourth century C.E.], for example) pagan Europeans came in for harsh treatment. Early modern explorers, colonists, and missionaries who actually lived among the peoples of the New World demonized them (sometimes literally) more often than they ennobled them. Whether noble or ignoble, the savage was a foil used by an author to present a particular point of view and rarely had much to do with historical reality.

### SAVAGE FICTION

Although Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau each referred vaguely to actual inhabitants of the New World in support of their model of the state of nature, their presentation of the savage was largely without empirical support. Rousseau was most honest about this in his attempt to identify where Europe had gone awry in erecting its present society

replete with inequalities. Rousseau's vision was a thought-experiment, and he proposed, "Let's begin by setting aside all the facts, as they do not pertain to the question."

Even when the reports of travelers were consulted, the resulting image of the noble savage was invariably fictitious. Less than twenty-five years after the discoveries of Columbus (1451–1506), Sir Thomas More used the voyage accounts of Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) to create his ideal world of Utopia, where people worked only six hours per day and did not grasp after unnecessary luxuries. Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals" depicted the natives of Brazil as noble cannibals who ate their prisoners of war as the ultimate vengeance unless the vanquished would admit defeat (none ever did, but they taunted their captors and eaters). Montaigne argued that, "certainly we can call them barbarians according to the rules of reason but not according to ourselves, who surpass them in every sort of barbarism," for the Americans had replaced their cannibalism with the Portuguese custom of burying their enemies to the waist and then shooting them full of arrows, which they considered even more brutal and humiliating than their own practice. Jonathan Swift's (1667-1745) Houyhnhnms (Gulliver's Travels [1726]) bore all the hallmarks of noble savages, having no power, government, war, law, or punishment, with the added distinction of being horses who used humanoid Yahoos as draft animals.

A satirical author could also turn the tables on Europe by fictitiously inviting a noble savage to Europe, where he could observe and comment on modern customs firsthand. In most cases the savage's natural reason carried the day, as when John Dryden's Montezuma (in The Indian Emperor, 1665) consistently outwitted a priest who had him bound to a rack and lectured him about the truths of Christianity. Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan (1666-1715?) advocated the superiority of civilized France in a fictitious dialogue with a Huron named Adario, "a savage of good sense who had traveled," while the Native American defended his way of life in the forest. Lahontan's dialogue inspired Voltaire's short story "L'ingénu," about a Huron who pointed out the absurdities of eighteenth-century France as he moved through a monastery and the royal court and found himself imprisoned in the Bastille with a Jansenist. Voltaire

was a master of using fictitious savages to skewer European politics, religion, and customs, and types like the naive Candide, the ingenuous Huron, the extraterrestrial Micromegas, and philosophical Brahmans appeared in many of his stories. In establishing a fictitious dialogue between a civilized and savage man early modern Europeans were drawing on a well-worn classical prototype. The Brahmans of Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* and short stories echoed the medieval *Roman d'Alexandre*, in which Alexander the Great engaged the Brahman sage Dandamis in debate. Dandamis in turn recalls the ancient story of Anacharsis, a Scythian who combined the best of barbarian virtue and Greek education.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century most noble savages in European literature appear as Native Americans, but in the nineteenth century, as the colonial experience in Africa and India deepened, noble savages were found there as well. Rudyard Kipling's Mowgli (of the *Jungle Books*) and Kim (endowed with the best qualities of his English father and Indian mother) are famous examples, as is the twentieth-century Edgar Rice Burroughs's Tarzan of the Apes. American Natives continued to be idealized (and vilified) in the twentieth-century Western by authors like the American Louis L'Amour and the German Karl May. No doubt the reader can think of many other examples.

See also Colonialism; English Literature and Language; Europe and the World; French Literature and Language; Hobbes, Thomas; Idealism; Locke, John; Nature; Philosophy; Reason; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Voltaire.

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MICHAEL CARHART

## NORTH AFRICA. See Africa: North Africa.

**NORTHERN WARS.** The Northern Wars (1558-1721) were a cycle of general conflicts between the major powers of northern and eastern Europe surrounding the Baltic—principally Denmark-Norway, Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, and Muscovy (Russia)—of fundamental importance for modern European history. The wars began following the breakdown of the Hanseatic League (or Hansa), the medieval political and economic system in the Baltic region. The breaking of the economic grip of the Hanseatic League just as western European demand grew for the increasingly lucrative commodities of Baltic grain, timber, pitch, hemp, and flax, stimulated the interest of these major states in controlling the principal ports such as Riga, Danzig, Elbing and Stettin, through which Baltic trade flowed. The southern and eastern Baltic had been controlled by the crusading order of the Teutonic Knights, based in Prussia and Livonia, but the Prussian branch had already lost control of western Prussia to Poland in 1466, while eastern Prussia became a Polish fief in 1525 when its Grand Master, Albrecht von Hohenzollern (ruled 1525–1568) secularized the Order, establishing himself as hereditary duke of Prussia. The evident decline of the Livonian branch of the Order had by the mid-sixteenth century attracted the attention of all the four major Baltic powers. After a short frontier war between Muscovy and Sweden (1554-1557), the cycle of general, multilateral conflicts now known as the Northern Wars really began in 1558 when tsar Ivan IV of Muscovy (Ivan the Terrible; 1530–1584; ruled 1533-1584) invaded Livonia, sparking off a series of conflicts now known collectively as the Livonian War or the First Northern War (1558–1583). Over the next century and a half, no single power was able to achieve hegemony in the region and long-term political stability proved elusive. If at first Denmark and Poland-Lithuania seemed to have the upper hand, Sweden emerged powerfully in the seventeenth century to defeat Denmark and Poland-Lithuania, before the Russia of Peter I (Peter the Great, 1672–1725; ruled 1682–1725) emerged to eclipse Poland-Lithuania and defeat Sweden, securing a victory that was of fundamental importance for the future of the European states system.

## THE FIRST NORTHERN WAR (1558-1583)

Although access to and control of access to the Baltic Sea figured largely in the Northern Wars, they were more than a struggle for Dominium Maris Baltici ('lordship of the Baltic Sea'). The causes were both economic and political and involved power struggles of long standing, as the war over Livonia and Estonia breathed new life into old conflicts. The Oldenburg monarchy in Denmark controlled the Sound at Helsingör, the outlet from the Baltic to the North Sea, enabling it to levy tolls on all ships sailing into or out of the Baltic. The Oldenburg monarchy was still smarting over the loss of its dominant position in Scandinavia following the collapse in 1523 of the Union of Kalmar with Sweden, established in 1397. Denmark's continued possession of the provinces of Bohuslän, Halland, Scania, and Blekinge left Sweden with only a narrow outlet to the North Sea at Älvsborg, which was highly vulnerable to Danish attack. The series of wars between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, whose Grand Duke had begun to style himself 'Tsar of all the Russias' over the Ruthenian lands (modern Belarus and Ukraine), most of which were in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, had reached stalemate in the 1530s without providing a satisfactory settlement for either side.

The importance of these ancient rivalries soon became clear. Denmark gave up its historical claim to Estonia to declare war on Sweden, beginning the Nordic Seven Years' War (1563–1570). Denmark captured Älvsborg, Sweden's only direct outlet to the North Sea, but was unable to extend its control of southern Scandinavia beyond its provinces of Bohuslän, Halland, Scania, and Blekinge. Denmark

was allied with Lübeck and Poland, but Dutch and Russian support enabled Sweden to repel the Danish challenge. Peace was made at Stettin in 1570, but the conflict in the eastern Baltic continued, as Sweden secured control of Reval (Tallinn) and most of Estonia in 1560. The Livonian Order was secularized and the duchy of Courland was created as a Polish fief in 1561, while the rest of Livonia, including Riga, was incorporated into Poland-Lithuania. Poland-Lithuania, however, was more concerned with the threat to Lithuania, where Ivan IV had seized the trading center of Polotsk in 1563. A new Polish-Swedish alliance, initiated by John III of Sweden (ruled 1568–1592; of the House of Vasa), who was married to Catherine, the sister of King Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548-1572) of Poland-Lithuania, successfully fought off successive Russian invasions of Livonia. From 1579, Stephen Báthory of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1576-1586) recaptured Lithuanian territory lost to Russia in the 1560s, before forcing peace at Iam Zapol'skii in 1582. Meanwhile Sweden had seized Narva and Ivangorod, making peace in 1583 to end the First Northern War, although in renewed fighting (1590-1595) Sweden captured Ingria and Kexholm.

A new phase of the wars opened in 1600 with the collapse of the Polish-Swedish alliance after the election of John III's son Sigismund III as king of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1587-1632). Sigismund then inherited the Swedish throne in 1592 (ruled 1592–1599), but his Catholicism provoked a political crisis in Lutheran Sweden. After a brief civil war (1598) he was deposed at the instigation of his uncle, Duke Charles of Södermanland, who was crowned in 1604 as Charles IX (ruled 1604–1611). In 1600 Charles invaded Livonia, beginning a cycle of wars with Poland-Lithuania that lasted until 1660. Initially Poland-Lithuania did well, crushing Charles at Kircholm (1605). Both sides were then sucked into Russia's Time of Troubles (1605-1613), from which the Poles emerged with important gains. Moscow was occupied by a Polish garrison (1610-1612), Smolensk was captured (1611), and Sigismund's son Wladyslaw (king of Poland-Lithuania 1648-1668) was elected tsar by a leading group of Russian nobles. This provoked a strong reaction, however. Following the election of Michael Romanov as tsar (ruled 1613-1645) and

an abortive attempt to capture Moscow (1617–1618), Poland-Lithuania made peace at Deulino (1618). Sweden had settled with Russia at Stolbova in 1617, cutting Russia off from the Baltic.

After the brief but indecisive War of Kalmar (1611–1613) between Sweden and Denmark, political and military reform under Charles IX's son Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632) brought success in renewed war against Poland-Lithuania. Sweden captured Riga (1621) and invaded Polish Prussia (1626), where initial successes failed to prevent ultimate stalemate. International pressure led to the truce of Altmark (1629), which freed Sweden to intervene in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and gave it control of most of Livonia. A Russian attempt to recapture Smolensk in 1633-1634 was beaten off by the Poles, who threatened to invade Livonia. Sweden, then facing problems in Germany, surrendered the right to levy tolls on the Prussian ports, won at Altmark, in the truce of Stuhmsdorf (1635), which provided sufficient concessions to persuade the Polish diet to withdraw its backing for further hostilities. Sweden's subsequent success in Germany was rewarded with the grant of Bremen, Verden, and most of Pomerania, including Stettin, at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), while its crushing defeat of Denmark in "Torstensson's War" (1643–1645) broke Denmark's stranglehold on the Sound, securing Jämtland, Härjedalen, Ösel, Gotland, and Halland at the Peace of Brömsebro.

### THE SECOND NORTHERN WARS (1655–1660)

The next phase of the wars was sparked off by Poland's internal problems. Sigismund's intervention in Russia and the dynastic quarrel with the Swedish Vasas, maintained by his sons Władysław IV (ruled 1632-1648) and John Casimir (ruled 1648-1668), increased the reluctance of the Polish Diet to finance royal foreign policy, while the Commonwealth's inability to defeat Khmelnytsky's Cossack revolt in the Ukraine after 1648 provoked Russian intervention in 1654. Lithuanian defenses crumbled, and Russia seized a series of cities, including the capital, Vilnius. In July 1655, fearing extensive Russian gains, Charles X of Sweden (ruled 1654–1660) overran Poland in a preemptive strike, thereby forcing Frederick William of Brandenburg-Prussia (ruled 1640–1688) into an alliance.

These events opened the indecisive Second Northern War (1655-1660). A Polish military revival in 1656 pushed back the Swedes, despite a Swedish-Brandenburg victory in the battle of Warsaw (July 1656). Sweden failed to take Danzig while Russia, alarmed at the prospect of a Swedish victory, signed a truce with Poland (1656). The Austrian Habsburgs and Denmark joined the anti-Swedish coalition in 1657, with Frederick William switching sides in return for Poland recognizing his sovereignty over Ducal Prussia. Bogged down in Poland, Charles mounted a brilliant attack on Denmark in February 1658, marching his army to the walls of Copenhagen over the frozen Baltic Sea to force the treaty of Roskilde (1658). Reluctant to return to Poland, Charles attacked Denmark again in the summer, but the Dutch and English supported the Danes and put pressure on Sweden to make peace. At the Treaty of Oliva (1660) with Poland, Brandenburg, and Austria, Sweden gained little beyond John Casimir's resignation of his claim to the Swedish throne; at the Treaty of Copenhagen with Denmark (1660), Sweden retained Scania, Bohuslän, and Blekinge, won at Roskilde, but returned Bornholm and Trondheim. Sweden made peace with Russia in 1661, but the Polish-Russian war had resumed in 1658: the Russians were driven out of most of Lithuania but Polish political divisions and military exhaustion led to a truce at Andrusovo (1667). Russia retained Smolensk and gained the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper, including Kiev, nominally for three years, but ceded definitively by Poland in 1686.

The Second Northern War revealed the problems Sweden faced in defending its empire, which were confirmed in the Scanian War (1674–1679). Forced to attack Brandenburg by Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), who was paying them generous subsidies, the Swedes were defeated at Fehrbellin (1675); Sweden was then invaded by Denmark. Charles XI (ruled 1660–1697) beat off the Danish attack, but lost all of Sweden's German territories; they were only returned at the Peace of Fontainebleau (1679) at the behest of Louis XIV.

## THE GREAT NORTHERN WARS (1700-1721)

Neither Poland-Lithuania nor Russia, involved in wars against the Ottoman Empire, was in a position to exploit Swedish weakness in the 1670s, but both

powers still had scores to settle. The Turkish Wars ended in 1699, while the accession of the young Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) seemed to provide an opportunity for revenge. An anti-Swedish coalition soon formed including Frederick IV of Denmark (ruled 1699–1730), Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1697–1732), and Tsar Peter I of Russia (ruled 1682–1725). A botched attempt to take Riga by Augustus in 1700 launched the Great Northern War (1700–1721).

Charles XII of Sweden, a talented soldier, defeated each element of the coalition separately. Denmark was knocked out of the war immediately, before Charles destroyed a much larger Russian army besieging Narva in November 1700. He then invaded Poland-Lithuania (1702), where he won a series of victories, forcing Augustus to abdicate the Polish throne at the treaty of Altranstädt (1706). The Swedish-sponsored election of King Stanisław Leszczyński (ruled 1704–1709; 1733–1736), however, had merely deepened Polish political divisions. When Charles's bold invasion of Russia ended in defeat at Poltava (1709), Augustus returned and Leszczyński fled. Denmark, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Hannover now entered the war in the hope of securing something from the wreckage of the Swedish empire. Charles, on his return from Turkish exile in 1714, staved off disaster, but after his death in action (1718) the way was open to peace. Sweden kept part of Pomerania, but lost its other holdings across the Baltic. If Denmark failed to reverse its previous losses, Russia secured Kexholm, Ingria, Livonia, and Estonia at the Peace of Nystad (1721), and a new system of power was established in northeastern Europe. Sweden and Denmark were now second-rank powers, while continuing Polish weakness enabled Russia and Brandenburg-Prussia to emerge as the victors of the Northern Wars.

See also Baltic and North Seas; Baltic Nations; Belarus; Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Charles XII (Sweden); Denmark; Frederick William (Brandenburg); Frederick William I (Prussia); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Hansa; Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Kalmar, Union of; Khmelnytsky Uprising; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Moscow; Nantes, Edict of; Ottoman Empire; Peter I (Russia); Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Prussia; Romanov Dynasty (Rus-

sia); Russia; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Russo-Polish Wars; Saxony; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Silesia; Stephen Báthory; Sweden; Teutonic Knights; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden); Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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ROBERT I. FROST

**NOVALIS** (Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg; 1772–1802), German poet, aphorist, theoretician, and student of the natural sciences. "Novalis" was the pseudonym of Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg, who helped formulate the program of Early German Romanticism and penned its most enduring literary works. He remains known in the English-speaking world for few works: Hymnen an die Nacht (1800; Hymns to the night), the unfinished novel Heinrich von Ofterdingen (1802), and the mystical-political essay Die Christenheit oder Europa (1799; Christianity or Europe). International interest extends to his fragment collections Blütenstaub (1798; Pollen) and Glauben und Liebe oder Der König und die Königin (1798; Faith and love or the king and the queen), the prose Die Lehrlinge zu Sais (1798; The novices of Sais), the Geistliche Lieder (1799; Spiritual songs), and his wide-ranging notebooks.

A descendant of twelfth-century aristocracy, the baron (*Freiherr*) von Hardenberg was born into a Pietistic family of stable means. Groomed to follow his father in the administration of Saxony's saltworks, he studied at the universities of Jena (where Friedrich Schiller was his history professor) and Leipzig (where he met Friedrich Schlegel). After 1795 Hardenberg worked for the civil service near his home in Weissenfels and immediately fell in love with the young Sophie von Kühn. Her 1797 death

left its mark on his writings, but their affair's importance has been exaggerated by biographers. In 1798–1799 Hardenberg studied natural science at the Freiberg Mining Academy, where he became engaged to Julie von Charpentier. Hardenberg returned to work vigorously in 1799 but soon weakened from tuberculosis (probably contracted from Sophie), which ended his life at twenty-nine.

The brief span of Hardenberg's life helps specify his literary and cultural significance. A member of the generation of the 1770s, he was among the first to experience the vigorous, distinctly German culture of classicism—one upon which to build and against which to rebel. The writings of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), and Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) provoked both emulation and rejection in Hardenberg's generation, which included his fellow Romantics Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) and the Schlegel brothers, August Wilhelm (1767– 1845) and Friedrich (1772-1829), the philosophers Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling (1775-1854) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), and the composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827). In youth they all greeted the French Revolution as opening a radically new era. However, Hardenberg's early death set him apart in that he never experienced the nationalistic and reactionary climate wrought in the German states by the Napoleonic Wars after 1800. Hardenberg's writings remain post-Revolutionary, driven by the present's urgency and the future's infinite malleability—two hallmarks of what German scholarship recognizes as Early (rather than Late) Romanticism.

Hardenberg's major writings begin with the *Fichtestudien* (Fichte studies) of 1795–1796, which seek to understand, expand, and criticize the post-Kantian philosopher. While agreeing that the "I" makes the known world, Hardenberg insists that this world is also a "You" interacting with the self in mediations such as language. Notes entitled "Poeticisms" and "Logological Fragments" explore this power of language and formulate central tenets of Romanticism. "Poesy is the basis of society," claims Hardenberg, "The world must be romanticized." This historically first use of the word



Novalis. ©Bettmann/Corbis

"Romantic" in its modern sense proclaims a moral imperative to refashion society as an aesthetic construct.

Hardenberg appended the pseudonym "Novalis" to all four of his published writings but never used it otherwise. Taken from the ancestral estate von der Rode or de novali ('from the cleared land'), it announced Hardenberg's post-Revolutionary program and disguised his true identity. It was aptly chosen. In 1798 the aphoristic Pollen's approach to culture, religion, and politics as domains for Romantic transformation passed relatively unnoticed, but the strictly political Faith and Love annoyed the Prussian king, whose censor stopped its second installment in press. Even Hardenberg's friends were confused by this work, which remains controversial today. The following year they declined to publish Christianity or Europe, which invokes an idealized medieval age to call for a radical "reunification" of Europe's separate nations and disparate branches of knowledge.

Facing outside resistance and his own mortality, Hardenberg turned to religious writing. Some of his unorthodox *Spiritual Songs* were used in congrega-

tional songbooks, and his *Hymns to the Night* were an immediate sensation. Romantically mixing prose and verse, their mystical vision of death's overcoming (which drew on notes about Sophie) hid a subversive interpretation of Christianity as a mere stage toward Romantic religion, in which one chooses one's own mediator for an unrepresentable Absolute.

The *Hymns*' popularity was rivaled by that of the posthumous *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802), which Hardenberg called "my political novel." Quintessentially Romantic, this bildungsroman ('novel of education') fuses medieval legends with fairy tales, dreams, and visions. It contains "Klingsohr's Fairy Tale," an allegory of universal renewal with alchemical, scientific, and political allusions.

Hardenberg published scarcely eighty pages but quickly reached fame through the two-volume edition of his writings (*Novalis Schriften*) printed five times between 1802 and 1837.

See also German Literature and Language; Romanticism.

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WM. ARCTANDER O'BRIEN

# NOVIKOV, NIKOLAI IVANOVICH

(1744–1818), for about three decades one of the defining figures of the Russian Enlightenment. Born into a middling noble family, he was part of the earliest cohort of students at the noble boarding

school of the newly opened Moscow University (founded in 1755). He continued on to the university, although, like most of the literati of his age, he left well before completing his course of study. Commissioned as a lieutenant in a guards' regiment, he left the service quite early (an act made possible in 1762 by a law freeing the nobility from compulsory service). Thereafter he devoted his energies to letters and the fledgling world of Russian literary journalism in St. Petersburg.

In 1767 he participated, first in St. Petersburg and then in Moscow, as a secretary in the Legislative Commission established by the empress Catherine the Great. Grand in its intention to produce a new fundamental law (*Ulozhenie*) for the empire, the commission actually produced very little legislation and served more as a semi-public forum for discussing matters of public policy. It adjourned in December 1768, and Novikov resigned to become a full-time editor and journalist. Over the next five years he immersed himself in St. Petersburg's literary life, editing several of its so-called satirical jour-



**Nikolai Novikov.** Portrait by Dmitry Gregorievitch Levitsky, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. ©Scala/ART Resource, N.Y.

nals. With titles such as *The Painter*, *The Tattler*, and *The Drone*, these mostly monthly journals endeavored to bring the spirit of European satire to Russia's small educated public, while at the same time focusing on Russian affairs and customs. The determination to respect Russia's own antiquity was a defining feature of Novikov's work, motivating him, among other things, to publish an extensive, multivolume compendium of Russian antiquities entitled *The Ancient Russian Library*.

In 1778 he moved back to Moscow and took out a ten-year lease on Moscow University Press, an act that elevated him to the status of a publishing magnate, arguably Russia's first. Equally important, he became a member of the Rosicrucians, whose blend of service and religious pietism came to have a significant influence on his outlook. In 1783, Catherine issued an edict allowing private parties to own and operate presses with relatively little governmental oversight, at least through the 1780s. Novikov and his associates took advantage of this opportunity by establishing a series of interconnected publishing ventures, the largest of which, the Typographical Company, rivaled Russia's largest institutional presses. By the mid-1780s Novikov's enterprises, which included a separate Masonic publishing house, were producing over 40 percent of all titles published in Russian. They sponsored an extensive program of translation, producing Russian versions of contemporary European literature.

Novikov's publicistic successes (financially, his ventures generally operated at a large loss), along with his devotion to a particularly secretive and religious brand of Freemasonry, attracted the suspicion of police officials in Moscow. Investigated at least four times between 1785 and 1792, he was stripped of the Moscow University Press lease in 1789 and then arrested in 1792. Freed to return to his estate during the reign of Paul I, he remained there in relative obscurity until his death in 1818. But he maintained a very active correspondence with other leading masons, such as Alexander Labzin, especially during the early years of the reign of Alexander I.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Enlightenment; Freemasonry; Journals, Literary; Printing and Publishing; Russian Literature and Language.

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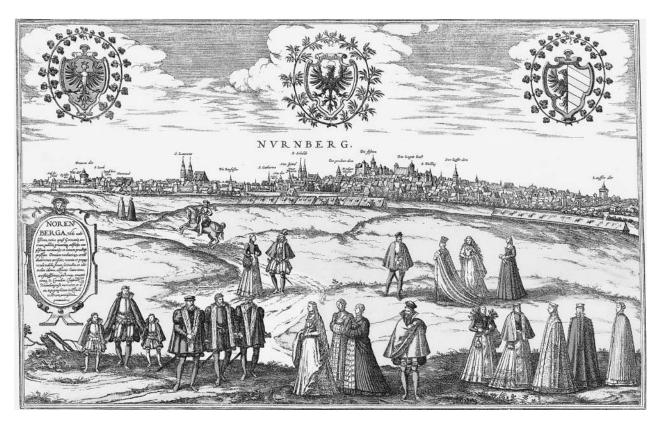
GARY MARKER

## NUMEROLOGY. See Magic.

**NUREMBERG.** The southern central German city of Nuremberg (German, Nürnberg; Latin, Norimberga) entered the early modern period as one of the two or three preeminent cities of the Holy Roman Empire, famed for its commercial products, art and architecture, and enlightened government. By the time it was absorbed by Bavaria in 1806, it had become a commercial and cultural backwater, a shadow of its former glorious self. The keys to both the city's rise and its decline lay in its economic and political successes.

## ORIGINS TO ZENITH

Around 1050 the Holy Roman emperor Henry III (ruled 1039-1056) built a castle on a hill north of the Pegnitz River, known as Nuremberg. During the next century a new settlement south of the river, called Lorenzstadt (Laurence city), was added and in 1219 the expanded city received its great charter as a free imperial city, subject to no jurisdiction except that of the emperor. Since it possessed neither particularly rich farmland nor a navigable river, Nuremberg relied on its political influence and geographic advantage to develop into one of the most powerful imperial cities in Germany. By the end of the thirteenth century, the town council, composed largely of merchants, had assumed most authority over the city, and embarked on a mostly pro-Luxembourg campaign during the empire's dynastic struggles. As part of the city's reward, a victorious Emperor Charles IV (ruled 1355–1378) decreed in the Golden Bull of 1356 that each new emperor thereafter was to hold his first diet in Nuremberg, an honor the city enjoyed until 1543. Nuremberg's maintenance of the castle as a royal residence (which the council actually purchased in 1427) as well as the fact that it served as the depository of the crown



**Nuremberg.** A reproduction of the view of Nuremberg from Braun and Hogenberg's famous collection of city views, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published first in 1572 and in many later editions. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

jewels (until 1796), similarly reflected the prestige the city enjoyed among subsequent emperors. Several imperial privileges in turn aided in the economic growth of Nuremberg. As a crossroads for northern routes to the Rhineland and southern roads to Danubian territories, the city quickly became a trading center for a variety of manufactured goods, including the local specialties of metal products (such as cannons and armor), precision instruments (compasses, clocks, musical instruments), and toys. By 1500, Nuremberg had also become a center in the new printing industry. Its rural hinterland had expanded to about twenty-five square miles, and the city had a population of 25,000 to 30,000, making it one of the largest urban centers in the empire.

Nuremberg's economic golden age closely corresponded with an artistic explosion. By far the most famous local son was Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), a drawer and painter of skill unrivaled in Germany. The city was also home to the sculptor Veit Stoss (1438/39–1533), the poet Konrad Celtis (1459–

1508), the humanist father and son Johann Pirckheimer (1440–1501) and Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), as well as Hans Sachs (1494–1576), immortalized in Richard Wagner's opera Die Meistersinger (The master singer). In 1525, partly due to the influence of evangelical preachers Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534) and Andreas Osiander (c. 1496–1552), the town council embraced Protestantism, banning the Catholic mass and all other "papist" ceremonies and welcoming ministers of the new faith to the city. Five years later, the city's representatives signed the Augsburg Confession, the statement of Lutheran faith, but refrained from joining the new Protestant military alliance, the Schmalkaldic League. Instead, the city's leaders attempted, as they would almost a century later during the Thirty Years' War, to play a conciliatory role between the two religious factions. In both instances their efforts failed, but with the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555, Nuremberg and the rest of Germany were at least able to enjoy almost seventyfive years of relative religious peace.

#### DECLINE

The growth of royal states and the expansion of global trade both took a toll on Nuremberg's economy. As the city continued to grow in population (40,000 by 1600), its public debt also continued to mount, already reaching five million gulden (twice the annual municipal budget) by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618. Its leaders' alternating attempts at neutrality and Protestant support ended badly for Nuremberg, which instead suffered under several successive occupations by both Catholic and Protestant armies, each bringing new diseases and demands for large "contributions" to the war effort. By the end of the fighting in 1648, Nuremberg's population had declined to 25,000, where it would remain until the end of its sovereignty in 1806, when the Napoleonic Confederation of the Rhine ceded it to the kingdom of Bavaria. Though no longer politically significant, the city did regain some of its economic strength as an industrial center during the nineteenth century.

Despite the dramatic decline in political and economic significance, Nuremberg still played some role in the culture of early modern Germany. In 1616, a university was founded at nearby Altdorf, and in 1662 an academy of arts, the oldest of its kind in Germany, was also founded. Perhaps the most famous writers and poets were the members of the so-called Order of Pegnitz Flowers, particularly Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681). Also of note were the organist and composer Johann Pachelbel (1653–1706) and the author Johannes Konrad Grübel (1736–1809), who wrote several popular poems in the Nuremberg dialect.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Bavaria; Dürer, Albrecht; Free and Imperial Cities; Holy Roman Empire; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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JOEL F. HARRINGTON



# OBSTETRICS AND GYNECOLOGY.

Obstetrics and gynecology were marked by technical, intellectual, and social innovation in the early modern period. While female midwives continued to deliver almost all babies, both male and female writers sought to improve obstetrical practice, and anatomists strove to understand the workings of the human body, including the female sexual and reproductive systems. Although historians argue about the actual extent of maternal mortality, it is clear from sources that women feared losing their lives in childbirth and that most women knew personally another woman who died in childbirth or shortly thereafter. Similarly, while the full extent of neonatal death in early modern Europe will remain unknown, it is clear that birth was far more hazardous for babies than for their mothers.

Obstetrics and gynecology were grounded in classical and medieval precedent. The first European vernacular work on obstetrics, Eucharius Roeslin's *Rosegarten*, was published in German in 1513 and was reprinted at least another twenty-four times up to 1608. Addressed to midwives and married women, it describes the mechanics of labor and delivery, care of the newborn, and common complaints in pregnancy. Roeslin's son translated the work into Latin, and the book subsequently became a European best-seller, translated into French, Dutch, Spanish, Danish, English, and Czech and republished into the eighteenth century.

Although Roeslin's work proclaimed itself to be for a popular or lay audience, it owed much to learned authorities. Scholarship suggests that the work was not originally written for midwives but for medical men. In his preface, Roeslin describes how Galen (129-c. 199 c.E.), Rhazes (Rāzī, c. 865between 923 and 935), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, 980-1037), and Averroës (Ibn Rushd, 1126-1198) struggled to understand the human body, and then places his own work within this learned masculine lineage. Much of the book, including the illustrations, ultimately derives from classical antiquity, specifically from Gynecology by Soranus (c. 100 C.E.). Indeed some historians have argued that contemporary midwifery practice was more sophisticated than Roeslin's classically based text might suggest. Roeslin after all was working from texts, not from experience delivering healthy babies, and his preface suggests a scorn for the manual knowledge and skill midwives possessed.

## **INNOVATIONS**

Four technical innovations characterized early modern obstetrics. Until the eighteenth century babies were delivered by female midwives; male surgeons only entered the birthing room when the midwife and the attendant women judged that the infant's life was already lost. The task of the surgeon was to extract the body of the infant, often by the bloody means of perforating the infant's cranium to reduce the size of the skull or otherwise mutilating the infant's body. In 1549 the French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590) published directions for the technique of podalic version, that is, turning the baby in the womb so the feet present first, allowing application of traction to the feet and legs to

induce delivery. It is not clear how extensively the technique spread or was employed by midwives, but it was an effective and lifesaving technique.

The second set of innovations centered on new devices. An obscure array of tools was in use by the late seventeenth century to apply traction to the head of the baby in the birth canal to promote delivery. The vectis, a sort of spoon-shaped device, and the fillet, a circle of leather or fabric put around the infant's head, seem to have been employed by some practitioners. The most successful of these devices, however, was that developed by the Chamberlen family, the obstetrical forceps, similar in design to modern forceps. For about a century this London family of Huguenot immigrants kept their device a secret. The use of forceps was demonstrated in Paris in 1720, and the first printed description of their design and use dates from 1733.

While the forceps offered surgeons a new technique that promised to preserve the lives of mother and baby, it was not uncontroversial. First, as seen in the writings of some practitioners, the instrument was not easy to use, and usually a surgeon had to be shown the technique in detail. Not all surgeons were convinced of their utility. William Smellie (1697–1763), the first British superstar male midwife, wrote that forceps were only necessary in ten of ten thousand cases. William Hunter (1718-1783), his successor, said of forceps "where they save one, they murder twenty" (cited in Spencer, pp. 72-73). However, for women afflicted with malformed pelvises (often caused by rickets), the forceps offered new hope of giving birth to a living child.

The third technical innovation was almost never performed; in fact it was judged a failure for most of the period. Learned men knew that Julius Caesar had been born by cutting open his dead mother's belly, but in the sixteenth century surgeons began to discuss the possibility of performing the operation to save the life of the mother as well as the child. Supposedly a Swiss gelder performed the operation on his own wife at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Paré had authorized the use of the operation five times at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, but none of the women survived. Paré forbade other surgeons to perform it. Only in the 1790s did sur-

geons begin again to perform cesarean sections on living women.

The fourth innovation was pioneered by the French midwife Madame Angélique Marguerite le Boursier du Coudray (c. 1714–1794). She invented mannequins that modeled various presentations in childbirth and employed these new devices in a system of royally sponsored midwifery courses. From 1760 to 1783 Coudray taught in over forty French cities and towns. She understood that midwives learned their techniques from other midwives through touch, not sight. Consequently she structured her teaching with posters and with the lifesize mannequins that she constructed herself from leather, bone, and fabric.

## CIRCULATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Reproduction was a mysterious, even magical, property of the female body, often compared to alchemical or agricultural processes. The Renaissance rebirth of human dissection offered male surgeons the possibility of knowing about the hidden interiors of women's bodies in a new and powerful way not available to female midwives. Renaldus Columbus (1516-1559) famously "discovered" the clitoris in 1559. His successor at the University of Padua, Gabriele Falloppio (1523-1562), argued that he had first identified the clitoris as well as the tubes that still bear his name. In 1611 the Copenhagen anatomist Caspar Bartholin (1585-1629) scorned both of their claims and pointed out that everyone had known about this body part since the second century. Other anatomists scoffed at their medieval predecessors, who claimed that the human uterus had seven cells or chambers.

The knowledge and practices of obstetrics and gynecology circulated among and between learned and lay cultures to a greater extent than many other areas of medicine. Obstetrics was almost entirely practiced by midwives and women, and the dynamics of the birthing room ensured that any male practitioner called in would have to temper his plans to fit with the wishes of the birth mother's attendants. Alexander Read (1586–1641), for example, reminded his readers of what had become accepted wisdom, namely that the unborn baby only respired via the blood in the umbilical cord. Nonetheless Read advised surgeons to keep the mother's mouth and genitals open even after she died if a postmor-

tem delivery of any kind was contemplated. Although the practice was useless, women believed that the unborn baby would suffocate unless the passages for air were kept open, and would blame the surgeon for negligence. Coudray's teaching similarly illustrates that obstetrics was poised between the female world of the birthing room and the male anatomical theater but that neither was isolated from the other. Coudray's brilliance lay in translating the realm of anatomy from sight to touch and from surgeon to midwife.

These intersections between learned academic medicine and practices of midwives and other women emphasize that birth was a social and cultural process far more than it was a medical one. The great conundrum of early modern obstetrics, namely why well-to-do women in England and North America came to employ male midwives, cannot be addressed without understanding social and cultural processes. In many places in Europe obstetrics and gynecology were shaped by larger shifts in the valuation of infants and the roles of mothers as much or more than they were by developments internal to medicine.

Historians have struggled to explain why and how women in England came to accept men as midwives—as the attendants for normal deliveries—in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was once thought that the technological determinism provided the answer: men midwives had forceps, which their female counterparts lacked. However, some of the most popular male midwives did not use forceps or only employed them rarely. Hunter is quoted above scorning the forceps, and vet he was the most successful male midwife in mideighteenth-century London. Hunter taught anatomy and male midwifery to male pupils at his own private school, in the process creating a public reputation as a skilled and knowledgeable man. He also cultivated politeness, advising his students, for instance, to avoid performing rectal exams to determine pregnancy in order to preserve the dignity of his female patients. Supposedly he helped a few aristocratic women conceal illegitimate births, and his name was made—he was seen as genteel and courteous. Undoubtedly the rise of male midwifery owed something to the perception that men might offer a technology that women did not (the forceps), something to the whims of fashion, something to changing patterns of women's work, and something to the recasting of vernacular practices as "superstition." By the end of the eighteenth century a number of medical men in Britain specialized in obstetrics and delivered thousands of babies over the course of their careers. Nonetheless midwives continued to deliver most infants.

As important as the curious rise of male midwifery are two other social phenomena: an increased value placed on infant life and a reconfiguration of motherhood. In part due to the rise of mercantilism and its attendant belief that the wealth of the nation depended on the health of the nation and in part due to patterns of post-Tridentine Catholic charity, infant life became more highly valued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the dead bodies of newborns could still be found abandoned on dung heaps, initiatives such as foundling hospitals and lying-in hospitals presented the possibility that unwanted babies might be supported by the church or the state. The Ospedale degli Innocenti was founded in Florence in 1419; other Italian cities followed suit in the sixteenth century; Paris and Lyon in the seventeenth century; and London in the eighteenth century. Such hospitals afforded medical men clinical training and poor mothers a roof over their heads, bed rest, and nourishing food.

Related to the new value placed on infant life was a gradual shift in the meanings of motherhood. From the late seventeenth century medical men echoed churchmen and philosophers in emphasizing the importance of maternal care for babies. The archbishop of Canterbury gave a sermon extolling the virtues of breast-feeding in the 1690s; medical men chimed in, arguing against the widespread practice of employing wet nurses. Increasingly middling women were instructed that their place was in the home, not at their husbands' workshops, and that their task was to nurture their children. By the late eighteenth century this reconstruction of the meanings of maternity was used quite consciously by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Émile (1762) to claim that women could take no public roles. Medical men played an important part in these changing definitions of motherhood. In 1747 William Cadogan (1711-1797) denigrated much of traditional baby care as superstition and ordered mothers to ignore the advice of other women and to be

under the supervision of "men of sense," namely husbands and doctors.

The histories of early modern obstetrics and gynecology began as the prehistory of a medical specialty, highlighting a few forward-looking innovations and denigrating the rest as ignorant or worse. Since then feminist historians have broadened views of midwifery, and historians of the body have explored the construction of sexual anatomies. Like much of the history of medicine, however, learned obstetrics and gynecology remain understudied and poorly connected to the larger stories of scientific revolutions and changes in gender ideologies.

See also Family; Medicine; Midwives; Motherhood and Childbearing; Public Health; Sexual Difference, Theories of.

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MARY E. FISSELL

**OCCULT PHILOSOPHY.** "Occult philosophy" is a difficult phrase, at once limited and wide-ranging. In general, it refers to a mode of philosophical thought that seeks metaphysical truth hidden (occult) behind the surfaces of the natural, celestial, and divine worlds. Because its practitioners used magical means to seek these truths, the term "occult" is used here in two of its primary senses.

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535?) provided the first definitive statement for occult philosophy in his masterwork, De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres (Three books on occult philosophy), originally drafted in 1510 but greatly revised for its final publication in 1533. Agrippa saw occult philosophy as the synthetic (or constructive) side of philosophy, with skepticism, represented by his 1526 On the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Arts and Sciences, as its analytical (or destructive) complement. In his Occult Philosophy, Agrippa argued that behind the natural world, the celestial world of number and Platonic form, and the divine world of Scripture and angels, lay a single, consistent truth: the revealed truth of Christ's incarnation. In light of faith, through magical practice wedded with philosophical analysis, the magician and occult philosopher could achieve certain knowledge of the divine will and its implications for the ordinary world.

Because occult philosophy depended heavily on the synthesis of nontraditional, often non-European, mystical learning with a Christian framework, Marsilio Ficino's (1433–1499) translation of the *Hermetic Corpus* in 1460 afforded occult philosophers important working material. But Renaissance occult philosophy began in earnest with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's (1463–1494) insertion of Jewish Cabala into Christian magical thought. This marriage of occult exegetical techniques with magic was particularly supported by its placement by Pico della Mirandola under the auspices of Hermeticism, a synthetic and syncretistic tendency that would mark occult philosophy thereafter.

In the sixteenth century, occult philosophy became influential largely through the work of Agrippa, but the term diverged from his rather specialized usage. As a rule, however, its use marked iconoclastic, antiauthoritarian approaches to univer-

sal philosophy, as well as a search for esoteric, secret knowledge behind the veil of apparent reality.

Occult philosophy had no fixed religious identity. Agrippa was Catholic, as were Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Francesco Giorgi (or Zorzi) (1467-1540), Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), Tommaso Campanella (1568-1659), and Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), but some Protestant thinkers also found the occult approach useful. For Paracelsus (1493-1541), John Dee (1527-1608), and Robert Fludd (1574–1637), occult philosophy not only demonstrated the truths behind Scripture and nature, but also validated their own varying perspectives on Christianity. In the more radical thinkers, such as Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), occult philosophy provided a means of rethinking humanity's relationship to God, speculations that prompted Bruno's execution for heresy. While Bruno's case is exceptional in many respects, occult philosophers quite often ran into trouble with religious authorities, perhaps because occult philosophy necessarily seeks truth outside the bounds of established, accepted views.

Occult philosophy's syncretism and universalism are not simply equivalent to what Antoine Faivre has called the "praxis of concordance," the claim of a truth behind all truths, such as the practice of establishing common denominators among several religious, magical, or philosophical systems, which is understood to produce illumination. While occult philosophy does usually accept this "concordance" theory, it is importantly inclusive; that is, whereas in esotericism the concordance approach often entails cutting away supposed mistakes or accretions, occult philosophers generally try to appropriate as much as possible of the system in question. This catholicity has often led to their work being labeled incoherent, unsystematic collections of oddities, but occult philosophers simply eschewed contextless facts in favor of interpreting and appropriating entire systems.

## MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

Modern scholars have had a somewhat fraught relationship with occult philosophy. Until the 1960s, occult philosophy primarily cropped up in history of science, where it was sometimes granted that the iconoclasm of occult philosophies promoted observations of nature, leading to the discovery of scien-

tific knowledge. With the work of Frances A. Yates in the 1960s and 1970s, however, occult thought burst onto the wider scene of the history of ideas. Although Yates herself focused largely on Hermeticism in Giordano Bruno and John Dee, her claim that magical thinking promoted the scientific revolution precipitated considerable controversy about occult philosophy. Ultimately, many of Yates's large claims have been found wanting, but occult philosophy itself remains an important, if little understood, issue on the margins of intellectual history.

More recently, scholars have begun once again to rethink the nature and status of occult philosophy. In particular, understanding of the witchcraft phenomenon has prompted consideration of connections between elite and popular ideas of the occult. Recent studies have demonstrated that occult philosophies helped to form broad cultural perspectives on witchcraft, heresy, and popular piety.

With the growing acceptance of interdisciplinary scholarship, the study of occult philosophy is expanding. Currently, most studies focus on particular thinkers and their writings, replacing the older emphasis on situating them within broad intellectual categories; recent studies have focused on Pico della Mirandola, Agrippa, Cardano, Dee, and Bruno. In addition, the trend seems to be moving toward absorption of methods and ideas from other disciplines, notably philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, and the history of religions. As the injection of theory from these disciplines into intellectual history remains somewhat controversial, it seems probable that the study of occult philosophy will absorb some of the radicalism that has invested scholarship on witchcraft, shifting it from a backwater to a mainstream, even trendsetting, area of study.

Most of occult philosophy remains unknown to us, and fundamental questions have not been addressed sufficiently. Its relationship to theories of witchcraft and to the development of science has received some attention, but as yet the answers are provisional. Overall, the connections of this primarily early modern phenomenon with both earlier magic and later occult and esoteric movements remain untouched, and much basic material is still in manuscript. Occult philosophy was influential, extremely visible, and hotly contested in its own time, but until quite recently scholars were unwilling to

accept the challenge of understanding why. With the new growth of interest, it seems likely that occult philosophy will provide scholars exciting new perspectives on early modern intellectual and cultural history.

See also Alchemy; Bruno, Giordano; Cabala; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Dee, John; Hermeticism; Inquisition; Kircher, Athanasius; Magic; Neoplatonism; Paracelsus; Philosophy; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Witchcraft.

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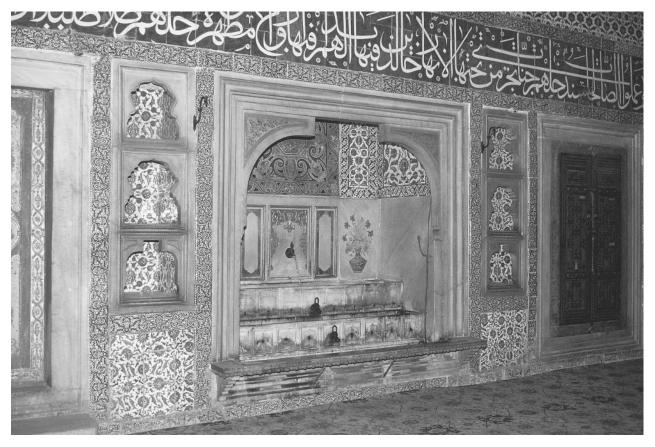
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CHRISTOPHER I. LEHRICH

**ODALISQUE.** The French term *odalisque* derives from the Turkish-Ottoman word *odalik*, which refers to a female slave owned by a Muslim male as his legal concubine. The odalisque became a favor-

ite theme of European artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a symbol, in the European view, of Muslim sensuality and sexual practices. The topic of concubinage and slavery also preoccupied European Enlightenment thinkers like Montesquieu (*Lettres persanes* [The Persian letters; 1721]), who used the Ottoman practice to critique French absolutism while avoiding censorship under the *ancien régime*. Slavery was an important and well-developed institution in the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. As a Muslim institution, however, it was little understood in the West.

According to Islamic law, a man had the right to have four legal wives and an unlimited number of concubines. In practice, however, probably less than 5 percent of Muslim men practiced polygamy in the Ottoman Empire. Concubinage, however, was more widespread since a man did not have to legally marry his concubines. Many upper-class and middle-class urban households, however, possessed one or two male and female slaves. Islam provided slaves with some legal rights and promoted the manumission of male and female slaves by their owner. The Koran encouraged Muslim men to treat their concubines fairly and even to conclude legal marriages with them. When a concubine gave birth to a child, Islamic law stipulated that she not be sold and that she become free after her master's death. A master could deny paternity according to the Hanafi school of Sunni Islamic law, but all schools of Islamic law encouraged the master to free the woman and then marry her. The children born to slave women and their masters were considered legitimate and free Muslims and inherited from their father except in cases when paternity was denied. The weight of the law discouraged many married Muslim men from sleeping with their female slaves. The Koran placed a ban on the prostitution of female slaves. Sometimes, however, greedy slave dealers, some of them women, as well as abusive masters, used female slaves as prostitutes. Guilds supervised the slave trade to control revenues and to curb such illegitimate practices as prostitution, misrepresentation of defects, and false enslavement. Female slaves from the Caucasus enjoyed special favor in Ottoman and Mamluk Egyptian households because of their beauty and skills.



Odalisque. Fountain in the harem at Topkapi Palace, seat of the Ottoman sultans. @Ruggero Vanni/Corbis

It is important to note that slaves typically performed a wide variety of household chores, and many former slaves in time acquired property and even slaves of their own. Female slaves occupied an important position in the Ottoman imperial harem and ruling class households during the early modern period. They originated as captives of war, who ended up in the palace or in grandee households, or they were purchased in the slave markets of Cairo and Constantinople. By the late fifteenth century most Ottoman sultans ceased marrying aristocratic women from Christian and Muslim dynasties and began to confine their sexual relations to slave concubines. The shift away from marriage alliances was in line with overall centralization efforts, which included undermining the power of provincial dynasties and notable households. Within the imperial harem, the Ottomans followed a policy of one son per concubine in order to forestall a concentration of power in the hands of any one woman. The imperial harem, which housed hundreds of women, had its own hierarchy and seniority system headed

by the valide-sultan (queen mother). Palace women received training in manners and comportment as well as in embroidery, music, and culinary arts, among other skills. They were paid salaries in accordance with their rank. Many palace women became very wealthy and established mosques, soup kitchens, hospitals, and other charitable foundations all over the empire. The imperial system of concubinage, and with it the image of the odalisque, became well established during the long reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520-1566). Much to the surprise and dismay of his subjects, he married his favorite concubine, Hurrem, known in the West as Roxelana (d. 1558). As the mother of four sons and one daughter, she had already been allowed to disregard the rule of "one concubine, one son." It is believed that Hurrem had refused to have further intimacies with the sultan, who had fallen in love with her, until he legally married her. Hurrem was the first imperial concubine to wield enormous power in the harem and in Ottoman politics.

See also Concubinage; Harem; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Suleiman I; Women.

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FARIBA ZARINEBAF

**OFFICEHOLDING.** The growth of the state was one of the central features of the early modern period. The state developed around two poles: the king's authority and that of the hierarchy of state officials. Monarchical powers and responsibilities were slowly extended from the twelfth century on as the rediscovery of the old Roman law gave monarchs new means to control their lords and bishops. Their duty was no longer confined to the armed protection of their people; they had to make and implement laws and raise taxes. As the governing task-load increased, it became necessary for the king to delegate authority. If the nobles were supposed to help the kings administer his kingdom, they were first and foremost warriors who ignored, for the most part, the subtleties of law. Their missions also frequently took them away from the court, and governing the realm required stability and continuity. Centralized bureaucracies became a reality during the early modern period as monarchs gathered around themselves persons specializing in domains such as justice and finance.

According to the French lawyer Charles Loyseau, who published a major book on the issue of officeholding in 1610, an office was "an ordinary dignity with public function." Dignity was bestowed upon the officeholder through the participation in royal power; the "public function" referred to the officeholder's service to the king and the

state. Considering the fact that monarchs of the period were considered divinely chosen and their missions fixed by God, officials were also seen as engaged in a divine duty. They took pride in what they were doing, and their tasks were accompanied by a great sense of the importance of their responsibilities. But they were also subject to worldly temptations. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular were marked by popular revolts accompanied by demands that the judicial and financial systems be purged of abuses.

#### BUREAUCRACY

The German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) has defined "bureaucracy" as an administration, either public or private, by full-time salaried officials, who are professionals recruited for the tasks at hand, graded and organized hierarchically, with regular procedures and formalized record-keeping. In the early modern period, the European states were still building their bureaucracies; no state had at its disposal an entire body of professional officials before the end of the eighteenth century. Many officials were still considered personal servants of the king, and a significant number of minor officeholders were named by their superiors rather than by the central government. Moreover, most officials were not directly paid by the state. Their incomes were based on a combination of government recompense, contributions from subjects in need of their services (épices in France and candele in Sicily, for instance), and finally from bribes or simply theft. It is safe to assume that from one-half to three-quarters of the cost of the royal bureaucracy was assumed directly by the public.

When it was time to appoint or promote an official, the criteria were generally unclear. Technical qualifications and competence were considered, but in reality these played a far less important role than the candidates' ancestry, wealth, and familial connections. Individuals were typically asked to prove their competence before occupying a particular function, but more often than not, this was simply a formality. Open competitive examinations were only introduced in Bavaria and Prussia in the first years of the eighteenth century, and later elsewhere. The general belief was that by observing experienced officials doing their job, new recruits would learn their tasks and naturally assimilate the institutional code of conduct that was seen as a

guarantor of the efficiency of administrative bodies. For instance, in sixteenth-century France, a member of the Parlement of Paris—the most important judicial court of the realm—was expected to be a good Catholic, a learned man able to cite readily the greatest Greek and Roman philosophers, a good orator, and a person of virtue. Networks of clientele were formed within institutions. Officials' children could expect to find marriage partners within these circles.

The organization of the bureaucratic system varied greatly from one state to another. Characteristics of the English civil service were its amateurism and, as compared with France, its small size. In the seventeenth century in England, a population of five million was served by five thousand to ten thousand officials, while France, with a population of 18 million, had at least forty-six thousand public servants in 1665. Public service did not cost the English state much, as, for example, justices of the peace were not paid. The officers held their position for an undetermined time: "at the pleasure of the state," "during good behavior," "for life." In England, officeholding was not a lifetime career: it did not offer the possibility of climbing the social ladder. In France, the structure was more rigid, in part because of the venality of offices, which was there highly developed. In Austria, Maria Theresa adopted a series of measures from 1740 on that aimed at giving more strength to her government. Between 1740 and 1762, the administration saw the number of its officials increase from six thousand to ten thousand. Civil servants who were now judged by their merits saw their remuneration increased. They became fully part of the state.

The Middle Ages saw the creation of many of the states' institutions. Over the centuries, procedures were developed from experience rather than from a carefully written plan. A good example of this is the Parlement of Paris. When a civil war plagued the French realm during the reign of Charles VI (1380–1422) the parlement stood firm, and its stability during the storm was taken note of. A greater number of councillors spent their entire adult lives working in the institution. This stability brought the parlement recognition as an arbitrator between factions. It gained the right to deliberate on every edict presented by the king to its members. To become law, an edict had to be registered by the

court—hence the importance of the courts' archives. From then on, it was possible for its magistrates to slow the legislative process. This gave them a say in the realm's political affairs and was a check on royal absolutism. The fact that French officials were the owners of their offices further strengthened their position.

## VENALITY OF OFFICES IN FRANCE

France was not the only state in which it was possible to buy official positions. Venality was commonplace in Castile, for example, but not with respect to higher positions, only the municipal offices. Economically speaking, an office was originally a kind of pension. Because medieval kings were unable to look after all the needs of their faithful, they bestowed on certain individuals a political status that was accompanied by the right to charge for their services. Subjects who used the services of an official were required to pay for them. The logic behind the venality system was already present. In theory, an office was freely given by the monarch, a gift that implied a countergift in the form of a loan. The officer's salary could be considered as the interest on the loan. This system was developed during the Middle Ages. Through a royal declaration in 1467, Louis XI recognized the immovability of officeholders: according to the declaration, an office could only come back to the king via death, resignation, or felony.

The realm's involvement in the Italian Wars provoked a desperate need for money. Louis XII and Francis I created new judicial and financial offices—the many charges in the king's household were not for sale, for the most part—in order to raise funds. In 1524 Francis I organized the Bureau des Finances Extraordinaires et Parties Casuelles to raise money by means of the new offices. It was possible for the officeholder to resign his seat and bestow it on a successor, usually a son or nephew. Those who benefited from such succession had to pay the king a tax of 10 percent of the price of the office. This helped in the creation of bureaucratic dynasties, as generation after generation of the same family held a particular office.

Such practices brought both benefits and problems to the king. Money was raised through the selling of offices, which from 1515 to 1565 increased fivefold. But the monarch lost the ability to name and control most public servants. Francis I reacted in 1534 by instituting the forty-days clause: an official who sold or resigned his office had to survive the transaction by forty days; otherwise the office reverted to the king. In 1604 the system was changed once more when Henry IV promulgated an official table of values with respect to offices. An officeholder had to pay a special yearly tax—called the *paulette*—of one-sixtieth of the stated value of an office in order to be exempt from the forty-days clause. What the king lost in control, he gained in finances: during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, offices represented as much as 45 percent of royal revenues.

Offices were in demand, for the most prestigious of them conferred noble status on their owners. In France, officeholding was definitively the best way to climb the social ladder. But it was tempting for the crown to multiply them, especially in times of crisis, and many posts served no purpose. As early as the sixteenth century, some offices were divided in two: their holders serving one year out of two. In 1597 Henry IV created some for which the officials had to work one year out of three. In 1645 quadrennial offices were sold. This did not necessarily translate into a dramatic increase in the number of holders, since it was possible for one individual to own several offices. The cost of offices remained quite high throughout the seventeenth century, especially for the most prestigious ones. It became more difficult to sell them in the eighteenth century as commerce came to seem a better way to make money.

Venality produced a kind of privatization of public service. It opened the door to many abuses, for it was nearly impossible for a king to depose an official. It forced the monarchy to resort to other means in order to effectively govern the realm. Intendants were royal commissaries sent on a mission to act on the king's behalf. Their jurisdiction and tenure were limited. One who did a good job could expect to receive a new assignment; incompetents were not rehired. Of course, this caused jurisdictional problems, as some officials did not readily accept the arrival of these newcomers. Intendants were introduced gradually in the sixteenth century; they were commonplace in the middle of the seventeenth century. But on the other hand most commissaries owned a venal office. It was one of the

many contradictions of the system. Despite modifications, the system of venality survived until the French Revolution of 1789.

See also Absolutism; Church and State Relations; Law: Lawyers; Parlements; Representative Institutions; State and Bureaucracy.

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MICHEL DE WAELE

**OLD AGE.** From ancient to modern times in Europe, conceptions of the life cycle that recognized discrete "ages of man" counted old age as one of the stages of life. Ancient philosophers such as Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) separated life into three stages, and the model of life stages was endowed with additional spiritual meaning in the Middle Ages. By the early modern period, numerous schemes existed to define the steps, ages, or stages of life. Thus, the concept of old age carried with it a relatively coherent set of expectations and experiences including social and cultural signals as well as numerical thresholds of old age. Within these broad socially constructed markers of old age, however, lay a wide variety of experiences determined by social class, gender, and individual life experiences.

### DEFINITIONS OF OLD AGE

Certain physical signs marked an individual as old: toothlessness, balding or gray hair, hunched back, lameness, deafness. Increasing debility was the clearest signal that one was becoming old. This assumption is clearly visible in both didactic and fictional forms of literature, as well as in visual representations. Shakespeare's representation of the last stage of life in *As You Like It* as "Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything," represents a common trope.

Most communities across Europe also recognized a "green" old age, in which an individual was considered old, but had not lost his or her basic faculties. This stage, though marked by the physical signs of old age noted above, carried with it connotations of social power and continued physical ability. Ballads regarding the life cycle often reveal the key characteristics of life stages. In the English ballad "The Ages of Man" (c. 1775), the earlier stage of old age is depicted as one of gradually failing health: "age did so abate my strength, / That I was forced to yield at length." But also, "My neighbours did my council crave, / And I was held in great request." Thus were continued wisdom and respect associated with green old age. In contrast, the last stage of life was one of advanced physical decay: "At nine times seven I must take my leave / Of all my former vain delight ... my strength did abate." For women, the first stage of old age may have been signaled by the onset of menopause, but historians disagree about the extent to which menopause served as the transition into green old age.

Chronological markers of old age were recognized as well, and these grew increasingly important and consistent. The age of sixty was widely associated with the onset of old age, but several other ages—especially fifty, sixty-three, and seventy were also used as thresholds of old age, both by individuals and by those who wrote specifically to classify the ages of life. Still, pension schemes, legal statutes, and individual reflections most often give the age of sixty as a marker for old age in men. Women were more often identified as old while still in their fifties, but the same general rule holds for them as well. Poor-law records and diaries from eighteenth-century England, for example, rarely use the term "old" for women younger than sixty. Late-seventeenth-century government ministers and political arithmeticians used the age of sixty as a dividing point, in both domestic and colonial populations, to designate a portion of the population as too old to bear arms. Such bureaucratic tendencies were part of a more general trend, as some of the groundwork was set for the stricter and more restrictive age norms that grew from the end of the seventeenth century. The increased use of the age of sixty to define entry into old age represents a significant area of discontinuity in the history of old age in early modern Europe.

### LIFE EXPECTANCY

During the early modern period, life expectancy fluctuated dramatically in short-term cycles. In England, life expectancy at birth was 36.8 years from 1550–1599, but fell to 33.9 for the period 1650–1699 before rising again to 36.5 for the last half of the eighteenth century. Still, although average life expectancy at birth seldom rose above the late thirties throughout Europe, individuals who made it through those first precarious years of life could generally expect to live through middle age (that is, their forties).

In France, for example, while life expectancy for women at birth was only 25.7 years in the 1740s, at age twenty, women could expect to live into their mid-fifties. These average life expectancies increased throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century, so that by the 1790s, average female life expectancy at age twenty was 38.6 years. It is also clear that the aged accounted for a significant minority of the population; those aged sixty or more comprised as much as 10 percent of the population of England. These figures are similar to those calculated for early modern France and Spain. In contrast to popular misconceptions, then, the aged were present in significant numbers in pre-modern times.

### ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OLD

Strands of veneration for and antagonism toward the aged coexisted in all early modern societies. The extreme views represented by these strands were in constant dialectical tension, underpinning the complex set of social relations that characterized individual older people's relationships within their communities. Historians have moved away from the sense that there is any grand narrative of either rising or declining status for the elderly and have

instead highlighted the great heterogeneity and complexity of attitudes toward aging and the aged.

Older individuals often played highly valued roles. The Spanish proverb "The oldster who cannot predict is not worth a sardine" reflects the common perception that an older person's worldly experience was a valuable community resource. Similarly, many different kinds of sources, from diaries to law cases, demonstrate a pervasive reliance on the memory of older individuals as a source of history and custom, a tradition that persisted despite the ever-growing availability and importance of print to record public and private memories.

Attitudes toward old women varied. The image of the wise old woman and the nurturing elderly mother or grandmother played a role in literature, but representations of older women, especially widows, were more often negative, or even vicious. Images in cheap print stereotyped old women as witches, and literature frequently represented old women as lascivious fools, querulous gossips, or shrill scolds. While recent studies have deepened our understanding of the image of the witch as an old woman, the image of the witch as an old hag demonstrates the ways misogyny and antagonism toward the aged could interact in this period.

## ASSISTANCE TO THE AGED

Because so much preindustrial work involved physical labor, and because even the middling sorts were often in vulnerable economic situations, old age often brought with it downward economic mobility. Older individuals generally tried to remain self-supporting, and there were expectations of familial aid, but the elderly poor often depended on public assistance. In most European countries, poor relief was not regulated, but individual communities provided assistance for some of their elderly members. Forms of poor relief varied by country, region, and city, but community assistance usually took one of three forms: statutory poor relief, institutions like hospitals and asylums, and charity.

England's "Old Poor Law" serves as the clearest example of statutory poor relief. Under the Elizabethan Poor Acts of 1601, unpaid churchwardens and overseers in each of the country's parishes collected poor-relief taxes and redistributed the money to the poor residents of the parish. The statute specifically called for "necessary relief" to be given

to the aged and decrepit poor. Historians differ in their assessment of the scope, generosity, and regional variation of the Old Poor Law's provision for the elderly, but it is certain that this system generated assistance ranging from occasional handouts to subsistence-level pensions for a significant minority of the aged population in many parishes in early modern England. The nature of the assistance changed as poor relief grew more extensive throughout the country. By the end of the eighteenth century, especially in southern and eastern parishes, parish poor relief to the aged could be very extensive. The Old Poor Law provided an important safety net for the aged, especially old widows. This system should not be mistaken for a prototype of modern social security (there was always a very strong and moralistic social-control element to early modern poor relief), but its extensive presence in the economic landscape and cultural expectations of this period is a significant aspect of the history of old age.

In Protestant Germany, large hospitals—charitable institutions set up to serve the aged, young, poor, needy, prostitutes, and so forth—such as those in Hesse, which were founded after the Reformation as a means to replace monastic charity, specifically served infirm people over sixty. If an old person's petition for entrance into the hospital was accepted, he or she could depend on the hospital to provide a bed and subsistence for the remainder of his or her life. Similarly, both the Hospital of Saint Sixtus and the Apostolic Hospital in Catholic Rome privileged the elderly poor as particularly deserving of assistance. Indeed, the early modern period witnessed a growing acceptance of the institutionalization of the elderly in the last stage of life.

In Protestant areas, these institutions were sometimes designed to replace Catholic charities, but in Catholic countries, religious foundations (including monasteries and confraternities) continued to be a vital source of nonfamilial assistance to the aged poor. Less easy to document, but undoubtedly pervasive in both Protestant and Catholic Europe, neighbors, employers, and friends all gave handouts to the aged as well. All of these sources of assistance—formal poor relief, local institutions, and charity—helped the elderly who fell into need maintain themselves in what Olwen Hufton has

called the "economy of makeshifts" that characterized the economic lives of the early modern poor.

### HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

As they aged, individuals sought to stay closely connected to their children and/or to more extended networks of kin. These relationships were structured around reciprocal obligations and notions of familial bonds and duties as well as around ties of real affection and attachment in many cases. Spouses, especially, gave vital support to one another, and children's duty to support their aged parents was but one strand of the thickly woven thread that bound together the elderly and their families. Resources within families often flowed downward from the aged to the younger generations; in early modern sources, the efforts of the old for their families surface repeatedly and importantly.

Analyses of early modern household listings (informal and sporadic local censuses) have revealed the residential patterns of the elderly, though it is true that such sources can illuminate only a small piece of the broader picture of family life. Both family historians and historians of aging have generated a considerable body of work on the living arrangements of the elderly.

A wide variety of household forms existed throughout Europe. In England, where households were generally small and focused on the conjugal family unit, older men most often continued to head their own households. Even older women lived most frequently as the spouse of a householder or as head of their own domicile until advanced old age. In other parts of Europe, such as southern France, where the stem-family system was prevalent, an older couple's co-residential heir eventually supplanted the parents in home and farm. Historians of central and eastern Europe have found there the prevalence of multigeneration and complex households. In Castile, although most households were nuclear, older people lived in a wide range of household types. One way to make sense of this complexity is to note, as David Kertzer and others have pointed out, that most of western Europe followed a model of nuclear family households, but that older people were fairly often reincorporated into these households, especially after the death of an old parent's spouse.

The heterogeneity of old people's households mirrors the wide variety of experiences and the complex and even contradictory images and expectations regarding old age. An individual's view of old age—whether personal or second-hand—was profoundly influenced by gender, class, health, and family status. Nonetheless, most older people shared a fundamental desire to stay closely attached to their families and friends as they strove to retain their economic self-sufficiency. They also shared, in the broadest terms, a culture that offered many different paths through the aging process, so that individuals were not narrowly restricted to norms of "acting one's age."

See also Charity and Poor Relief; Childhood and Childrearing; Family; Marriage; Poverty; Widows and Widowhood; Women; Youth.

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SUSANNAH OTTAWAY

**OLD BELIEVERS.** Also known as Old Ritualists (staroobriadtsy), the Old Believers (starovertsy) constituted Russia's principal movement of religious dissent in response to liturgical changes imposed by Patriarch Nikon (reigned 1652–1666). Faced with brutal persecution, the first Old Believers established an underground church that grew into a popular alternative to the Russian Orthodox Church during the eighteenth century. Old Believer communities defined themselves by a number of distinctive tenets and practices, including ritual conservatism, apocalyptic theology, and a strict moral code.

### THE FIRST OLD BELIEVERS

Shortly after Patriarch Nikon embarked on the revision of Russian liturgical books in 1652, he clashed with a group of educated churchmen over the sacred traditions of medieval orthodoxy. Nikon's opponents rejected the new three-finger sign of the cross (instead of the old two-finger sign), the fourended shape of the cross (for the traditional six- or eight-ended crosses), the new spelling of the name Jesus ("Iisus" for the old "Isus"), five loaves (instead of seven) at the altar, processions against (rather than toward) the sun, the deletion of traditional prayers and prostrations, and many other changes. According to Old Believers, the Russian Orthodox Church had inherited Christ's original forms of worship from Byzantium, and even the slightest interference with this ancient legacy would lead to the destruction of Holy Russia. Evoking the imminent end of the world, they condemned Patriarch Nikon as either the precursor of the Antichrist or the Antichrist himself.

Prior to the introduction of liturgical reforms, the first Old Believers had held influential positions within the Russian church, and some had even been close associates of Patriarch Nikon and Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676). Prominent among the Old Believer founding fathers were the

abbot Feoktist, the archimandrites Nikanor and Spiridon Potemkin, the bishops Aleksander of Vyatka and Pavel of Kolomna, the archpriests Ivan Neronov and Avvakum Petrovich, the priest Nikita Dobrynin, and the deacon Fedor Ivanov.

These first Old Believers, who saw their role primarily as instructing ordinary Russians in the essentials of ancient Christianity, established lay conventicles and hermitages as alternative structures of worship. The church and state assaulted most of these communities with military campaigns. Entire congregations sometimes immolated themselves in dramatic attempts to escape capture. Only a few isolated Old Believer communities in frontier areas survived this persecution. Some of the founding fathers were excommunicated and ended up in exile; others suffered martyrdom and became popular Old Believer saints.

A common Old Believer identity emerged only gradually, and due to two principal developments: first, the copying and dissemination of pastoral letters and treatises penned by the founding fathers; second, the composition of hagiographic vitae devoted to martyred heroes. During the last two decades of the seventeenth century, Old Believers began to define themselves as a textual community that shared a body of sacred writings.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the reign of Peter I (ruled 1689–1725), tens of thousands of peasants joined Old Believer communities in order to escape the newly imposed army recruitment levies and heavy tax burdens. By 1800 Old Believers numbered several million. An effective school system taught the peasant majority of Old Believers to read and write. A new generation of intellectuals sought to distinguish Old Belief from Russian Orthodoxy. Liturgical books, bells, icons, and crosses from the pre-Nikonian period (or meticulous reproductions thereof) as well as church services using the old liturgies were central features of community life. In addition, powerful elders (nastavniki) enforced stringent discipline and ascetic habits. Contacts with outsiders were severely limited; traditional, simple dress was uniformly imposed; alcohol, tobacco, and tea were prohibited, as were most meats and certain vegetables, such as potatoes and lettuce. Drunkards, fornicators, and other troublemakers were punished or expelled.

Despite their conscious separation from society, Old Believers often became involved in industry and commerce. This seeming paradox can be explained by a number of factors: the necessity of material survival, the effective sharing of resources, and the emergence of a strong work ethic and a disciplined labor force, as well as the state's growing recognition that Old Believers played a crucial role in Russian economic development.

The Old Believer movement failed to develop overarching institutions and soon split into a number of concords (soglasiia) that disagreed over sacraments such as priesthood, baptism, and marriage. The central dilemma remained the sustenance of a church without an episcopal hierarchy. The Priestly (popovtsy), who predominated in Russia's southern and western borderlands, accepted fugitive priests consecrated by the Russian Orthodox Church. By contrast, the Priestless (bespopovtsy), who lived mostly in the Russian north and Siberia, were led by hermits and abolished priestly sacraments such as communion and marriage.

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Most historians have focused on the first Old Believers and concluded that the founding fathers were charismatic leaders of a popular movement that pitted Russia's masses against the church. According to this standard interpretation, Old Believers' opposition to liturgical changes precipitated a dramatic confrontation usually referred to as the Russian Schism (raskol). Old Believers are perceived to have rallied powerful resistance to the forces of modernization and Westernization unleashed by the Romanov dynasty. This interpretation is supported by polemical texts that depict Old Believers as the principal protagonists in an apocalyptic struggle against the forces of the Antichrist.

Recent studies of Russian archives, however, have shown that conflicts between church and society were far more complicated. Resistance to Nikon's liturgical reforms was not the result of Old Believer propaganda but reflected age-old fissures in Russia's religious geography. Many parishes and monasteries had never been integrated into the institutional structure of the church, and countless peasants, merchants, and lower clergy lived independent lives without conforming to church regula-

tions. When church agents attempted to enforce the Nikonian reforms as signs of obedience to church authority, they failed to break traditional autonomies. Powerless to bridge the gulf between local cultures and the administrative center, the Russian Orthodox Church declared the outbreak of a schism. Old Believers were certainly the church's most visible and outspoken opponents, but they did not attract large popular followings before the eighteenth century. The most remarkable achievement of the Old Believer movement was its subsequent transformation from an underground diaspora into a powerful adversary of the Russian Orthodox Church.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Avvakum Petrovich; Morozova, Boiarynia; Nikon, patriarch; Orthodoxy, Russian; Russian Literature and Language.

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GEORG MICHELS

# OLD REGIME. See Ancien Régime.

# OLDENBARNEVELDT, JOHAN

VAN (1547-1619), Dutch statesman who laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic. Johan van Oldenbarneveldt was born into a patrician family at Amersfoort in the province of Utrecht in 1547. His father was a difficult man who never took the family place on the town council and who was surrounded by rumors about his notorious behavior. The young Johan nevertheless received the kind of education thought suitable for young members of the class of town councillors (the regents): he went to the local Latin school, was for some years the pupil of a lawyer in The Hague (the administrative center of the province of Holland), and spent four years abroad, studying law at the universities of Louvain, Bourges, and Heidelberg. These were decisive years that molded Oldenbarneveldt's character and views. His stay at The Hague introduced him into the world of politics and acquainted him with the work and mentality of councillors and lawyers. The study of law that followed reinforced these earlier experiences. Throughout his career Oldenbarneveldt was obsessed with justifying his political turns and innovations by means of texts, and he reduced problems to practical and legal issues. In a religious respect, these educational years also proved to be of lasting importance. In 1568, during his stay at Heidelberg, Oldenbarneveldt became a Calvinist.

Oldenbarneveldt returned from his grand tour in 1570 and went to The Hague to earn a living as an expert on feudal law and laws connected with dikes and drainage. It was a lucrative business. When, however, in the spring of 1572 the Dutch Revolt entered a new phase and one town after another in Holland and Zeeland took the side of the rebellious William I of Orange (William the Silent) and his adherents, Oldenbarneveldt decided to openly support the rebels' cause. Unsettled times followed, in which military and political events happened in quick succession. Oldenbarneveldt himself attracted attention because of his sheer competence in administrative issues and hard work. In 1576 he became pensionary, or legal advisor, of Rotterdam, and in March 1586 the States of Holland appointed him as their "advocate," a post that went back to Burgundian times but had gained greatly in importance since 1572. Not yet forty years old, Oldenbarneveldt was henceforth the principal figure in the

States of Holland as well as their spokesman in the States General.

Lacking charm, tact, and adroitness, Oldenbarneveldt was never a charismatic personality. Contemporaries found him "very stiffe" or even "somewhat violent, imperious and bitter." But he was industrious, intelligent, and, above all, opportunistic. When he took office in 1586, the Dutch rebels found themselves in a lamentable situation, deprived of their assassinated leader William I of Orange, divided among themselves and half-conquered by Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma. Oldenbarneveldt, however, proved in his new position to be an outstanding statesman with a clear political objective: to organize an independent Dutch state with the province of Holland firmly in possession of all real power. In the following years he succeeded in driving the new governor-general of the Netherlands, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, away without losing the support of Queen Elizabeth I and in transforming the traditional Dutch institutions into efficient and flexible instruments of government. He thus not only managed to organize the new Dutch Republic in a more or less satisfactory way but also created the financial and political framework that allowed the young stadtholder Maurice of Nassau to achieve his decisive military victories of the 1590s. These safeguarded the frontiers and integrity of the new state. Realizing, however, the sharply escalating burden of military expenditure, Oldenbarneveldt tried from 1606 onward to bring the war to an end. With patience and versatility he controlled the negotiations with the Spanish delegations that eventually led to the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609.

Left on its own, the new Dutch Republic experienced during this truce one of the most profound crises in its history. It started innocently, with a theological debate between the Arminians or Remonstrants (moderate Calvinists) and the Gomarists or Counter-Remonstrants (strict Calvinists). But the controversies resulting from this debate became intertwined in a short time with religious fervor, polarized discussions about the relations between the state and the Calvinist church, popular mistrust about Oldenbarneveldt's alleged pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic sympathies (Had he not been the staunchest advocate of a peace with Spain?), and a bitter personal row between the ad-

vocate and the stadtholder, Maurice, who supported the Gomarists. For a time, Oldenbarneveldt gravely underestimated the seriousness of the situation. He sympathized for political reasons with the Arminians and tried to achieve his goals as he had always done, by manipulating the States of Holland and States General. But, confronted with popular opposition and riots, a divided body politic and, since 1616, a hostile stadtholder, Oldenbarneveldt fought a losing battle. He had never been a popular politician. In the end he was, notwithstanding his impressive record of service, just a civil servant of the States of Holland and thus no match for his opponent, stadtholder Maurice. As a nobleman by birth, son of William I of Orange, and a successful and famous military commander, Maurice was a clear favorite of the people. So when Maurice proclaimed Oldenbarneveldt's "Scherpe Resolutie" (Sharp Resolution) of August 1617, which had, among other things, empowered the towns of Holland to raise special troops to maintain order, an "affront to the true Reformed religion and our person" and publicly chose the side of the Gomarists or Counter-Remonstrants, Oldenbarneveldt's days were numbered. On 29 August 1618 he was arrested. After a trial that dragged on for months, Oldenbarneveldt was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. On 13 May 1619, the 72-year-old advocate, who had laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic and who had dominated Dutch politics for thirty years, was beheaded before a large crowd at the Binnenhof in The Hague.

See also Dort, Synod of; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); William of Orange.

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**OLDENBURG, HENRY** (c. 1618–1677), secretary to the Royal Society of London. Henry Oldenburg was born in Bremen, Germany, around 1618. After graduating with an M.A. from the Gymnasium Illustre in Bremen in 1639, he traveled in Europe until 1653, when he went to England on

a diplomatic mission for Bremen. Thereafter he resided in London, where he made the acquaintance of John Dury, Samuel Hartlib, John Milton, Thomas Hobbes, Robert Boyle, and Boyle's sister Lady Ranelagh, to whose son, Richard Jones, future earl of Ranelagh, he became tutor. In 1660 he was associated with Boyle's circle at Gresham College. In 1661 he joined the newly founded Royal Society, to which he was appointed as one of two secretaries in 1662. Oldenburg was twice married, first to Dorothy West (d. 1665), whom he married in 1663, and secondly to his ward, Katherina Dury, whom he married in 1668 and with whom he had two children, Rupert and Sophia.

As secretary to the Royal Society, Oldenburg was responsible for keeping records of the Society's meetings and for maintaining its correspondence with thinkers and scientists throughout Europe, including such figures as Johannes Hevel, Christiaan Huygens, Marcello Malpighi, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, and Nicolaus Steno. In this capacity, Oldenburg played an important role as publicist, promoter, and information gatherer for the new science. The success of this owed much to him personally, to his wide command of languages, his broad range of contacts, and his personal interest in the new science. He established the *Philosophical* Transactions of the Royal Society (first published in 1665) as an important vehicle for scientific interchange that helped to shape the Baconian and experimentalist character of Royal Society science.

See also Boyle, Robert; Hartlib, Samuel; Hobbes, Thomas; Huygens Family; Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van; Malpighi, Marcello; Milton, John; Steno, Nicolaus.

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SARAH HUTTON

# OLIVARES, GASPAR DE GUZMÁN Y PIMENTEL, COUNT OF (1587-

1645), Spanish statesman. Olivares (Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, third count of Olivares), who became the principal minister of Philip IV (1605–1665) of Spain, was born on 6 January 1587 in Rome, where his father, the second count, was ambassador to the Holy See. The counts of Olivares, a small town near Seville, belonged to the junior branch of the Andalusian house of Guzmán, whose titular head was Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, seventh duke of Medina-Sidonia (1549–1615). Don Gaspar, as a third son, was destined for the church but inherited his father's ambition to move out of the ranks of the lesser nobility and challenge the much-resented primacy of the senior branch of the family.

Olivares saw his native Spain for the first time in 1600, when his father returned to the peninsula after serving in succession as viceroy of Sicily and Naples. In 1601, when he was fourteen, Olivares was sent from the family home in Seville to Salamanca University to study civil and canon law. His years in the university gave him a lasting taste for letters and learning and perhaps also for book collecting, which became one of the great passions of his life. Plans for an ecclesiastical career, however, had to be abandoned when his surviving elder brother died suddenly in 1604. When his father died in 1607, having failed to acquire the coveted title of grandee of Spain, Gaspar succeeded him as third count of Olivares. In the same year he married his cousin, doña Inés de Zúñiga y Velasco, daughter of the fifth count of Monterrey. Of the children of the marriage, only one daughter, María, survived infancy. His daughter's death in 1626 after giving birth to a stillborn child was the great personal tragedy of Olivares's life, dashing his hopes of perpetuating the family line.

In 1615, after years of profligate spending in Seville, where he became a generous patron of men of letters, Olivares finally succeeded in securing a post at court as a gentleman in the household of the young prince Philip, the heir to the throne. In the following years he succeeded in ingratiating himself into the prince's favor, and when Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) died prematurely in 1621, Olivares was at once regarded as the favorite of the new king, who made him a grandee within a few days of his accession. Philip IV's principal minister for the first two years of his reign, however, was Olivares's uncle, don Baltasar de Zúñiga. Only following Zúñiga's death in 1622 did Olivares effectively emerge as the dominant figure of a regime he headed for twenty years.

Zúñiga and Olivares came to power as the champions of a reform movement intended to restore Spain's reputation abroad and reverse the process of economic, administrative, and moral decline at home following what were perceived to be two decades of misgovernment by Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, duke of Lerma (1553–1625), the favorite and omnicompetent minister of Philip III. Olivares therefore embarked on an ambitious program of reforms designed to reactivate the flagging Castilian economy, raise the standards of government and public morals, and share more equitably among the different kingdoms of Spain's extended empire the fiscal and military burdens that were crushing Castile.

The reform program of the 1620s was undertaken against a background of war. The Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch Republic expired in 1621, and Spanish forces were becoming involved in the growing conflict in central Europe that developed into the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The early years of the Olivares government brought some notable victories, and in 1625 Olivares was raised to a dukedom with the title of duke of San Lúcar la Mayor. Thereafter he was known to contemporaries as the count-duke (conde-duque).

At the end of the decade, however, the reform program began to flag as Spain became involved in a costly and unsuccessful intervention in the War of the Mantuan Succession (1627–1631). From this point onwards Spain was on a collision course with the France of Cardinal Richelieu, although war be-



Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, count of Olivares. Equestrian portrait by Diego Velázquez. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

EUROPE 1450 TO 1789

tween the two countries was not officially declared until 1635. There was still money to support a brilliant court life, and during the early 1630s, when Spain's armies were winning new victories in Germany, the count-duke constructed a pleasure palace for the king, the "Buen Retiro," on the outskirts of Madrid, that became a showcase for the arts. But the strains were beginning to tell, and an increasingly authoritarian government, dominated by juntas composed of Olivares's friends, relatives, and clients, resorted with growing desperation to financial expedients to meet the escalating costs of war.

In 1626 Olivares proposed a "Union of Arms" among the various Spanish kingdoms to help pool their resources in the face of enemy attack. He failed to secure acceptance of the scheme in Catalonia and, following the outbreak of the war with France, sought to exploit the principality's geographical position as a neighbor of France to involve the Catalans more directly in Spain's military effort. His plans miscarried disastrously in the spring and summer of 1640, when the principality, outraged by the behavior of the royal army billeted upon it, rose in revolt and formally terminated its allegiance to Philip IV. Six months later the revolt of Catalonia was followed by the almost bloodless secession of Portugal. With two simultaneous revolts in the peninsula, the balance of the war turned in favor of France, and in January 1643 the king gave his aging and exhausted minister permission to retire from office. With his enemies baying for his blood, the count-duke was sent into semi-exile in the city of Toro, where he died on 22 July 1645.

A ministerial career that had started amid high hopes and expectations ended therefore in defeat. This complex, hyperactive man, ambitious both for his monarch and for himself, failed in spite of titanic efforts to reverse the decline of Spanish power.

See also Medina Sidonia, 7th duke of; Philip IV (Spain).

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J. H. Elliott

**OPERA.** For much of the first three centuries of opera-from the early Renaissance to the time of Mozart—the art was never far from the seat of power. With few exceptions, the scale and expense of operatic productions required significant patronage from either the state or the moneyed few, an investment that in return elevated the prestige of regimes and sweetened the constraints of rule. From the mid-sixteenth century, rulers of Italian citystates sponsored intermedii, dramatic musical interludes that appeared alongside a welter of other entertainments such as banquets, balls, hunts, and ballets intended to commemorate, celebrate, and on occasion intimidate. A committee of poets recast Girolamo Bargagli's 1564 play La pellegrina, dedicated to Ferdinando de' Medici, as six intermedii for the 1589 marriage of the duke to Christine of Lorraine, which the maestro di capella at the Florence Cathedral, Cristofano Malvezzi, set to music. Other such intermedii marked similarly important events in the city throughout the sixteenth century. At the same time, a group of Florentine intellectuals called the Camerata set about re-creating ancient Greek drama, which they believed to have been a blend of chant, declamation, and dance. Funded by patrons like the wealthy Florentine humanist Giovanni de' Bardi and silk merchant Jacopo Corsi, the Camerata experimented with setting classic myths to music. This was the context that produced Orfeo (1607) by Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), a large-scale work of sophisticated design and dramatic mastery that many have called the first true opera. Initially staged "as a casual entertainment for courtiers" around Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua, Orfeo was later staged to celebrate Margherita of Savoy's entry into the city before her marriage to Ferdinando Gonzaga.

The grandest alliance of opera and power came during the reign of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), whose musicians went well beyond the associations implicit in *intermedii* to cast the king himself in productions. Cardinal Jules Mazarin introduced Italian opera to France in the 1640s, and the Italian

Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) later received carte blanche in the title of surintendant de la musique. Lully was decisive in forging the "French style," a stately aesthetic of pomp and magnificence that depended more on sensuous vocal and stage effects than on taut drama. Lully's most enduring operatic form, the tragédie lyrique, took its subjects from chivalric tales and ancient myths, with simple plots that turned on the loves of kings, queens, and divinities. Audiences were overwhelmingly noble, and the atmosphere both on the stage and in the hall radiated the Sun King's glory. The prologue to Lully's Thésée (1675) is set in the gardens of Versailles as Mars sings of the king's victories in battle, and Love, Grace, and Pleasure regret his absence; in Isis (1677) Neptune sings of struggles with Holland and Spain. With the eighteenth-century operas of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764), references to the French monarchy receded, but the Opéra—officially called the Académie Royale de Musique—remained closely identified with the state.

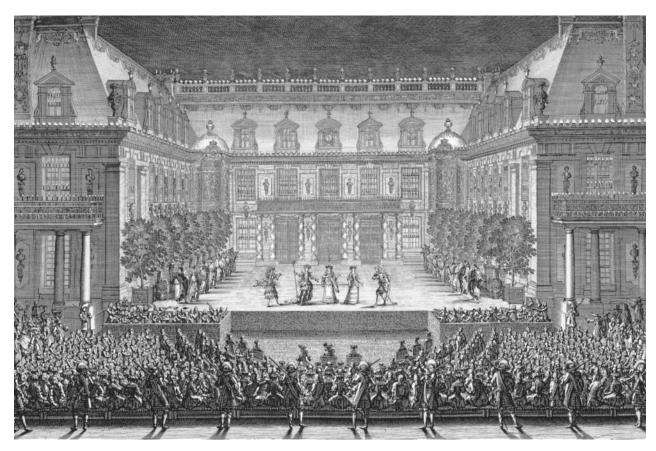
A more popular aesthetic developed elsewhere, with the state less decisive in operatic production. The first public opera house in Europe opened in Venice in 1637 with the help of private sponsorship. By 1700 there were ten theaters in the city, with a keen entrepreneurial competition fueling new productions. The luster of Venetian power and the renown of its culture drew composers and performers. Its annual Carnival season, running from just after Christmas to Lent, brought reliable audiences that were well-to-do and ready to be entertained. The absence of a Venetian court and the city's mercantile character helped to account for its more earthbound productions, with fewer stage machines, less scenic grandeur, and more historical and comedic subjects than in France or other Italian city-states. The cult of personality prevailed particularly where commercial interest was present, and prima donnas and castrati (especially numerous in Rome, where by papal decree women were banned from the stage) reversed the priority given to the text over the music.

Political and social factors that encouraged early Italian and French opera did not prevail in England, where the Protectorate's ban on public entertainments and a limited monarchy in the later seventeenth century slowed the appearance of opera and

hampered its progress well into the eighteenth century. The Restoration's entertainments bore little trace of the Stuart masque, an opulent and thoroughly aristocratic mixture of dance, song, and instrumental music staged at court and in great houses for weddings, receptions, and royal visits. With a few notable exceptions, government support was minimal. Attempting to replicate the French model, Charles II commissioned Albion and Albanius (1685), with text by John Dryden and music by Louis Grabu, to celebrate the naming of the duke of York as his successor. As England's first Continental-style opera, it left little trace: Its premiere was overshadowed by news of the Monmouth Rebellion, and it quickly fell into neglect. More common were so-called semi-operas, which mixed singing, dancing, and dialogue, often in fantastical settings. Armed with a royal patent to "reform" the plays of Shakespeare, the composer William Davenant, working with John Dryden, produced some of the earliest semi-operas in Macbeth (1663) and The Tempest (1667). Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas (1689), a miniature tragedy written for performance at a girls' school in Chelsea, was a rare instance of a fully sung work.

London's first public opera house, Dorset Garden Theatre (1671), depended heavily upon semioperas and comédies-ballets in the French style. Charles II's efforts to bring an Italian company to London in the 1670s met with public indifference, but thirty years later Italian opera seria came to dominate the English lyric stage. Advanced by the Italian dramatist Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782), opera seria reduced the baroque extravagances of courtly opera by streamlining plots, eliminating extraneous love intrigues, and peopling the stage with historical rather than mythic heroes. George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), drawn to London on the urging of the English ambassador to Venice, used the conventions of opera seria to fashion a highly individual idiom that combined a quickened dramatic pace with stunning vocal displays.

Italy continued to set the terms for operatic development elsewhere in Europe. Inspired by the irreverence of commedia dell'arte, comic *intermezzi* and buffa operas mocked the arrogant with fast-paced patter, sprightly tunes, and simple plots involving ordinary mortals. The appearance of a buffa troupe from Italy at the French Opéra in 1752



**Opera.** Engraving of a performance of Lully's musical drama *Alceste* in the marble court of the Château de Versailles, 1674. THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIES PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

produced outrage and indignation among France's cultural conservatives and gave the philosophes an opportunity to bait their opponents. Citing Italian *intermezzi* as his standard, and with the ideological apparatus of the Académie Royale his unnamed target, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote, "I conclude that the French do not have music and can never have it; if they ever do, it will be all the worse for them." In the German-speaking lands, opera buffa fused with an older tradition of mystery plays in the form of the Singspiel, a blend of highbrow and common that combined spoken dialogue, dances, marches, and narrative song. Die Zauberflöte (The magic flute, 1791) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) is in this tradition, and its popularity is in part a reflection of the genre's enormous popular success: In its first ten years at Vienna's Theater auf der Wieden, it enjoyed 223 performances.

Mozart's operas, without precedent and unrivaled in so many aspects, cannot be called revo-

lutionary in either dramatic content or musical execution. In Le nozze di Figaro (The marriage of Figaro, 1786), called by Mozart an opera buffa, Count Almaviva, the nobleman thwarted in his attempt to exercise his droit du seigneur, is more laughable than tyrannical. Whatever reversals might be implied in Figaro's menacing vow to teach the count to caper are quickly erased with the opera's happy ending, which articulates a moderate, secular view that affirms social differences and sanctifies forgiveness. Don Giovanni (1787), whose original title was Il dissoluto punito, o sia Il Don Giovanni, ultimately depicts the limits of radical Enlightenment sensualism, a message that Mozart's richly seductive and resolutely nonmoralizing music does much to complicate.

See also Dryden, John; Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Handel, George Frideric; Haydn, Franz Joseph; Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Music; Purcell, Henry; Rameau, Jean-Philippe; Songs, Popular. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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**OPRICHNINA.** *Oprichnina* is the name given by historians to Tsar Ivan IV's division of the Russian state during the years from 1565 to 1572 and to the domestic policies of those years. When the tsar divided the government and administration of the country into two parts, the part reserved for his direct rule became known as oprichnina, from the word oprich', meaning 'apart from' or 'besides'. Ivan instituted the oprichnina in February 1565, in the wake of reverses in the Livonian War and particularly of the defection of Prince Andrei M. Kurbsky to Lithuania. In early 1565 he divided the country, administration, and army into two parts, his "own," the oprichnina, and the remainder, the zemshchina ('the land'). In substance this meant that he split all institutions in two: there was now an oprichnina and zemshchina army, offices, and Duma. Regions of Russia's territory were under one or the other: the north, Novgorod, and a patchwork of districts in central Russia were under the oprichnina, the rest of the country, under the zemshchina. Boyar and gentry estates in oprichnina territory were confiscated and new, presumably less valuable, lands handed out in place, especially in the newly conquered Volga area. Many important boyars were executed. The following few years saw continued executions, including the murder of Metropolitan Filipp in 1569. The climax came in 1570 with the execution of several thousand Novgorod gentry, clergy, and townspeople. By 1572 the policy came to an end.

See also Autocracy; Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Livonian War (1558-1583); Russia.

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**OPTICS.** The development of optics between 1450 and 1789 can be conveniently divided into two phases bridged by the optical work of Johannes Kepler (1576–1630) and distinguished by a radical change in analytic focus. During the first phase, that focus was primarily on sight, not light. During the second, it shifted completely from sight to light. Reflecting this shift, the following essay consists of three sections, the first dealing with pre-Keplerian optics, the second with the Keplerian transition, and the third with post-Keplerian developments.

#### PRE-KEPLERIAN OPTICS

By 1450 two ostensibly contradictory models of sight were available to European thinkers. The first and simpler of the two harks back to the visual-ray theory of Euclid (fl. c. 300 B.C.E.). Brought to maturity by Ptolemy (c. 170 C.E.), this theory assumes that a constant stream of visual flux emanates from the center of the eye through the pupil to form a cone. This cone can be conceived of as a bundle of individual rays, each reaching out to "feel" things visually and, on that basis, to locate and define them in space by reference to the vertex at the eye's center. But there is more to seeing than spatial perception. Color and luminosity, which are all but ignored by Euclid, seem not only integral but fundamental to sight. Recognizing this point, Ptolemy based his account of vision on color perception. Understood as a real and inherent quality of external objects, color, for Ptolemy, is what makes them visible. But, on its own, it cannot be seen; it needs the added power of light, which acts as a catalytic agent for vision. Seeing therefore begins with the primitive grasp of color by visual flux when it touches a properly illuminated object. Transmitted radially back through the cone of flux to the eye, the resulting color impression gives rise to the perception of spatial characteristics, such as size, shape, and distance, which in turn gives rise to a perception of the object as a whole. For Ptolemy, then, color perception is absolutely primal; all other perceptions are derivative.

The second model of vision harks back to Alhacen (965–1040) and his Perspectivist disciples, Roger Bacon (fl. c. 1265), Witelo (fl. c. 1275), and John Pecham (fl. c. 1280). Rejecting visual rays as functionally pointless, these theorists raised light to primacy in the visual process, supposing it to be an intrinsic quality of self-luminous or illuminated bodies. Each point of light on the surface of such bodies is a source of radiation in its own right, spreading outward in all directions in a process of self-replication. The resulting sphere of propagation can be analytically resolved into individual rays, along which point forms of the original light are transmitted. Color, too, is an intrinsic property of bodies. Yet although they are ontologically distinct, light and color are functionally inseparable. Both must be present in objects if they are to be seen, so what actually radiates from them is luminous color. Thus, like Ptolemy, the Perspectivists viewed luminous color as primal for sight.

Unlike Ptolemy, the Perspectivists gave a detailed account of how the optic complex contributes to vision. The eye itself, they assumed, is a sphere. Toward its front lies the crystalline lens, whose anterior surface is concentric with the eye as a whole. The space behind it is filled with vitreous humor, which is optically denser than the glacial humor occupying the lens. At the very back, directly in line with the center of the pupil and the center of the eye, lies the hollow optic nerve, which reaches from the eye to the forefront of the brain. A conduit for visual spirit manufactured in the brain, this nerve transmits the spirit to the lens and thereby sensitizes it. The anterior surface of the lens, meanwhile, is bombarded from all directions by point forms of luminous color radiating from external objects. Because of its visual sensitivity, though, the lens feels only those color forms that strike it orthogonally and thus selects out a formal representation of the object in point-to-point correspondence with it. The composite of all the rays linking the object and its formal representation on the lens's surface creates a cone of radiation with its base in the object and its vertex at the center of the eye. Mathematically equivalent to Ptolemy's visual cone, this radiative cone serves much the same function as the basis for spatial perception.

The lens's ability to select coherent visual representations is also optically determined. As a refractive body, the lens allows only those rays that strike it orthogonally to pass straight through toward the center of the eye. Before they reach that point, they are refracted at the back surface of the lens so as to channel the visual representation in proper upright order into the hollow optic nerve. Conveyed by the spirit perfusing this nerve, the visual representation eventually reaches the brain, where it is subject to perceptual scrutiny. From this scrutiny arises a more abstract perceptual representation of the object according to all its visible attributes. More abstract yet is the ensuing conceptual representation, by means of which we perceive the object as a specific or general type. Each succeeding representation is a virtual likeness of its predecessor, much as a painting is a likeness of its subject. Hence, from start to finish, visual perception unfolds in a succession of virtual replications that ensures a fundamental correspondence between objective reality and our mind's-eye picture of it.

The Perspectivists were thus convinced that vision is veridical under the right conditions adequate light, a healthy eye, and so forth. But under the wrong conditions, sight can err. Reflection and refraction offer two specific and egregious examples. In both cases there is a clear disparity between reality and appearance, insofar as things always appear displaced and often distorted in mirrors and refracting media. Accordingly, the Perspectivists were at pains to reconcile appearance with reality on the basis of ray geometry. The result was an elaborate analysis of image formation and distortion in mirrors and refracting media based on two principles: the law of equal angles for reflection and the cathetus rule of image location for reflection and refraction. According to this rule, the image of any point object seen in a mirror will lie at the intersection of the extended line of reflection, which constitutes the line of sight, and the perpendicular dropped from the object point to the surface of reflection. Nevertheless—and this point is crucial the ultimate goal of this analysis was not to understand how light interacts with reflecting and refracting surfaces. It was to understand how things

are perceived or, rather, misperceived by means of such surfaces. Perspectivist optics, in short, was "subjective," not "objective," in its analytic focus.

Not all optical phenomena are subjective, though. Long before the Renaissance, it was known that spherical and parabolic concave mirrors can gather incoming light rays to a point or spot where tinder will ignite. By at least 1300, moreover, it was known that convex lenses can correct presbyopia. And while this could be explained away through refractive magnification, the correction of myopia by concave lenses (known by the mid-fifteenth century at latest) could not. Not only do such lenses not magnify what is seen through them; they actually reduce it. In addition, by the mid- to latesixteenth century, it had become relatively common knowledge that concave mirrors, convex lenses, and pinhole openings (the camera obscura) can project images onto a screen. Lying not "in" the mirror or lens but outside it, such images make little or no sense according to Perspectivist theory, in which all images are virtual, or subjective.

Perhaps that is why such phenomena were essentially disregarded within academic circles, where Perspectivist theory predominated. Yet over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, those same phenomena captured the attention of artists, instrument makers, and leisured amateurs who, unlike their academic confreres, tended to be less theoretical than pragmatic, even instrumentalist, in their orientation. Growing interest in the focusing properties of lenses and mirrors over the sixteenth century bears directly on this point. An early example of this interest can be found in Francesco Maurolyco's study of the lenticular correction of presbyopia and myopia. Published posthumously in the Photismi de lumine (1611), but dating to the mid-sixteenth century, this study is noteworthy in two respects. First, its theoretical underpinnings are thoroughly Perspectivist. Although he felt free to adjust the model slightly by having the visual image selected from a particular sheaf of oblique rather than perpendicular rays, Maurolyco had no doubt that the selection itself occurred at the crystalline lens. Second, despite his reliance on Perspectivist principles, albeit somewhat modified, Maurolyco couched his explanation in terms not of light radiation but of its apparent antithesis, visual radiation. While such conflation may seem illogical to us, it was anything but for Maurlyco and his pragmatically oriented contemporaries. After all, light rays and visual rays are mathematically equivalent, so, as far as pure geometrical analysis is concerned, they are interchangeable. In many ways, in fact, the visual ray model is preferable, because it is both conceptually and mathematically simpler.

Maurolyco's pioneering study of lenses manifests a subtle but important change in attitude toward reflection and refraction during the later Renaissance. Before, within the Perspectivist framework, both had been regarded as sources of misperception. Now they were looked to as a means not of deluding sight but of rectifying or improving it. To this end, a succession of thinkers after Maurolyco, Giambattista della Porta (1535–1615) foremost among them, turned their attention to image magnification in convex lenses and concave mirrors in the hope of constructing an effective telescopic device. Although they failed in this, they at least succeeded in nudging the study of lenses and mirrors—as well as of their focusing properties toward the mainstream of optical analysis. It would be up to Kepler and Galileo to bring this study fully into the mainstream during the first few years of the 1600s.

## THE KEPLERIAN TRANSITION

Early in his effort to determine the orbit of Mars, Kepler realized that in order to ensure the accuracy of his observational data, he had to address a variety of optical issues involving the camera obscura and atmospheric refraction. That in turn brought him to a close, critical scrutiny of Perspectivist theory, the results of which he published in 1604 in a wideranging critique entitled Ad Vitellionem paralipomena (Supplement to Witelo). Of particular interest is his account of retinal imaging in chapter five. Kepler began by supposing that the crystalline lens, like any other convex lens, is a refractive body and nothing more. Using a water-filled glass sphere to represent the lens, he examined how light passes through it to be brought to focus on the other side. He was thus led to conclude in the end that the eye acts like a camera, the pupil forming a diaphragm and the lens focusing all the rays passing through it from a given spot on the external object to a given spot on the retina. In this way, the light from all the spots on the surface of the object are projected to

corresponding spots on the retina to form an inverted image, or "painting," of the object at the back of the eye.

At a superficial level, all Kepler did was displace the visual image from the front to the back of the eye, but at a deeper level he did far more than that. For a start, by doing away with the Perspectivist cone of radiation, Kepler did away with the center of sight as an essential reference point for optical analysis. Furthermore, being "real," not virtual, Kepler's image is public—it is there for anyone, not just the perceiver, to see. Worse, that image is inverted, not upright like its Perspectivist counterpart. Worse yet, it is too large to pass through the optic nerve to the brain for perceptual scrutiny. How, then, do such images give rise to visual perception? Kepler's response was to shunt the problem from optics to natural philosophy, arguing that the domain of optics extends no further than the retina. Opticians, in short, must restrict their study to the outward, physical manifestations of light alone. Its inward, perceptual manifestations are no longer their business.

Within six years of the publication of Kepler's account of retinal imaging, Galileo had fulfilled the hopes of earlier optical researchers by constructing a telescope that consisted of a convex objective and a concave eyepiece. Magnifying at least twenty times, this instrument had adequate resolution to allow a fairly distinct view of the four largest satellites of Jupiter. Published in the Sidereus Nuncius of 1610, news of this invention reached Kepler, who was eager to know precisely how it worked. His examination of the Galileian telescope led him to a rigorous geometrical analysis of lenses and lens combinations based solely on focal points. Among the results of that analysis, which appeared in the Dioptrice of 1611, was the design for a new kind of telescope whose objective and eyepiece were both convex. Technical details aside, Kepler accomplished two crucial things with this work. First, he brought refraction to the fore as a central concern for subsequent optical thinkers. Second, by stripping optics of its perceptual and epistemological entailments, he put the analytic focus squarely on light.

### POST-KEPLERIAN DEVELOPMENTS

Having divorced the analysis of light from the analysis of sight, Kepler set the stage for a radical transformation of optics based on the mechanization of

light. The key figure in this transformation was René Descartes, whose ideas about light and color took published form in the *Dioptrique* of 1637. According to Descartes, all light sources consist of infinitesimal particles clumped together so tightly as to form a virtual continuum. These clumps rotate swiftly, imparting a strong centrifugal tendency to the particles on their surface. But every light source is embedded in an ethereal medium composed of tiny spherical particles that are perfectly inelastic and contiguous. Instead, therefore, of flying off, the surface particles of the light source can only push against the unvielding ethereal envelope. The result is an outward impulse propagated instantaneously in all directions through it. This impulse is light or, rather, what we perceive as light—and each individual line of impulse constitutes a "ray." What we perceive as transparency is nothing more than the capacity of ether particles to transmit light impulses. Color, for its part, is a function of spin imparted to the ethereal spheres by those impulses. The faster the spin, the more vivid the color as it verges from blue toward red—or, rather, what we perceive as blue and red. The epistemological implications of this account are clear. Since physical light and its perceptual effect are absolutely different in kind, there is no meaningful way of linking them through virtual representation. "Red" and "bright" are therefore not objectively real. They are epiphenomenal, mere figments of our imagination.

Light many not actually be a projectile for Descartes, but it acts just like one. Accordingly, as a case of virtual motion along a virtual trajectory, light radiation must follow the laws of actual motion. This notion underlies Descartes's "proof" for the sine law of refraction, which is based on two fundamental principles: that, in rebounding from a reflective surface or penetrating a refractive medium, light loses none of its virtual motion, or "speed," along the horizontal, and that in penetrating a denser refractive medium, light gains virtual motion, or "speed," in proportion to the density. From this it follows that when light passes from one refractive medium to another, the ratio of the sines of the angle of incidence and the angle of refraction will be constant.

Descartes's account of light enjoyed a mixed reception. The "Schoolmen," who clung to medieval theory, rejected it outright. Among those who accepted it, some, like Robert Hooke, took it more or less at face value. Others accepted it on principle, realizing nonetheless that it was deeply flawed. The most glaring problem, of course, is the apparent contradiction in supposing that instantaneously transmitted light impulses can somehow vary in virtual motion or "speed." One obvious response to this problem is to assume that light radiation involves actual rather than virtual motion (an assumption that was eventually vindicated by Olaus Roemer's demonstration in 1679 that light takes time to travel). This is the tack Christiaan Huygens took in the 1670s. Assuming with Descartes that light consists of impulses transmitted through contiguous particles of ether, Huygens parted ways with him by making those particles elastic rather than inelastic. He proposed, therefore, that the impulse passed into the ether causes its constituent particles to contract and expand in succession, the result being a spherical wave front of condensations and rarefactions passing outward seriatim from the light source. To justify this longitudinal wave model of light, Huygens used it to good effect in explaining double refraction in Iceland spar, a phenomenon first brought to light by Erasmus Bartholin in 1669.

While Descartes, Hooke, and Huygens placed the motion, whether virtual or real, in the ethereal medium, others placed it the light itself. By 1662, for instance, Pierre de Fermat perfected his leasttime proof of the sine law, which treats light as a particle shooting through space. Upon entering a denser refractive medium, this particle is impeded and slowed down commensurately, so that of all possible trajectories the particle could follow, the one dictated by the sine law takes the shortest time to traverse. The crucial turn in the evolution of a particle theory of light came with the publication of Newton's first paper on light and color in 1672. There Newton demonstrated experimentally that color is not a modification of white light, as Descartes would have it. On the contrary, being composed of all the colors in the prismatic spectrum, white light is a modification of color. Newton's eventual explanation of this fact rested on the supposition that each color is associated with a particle of a specific size. Building on this supposition in the Opticks of 1704, Newton developed a coherent analysis of light and color based on the interaction

of color particles with gross matter as well as with exquisitely elastic ether particles—all such interactions being governed by attractive and repulsive forces. On this basis, Newton was able to explain an astonishing array of optical phenomena, ranging from simple reflection and refraction to double refraction, the formation of colored rings in thin glass plates ("Newton's Rings"), and even diffraction. With the appearance of Newton's Opticks, the theoretical lines were drawn for the rest of the eighteenth century. Huygens's longitudinal wave theory was not abandoned altogether, but because of its superior explanatory power, Newton's particle theory held sway until the early nineteenth century, when transverse waves became the wave of the future for optics.

Along with these theoretical developments, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a number of significant technical advances centering on telescopy and microscopy. The telescope, of course, found its first major publicists in Galileo and Kepler. Its close cousin the compound microscope found its key publicists somewhat later, first with the appearance of Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* in 1665 and subsequently with the observations of Jan Swammerdam and Antoni van Leeuwenhoek. For both instruments, however, resolution was a serious problem, and although it was mitigated somewhat as lenses with greater focal lengths were produced to give greater magnification, the resulting increase in telescope length narrowed the field of view.

The two main obstacles to proper resolution are spherical and chromatic aberration. The first of these stems from the fact that spherical lenses (as well as spherical concave mirrors) do not bring light to true focus. This problem inspired both Kepler and Descartes to seek the precise curvature that would bring parallel rays to focus at a single point, Descartes basing his analysis on the newly established sine law of refraction. As Descartes eventually proved, either a plano-hyperboloidal or sphericoellipsoidal lens will suffice, hence the continuing effort during the middle decades of the seventeenth century to grind plano-hyperboloidal lenses. As promising as that expedient may have been in theory, it was far less so in practice, and the effort was eventually abandoned as hopeless. Chromatic aberration went unrecognized until Newton realized that lenses have a prismatic effect that disperses the

light according to color, creating a sort of halo effect on telescopic images. To overcome this effect, he designed a reflecting telescope in which a concave spherical mirror serves as the objective. In fact, he constructed such a telescope and presented it to the Royal Society in 1671. But here, too, promise outstripped practicality, because it was all but impossible to keep the mirror from tarnishing or losing its proper shape.

The upshot was that over the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, efforts were concentrated on improving the magnification of refracting telescopes and finding ways to widen the field of view in compensation. In addition, micrometers were added for greater observational precision, so that by the 1720s it was within around one second of arc. Eventually, however, the unwieldiness of such long telescopes coupled with improvements in the manufacture of concave mirrors led in the mideighteenth century to a renewed focus on reflecting telescopes. Steady improvements in such telescopes during the second half of the eighteenth century culminated with William Herschel's discovery of Uranus in 1781.

See also Astronomy; Camera Obscura; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Hooke, Robert; Huygens Family; Kepler, Johannes; Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Instruments.

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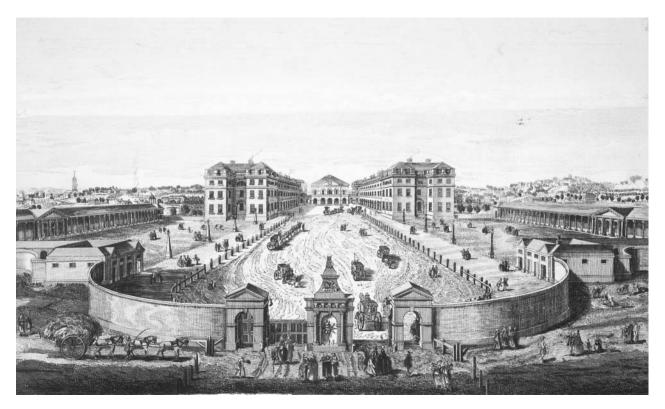
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ORDERS, SOCIAL. See Class, Status, and Order.

## ORPHANS AND FOUNDLINGS. The

early modern understanding of an orphan was more inclusive than the contemporary definition, that of a child who has lost both parents to premature death. It encompassed as well children whose parents were either unable or unwilling to support them. Children could thus be left orphaned due to parents' economic hardship, extended military or naval service, debilitating illness, or widowhood, in addition to mortality. In particular, foundlings were those children who were left (often anonymously) by an incapacitated or unwilling parent to the mercy of charitable or civic resources. Many families hoped to reclaim such children when the crisis that precipitated family dissolution had been overcome. To this end it was not uncommon for foundling children to be left with some sort of cryptic identification, such as a piece of clothing or cloth or other family trinket that could eventually be used as identification to assist in the return of the child to its proper family.

Orphans and foundlings were understood throughout Christian Europe to be an important subset of God's poor (along with widows and the disabled), and therefore fully deserving of the succor of the community. Thus, the provision of charity to such individuals was efficacious for the preservation of the soul of the giver, and abandoned children were thought to play a vital role in the spiritual economy of Christendom. Nonetheless, the physical needs of the children posed a practical problem for society. Ideally, in the small rural communities of the medieval West, "fatherless" children would be cared for by extended family members or neighbors, or willing employers if the child was old enough to perform useful work. Such children could also be supported by religious communities devoted to the care of the poor.



**Orphans and Foundlings.** Engraving of the London Foundling Hospital, c. 1766. The hospital was founded by Captain Thomas Coram in 1739 to provide humane care for abandoned children. The buildings as depicted here were erected in 1745.

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With the expansion of towns, first in late medieval and Renaissance Italy and subsequently in the early modern trade centers of the northwest coast, care for orphans and abandoned children became increasingly institutionalized and ultimately secularized as well. In this new model, children were brought together under the single roof of a foundling hospital or orphanage, fed, clothed, and educated together, and upon reaching maturity, released to the community as marriageable girls with modest dowries, domestic servants, apprenticed craftsmen, or military and naval recruits. In both Catholic and Protestant Europe these institutions had religious affiliations of one kind or another, but they were nonetheless important components of the social and economic policy increasingly being enacted by civic governments. In the sixteenth century they were vital to efforts to suppress public begging, and from the seventeenth century onward they served as important regulators of local labor markets, especially in the emerging capitalist centers of the Low Countries, Germany, and England.

The life chances of an orphaned or abandoned child varied over time and geographical circumstance, but outcomes were highly correlated with the general economic prosperity of a community. If one considers mortality outcomes alone, a clear pattern of success and failure emerges. Orphans fared well in the well-endowed institutions of late Renaissance Italy-most especially in the Florentine Ospedale degli Innocenti during the latter fifteenth century—at Christ's Hospital in London in the sixteenth century, and again in urban Dutch institutions for citizen children during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most especially the Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage. In these places infant and child mortality were well within the norm for the community at large, reacting strongly to periods of epidemic but not otherwise justifying a reputation as houses of death. However, orphans in late-eighteenth-century Rouen, Paris, Moscow, and Madrid (to name those few places where data allows for detailed study) fared much worse, with infant and child mortality exceeding 80 percent even dur-

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ing non-epidemic years. During the years of the French Revolution and the general European warfare at the turn of the nineteenth century, some institutions suffered mortality approaching 100 percent, and the orphanage became nothing more than a place for abandoned children to go to die. Even the once remarkably healthy Innocenti suffered infant and child mortality rates in excess of 70 percent during some periods in the eighteenth century—early success was no guarantee of continued success in the face of economic decline of the surrounding community.

For those orphans who survived the rigors of early childhood illness and communicable disease, information on final outcomes is even harder to come by than on the subject of mortality. Historical legend has it that orphanages were the breeding grounds for soldiers and East India Company sailors, with their concomitant high rates of early mortality, an association that is particularly strong in the Netherlands. While it is true that foundling hospitals in such large port cities as Amsterdam did send considerable numbers of male graduates into service on ships bound for the East Indies, particularly as native volunteer recruits became harder to find over the course of the eighteenth century, orphanages that housed citizen children, such as the Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage and the city orphanages (one Catholic and one Protestant) of Augsburg were much more likely to place their male graduates into the respectable artisan trades. For girls, domestic service and perhaps eventually marriage were the most likely outcomes, making theirs not easily distinguishable from the life trajectories of their non-orphaned peers. The orphanage need not have been a death sentence, in either the immediate or longer term, for those children placed in its care. However, only the most prosperous of societies were able to provide institutional care for parentless children that rivaled the care children might otherwise have received if their parents had been alive and able to keep them at home.

See also Charity and Poor Relief; Childhood and Childrearing; Poverty; Public Health; Youth.

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**ORTHODOXY, GREEK.** The life of the Greek Orthodox Church (i.e., the Greek-speaking part of the Orthodox Christian Church) changed significantly when the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, in May 1453.

## CHURCH AND STATE

The Greek Orthodox Church had not only been the official religion of the now defunct empire, it had identified with it so completely that it saw the Byzantine state as the political incarnation of the Christian church. Less than a century before the last Byzantine emperor died on the barricades in 1453 (and the empire with him), Patriarch Anthony of Constantinople, head of the Byzantine Church, had announced that it was impossible to have the church and not have the emperor. In an attempt to save the Christian empire, the hierarchy of the Byzantine church had even agreed to unite with the Roman Church, from which it had been separated for centuries, and to submit to papal authority in the vain hope of military aid to save the empire from the Ottoman Turks, but that union, angrily and almost universally condemned by the Orthodox faithful as well as by most of the bishops, was short-lived. Now the Orthodox Church had to contemplate life without a Christian emperor in an Ottoman Empire ruled by Muslims.

Not very long after the Ottoman Turkish sultan Mehmed II had taken possession of Constantinople (called Istanbul by the Turks) in 1453, he enunciated his policy of toleration for the existing non-Muslim communities. Greeks (also Armenians, Jews, and some other ethnic groups) were invited to take their places in the new empire, not in full equality with Muslims, for this was officially an Islamic state, but on a lower level, as protected minorities. Because non-Muslim religious affairs could not be judged according to Muslim religious law, Christians and Jews were made subject to their religious leaders in groups called millets (literally, 'communities'), which were granted a certain amount of autonomy. The Muslim Arabs had used a similar system for ruling the non-Muslim populations of the lands they had conquered earlier. In 1453 Sultan Mehmed II himself invested a new patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadius (George) Scholarios, with his staff of office and put him in charge not only of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire, but also of all members of the Orthodox Church in the empire, including the Serbs and Bulgarians, who had earlier had their own independent churches. Even the ancient patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem and their Orthodox faithful were subordinated to the Constantinople patriarch for the convenience of the new government. The patriarch and his clergy were thus made responsible for police and legal matters among the Orthodox population and, importantly, for collecting their taxes, including the special tax that minorities paid in lieu of contributing otherwise to the defense of the realm. Because these were functions with which the Christian clergy had had no prior experience, they were forced to find laymen to do these jobs at all levels. These lay officials of the church, particularly the Phanariots of Constantinople, became very powerful. The Phanariots, so called because they tended to live in close proximity to the patriarchal headquarters, which eventually migrated to the Phanar (Turk. fener, 'lighthouse') district, grew very wealthy by skimming from the taxes they collected, through bribes and trade, and as official administrators appointed by the Ottomans.

After the death of Sultan Mehmed in 1481, a system of bribes came to dominate all the higher clerical offices. Candidates for the patriarchal throne

vied with each other in making gifts to the sultan, and bishops in the provinces were forced to bribe local Ottoman officials. The money for these gifts and bribes had to be recouped by extorting money from the Christian millet or sought from foreign powers with an interest in supporting the church for their own reasons. Alms came in massive amounts from Orthodox Russia, for example, and in 1598 its church was recognized as an independent patriarchate. Ottoman officials quickly realized that the more often the patriarchal office changed hands, the more opportunities there were for receiving quite substantial "gifts." Thus, in the hundred years between 1595 and 1695, the patriarchal throne changed hands sixty-one times (passing among thirty-one individuals). As a seventeenth-century English visitor to Istanbul put it, the continued existence of Orthodox Christianity in the Ottoman Empire, given the conditions under which it lived, was "a miracle." The church fared somewhat better in the following century both because of a more efficient Ottoman state apparatus and the increased interest of the Russian Empire in the Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule. Indeed, in 1774, the Russo-Ottoman treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji officially recognized Russia's special interests in the Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire.

Although, by definition, all of the people in the Greek Orthodox millet shared the same faith, there were clear tensions within the community. The Slavs included now in the patriarchate of Constantinople chafed under the Greek hierarchs appointed from Constantinople, and the Serbs and Bulgarians lobbied for independent churches. In 1557 the Serbs actually succeeded in obtaining an independent patriarchate in Peć, thanks to the influence of a Muslim grand vizier of Serbian background, but the Greeks eventually succeeded in having it reduced to a metropolitan province in 1755 and reintegrated into the Constantinople patriarchate in 1766. In the early eighteenth century, Arab Orthodox in Syria became so frustrated at cultural domination by the Greeks that many of them joined the Catholic Church as Uniates (the so-called Melkite Church). In general, however, there was considerable cultural unity in the Orthodox millet; the perceived distinctions were between subject Christians and privileged Muslims.

# INTELLECTUAL LIFE AND THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

With the exception of the urban elite of Phanariots, tax farmers, religious dignitaries, and Greek merchants in Istanbul and some port cities, the majority of the Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire lived either in poverty or in modest circumstances at best. For the masses, schools essentially did not exist, or taught only the most basic literacy. The major exception to this rule was the constantly struggling Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, which trained the higher clergy. International merchants, many of them from Phanariot families, of necessity learned foreign languages and traveled abroad, and were eventually responsible for the establishment of higher schools for the Greeks, most notably in the Romanian principalities, Moldavia and Walachia. Because these states had surrendered to the Ottomans instead of being conquered, they enjoyed considerable autonomy within the empire. Wealthy Greek families of Istanbul invested their money in these areas and intermarried with the local aristocracy until they came to dominate the economics and politics of the principalities and successfully sought the sultan's patent to rule there. Once in control, they founded schools for Greeks on the western model they had seen in their travels to western Europe. Particularly important in this regard was the Academy of Iaşi (Jassy). These schools supplied some young Greeks with a Western-style education, and these Western-educated Greeks would eventually inspire the Greek national revolution in 1821. The Romanian-based Phanariots also established Greek printing presses, which were less subject to the closures and restrictions that plagued the press in Istanbul. The few clergymen who had any significant secular education got it in European universities (most often Padua), often after temporarily converting to Catholicism. This was particularly true of Greeks from Crete and the Ionian islands, which were controlled by Venice.

The Protestant Reformation and the subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation turned out to be important catalysts for intellectual developments among Orthodox Greeks. Both sides in the Protestant-Catholic debate sought support for their theological positions from the ancient church of the East. Such appeals for support awakened long dormant theological thinking among the Greeks. The end result of this religious confrontation was that

the Orthodox Church spelled out carefully the specifics of its beliefs and doctrinal system in a series of documents. For centuries the Eastern church had argued against a number of Roman Catholic teachings and practices—most notably, the Western addition of the words "and from the son" (filioque) to the description of the procession of the Holy Spirit in the Nicene Creed; the doctrine of purgatory; the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist; withholding the cup from the laity; baptism by sprinkling, and, most importantly, the doctrine of papal supremacy, which countervened the democraticconciliar understanding of the nature of the church held by the Orthodox. The Protestant reformers thus tended at first to see in the Orthodox Church a possible ideological ally against Rome.

Already during the Hussite movement in Bohemia in the fifteenth century, tentative approaches were made to the Orthodox Church of Constantinople, but real dialogue came only with the advent of Lutheranism. By 1559, Philipp Melanchthon, a close associate of Martin Luther, had forwarded a translation of the Augsburg Confession to the Greek patriarch, asking for his comments on the Lutheran faith enunciated therein. A response finally came in 1576 through Stephen Gerlach, an embassy Lutheran chaplain in Constantinople. In the name of the Holy Synod, the governing body of the patriarchate, the erudite Patriarch Jeremias II politely explained where the Lutheran confession of faith differed from the ancient beliefs of Orthodox Christianity. Besides the "errors of the Latins" that the Lutherans shared, such as a changed Nicene Creed and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Jeremias pointed out that among the Orthodox, not only faith, but also good works, were important for salvation; that Christ's body and blood were actually, not just symbolically, present in the Eucharist, and that there were seven, not just two, sacraments. He also rejected the implied doctrine of predestination in the Lutheran document, and endorsed the invocation of saints, particularly the Mother of God. The theological discussion between the Orthodox and Lutherans essentially ended there.

In the following century, Calvinism was more successful in its approach to the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, Patriarch Cyril Lukaris (d. 1638) published a Calvinist Confession

of Faith that argued for predestination, justification by faith alone, the sole authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith, and the presence of Christ in the Eucharist depending on the faith of the recipient. He also railed against the veneration of images. Although Cyril had a degree from the University of Padua, he had become extremely anti-Catholic while fighting Catholic missionaries attempting to convert Orthodox Christians in Polish-run Ukraine. His exposure to Calvinism seems to have been the result of his long friendship with Cornelius van Haag, at one point the Dutch ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and of a long correspondence arranged by van Haag with Calvinist divines in the Netherlands. Cyril's pro-Protestant stance was so obvious that the French embassy in Istanbul worked with the Jesuits in the city to have the sultan force his retirement. He was replaced (temporarily) by a pro-Catholic Greek bishop, thanks to bribes from the French and the Habsburgs, but soon returned to the patriarchal throne, probably because of bribes from the Dutch. Indeed, competing bribes from Catholic and Protestant powers determined much of the patriarchal succession in this century. Cyril's days as patriarch, however, were numbered. His enemies persuaded the sultan that Cyril had had treasonous contacts with Russia, and he was strangled at the government's order in 1638. His Confession, the first modern Eastern Orthodox attempt to enunciate clearly the content of the Orthodox faith, is distinctly Calvinist in much of its teaching, and was condemned as heretical by the Holy Synod of Constantinople and by several church councils.

Cyril Lukaris's Confession, however, inspired a series of such statements of faith that were, in fact, Orthodox in content and are recognized as such by the Orthodox Church to the present day. The first of these expositions of the Orthodox faith was written around 1640, not in the Ottoman Empire, but in Polish-controlled Ukraine, by a Romanian scholar, Peter of Mogila (Mohyla), who had become metropolitan (chief bishop) of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Intended as an aid to the faithful in combating Jesuit Catholic propaganda meant to destroy the Orthodox Church in Polish territory, Peter's Orthodox Confession was couched in the neo-Scholastic categories and vocabulary of Counter-Reformation Catholic thought. Although the apologetic usefulness of explaining Orthodox beliefs within a Western philosophical system was seen as practical, outside of the areas where Western cultural influence was widespread, doing this was considered inimical to the apophatic spirit of Eastern Christian thought, which preferred to avoid unwarranted precision in explaining divine mysteries. Thus a revised edition of the Peter of Mogila's Confession was produced at a council in Iaşi (Jassy), Moldavia, in 1642. Thirty years later, the learned Patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem reworked and expanded Mogila's Confession, excising Latin influences, and submitted his text to a church council called for that purpose in Jerusalem, where the document was promulgated as an authoritative statement of Eastern Orthodox beliefs.

## POPULAR PIETY

The vast majority of the Greek people had no real contact with the intellectual movements discussed above. To them religion was essentially fulfilling the required rites of the Orthodox Church, and keeping the fasts and holidays. Church rituals seemed to have given meaning to the life of the peasantry during what they called the *Turkokratia* (Turkish rule). The community gathered together in its church each Sunday for the eucharistic liturgy; there also were performed the rites accompanying the birth, marriage, repentence, and death of each of the villagers and the community consecration of the planting and the harvesting. In the church, villagers offered their prayers and venerated the holy icons that played such an important role in their worship. Their spirituality was rife with superstition; folk customs intermingled with Christian traditions, which was not suprising given the rudimentary education of the country priest, a married villager chosen by the community to be their religious guide. Once chosen, he was sent off to an older priest or a monastery for a few months to learn the services (and often to learn to read). Preaching disappeared in the villages, to be replaced by processions and ceremonies to honor holy icons and sacred springs.

The spiritual heroes and guides for the people were monks and nuns. The Ottoman lands inhabited by Christians were dotted with monastic foundations, large and small, where ascetics devoted themselves to constant prayer. It was to such institutions that the faithful repaired for spiritual advice and solace, making pilgrimage to holy monks and

nuns and to the miracle-working icons that were so popular and were usually found in monasteries and convents. Eastern Christian monasticism had never emphasized scholarly activities, as was the case in the West; learning was seen as a distraction from prayer. The hesychast movement, which came to dominate monasticism in the last century of the Byzantine Empire's existence, with its emphasis on individual wordless contemplation of the awesomeness of the Divinity, led to the decline of communal life in the monasteries and an almost complete breakdown of intellectual life in monastic foundations. Uneducated monks clung to remembered tradition and stood only as a conservative force in the Greek Christian millet, preserving the faith as they understood it, but blocking development. By the eighteenth century, however, on Mount Athos, a colony of monasteries covering a peninsula northeast of Thessalonica, a revival of monastic thought began that saw, for example, the creation of an important collection of mystical writings of the fathers of the church, the *Philokalia*. But by that time the cultural schism between the Westernized elite of Constantinople and the Romanian principalities and the anti-intellectual monastic establishment held in such high regard by the common people was unhealable. The former were working for a modern Greek national state, the latter for restoration of a Christian Byzantine Empire.

See also Orthodoxy, Russian; Ottoman Empire.

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George P. Majeska

**ORTHODOXY, RUSSIAN.** When the East Slavs adopted Christianity in the tenth century, they acquired portions of Scripture, church services, and selected Byzantine religious writings from Constantinople (old Byzantium) that had already been translated into Slavic.

## CHURCH SLAVONIC

Whereas Roman Christianity spread in Europe in the Latin language, Christianity emanating from the eastern regions of the old Roman Empire tended to spread not in Greek, the predominant language of Constantinople prior to the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century, but in the local languages of the peoples being proselytized. Such are the origins of the "national" churches of the Georgians, Armenians, Russians, and so forth. Among the benefits of adopting Christianity, the East Slavic princes, beginning with Grand Prince Vladimir I of Kiev in 988/989, acquired a church system that gave some degree of cultural unity over a widely dispersed population practicing local paganisms. The Slavic language of this Christian cultural acquisition was South Slavic, essentially Bulgarian, which was at the

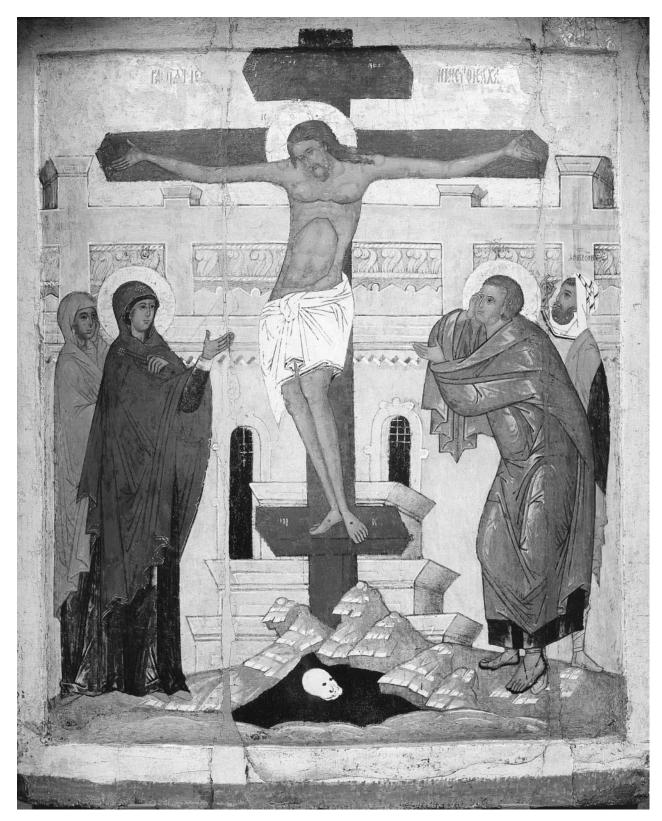
time close enough to the vernacular of the East Slavs to be understood. Subsequently, East Slavic vernacular languages evolved into Ukrainian, Belorussian, and (Great) Russian, whereas the language of the church, known today as Old Church Slavonic (or Slavic), remained fixed. Thus did the East Slavs adopt Christianity in a language that grew to be archaic in the early modern period. Both in church language and in vernacular, the East Slavs were religiously and linguistically separated from other East Orthodox churches, from the non-Slavic peoples of western and central Europe, and from the Latin Church of western Slavic neighbors such as Poland. In Muscovite Russia (the principality of Moscow) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, few churchmen knew either Greek or Latin. The Muscovite Church therefore functioned without significant understanding of Greek textual sources, and most Christian scholarship was limited to examination of translated Slavic texts. In 1518 a monk from the monastic center of Mt. Athos, Maxim the Greek (c. 1475-1556), was imported to review Muscovite church texts, make corrections from Greek sources, and compose standardized Slavic texts. His recommendations, however, were not popular among churchmen, who were resistant to change, nor did he win favor in government circles when he opposed the divorce of Moscow Grand Prince Vasilii III from his childless first wife in 1525. Most of Maxim's attempts to provide accurate translations of Greek and Latin Christian texts were ignored.

# CHURCH GOVERNANCE AND CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Although various ecclesiastical jurisdictions arose among the East Slavs, the focus of this article is on the Russian Church headquartered first in Moscow (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries), then St. Petersburg (eighteenth century). With the official conversion to Christianity in the tenth century, Kievan Rus' (the first "state" of the East Slavs, tenth to twelfth centuries) acquired a metropolitan to head the church, appointed at first by the patriarch of Constantinople, who was senior among the four patriarchs of the eastern Mediterranean. Rus' metropolitans were, variously, Greek or Slavic. Beginning in the 1320s, and reflecting its rising power and wealth among East Slavic principalities and city-states, Moscow became the seat of the "all-

Russian" (all the Rus' territories) metropolitan. In the eleventh century, long-standing differences between Rome and Constantinople had resulted in a formal schism between Western and Eastern Christianity. The cultural and geographic distance between Moscow and Constantinople was exacerbated in the mid-fifteenth century when, under pressure from invading Ottoman Turks, the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople sought assistance from the West by agreeing to a union of Eastern and Western Christianity in which the Roman pope would be recognized as head of a single Christian Church. The Moscow metropolitan at the time, a Greek named Isidore, attended the Council of Florence-Ferrara in 1438-1439, accepted the union, returned to Moscow, and proceeded to pray for the Roman pope in Kremlin services. The Moscow political and ecclesiastical hierarchy, shocked by this intrusion of foreign elements, deposed Isidore and in 1448, without consulting the patriarch in Constantinople, elected as metropolitan the Russian Bishop Iona (Jonah) of Ryazan. With the fall of Constantinople to the "infidel" Turks in 1453, the Florence-Ferrara Union was renounced by all eastern parties, and the Muscovite Church achieved de facto autocephaly (independence). There was another attempt to unite Eastern and Western Christianity at the Union of Brest in 1596, wherein some Orthodox Christians of Poland-Lithuania accepted allegiance to the Roman pope in exchange for, among other considerations, the right to retain services in Slavonic and a married parish clergy. In 1589 the Moscow political and ecclesiastical authorities successfully manipulated all four eastern patriarchs to agree to the elevation of the Moscow metropolitan to the status of patriarch, thereby achieving the formal independence of the Russian Orthodox Church under the patriarch of Moscow.

As of the mid-seventeenth century, the Muscovite Church had one metropolitan, two archbishops, and seven bishops. Evidence is plentiful that the prelates (bishops and above) had relatively little control over church people and institutions within their vast eparchies (equivalent to dioceses in the Roman Catholic Church). Parallel with the secular government's Law Code of 1550, the church hierarchy attempted to extend its control more effectively throughout the large territories and widely dispersed population of Muscovite Russia. The



Russian Orthodoxy. Icon of the Crucifixion, sixteenth century, tempera on wood. The ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

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Moscow Church Council of 1551, in its protocols known as the *Stoglav* ('Hundred Chapters'), replicated some dozen provisions of the 1550 Law Code, particularly regarding collection of taxes and fees owed to, in this case, the prelates. The fact that many *Stoglav* rulings are frequently repeated later is testimony that the church, like the secular government, was not tightly organized or centralized.

Muscovy inherited Byzantine principles of harmony between church and state. Most scholars recognize that in Muscovy the church—though powerful in matters regarding marriage, family, wills, and contracts (which were frequently finalized by kissing a cross), and court cases involving church persons or peasants living on church lands—did not enjoy significant political authority. Moscow grand princes generally did not interfere in matters of faith (caesaropapism), but they frequently played a determining role in the hiring and firing of church prelates and abbots. An extreme illustration of secular power dominating the church occurred in 1569, when Moscow Metropolitan Filipp, who dared to criticize the policies of Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible's government, was assassinated, apparently on government orders.

# CHRISTIAN VS. PAGAN BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Much has been made in scholarly literature of the "double faith" in Russia of coexisting Christian and pagan beliefs and practices. Recent scholarship has deemphasized the uniqueness of the Russian experience, noting that all Christian societies retain pre- or extra-Christian beliefs, and that Christian and native beliefs tend to blend together rather than exist separately. Evidence of that blending is profuse in the 1551 Stoglav, in which the Church Council rails against pagan practices and superstitions not only among the laity, but also among the clergy. From the beginnings of Christianity among the East Slavs, resistance to Christianization was rare, at least in part because the church was not sufficiently unified and strong to eradicate and supplant local beliefs and customs. Heresies were rare within the church. Minor heresies surfaced in the commercial citystates of Novgorod and Pskov, which, until their absorption by Muscovy in the fifteenth century, were relatively independent and more exposed to ideas from western Europe through trade contacts. The "Judaizer" heresy in fifteenth-century Novgorod was apparently rationalist, anti-Trinitarian, and anticlerical, but its suppression was so effective that little else about it is known.

# SCHOLARSHIP AND EDUCATION

Theological scholarship and debate were largely absent in the Muscovite Church. Muscovy was untouched by the skeptical and questioning spirit of Renaissance scholarship. Indicative is the admonition in the Stoglav to study God's law in books, because "Books are created by the Holy Spirit," the Stoglav instruction to scribes to "copy only from good translations." As noted above, however, Muscovite scholars, lacking knowledge of Greek, were ill prepared to assess the accuracy of Slavic translations. When printing finally came to Moscow in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the first three books to be published—selected Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Hours, and the Psalter—were printed in Slavic without reference to Greek texts. The church clung to tradition and custom, as inherited from Byzantine Christianity and as interpreted by East Slavic experience. Innovative thought and critical scholarship were frequently and specifically condemned. Most rulings in the 1551 Stoglav are simply repetitions of previous documents of Byzantine and Slavic church sources.

Many clergy were only half-literate priests' sons who had memorized enough prayers and portions of services from their fathers to act as priests (parish priests were required to be married). There were no organized church schools until the mid-seventeenth century, and then only in Moscow and Novgorod. The latter was closed by Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725). The practice of the faith was largely ritualistic. Pastoral teaching through sermons was mostly absent in the Muscovite Church until the mid-seventeenth century, when Western influences entered from left-bank Ukraine, newly incorporated into Muscovy.

## ORTHODOXY VS. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Orthodoxy—in Russian *pravoslavie*, the 'true worship'—shares with Western Christianity basic Christian sources of the first millennium after Christ: the rulings of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, the canons and writings of the church fathers of approximately the second to the eighth centuries, and the Bible. Russians had no complete Bible until the 1490s, when the scholarly Archbishop Gennadii of

Novgorod oversaw the compiling of one; a handful of scholars was assembled who could translate from Greek texts to fill in what had until then not been available in Slavic translation. Orthodox liturgical and monastic traditions rely heavily on Basil the Great (c. 330-379), John Chrysostom (c. 347-407), and monastic rules of fifth- and sixth-century Constantinople and Jerusalem. Among differences with Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy does not teach that there is a single moment of transubstantiation of the elements during the liturgy (Mass), rather that Christ is present at the Eucharist and the elements really change, but that the mystery of the transformation is, like the mystery of God Himself, ultimately unknowable (= apophatic theology). The Muscovite Church inherited, but did not debate until the seventeenth century under foreign influence, certain concepts that split the Christian Church in 1054—for example, the Filoque controversy, in which Eastern Orthodoxy rejected the Roman Catholic addition to the Nicene Creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father, but also from the Son (filioque, 'and the son'). There are seven sacraments in Orthodoxy, but their identity and number have never been defined so precisely as in Roman Catholicism.

# MONASTICISM

No separate "orders" evolved in Russian monasticism, although some prominent monasteries and abbots developed particular rules and customs that were emulated by other monasteries—for example, St. Sergii of Radonezh (c. 1314-1392), and his many disciples, who spread monasticism into remote territories to the north and northeast of Moscow. Two concepts of the purposes of monasticism, inherited from ancient and Kievan times, coexist in Russian monasticism, both modeled on Christ's life: the first emphasizes prayer, contemplation, and non-involvement with the secular, material world; the second stresses social and community service. Somewhat related to these two trends are the three principal types of monastic organization: the first is eremitic, consisting of hermit monks who may live in close proximity; the second is cenobitic, or communal, in which monks live, work, dine, and worship as a brotherhood; the third is a combination of the first two and is called a skete, or idiorhythmic monastery, in which monks may live independently but come together for certain occasions like meals

and church services. Two famous representatives of allegedly opposing points of view on monastic life were Iosif of Volokolamsk and Nil Sorskii, both late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Iosiflabeled later by historians a "possessor" or "acquisitor" - argued that a monastery should be wealthy and on good terms with secular authorities, the better to serve the community. Nil-labeled later a "non-possessor" or "non-acquisitor" stressed monastic poverty, independence from secular authority, and contemplative prayer. On the subject of prayer, Nil advocated continual repetition of the "Jesus Prayer" (some variant on the simple prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner") and hesychastic (quiet, contemplative) prayer, both practiced at the time in monasteries at Mt. Athos, a Greek center of Orthodox monasticism. In fact, Iosif and Nil had much in common as sincere, devout monastics. Their differing emphases on monastic wealth versus poverty came to be exaggerated later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the context of wealthy monasteries trying to protect their assets against government encroachment. Both Iosif and Nil were canonized as saints.

# **CLERGY**

Priests—that is, churchmen ordained to celebrate the liturgy, or Mass, and deliver the sacraments—were (and are) of two types. The first is known as the "white," or secular, clergy. The second is the monastic, or "black," clergy (from the color of their robes); they are monks, called hieromonks, who conduct services in monasteries and also, as necessary, in parish churches. Prelates (bishops and above) can only come from the ranks of celibate monastics. Parish priests (the white clergy) must be married. Parish priests were typically barefoot peasants, like their parishioners, and unsystematically trained.

# THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH SCHISM

The relative unity of Muscovite Orthodoxy was shattered in the seventeenth century under pressures both domestic and foreign. Pressures included the government's growing recognition, in the wake of disastrous defeats in the early seventeenth century by Polish and Swedish troops (during Muscovy's "Time of Troubles"), that Muscovy needed to look

to western Europe for fresh ideas, at least in military strategy and ordnance. Some church leaders also saw the Time of Troubles as a wake-up call for fresh thinking: God had obviously not favored Orthodox Russia in the confrontation with foreign armies; it was time to examine and reinvigorate the Russian Church according to "true traditions." A loose movement of so-called Zealots of Piety formed, consisting mostly of educated churchmen dedicated to reforming the tenets and practices of the faith. Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676), sympathetic to the Zealots, promoted one of its members, Nikon, first to be metropolitan of Novgorod, then patriarch of Moscow in 1652 (another example of the power of the state over the church). At the same time, Muscovy was incorporating left bank Ukraine, from which Orthodox clerics, many of them trained in Polish Jesuit seminaries and academies, began to appear in Moscow, their new capital, to seek their fortunes. Nikon turned to these Ukrainian clerics, who knew Greek and Latin, for advice on returning the Muscovite Orthodox Church to its "true" texts and rituals. Their advice in fact reflected current Ukrainian Orthodox practice more than it represented "original" Christian practice (however the latter might be determined). Nikon, unable to judge such distinctions, accepted their recommendations and forcefully introduced a set of reforms in church and liturgical practice. Traditional scholarship has pointed to the liturgical changes as catalysts for the Great Schism in the Russian Church, formalized by the Moscow Church Council of 1666-1667, in which those who refused to accept the liturgical changes were excommunicated and became known as Schismatics. In contrast to the Western Protestant Reformation, where the reformers split from the official church, it was the official church in Muscovy that instituted reforms, thereby separating itself from the traditionalist "Old Believers," or "Old Ritualists," who persist to this day.

Ironically, Patriarch Nikon himself was deposed by the same council that made his reforms official. Nikon's political pretensions angered Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, and Nikon's inflexible insistence on his reforms alienated many in the church. The schism was in fact complex, reaching beyond liturgical reforms themselves. Recent scholarship has pointed out political and social aspects of the schism

as it played out in both Moscow and the provinces. However one interprets the Old Believer movement, the repression of a significant portion of devout Christians by the state (especially for resistance to paying taxes and serving in the military) marked a fundamental shift in the previous unity of Muscovite Orthodoxy.

## PETER THE GREAT'S CHURCH REFORMS

Peter I the Great (ruled 1682-1725) ushered in an era in which the church was fundamentally transformed: church administration effectively became a government ministry, the church lost much of its landed wealth, and a system of clerical education was established for the first time in Russia. Tsar Peter inflicted numerous reforms on his country that were designed to create and pay for a new government and a military and naval system that would enable Russia to trade with, compete with, and, as necessary defend Russia's European interests by force of arms. The ruthlessness with which he implemented his governmental and tax collection reforms, and the forced buildup of his new capital city, St. Petersburg, augured poorly for the independence of the church. When Patriarch Adrian (in office 1690-1700) died in 1700, Peter prevented the election of a new patriarch, and instead appointed Stefan Yavorskii as patriarchal "exarch," or locum tenens. Yavorskii was a young professor from the Kiev Orthodox Academy who had trained at a Jesuit academy in Poland, and who argued in favor of a strong patriarchate and the independence of the church. Gradually Peter came to favor another professor from the Kiev Academy, Feofan Prokopovich, whose 1719 Spiritual Regulation argued in support of a Russian national church under the authority of the tsar as "supreme bishop" and argued that an ecclesiastical council would be more appropriate to govern the church than a single patriarch. In 1721 Peter established the Ecclesiastical College to govern the church ("college," or kollegia, a word borrowed from the Swedish governmental system, was the term Peter used for his government ministries, each one headed by a committee instead of a single minister). The Ecclesiastical College was soon renamed the Holy Governing Synod, and was administered by a lay director, or Oberprokurator. The synod changed in composition over time, but basically it remained a committee of churchmen headed by a lay appointee of the

tsar/emperor (the title "emperor" was instituted in 1721).

# THE CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Under imperial state regulation, the church became less recognizably Muscovite. Most bishops and metropolitans appointed under Peter were Ukrainians or Belorussians. Monasteries lost territory and were more closely regulated, resulting in a reduction of monks and nuns from twenty-five thousand in 1734 to fourteen thousand in 1738. That we can begin in the eighteenth century to speak statistically about the church is in itself evidence of "modernization," at least in terms of record keeping. The church particularly monasteries—lost landed wealth gradually during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but under Empress Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) monastic lands were effectively nationalized, and some one million peasants on monastery land overnight became state peasants. A new ecclesiastic educational system was begun under Peter the Great and expanded to the point that by the end of the century there was a seminary in each eparchy. The curriculum of schools for youth and for the clergy was heavy on Latin language and subjects, close to the curriculum of Jesuit academies in Poland, and light on Greek language and the Greek Church Fathers, even light on the Russian and Church Slavonic languages. The result was that more monks and priests were formally educated than before, but their training was poor preparation for serving a Russian-speaking population and conducting services in Church Slavonic. Catherine the Great was inclined toward rationalist Enlightenment ideas, which included religious tolerance. Old Believers enjoyed a degree of religious freedom, although they continued to be taxed at a double rate. Under Catherine the various offices and institutions of the church—bishops, monasteries, seminaries, the twenty-six eparchies, and so forth—were placed under detailed regulations that governed appointments, conduct, and salaries.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Clergy: Russian Orthodox Clergy; Old Believers; Peter I (Russia); Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Russia; Time of Troubles (Russia); Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).

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JACK KOLLMANN

**OTTOMAN DYNASTY.** Osman I, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, established a state in northwestern Anatolia in the late thirteenth century and was, according to later tradition, invested by the Seljuk sultan. This tradition formed part of the legitimation of the dynasty as successors to the Seljuk Turkish dynasty of Anatolia, while a genealogy tracing the family back to Oghuz Khan gave them an ancestry superior to their rivals. Very little is actually known, however, about the origins of this dynasty, which ruled for over six hundred years.

During the course of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman state, merely one of a number of Turkish principalities and by no means the largest or most important, swallowed up many of its Turkish rivals and emerged as the preeminent power. Quite why this happened is not clear. Many of the characteristics used to explain Ottoman success, such as the role of *gazi* (warrior for Islam) or commercial acumen, are equally attributable to other states. The Ottomans, however, do not appear to have had damaging internal power struggles, their early rulers were long-lasting and apparently talented, and the Ottomans may also have been particularly astute diplomats in their dealings with their neighbors.

## **SUCCESSION**

Before the middle of the sixteenth century, succession did not pass automatically to the eldest son but

to the son who succeeded in a power struggle. This changed after the death of Suleiman I (ruled 1520-1566), with succession usually going to the eldest son and, from 1617, to the oldest surviving male of the family. By the seventeenth century what took a son to the throne was the success of a particular palace faction. Ahmed I (ruled 1603-1617), Mustafa I (ruled 1617-1618, 1622-1623), Osman II (ruled 1618-1622), and Ibrahim (ruled 1640-1648) all came onto, and on occasion off, the throne through factional intriguing, which also, in the cases of Osman II and Ibrahim, resulted in the murder of the deposed ruler. The systematic practice of fratricide, later justified as essential to safeguard the stability of the state, ended after the reign of Mehmed III (ruled 1595-1603), who on his accession in 1595 murdered his nineteen brothers.

## **WOMEN**

While succession could pass only through the male line, women nevertheless played a major role in power politics of the dynasty. Kösem Mahpeyker, mother of both Murad IV (ruled 1623–1640) and Ibrahim, effectively controlled government until she was ultimately murdered in 1651, apparently at the instigation of Turhan Sultan, mother of Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687), herself a figure of political importance. Later in the century power passed largely from these women not to the sultan but to the grand viziers from the Köprülü family.

While the mothers of the sultans were mostly slaves, the early Ottoman rulers did marry but for political rather than reproductive purposes. Once the practice ceased to be of use, it was discontinued. The last marriage of an Ottoman ruler or son of the ruler to a foreign princess was that of Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512). Initially princesses of the royal house were married to the sons of foreign royal houses, but the importance of such "foreign" marriages was limited. Women could not marry non-Muslims, which thus restricted their use politically, and any children from such marriages were not useful for any territorial claims the Ottomans might make as descent was through the male, not the female, line. From around the middle of the fifteenth century the princesses were married to men of the ruling elite within the empire, a system useful for the Ottoman dynasty as it tied those men more

#### TABLE 1

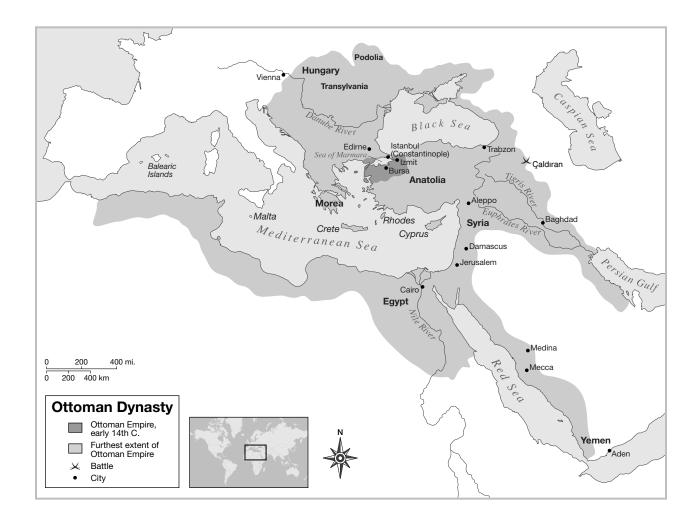
# **Ottoman Ruling Dynasties**

Osman (ruled ?-?1324) Orhan (ruled ?1324-1362) Murad I (ruled 1362-1389) Bayezid I (ruled 1389-1402) Mehmed I (ruled 1413-1421) Murad II (ruled 1421-1444) Mehmed II (ruled 1444-1446) Murad II (ruled 1446-1451) Mehmed II (ruled 1451-1481) Bayezid II (ruled 1481-1512) Selim I (ruled 1512-1520) Suleiman I (ruled 1520-1566) Selim II (ruled 1566-1574) Murad III (ruled 1574-1595) Mehmed III (ruled 1595-1603) Ahmed I (ruled 1603-1617) Mustafa I (ruled 1617-1618) Osman II (ruled 1618-1622) Mustafa I (ruled 1622-1623) Murad IV (ruled 1623-1640) İbrahim (ruled 1640–1648) Mehmed IV (ruled 1648-1687) Suleiman II (ruled 1687-1691) Ahmed II (ruled 1691-1695) Mustafa II (ruled 1695-1703) Ahmed III (ruled 1703-1730) Mahmud I (ruled 1730-1754) Osman III (ruled 1754-1757) Mustafa III (ruled 1757-1774) Abdülhamid I (ruled 1774-1789)

closely to the ruling house and lessened the possibility of rival households forming.

## **SULTANS**

Although at first sons or brothers of the ruler apparently were involved in government, this soon changed as the sultan became the dominant figure. Young sons were sent as governors to the provinces to gain experience under the guidance of their tutors. This practice changed with the death of Suleiman I and was restricted to only the eldest son. From the end of the sixteenth century, sons were confined to the palace until one of them succeeded to the throne. Confinement produced, in general, sultans less able than their predecessors. There were, of course, exceptions, such as Murad IV, who became known for his great severity, avarice, and absolutist rule. According to the Venetian *bailo* at Istanbul, no other sultan attained such total dominance.



In a system where power was so highly centralized on the figure of the sultan, the character of the individual was of considerable importance. When the state was in the hands of competent rulers, the empire functioned well. But with the accession of sultans who were mentally unhinged, as in the cases of Mustafa I and Ibrahim, or of minors, such as Osman II and Mehmed IV, government could easily fall prey to palace intrigues and janissary revolts.

Initially great warriors who personally led their armies on the field of battle, the sultans after Suleiman I rarely set off to war. Such warlike qualities, important in the legitimation of the early rulers, became much less significant, and sultans after Suleiman I were not war leaders in the way their predecessors had been. However, both Mehmed III and Osman II sought to exploit the warrior image in a period when the empire's need for reform and restructuring was becoming evident. Mustafa II

(ruled 1695–1703) also took a more active military role.

Mustafa II also tried to wrest power away from the viziers and back into the hands of the sultan. He was unsuccessful, however, and the center of political power during the eighteenth century lay not in the palace but with the pashas. With effective control elsewhere, the Ottoman sultans sought other ways to maintain their position at the center of power and underline their legitimacy. Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730) and the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (1718–1730), created a "court of consumption," a world of lavish display, luxury, and cultural extravagance during what came to be known as the Tulip Era, in an attempt to put the court back at the center.

Political power and decision making, however, largely lay elsewhere through the eighteenth century as the empire struggled with ever less success to

face the growing economic, technological, and military threat from Europe.

See also Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Janissary; Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire); Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I; Sultan; Vizier.

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KATE FLEET

**OTTOMAN EMPIRE.** The Ottoman Empire emerged circa 1300 with the establishment by the first Ottoman ruler, Osman, of a small principality bordering on Byzantine territory in western Anatolia. It reached its greatest extent in 1590, when the empire comprised central Hungary, the Balkan Peninsula, Anatolia, Mespotamia, Syria and Palestine, western Arabia, Egypt, and lands in the Caucasus and western Iran. In Europe, Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, and the Crimea were tributary principalities, while in North Africa, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers were semiautonomous provinces. Between 1603 and 1606, the Ottomans lost the lands in Iran and the Caucasus that had been ceded to them in 1590. In 1669, however, they took control of Crete.

By 1450, the Ottoman Empire was a regional power, comprising western and northern Anatolia and much of the Balkan Peninsula. Mehmed II (ruled 1451–1481) expanded and consolidated Ottoman rule in this region. His conquest of Constantinople in 1453 finally extinguished the Byzantine

Empire. In the Balkans, he annexed Serbia between 1455 and 1458, Bosnia in 1463, and, in 1466, defeated George Kastriote (Scanderbeg) in central Albania. In 1460 he removed the last two Byzantine rulers of the Peloponnese, and in 1461 conquered Trebizond, the last independent Greek city.

In 1463, fearing for its Greek colonies, Venice declared war. The war was fought in the Peloponnese, in Albania, and on the Aegean, the naval conflict encouraging the growth of the Ottoman fleet. Mehmed had used a fleet at the siege of Constantinople, and he inherited the naval dockyard at Pera when he annexed this Genoese colony in 1453. He used the fleet first against the Genoese, taking Enez and Phokaia in the 1450s, Amasra on the Black Sea in 1459, and Lesbos in 1462. The amphibious war with Venice culminated with the conquest of the Venetian island of Evvoia (Negroponte) in 1470.

To defeat the Ottomans, Venice allied with Hungary in 1464, with no results, and then with the Akkoyunlu Sultan Uzun Hasan, lord of much of Iran, Iraq, and eastern Anatolia. In 1467–1468, Mehmed had conquered and annexed the emirate of Karaman in south-central Anatolia, bringing him into dispute with Uzun Hasan, who also coveted the principality. The dispute led to war in 1473 and an Ottoman victory that secured Ottoman territories in Anatolia.

The removal of this danger allowed Mehmed to extend his conquests to the Black Sea. Using a dispute within the Tatar khanate as a pretext, in 1475 he sent a fleet to the Crimea, reducing the khan to the status of Ottoman tributary, and capturing the Genoese city of Caffa. An attempt to strengthen his domination of the region with an incursion into Moldavia in 1476 merely provoked a Hungarian counterattack. Two years later, Mehmed led an assault on Venetian settlements in northern Albania, persuading the Venetians to cede Shkodër and to conclude a peace in 1479. In the same year, the Ottomans occupied Cephalonia, Levkas, and Zante as a preliminary to capturing Otranto on the Italian mainland in 1480. Simultaneously, Mehmed's fleet unsuccessfully attacked Rhodes.

Mehmed's son Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512) withdrew the garrison from Otranto and adopted a conciliatory policy toward the West. In 1482 his brother Jem had fled to Rhodes, and the threat to



foment civil strife in the Ottoman Empire by releasing him from captivity provided Catholic Europe with a new weapon. It was only after Jem's death in 1495 that Bayezid opened hostilities in the West. Before this, in 1483, he had attacked Moldavia, seizing the ports of Kilia and Akkerman, and, between 1485 and 1490, had waged an unsuccessful war against the Mamluks, rulers of Syria and Egypt since the mid-thirteenth century. In 1499, however, following the public burial of Jem's remains, Bayezid declared war on Venice, capturing several Venetian strongholds in the Peloponnese despite the formation of a Venetian-French-Spanish alliance.

During Bayezid's final years, the most significant political development was the unification of Iran under the Shi'ite Safavid dynasty, which claimed the religious and political loyalties of many Ottoman subjects and posed both an internal and an external threat. It was adherents of the Safavids

who formed the core of a rebellion that broke out in 1511 in southwest Anatolia. The rebellion, suppressed with great difficulty, coincided with a succession struggle between Bayezid's sons. It was the youngest who forced his father to abdicate and ascended the throne as Selim I (ruled 1512–1520).

# THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT

After defeating and executing his brothers Korkud and Ahmed, Selim attacked the Safavids, routing Shah Isma'il I's army at Chaldiran in 1514. Over the next four years he expelled the Safavids from southeast Anatolia. This war led to a new conflict. Isma'il I had sought an alliance with the Mamluk sultanate, which by 1516 shared a border with the Ottomans in northern Syria. In 1516 Selim invaded and defeated a Mamluk army near Aleppo. In early 1517, he defeated a second Mamluk army outside Cairo, bringing the Mamluk domains, which included the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, under his control. Gunpowder technology was a signifi-

cant element in these Ottoman successes. A further addition to Selim's empire was Algiers, whose ruler Hayreddin Barbarossa, seeking protection against Spain, submitted voluntarily to Selim's overlordship.

Selim's son Suleiman I (ruled 1520–1566) opened his reign with the conquests of Belgrade in 1521 and Rhodes in 1522. The loss of Belgrade weakened Hungary's defenses and, in 1526, Suleiman invaded and killed the Hungarian king at Mohács. After the battle, he supported the newly elected John Szapolyai against the claims to the Hungarian throne of the Habsburg Ferdinand of Austria. In 1529, Suleiman expelled Ferdinand from the Hungarian capital Buda and unsuccessfully laid siege to Vienna. Peace with Ferdinand in 1532 allowed him to lead a campaign against Iran, which by 1536 had added Baghdad and Erzurum to the empire. During this campaign, in 1533, Suleiman invited Hayreddin Barbarossa to command the Ottoman fleet. The war at sea opened with the loss of Tunis to a Spanish force under the command of Ferdinand's brother, Charles V. The loss made Suleiman welcome the French king Francis I's proposal for an anti-Habsburg alliance. However, the plan for a Franco-Ottoman attack in 1537 on the Habsburgs' Italian possessions did not materialize. Suleiman instead unsuccessfully attacked the Venetian island of Corfu. In response, Venice allied with Charles V, Austria, and the pope. Barbarossa, however, defeated the allied fleet at Prevesa in 1538, and the war concluded with the cession to Suleiman of most of the Venetian insular and mainland possessions in Greece.

After 1540, Suleiman made no more major conquests. The death of Szapolyai in 1540 led to war as Ferdinand again tried to assert his claims to the Hungarian crown. Suleiman's response was to convert central Hungary to an Ottoman province, and to appoint Szapolyai's infant son ruler of Transylvania, the eastern part of the old Hungarian kingdom. A campaign in 1543 restored Ottoman authority in Hungary. Meanwhile, in 1541 Charles V had made an unsuccessful attack on Algiers, the war in the Mediterranean continuing in 1543 with the Franco-Ottoman capture of Nice. A treaty in 1547 between Suleiman and the Habsburgs Charles V and Ferdinand concluded the war in Hungary but, since Ferdinand still claimed the crown of Transylvania, hos-

tilities continued on a smaller scale until 1556, with Suleiman occupying Temesvár and Lipova in 1552. Immediately after 1547, however, his preoccupation was with Iran. Two expeditions in 1548–1549 and 1553–1554 brought no gains, and concluded with the treaty of Amasya in 1555, confirming the existing eastern border.

However, the war in the Mediterranean continued. In 1551, the Ottomans conquered Tripoli, and later in the decade they occupied Wahran and Bizerta, near Algiers. In 1560, the Admiral Piyale Pasha expelled the Spaniards from Jerba, off the Tunisian coast. Then, in 1565, Suleiman's fleet unsuccessfully attacked the Knights of St. John on Malta. Outside the Mediterranean, the Ottomans tried but failed to establish their power in the Indian Ocean and to control the trade coming from India and southeast Asia.

Suleiman died in 1566 on campaign in Hungary. As he had already executed one son, Mustafa, in 1553, and another, Bayezid, in 1562 following the latter's rebellion and flight to Iran, Selim II (1566–1574) came to the throne unopposed. The effective ruler throughout his reign was the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Sokollu's plans to facilitate Ottoman navigation in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean by constructing a canal across the isthmus of Suez, and on the Caspian by constructing a canal between the Don and Volga rivers, both failed. Instead the major amphibious undertaking was the assault in 1570 on Cyprus. In 1573, and despite the rout of the Ottoman fleet off Lepanto in 1571, Venice ceded the island. Then in 1574 an Ottoman expedition expelled the Spaniards from Tunis. Ottoman expansion did not end with these wars. Taking advantage of Safavid dynastic problems, the Ottomans, in a war between 1578 and 1590, captured Safavid territory in the Caucasus and western Iran, bringing the empire to its maximum size.

## THE TIMES OF TROUBLE

Following a series of incidents on the Bosnian border, in 1593 the grand vizier Koja Sinan Pasha successfully pressed for a war against Austria. Despite unexpected victories at Eger and Mezö-Keresztes in 1596, at Kanizsa in 1600, and the reconquest of Esztergom in 1605, the war showed that the Ottomans had lost their military superiority over the

Habsburg forces. Furthermore, they suffered from the defection of Walachia in 1595 and the uncertain loyalty of Transylvania. In 1606, the Treaty of Zsitva-Török brought the war to an inconclusive end. By this time, the Ottomans were fighting on three fronts. In Anatolia, a series of uprisings seriously shook Ottoman power. In 1603, war broke out with Iran, and by 1606, Shah Abbas had reconquered Erivan and Tabriz, and all the territories that Iran had lost between 1578 and 1590. To add to Ottoman troubles, the governor of Aleppo, Janbuladoghlu Ali, rebelled against the sultan Ahmed I (1603-1617), cooperating with the rebels in Anatolia. It was at this time too that Cossack raiders from the Ukraine began to launch attacks on Ottoman settlements on the Black Sea coast, which were to continue into the 1640s.

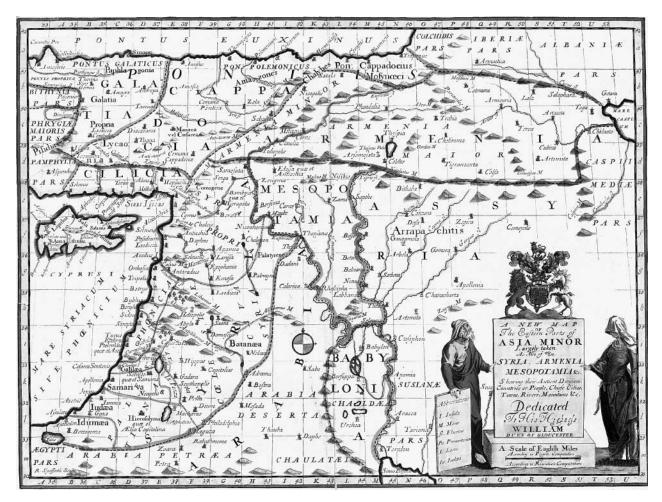
Between 1607 and 1609, the grand vizier, Kuyuju Murad defeated Janbuladoghlu Ali of Aleppo and the rebels in Anatolia. However, renewed war with Iran failed to recapture the territory lost to Shah Abbas, and the death of Ahmed I in 1617 precipitated another crisis. His successor was his mentally defective brother Mustafa (ruled 1617– 1618, 1622-1623). Within a year a faction had deposed Mustafa and placed Ahmed's son Osman II (ruled 1618-1622) on the throne. Osman's declaration of war on Poland and his treatment of the janissaries during the unsuccessful siege of Chotin, and the suspicions of the janissaries that he wished to abolish the corps, led to a janissary insurrection, the reinstatement of Mustafa on the throne, and finally to Osman's murder. During Mustafa's second reign, unrest continued in the capital. In Anatolia the governor-general of Erzurum, Abaza Mehmed Pasha, rebelled, claiming to seek vengeance on Osman's murderers. Then Shah Abbas captured Baghdad. In 1623, Mustafa was deposed. His successor was the twelve-year-old Murad IV (ruled 1623–1640), with effective power going to his mother, Kösem Sultan.

Unrest continued for much of Murad's reign. Abaza Mehmed Pasha did not surrender until 1628, and campaigns against Iran in 1626 and 1630 failed to recapture Baghdad. In the early 1630s, the soldiery in the capital rebelled, with the agitations of fundamentalist preachers adding to the tense atmosphere. With the restoration of order, Murad led his armies against the Safavids, in 1638 recapturing

Baghdad, which was to remain in Ottoman hands until World War I. A treaty in 1639 fixed the Ottoman-Safavid border, essentially as agreed at the Treaty of Amasya. Murad IV died in 1640, having restored Ottoman military prestige, and having begun to reform the Ottoman fiscal system. The grand vizier Kemankesh Mustafa Pasha continued this work under Ibrahim I "the Mad" (1640-1648), also a son of Ahmed I and Kösem. In 1644, however, as Ibrahim's mental condition deteriorated, a faction gained power that catered to his extravagant whims. The invasion of the Venetianheld island of Crete in 1645 exacerbated the crisis. Despite the capture of Chania, Herakleion (Candia) and other fortresses resisted, while naval superiority allowed Venice to blockade the Dardanelles. In 1648, the crisis led to the deposition and execution of the sultan.

# THE KÖPRÜLÜ VIZIERATE

The seven-year-old Mehmed IV (ruled 1648-1687) succeeded Ibrahim, with his mother Turhan Sultan as regent. Faced with political instability and a Venetian blockade of the straits, Turhan in 1656 invited a provincial governor, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, to become grand vizier. Within a year, he had defeated the Venetians and reoccupied Tenedos and Limni at the entrance to the straits. By the time of his death in 1661, he had suppressed a rebellion in Anatolia, and reformed the financial system so that, for the first time in almost a century, income almost balanced expenditure. His successor was his son, Fazil Ahmed. His period of office opened with a war with Austria between 1662 and 1664 in support of the Ottoman candidate to the throne of Transylvania. Ottoman forces captured the fortress of Nové Zamky and, by the Treaty of Vasvar in 1664, retained it, despite a defeat at St. Gotthard. Fazil Ahmed next turned his attention to the war on Crete, completing the conquest with the fall of Herakleion in 1669. This new phase of expansion continued with the capture of Kamieniec in the Polish Ukraine, the call for assistance from the Cossacks of the Dnieper providing the pretext for war. Hostilities with Poland continued until 1676, the year of Fazil Ahmed's death. In addition to the conquest of Crete and strengthening the empire's northern frontier through intervention in Transylvania and the Ukraine, Fazil Ahmed continued his father's internal reforms.



**Ottoman Empire.** This unusual map was created by the Englishman Edward Wells for his 1701 atlas titled *A New Sett of Maps Both of Ancient and Present Geography*. Wells, a geographer and tutor to young William, duke of Gloucester, intended his atlas as a teaching tool and so included both historical and modern maps. This map shows the ancient divisions in the area of the eastern Ottoman Empire, which had reached its greatest extent by about 1700. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

# THE YEARS OF DISASTER

Fazil Ahmed's successor as grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, tried unsuccessfully to strengthen the empire's northern border, and to reassert Ottoman power in Hungary. His campaigns between 1676 and 1681 against Russia in the Ukraine failed. The Treaty of Radzin, which concluded the war, was unfavorable, establishing the frontier along the the Dnieper and the Bug, forcing the Ottomans to recognize the tsar as sovereign of Russia and protector of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, and permitting the creation of a patriarchate at Moscow, as a rival to the patriarchate of Constantinople. However, it was Kara Mustafa's ambitions in Hungary that led to catastrophe.

In support of the rebel Imre Thököly's claim to part of Austrian-ruled Hungary, Kara Mustafa besieged Vienna in 1683. The failed siege led to his execution and, in the following year, to the formation of the Holy League of Austria, Russia, Poland, Venice, and the papacy. In 1686, Buda fell to the Austrians. Belgrade followed in 1688. In 1687, Venice occupied Athens and most of the Peloponnese. War taxes and harvest failure increased unrest among the sultan's subjects, leading to the deposition of Mehmed IV in 1687. The measures of his successor, Suleiman II (ruled 1687–1691), and the grand vizier Köprülü Fazil Mustafa restored the authority of the government and the military position. In 1690, Fazil Mustafa recaptured Niš,

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Smederovo, and Belgrade. However, in 1691, with the death of Suleiman II, and the defeat and death of Fazil Mustafa at the battle of Slankamen, the counteroffensive failed. So too did English and Dutch attempts to broker a peace, which would have enabled the Austrians to join a western alliance against France. Some successes against the Venetians followed the accession of Mustafa II (ruled 1695–1703), but the Russians took Azov in 1696, and the defeat in 1697 at Zenta forced the Ottomans to seek peace. By the Treaty of Carlowitz of 1699, the sultan ceded Hungary and Transylvania to Austria, Podolia and western Ukraine to Poland, Azov and part of Ukraine to Russia, and Athens, Corinth, the Peloponnese, and some sites in Dalmatia to Venice.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

After the Treaty of Carlowitz, the grand vizier Amjazade Hüseyn Pasha reformed the fiscal system by lowering taxes, reducing expenditure by cutting janissary numbers, and controlling the grant of fiefs. A new stability in the currency is one indication of his success. However, the reforms made him enemies and forced both his resignation and the abdication of Mustafa II in 1703. His successor, Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730), suppressed the rebellion, reestablishing the authority of the sultanate.

Encouraged by this new stability, the grand vizier Silahdar Ali Pasha, attempted to regain the losses of 1683-1699. The flight to the Ottoman court of Charles XII of Sweden after his defeat by the Russians in 1709 led to a war with Russia that, by the Treaty of Edirne in 1713, forced Peter the Great to cede most of what he had gained at Carlowitz. In 1714-1715, the Ottomans reconquered territories lost to Venice, and in 1716 attacked Austria only to lose Belgrade, northern Serbia, Temesvár, and western Walachia. The Treaty of Passarowitz of 1718 confirmed the Austrians in possession. Acknowledging Ottoman military weakness, the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha sought peaceful diplomatic relations with the European powers, in the 1720s sending embassies to Paris, Vienna, Warsaw, and Moscow.

In 1730, a rebellion—in part against the extravagance of the court—led by the janissary Patrona Halil secured both the execution of Damad Ibrahim and the abdication of the Ahmed III. His successor,

Mahmud I (ruled 1730–1754) suppressed the insurrection. Abroad, Mahmud faced a war in Iran. In 1723, the collapse of the Safavid dynasty had given the Ottomans the opportunity to occupy territory in the Caucasus and western Iran, but by the mid-1730s the consolidation of Nadir Shah's power in Iran led to their abandonment and a new peace in 1736. Another factor in Ottoman withdrawal was the Russian seizure of Azov in 1736. The sultan declared war, hoping to form an alliance with Austria. The Austrians, however, allied with Russia, launching attacks into Bosnia and Bulgaria. The Ottoman counteroffensive thwarted the allies, and the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 restored to the Ottomans the territory lost at Passarowitz and maintained the status quo with Russia. The last war of Mahmud I's reign, against Iran, aimed to check the ambitions of Nadir Shah. The outcome was the treaty of 1746, reconfirming the treaty of 1639.

A rare period of peace followed, allowing the grand vizier Koja Ragib Pasha (ruled 1757–1763) to initiate military and fiscal reforms. The prosperity of this period tempted the grand vizier Silahdar Hamza Pasha in 1768 to respond to a Polish call for assistance by declaring war on Russia. The war was disastrous. The Russians occupied Moldavia in 1769 and Walachia in 1770. In 1769 the Russian Baltic fleet sailed to the Mediterranean but, despite destroying the Ottoman navy at Çeşme in 1770 and offering support to rebels in the Peloponnese and Egypt, achieved very little. On land the Russian advances continued into the Crimea, Walachia, and the Dobrudzha. In 1772, following failed peace negotiations, they crossed the Danube into Bulgaria. In 1774, the new sultan Abdülhamid I (1774-1789) sued for peace. By the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca the Russians acquired Azov, the territory between the Dnieper and the Bug, and the districts of Kuban and Terek, while the Crimea became independent of Ottoman overlordship. Equally significantly, the Russians obtained the right to "protect" Orthodox subjects in Istanbul, and the right to navigate freely in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Aware of the weakness in the army, Abdülhamid I retained the services of the Frenchmen De Tott and Aubert and the Scot Campbell to improve the Ottoman artillery and to reopen the school of military engineering that the Frenchman Count

Bonneval had established in 1734. Aware, too, of the forces of autonomy in the empire's provinces, the sultan attempted to reach personal agreements with the powerful notables. His reign, however, ended with further losses. By the treaty of Aynali Kavak in 1784, he recognized the Russian annexation of the Crimea. However, the Russian annexation of Georgia and establishment of naval bases on the Black Sea again led to war. The Treaty of Jassy, which ended hostilities in 1792, while less unfavorable than the treaty of 1774, confirmed Russian occupation of Georgia and the Crimea and placed the Ottoman Empire under increased Russian pressure.

By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the major themes of the later history of the empire were already visible: the threat of Russian expansion, contained as much by the opposition of European powers as by effective Ottoman resistance; the reform of the Ottoman armed forces; and internal political reforms intended to convert what was effectively a medieval empire into a modern state.

# THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Empire was a multinational, dynastic state. Its territories comprised the inherited lands of the reigning sultan and, in addition, any that he may have won through conquest. From the beginning of the empire, Ottoman territory was indivisible. All male heirs were entitled to inherit and, since there was no law governing succession, from the fourteenth until the sixteenth century, whichever of the deceased sultan's sons defeated and killed his brothers occupied the throne. However, after the accession of Murad III (ruled 1574-1595) and Mehmed III (ruled 1595-1603)—both elder sons seniority became the usual, although not invariable, mode of succession. The practice of automatic fratricide also came to an end with the accession of Ahmed I (ruled 1603-1617), as a reaction to the scandal caused by Mehmed III's execution of his nineteen brothers.

For most of the sultan's subjects, the primary focus of loyalty was to their own religious or other community, but the sultan alone was the single, if secondary, focus of loyalty for all the multifarious groups throughout the empire. Allegiance to the sultan was therefore the principle that gave the empire its unity, a notion that found a practical expression in the system of appointments. The leaders of important institutions within the empire—for example, the Greek Orthodox and Armenian patriarchs, and the heads of urban craft guilds—held their positions by virtue of a sultanic warrant. The institutions themselves might be virtually autonomous, but their heads were always royal appointees. For most subjects the loyalty that the sultan demanded consisted simply of paying taxes in cash, kind, or services. He required, however, a more active allegiance—to the extent of submitting willingly to execution—from those who served him in political and military office. These men and their families, together with those who held judicial or religious office, had, by the midfifteenth century, come to form a distinct class of non-taxpaying royal servants. By 1500, members of this class—designated "military" (askeri or askeriye)—were subject to a separate jurisdiction from ordinary taxpayers.

At the pinnacle of the military class were the viziers—usually three of four until their numbers increased from the late sixteenth century—who sat on the sultan's Imperial Council (Divan). This met in the palace under the presidency of the grand vizier, and issued decrees in the sultan's name. By the second half of the fifteenth century, viziers had typically served as provincial governors before their elevation. Viziers, like the sultan himself, also served as military commanders. So too did governors of provinces and of sub-provinces (sanjaks), each sanjak consisting of the lands in a specific area distributed as fiefs to cavalrymen, who fought in times of war under their sanjak governor. It was these cavalrymen who made up the bulk of the military class. In addition, men holding Islamic judicialreligious posts were also designated "military."

Between 1450 and 1600, the ways of recruitment to judicial, military, and political office were fairly clear. Graduates of Muslim colleges (madrasas) received, with appropriate patronage, office as judges in the provinces, as madrasa teachers, or as imams, although the highest judicial offices, notably the two military judgeships with the right to a seat on the Imperial Council, became from the sixteenth century the preserve of a few elite families. The fiefholding cavalrymen were mainly Muslim by birth, and the right to a fief was hereditary. However, the



Ottoman Empire. A map of the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-seventeenth century, from Nicolas Sanson's atlas *Cartes generales de toutes les parties du monde* first published in 1658. At the time of this map, the Ottomans were engaged in a long war with Venice (1645–1669), which ended with their capture of Crete. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

viziers and provincial governors were usually converts from Christianity. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a succession of viziers were scions of Byzantine or Balkan dynasties. For example, two of the viziers of Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512), Mesih Pasha and Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha, were, respectively, members of the Byzantine imperial family and of the ducal house of Hercegovina. By conversion, therefore, the pre-Ottoman ruling class became absorbed into the Ottoman elite. From the mid-sixteenth century, more of the governing class entered the sultan's service through the devshirme, the system whereby the sultan made a levy within his own domains of Christian lads, usually peasants from the Balkan peninsula. After con-

version to Islam, most of these served in the janissaries, the sultan's household infantry. A select group, however, received an education in the palace and, after serving the sultan within the palace, received appointments as provincial governors. The most successful could then return to the capital as viziers.

From about 1580 this system began to change. The need to increase revenues raised the status of financial officers, who began sometimes to replace military appointees in governorships. At the same time, in the Austrian war of 1593–1606, the Ottomans encountered a new form of warfare, with larger armies and an increased use of infantry carry-

ing firearms. The need for more infantrymen led to a decline in the system of fiefholding, which had supported cavalry, and to the recruitment of more foot soldiers either as irregulars or as janissaries, whose numbers had risen to about forty thousand by 1609. With this expansion, their role as an elite corps ended, and the system of recruitment through the *devshirme* broke down. By the eighteenth century, the *devshirme* had ceased altogether. To pay for these troops, the government converted many former fiefs into tax farms.

These changes in the fiscal, military, and political structure of the empire affected the elite. Viziers were no longer typically recruited through the devshirme, although links with the palace remained essential to preferment. From the seventeenth century, viziers were usually of Albanian or Caucasian descent and, once in power, furthered the careers of their kinsmen from their native areas. The Köprülüs, who from 1656 established a vizieral dynasty, were Albanians. With the decline of the fiefholding cavalry, sanjaks, which had essentially been agglomerations of fiefs, and with them, sanjak governors, declined in importance, while the role of the governors-general of provinces expanded. A new land code, in force from the 1670s until 1858, acknowledged these changes. The increasing importance of tax farms from 1600 onward and the introduction in the eighteenth century of lifetime tax farms, allowed some holders to transform these into estates, which could pass to their heirs. In the eighteenth century these local "estate owners," such as the Karaosmanoğlu family of Manisa, became local powers on whom the sultan relied for essential tasks, such as the levy of troops for war. Throughout this same period, however, the structure of the Ottoman legal establishment remained essentially the same as it had been in the sixteenth century, with the mufti of Istanbul and the two military judges at its head, and a network of Islamic courts throughout the empire. The efficiency of the legal system, which, by and large, enjoyed the trust of the sultan's Muslim and non-Muslim subjects, was a factor that allowed the empire to survive in times of crisis.

# EUROPEAN COMMERCE AND WESTERN PERCEPTIONS

In the mid-fifteenth century, the western European polities with the closest links to the Ottoman Em-

pire were the Italian city-states, particularly Venice and Genoa. These maintained fortresses and colonies in the Levant to protect trade routes, to serve as entrepôts, or for production. Genoese Caffa or Venetian Negroponte, for example, served as centers for the slave trade, while the Genoese produced mastic on Chios, alum in Phocaea (Foça), and salt at Enez. From 1451, Mehmed II began to occupy these enclaves, with a view to financial as much as territorial gain, the resulting loss of commerce being the major factor in Genoese disengagement from the Levant. The Venetian presence was more long-lived, but the loss of Levantine colonies was the major cause of the withdrawal of Venetian capital from maritime commerce. Venice nonetheless retained a commercial presence in the Ottoman Empire and, as spoils of war, even gained possession of the Peloponnese and of Athens between 1699 and 1715.

From the sixteenth century onward, the commercial power of western European states with an Atlantic seaboard began to be felt in the Ottoman Empire. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, having established themselves in the Indian Ocean, tried with partial success to gain a monopoly of the trade from southeast Asia to Europe, which had previously passed through Egypt and the Gulf and provided a source of revenue for the Ottoman sultans. Ottoman attempts to dislodge the Portuguese from Diu in Gujarat in 1538 and from Hormuz in 1552, and to encounter them in the open sea, failed. By the seventeenth century, when the Dutch, English, and French began to dominate long-distance trade in the Indian Ocean, the Ottoman presence was no longer significant. At the same time, the Atlantic powers came to dominate foreign trade within the Ottoman Empire itself, although without completely displacing Italian and other traders. Foreigners in the empire gained the right to trade through a grant of privileges from the sultan, the earliest such concessions being to Genoa and Venice. The French obtained a grant from the sultan in 1569, obliging the English, Spaniards, Portuguese, and others to trade under the French flag. The English negotiated concessions in 1583, and the Dutch in 1612.

These powers came to play an important role in the Ottoman economy, in the mid-seventeenth century even supplying coin to the Ottoman currency market. The Ottoman government, for its part, was able to exploit these concessions to political ends. During the war of 1683–1699, the sultan granted new trading concessions to France in order to maintain her support, and after 1697 to England. After the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the Austrian Habsburgs and later Russia obtained concessions, marking the beginning of a period when the European powers were able to use the concessionary regimes to exert political pressure on the weakened empire, and to treat it as an economic colony of western Europe.

Commerce and diplomacy both stimulated a European interest in the Ottoman Empire. In the sixteenth century, descriptions of the empire multiplied, outnumbering works on any other parts of the non-European world. These were often the product of diplomatic and commercial interest. The following of the French ambassador Gabriel d'Aramon, who departed for Istanbul in 1546, included the botanist Pierre Belon, the traveler Nicolas de Nicolay, and the scholar Guillaume Postel. The Habsburg ambassadors and their retinues, notably Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq who, between 1553 and 1562, negotiated a peace between Suleiman I and Ferdinand of Austria, were equally productive. This tradition continued in the following centuries: The Present State of the Ottoman Empire of 1668 by the English consul Sir Paul Rycaut, and the letters of Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the English ambassador to Ahmed III in 1717–1718, belong to the same genre.

These books enjoyed an educated readership. They did not, however, form the popular European perception of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans entered the consciousness of Catholic Europe particularly after their defeat of crusading armies in 1396 and 1444, while the Ottoman assault on central Europe following the battle of Mohács in 1526 produced an apocalyptic fear of "the Turks." In the German-speaking lands in particular, pamphlets and woodcuts circulated that place the Turkish threat in an eschatological context, drawing on Joachimite and other medieval prophetic traditions. This eschatological fear, spread through sermons, prints, and pamphlets, had a long-lasting and popular following, especially in central Europe, where it enabled the Austrian Habsburgs to justify their rule as "bulwarks against the Turk." By the eighteenth century, when Ottoman military power had declined, so did the apocalyptic vision. By the end of the century, the sultan's palace even figured as the setting for popular entertainment. Nonetheless, hostility to the Ottomans persisted throughout western Europe. The Ottomans had, and still have, little place in Western cultural perceptions.

See also Austro-Ottoman Wars; Harem; Holy Leagues; Janissary; Mediterranean Basin; Ottoman Dynasty; Russo-Ottoman Wars.

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**OXENSTIERNA, AXEL** (1583–1654), Swedish diplomat and statesman. The son of Gustaf Gabrielsson Oxenstierna and Barbo Axelsdotter Bielke, and a contemporary of Richelieu and Mazarin, Oxenstierna was a major figure in Swedish history for over half a century. The leading member of the family in this period, he served as governor of several Swedish imperial territories in the Baltic region including Prussia, director of Sweden's war efforts in Germany, member of the council of state, head of the regency for Christina from 1632 to 1644, and chancellor from 1612 to 1654. During this time, Oxenstierna redefined Sweden's constitution through a series of documents and helped to design and implement reforms in almost every aspect of state affairs. His efforts contributed importantly to Sweden's successes in the seventeenth century.

Oxenstierna was the primary proponent of Swedish aristocratic constitutionalism during this period. His position was formalized in Gustavus II Adolphus's accession charter (1611), by which the king promised to "rule with the council's advice" and honor the legal, tax, property, and career privileges of the nobility, and in the 1634 Form of Government. Oxenstierna's views were also manifested in his definitions of the parliament, the estate of the nobility, the justice system, and provincial administration. He was most able to implement his views during the reign of Gustavus II Adolphus (1611–1632) and Christina's regency period (1632–1644).

Despite holding a constitutional view that, if carried to the extreme, would relegate the crown to the role of figurehead, Oxenstierna was able to work effectively (to varying degrees) in all manner of state business with Charles IX, Gustavus II Adolphus, and Christina. He established a truly remarkable partnership with Gustavus Adolphus in which the roles of leader and follower blurred and were often indistinguishable. They effected an end to the crown-noble conflict that had marred much of the sixteenth century, created a new high court system, regularized the makeup and roles of the parliament, systematized the central administration and revised regional government, reformed the military, made peace with Denmark and Russia, concluded a sixyear truce with Poland, extended Sweden's holdings in the southeastern Baltic region, intervened in and made substantial gains for Sweden in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), and nurtured the development of Sweden's economy and educational institutions.

During the years of Christina's minority, Oxenstierna was the most powerful person in Sweden and effectively its leader. It was then that he secured acceptance of the 1634 Form of Government, a sixty-five-paragraph constitutional document that defined Sweden's political system, probably written by Oxenstierna, which he claimed carried Gustavus Adolphus's approval. The king's right to rule was clear, and ordinary business was entrusted to the five great officers of state (chancellor, steward, treasurer, marshal, and admiral), each of whom headed one of the "colleges" (departments). The competencies and review procedures for each were defined. The parliament's place in the system was affirmed. Overall, it spelled out existing trends in political development and assured the continuance of government during the absence of a monarch or during a minority.

In this same period, Oxenstierna directed Sweden's involvement in Germany, negotiated new subsidies from the French, and engineered a brief war with Denmark (1644–1645). He also worked successfully to improve the state's economic situation, which was accomplished by encouraging the immigration of experts in banking, trade, mining, and manufacturing (many from the Netherlands), helping to found commercial companies (such as the New Sweden Company), supporting monopolies (such as those in the copper, iron, and grain trades), and revising the toll systems in Swedishheld ports in the Baltic to increase revenues.

During the last decade of his life, Oxenstierna's health and powers declined. Christina did not share his constitutional views, and she asserted her independence via court favorites and clever political manipulations. She opposed him on the war in Germany, financial policies, her marriage, and the succession issue. Her abdication and the accession of Charles X Gustav in 1654 were both defeats for the aging statesman.

Historians vary in their assessments of Oxenstierna. Some argue that he was power-hungry and wanted to create a dynasty, if not to gain the throne, then to control it. Others believe he hoped to make Sweden an aristocratic republic, on the model of Poland but more effective. There are also those who

claim he epitomizes the selfless public servant working for the good of his state. There is no consensus, and the truth probably lies in a mixture of these views. Whatever his motives were, it is clear that he devoted his entire professional life to the development of Sweden.

See also Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Christina (Sweden); Constitutionalism; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Prussia; Sweden; Thirty Years' War; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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Byron J. Nordstrom



PACIFIC OCEAN. The largest ocean, the Pacific covers one-third of the Earth's surface. People have lived with and sailed on its waters for thousands of years. European navigators only outlined its vastness between 1520 and 1799. Before the sixteenth century, voyagers from the Indonesian and western Pacific islands sailed into the central Pacific, establishing human settlements in even the most distant places, such as Rapa Nui (Easter Island) or Hawaii. Contact with South America even brought the sweet potato into Oceania. The deliberate voyaging of Pacific Islanders demonstrated practical knowledge of the major currents, wind patterns, and methods of island screens. Knowledge of the equatorial countercurrent, the great northern whirl, the great southern whirl, and forecasted wind seasons were part of their Oceanic expertise.

# SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION

In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa's (1475–1519) expedition left the Caribbean side of the Isthmus of Panama and crossed westward to the Pacific Ocean side, becoming the first Europeans to see the Great South Sea. In 1520 three ships commanded by Ferdinand Magellan (1480?–1521) sailed out of the stormy passage of the strait at the southern tip of South America into the Pacific Ocean and named it the peaceful, calm, quiet ocean. Magellan's voyage through the strait took three months and twenty days, and it weakened and dismayed the crew. With potentially thousands of islands in the Pacific to find, Magellan sailed by only three unpopulated is-

lets before he reached the Mariana Islands (so named in 1668) in March 1521. After killing some of the natives and decrying their thievery, Magellan sailed on, labeling the islands Ladrones, Spanish for thieves. The next three centuries of European exploration, conquest, and colonization brought more fierce encounters in Oceania.

The 1494 Line of Demarcation agreed upon between the monarchs of Portugal and Castile established boundaries in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Without exact chronometers, their determination of longitude was mere guesswork. Disputes between the two expansive powers about eastwest position arose in the Philippine Islands and the Moluccas. The Portuguese were content to establish mercantile contacts and limited control in the Spice Islands of Southeast Asia. Meanwhile the Spanish tentatively explored the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. Magellan's voyages were followed by voyages from the western coasts of Spanish-conquered lands. The García Jofre de Loaysa expedition of 1525-1527 crossed the southern Pacific Ocean from east to west, establishing a brief Spanish presence in Tidore. Andrés de Urdaneta (1498-1568) sailed on the Loaysa voyage and learned about the winds and currents. Urdaneta survived the failed colonization effort and eventually showed how west to east voyages could occur. Under the command of Miguel López de Legazpi (c. 1510-1572), six vessels sailed from La Navidad Harbor in Mexico to settle the Philippines. As navigator, Urdaneta guessed correctly that from the Philippines a ship could sail north toward Japan and catch the prevailing winds that would return it across the northern Pacific to the coasts of North America. The clockwise pattern of sailing across the Pacific functioned for the galleon trade from Manila to Acapulco and back until 1815. It was the only predictable connection for Europe in the Pacific Ocean until the exploratory voyages of the French and British navies in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Spaniards also sailed from Callao, the port city of Peru. Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira (1541–1595) in 1567 sailed west from Peru into western Melanesia. The Spaniards named the islands after the biblical king Solomon in hopes of finding the legendary gold of King Solomon's mines. That they sailed through the waters of Polynesia is a remarkable fact of misguided yet dogged sailing. Almost thirty years later, in 1595, Mendaña equipped another four ships to sail west from Peru and this time landed on islands he named the Marquesas, after the wife of the viceroy of Peru. The Mendaña crew made it back to the Solomon Islands, but the colony failed again after Mendaña's death. Under Pedro Fernández de Quiros (1565–1615), the group sailed north to the Marianas and the Philippines. After provisioning in Manila, they returned by the established route to Mexico and back to Callao. In 1605 Quiros again sailed westward from Peru and came across the Tuamotu Islands, but the hope of finding the legendary great southern continent lured the two ships farther westward. His second in command, Luis Vaez de Torres (fl. 1606), sailed west from the Solomon Islands. The Torres Strait dividing New Guinea and Australia is named after him.

The annual Manila galleon trade left from the Philippines between May and September, hoping to cross the northern Pacific within six months and arrive in Acapulco by December. Upon arrival on the western shores of Mexico, the galleon's merchandise was off-loaded for sale and replaced with American silver, cacao, cochineal, oil, and wines in preparation for departure by March or April. The return voyage across the Pacific Ocean was expected to take three months, with a stop at the Mariana Islands for fresh water and supplies. The only long-lasting European outpost in Oceania existed on Guam, the largest of the Mariana Islands. The native Chamorros interacted with European ships

once a year, with a few sailors staying longer. In 1668 the Jesuits obtained support from Queen Mariana of Spain to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. The motivating figure behind the request was Diego Luis de Sanvítores (1627–1672). He had sailed to the Philippines but always remembered the Chamorros he had briefly seen from the decks of the galleon as it passed Guam. The Jesuits came to Christianize, but the unintended consequences were rampant disease, tragic warfare, and a legacy of colonial oppression.

As the Spaniards explored routes across the Pacific, English commanders sought to obtain the wealth aboard the Spanish vessels. Francis Drake (1540/1543-1596) sailed through the Strait of Magellan in September 1578. He filled his ship with booty from raids on Spanish colonies and ships and, avoiding capture, sailed westward across the Pacific, eventually circumnavigating the globe. In 1587 Thomas Cavendish (c. 1560–1592) was even more successful when he captured the Manila galleon Santa Ana, full of gold, pearls, and silks on its return to Acapulco. The Spanish managed to defend their trade, even capturing later English raiders, such as Richard Hawkins (c. 1560–1622), who surrendered to a Spanish fleet off the coasts of California in 1594.

## **DUTCH EXPLORATION**

Dutch explorers also looked for profit in the Pacific. In 1598 five ships left Holland for the Pacific by way of the Strait of Magellan. The Portuguese and Spanish each captured a ship, the Japanese sacked another, and one was lost at sea. Only the ship Faith survived, returning to the Low Countries in 1600. Of the 491 original crew members, only 36 returned home. These losses were often expected when early modern Europeans sailed into the Pacific Ocean. In 1616 the Dutch ship Eendracht, commanded by Jakob Le Maire (1585-1616) and Willem Schouten (c. 1580-1625), pushed south far enough that they rounded the southern tip of South America and found a new way to enter the Pacific other than through the Strait of Magellan. As they sailed west, the Dutch sailors encountered islanders in the Tuamotus, Tonga, and New Guinea. Later Dutch explorers made other discoveries in the Pacific Ocean. In 1642 Abel Tasman (1603?–1659?) sailed from Batavia on the island of Java (modernday Jakarta, Indonesia) into the southwestern reaches of the Pacific. He named Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania). He also named other lands after his Dutch states, including Staten Island (New Zealand). Sailing farther he came across the Tonga Islands of Haapai and later passed through the Fiji Islands. He can be credited as the first European explorer to enter the South Pacific from the west and to sail completely around Australia. In 1721 Jacob Roggeveen (1659-1729) hoped to discover the great southern continent. On Easter Day 1722 he landed at Rapa Nui (Easter Island), taking note of the tattooed inhabitants and large stone statues. He sailed back from the eastern Pacific, describing some of the northern Tuamotu Islands and the Manua Islands of Samoa. He made no permanent settlements.

#### **BRITISH EXPLORATION**

British explorations in the eighteenth century were reanimated by the spectacular success of George Anson (1697–1762) in 1742. When Anson captured another Manila galleon, the reported booty in silver amounted to 400,000 pounds sterling. Afterward the Royal Navy commissioned John Byron (1723-1786) with two ships to discover islands for British possession in the South Seas. In 1765 Byron sailed into the Pacific Ocean and declared that two northern Tuamotu Islands and Pukapuka in the northern Cook Islands were British possessions. He resupplied at Tinian in the Mariana Islands and then returned to the British Isles by May 1766. Immediately afterward Samuel Wallis (1728– 1795) departed with three ships, entering the Pacific in April 1767. He sailed less to the north than previous explorers had and in his westward line came across the island of Tahiti on 18 June 1767. With the European discovery of Tahiti, eighteenthcentury Europeans sustained the enticing image of the noble savage and interacted with the many islanders.

After Wallis's return home in 1768, Captain James Cook (1728–1779) sailed on his first voyage to the Pacific with specific orders to observe the transit of Venus from Tahiti. He also sailed for Tasman's Staten Island, sailing around it completely. In so doing Cook proved that the two islands of New Zealand were definitely not part of some larger southern continent. On his second voyage (1772–

1775) Cook proved that the southern continent did not exist, leaving the Pacific Ocean even larger than Europeans had thought possible. On his third voyage (1776) Cook sailed to the northwest coast of North America after visiting the familiar South Pacific islands. In December 1777 he sighted the island of Kauai in the eastern Hawaiian Archipelago. The islands of Hawaii were among the last of Oceania officially discovered by Europeans in the concluding years of the eighteenth century. Cook returned a year later to resupply after having had no success in finding the western end of the Northwest Passage. Hawaiians killed him at Kealakekua Bay in February 1779. Nonetheless other voyages by French and Spanish explorers followed in the wake of Cook.

The European exploration and intrusion into Oceania during the early modern era have diverging interpretations. The brave men, successful technology, and dogged persistence of Pacific exploration signaled a dynamic European desire to reach to every area of the world. The diseases, violence, and complex legacy of cultural contact in Oceania are the other side of the same coin.

See also Exploration; Magellan, Ferdinand.

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**PACIFISM.** The development of sentiments of peace arose in a period of religious and political turmoil and strife. This period of strife resulted from the Reformation and from the process that led to the emergence of sovereign states and a new international system characterized by anarchy. The various ideas, proposals, and peace movements can be divided into three categories. Pacifism, the rejection of all violence and war, initially on the basis of

religious doctrine or conviction, was exemplified in several Christian sects of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Such pacifism manifested itself more in personal witness than in political movements. A second tradition, more avowedly political in orientation and origin, was that of the perpetual peace plans—proposals for the abolition of warfare through international organization. Virtually all such proposals, which flourished especially in the eighteenth century, contained provisions for the coercive exercise of power by the envisaged international authority; therefore these proposals were internationalist rather than strictly pacifist in nature. Even less pacifist was a third approach that emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which attempted to regulate the relations between sovereign states through the development of a law of nations (for which Jeremy Bentham coined the expression "international law" in 1780). These three traditions have continued to develop and interact with each other and have shaped humanity's thinking about war and peace up to the present. However, the start of the modern age witnessed a great flowering of antiwar writings that have continued to encourage critics of war and inspire dreamers of peace through the centuries.

# ERASMIAN PEACE LITERATURE

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536), the "prince of humanists," drew on both his theological and classical scholarship to ridicule and condemn war as stupid, costly, and unworthy of Christians and the human race in general. Writing at a time when Christian rulers (including the pope) were fomenting and fighting wars, Erasmus used wit and satire to depict the brutality and irrationality of such campaigns. Going against the conventions of his time, Erasmus argued that nothing was less glorious than war, which only brought death, destruction, and misery. He stressed constantly the far-reaching and long-lasting consequences and evils of war. The friend of princes and bishops throughout Europe, he urged them to adopt a saner and more Christian attitude. He argued that their duty was the safety and happiness of their people, not the wanton destruction of their lives and livelihood in incessant, senseless warfare. These themes are pervasive in his numerous writings, but are most fully and devastatingly addressed in War Is Sweet to Those Who Do Not Know It (Dulce Bellum Inexpertis,

1515) and *The Complaint of Peace* (1517). His best-loved book, *The Praise of Folly* (1509), contains a mocking criticism of war. The numerous translations and reprints of Erasmus's antiwar writings are testimony to the fact that his glowing convictions and sharp pen have inspired the peace movement since his day.

Erasmus's condemnation of war was shared by his friends, notably the English humanists John Colet and Thomas More, and the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives, whose writings also deglorified war and urged a more rational, humane, and Christian policy on the rulers they addressed. For Erasmus, in an age of absolute monarchy, the education of Christian princes along pacifist lines was indeed of critical importance. He treated the subject in The Education of a Christian Prince, and his advice was very different from that offered at the same time by Niccolò Machiavelli in *The Prince*. In the Erasmian literature there is little beyond these appeals to education, apart from the need to submit disputes to arbitration, as proposals for the avoidance of war. Erasmus was not an absolute pacifist, as evidenced by his discussion of whether war against the Turks was justified. Given the abuse of the traditional Catholic Just War doctrine, he took as his starting point the unchristian nature of war as shown in the teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount and thus shifted the balance of the argument away from justifying war to condemning it. Sebastian Franck's Kriegsbüchlen des Frides (1539) contains elements of a very modern pacifism in its emphasis on personal responsibility and individual conscience. The greatest French writers of the sixteenth century, François Rabelais (1490-1553) and Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592), condemned and ridiculed war as evidence of human stupidity.

# PACIFIST SECTS

The absolute rejection of war and the doctrine of nonresistance characterized the pacifist sects—some with roots in the heretical sects of the medieval world—that emerged at the time of the Reformation and the period leading up to it. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Bohemia became a center for the absolute renunciation of war through the teachings and writings of Petr Chelcicky (c. 1380–1450s). He influenced the emergence during 1457–1467 of the Bohemian or Czech Brethren,

who adhered to a literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, preached a return to the teachings of Christ and his early followers, and rejected the state as an unchristian institution. Before the end of the century, the sect abandoned these absolutist views as a result of internecine struggles. However, they were adopted by the Swiss Anabaptists (or Brethren) under their leader Konrad Grebel (1498-1526) and also by the leader of the Dutch Anabaptists, Menno Simons (1496–1561), whose renewal of the sect was reflected in its new name, Mennonites. They secured the unprecedented right to an alternative civilian service in place of military service. Small Mennonite communities can still be found today in North America, where they continue to provide an active and living witness of Christian pacifism.

The largest of the Christian pacifist sects are the Quakers, who emerged in the 1650s in England, then in the throes of religious and political turmoil. Founded by George Fox (1624–1691), in 1661 the Quakers expressed their commitment to a renunciation of all violence and an individual witness against all war and all preparation for war in the Quaker Peace Testimony. From an initial refusal to take up arms, the Testimony has grown into a wide-ranging, active, and constructive program for the promotion of social and international peace.

Among early Quakers who worked for international peace were Robert Barclay (1648-1690), William Penn (1644-1718), and John Bellers (1654-1725). In 1678, Barclay addressed his "Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice" to the ambassadors of the several princes of Europe, who met at Nijmegen. He exhorted them to be guided by the divine light within and a peaceable spirit, which alone were capable of delivering a lasting peace settlement. Penn reacted to the wars of his time by proposing a European parliament in his Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe (1693). He argued that as civil war was prevented by just governance, so international war could be avoided by the creation of an international body entrusted with the just solution of contentious issues between its member states. In Some Reasons for an European State (1710), Bellers stressed that religious tolerance and liberty of conscience are essential prerequisites for European peace. It was precisely their absence in England that led Penn to

establish his "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania, which became a haven for his coreligionists and similarly persecuted Nonconformist sects from Europe. For some seventy years (1681–1750), his colony was a tolerant and peaceful community that, unusually, also lived in harmony with Native Americans. It has inspired many who have dreamed of creating an ideal society.

## PERPETUAL PEACE PLANS

Constant European warfare, the result of political and religious disunity, inspired many peace plans whose real aims were frequently to favor the hegemony of one or other power, and to protect Christianity from the Turks. Among the earliest of these plans are the Universal Peace Organization (1462/ 1464) of King George Podebrad (ruled 1458-1471) of Bohemia and the Grand Design of Henry IV (1638). The latter was the work of Henry's chief minister, Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully (1559–1641), who attributed it to the king in his *Mémoires* in order to enhance its authority. A truly modern, universal plan for world peace is in The New Cyneas (1623), written by the Parisian monk Eméric Crucé (c. 1590-1648), which appeared in the middle of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). It did not favor any particular power or religion and stressed the potential for world peace inherent in global free trade. Since Crucé wrote when the ruling economic doctrine was bellicose mercantilism, which held that trade between countries could only benefit one of them at the expense of the other(s), his ideas were too far ahead of his time to make an impact. He contrasted the old ideal of the destructive warrior with that of the productive worker and foresaw a global community of mutually stimulating peace and prosperity. The wars of Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) inspired plans for European peace such as those by Penn and the Abbé de Saint-Pierre (1713), whose voluminous Project of Perpetual Peace (1713-1716) was summarized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1761). Voltaire (1694-1778) shared Saint-Pierre's abhorrence and condemnation of war, calling it a "plague and crime . . . which includes all plagues and all crimes." However, he rejected as utopian Saint-Pierre's remedy: a confederation of European states meant to perpetuate the status quo internally as well as internationally. Philosophes, such as Voltaire, condemned the dynastic wars of their time and

decried the fanaticism, despotism, and superstition that gave rise to war. Its elimination, they held, would come about through reason, tolerance, and social justice.

## INTERNATIONAL LAW

The rise of independent, sovereign states, together with their discoveries and colonization of extra-European territories, necessitated agreement on the principles for governing the emerging international system. The theory of the existence of a natural law-which held that humanity had common bonds, and that there existed fundamental rights and obligations that were not grounded in theology—allowed the development of a new science of international law. While the Spanish theologians Franciscus de Vitoria (1480-1546) and Franciscus Suarez (1548–1617) prepared the ground, the secularization of international law was brought to fruition by the Italian jurist Alberico Gentili (1552-1608). Gentili influenced Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), whose On the Laws of War and Peace (1625) was the first comprehensive and systematic attempt to formulate the principles of the new science. The Dutch diplomat asserted that there existed a common law among nations, and that this law also applied in war. He rejected the popularly held view that in war, law was in abeyance, and he was much concerned with the rules governing the behavior of belligerents. Writing in the middle of the Thirty Years' War, Grotius agitated against the lawless practices that were only too evident and that, he noted, would have made even barbarians blush. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) that ended the war sanctioned the new system of independent states. Grotius's famous treatise provided a body of rules to govern their relations in both war and peace.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Franck, Sebastian; Grotius, Hugo; Law: International Law; More, Thomas; Quakers; Rabelais, François.

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Peter van den Dungen

**PAINTING.** Renaissance artists broke decisively from their medieval predecessors by looking to nature as their guide in the art of painting. Through observation and imitation, artists strove to construct a lucid depiction of their world. Mathematical principles were applied to establish a canon of proportions, aided immeasurably by the study of antique, classical sculpture. Painters experimented with perspective—the technique of depicting forms and their spatial relationships on a flat surface to create the illusion that the viewer is looking through a window—and brought it to ever greater levels of perfection.

In terms of technique, these illusionistic achievements were aided by the growing use of oil over tempera. The oil medium allowed the painter to apply pigment in a nuanced and fluid manner, with the added advantage that the transparency of the oil allowed for layering of color to describe light and shadow. Painting on wood panel continued to

be popular, especially in northern Europe. Canvas, however, was growing in favor as it was easier to size and prepare for painting. By the sixteenth century, some artists exploited the weave of coarse canvases to accentuate the reflection of light and the appearance of brushwork, as did painters in Venice. Copper, slate, and marble were also adopted as supports. Artists appreciated their ultrasmooth surfaces and their ability to be fashioned into circular formats. These strictly pictorial skills were complemented by the growing sophistication of artists in animating figures through the use of gesture and expression. Painters increasingly looked to the devices of poetry for inspiration in creating an expressive pictorial language.

During the first three decades of the sixteenth century in Italy, referred to historically as the High Renaissance, the practice of observing and imitating the natural world expanded to include the emulation and idealization of the artist's experience of nature. Raphael (born Raffaello Sanzio), Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo Buonarrotti are the artists associated with the apogee of these developments in central Italy and Rome, and renowned for interpreting these achievements with their own distinct vision. The pictorial conventions of this fertile period of art established a classical ideal of beauty that endured for centuries. Florentine artists in particular regarded drawing, with its emphasis on line, as fundamental to the structure of a painting. In addition, drawing, or disegno, was believed to be the direct conduit through which an artist's intellectual concept for a painting was expressed. Disegno thus assumed an intellectual as well as practical importance.

Venice too was a highly important center of painting in the sixteenth century. Venetian painters adopted a practice emphasizing the sensual qualities of color and light. Brushwork or facture was paramount to these results. Titian (born Tiziano Vecellio), along with Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto (born Jacopo Robusti), are artists associated with creating this painterly idiom where subjects are treated with a breadth and liberty of execution. This intuitive and painterly approach, in which color serves to structure the painting, was known as *colore*. The controversy between Venetian *colore* and central Italian *disegno* was already acknowledged by the artists and theorists of the sixteenth century. These

two fundamentally distinct ways of seeing and reproducing the world in paint, one regarded as rational, the other as sensual and emotional, would compete for authority repeatedly in the theory and practice of painting.

By the end of the 1520s, a new style of painting, which has come to be known as mannerism (from the Italian maniera), presented itself. Mannerism was characterized by an appreciation for artistic invention and novelty. Artists employed charged, expressive colors in unusual combinations, elongated and unnatural proportions for the description of human form, and favored crowded, spatially compressed compositions. There are two prevailing interpretations of this style. One views mannerism as a reaction to the political and social instability in Europe at this time, including the Sack of Rome by King Charles V in 1527 and the trauma of the Reformation. Another interpretation sees mannerist artists pursuing a continuing refinement of the ideals of the Renaissance that became increasingly stylized and removed from nature in inspiration. Mannerism can perhaps be defined as the first, highly self-conscious art movement of the modern era. Jacopo da Pontormo from Florence and Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola of Parma, called Il Parmigianino, worked in this style. In northern Europe, subjects of an esoteric, titillating, and erotic nature were especially popular with mannerist painters, notably Joachim Wtewael from Utrecht and Haarlem-born Cornelis van Haarlem.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The seventeenth century witnessed major changes in the visual arts caused by a confluence of significant social, political, cultural, and economic events, which in turn contributed to the development of new styles of painting, often categorized into national schools. However, the pictorial devices European artists employed for structuring their paintings shared many characteristics that together suggested a period style historians called the baroque. For example, artists embraced naturalism with a new vigor. Bold experiments were carried out in the depiction of space, light, and the suggestion of time, all in the service of creating a pictorial illusion. Palettes deepened, assuming the warmer, saturated colors of autumn.



Painting. Supper at Emmaus, oil on canvas, 1601-1602, by Caravaggio. The ART ARCHIVE/JOHN WEBB

Still life, landscape, and genre themes were embraced as worthy subjects independent of religious and historical painting. Scientific discoveries, trade with the East, and treasures from the New World provoked innovative ways of seeing and representing the world. States of mind, particularly transcendence, emotions such as fear, pain, and pleasure, all challenged artists' descriptive abilities. This dynamic period of pictorial innovation was driven by the desire to appeal directly to the senses, to close the gap between the illusion of the painting and the living world of the spectator.

Italy. The Catholic Church, which set out to reform itself in response to the Reformation, played an important role in the creation of this new baroque style of painting in Italy. Religious painting, as the visual manifestation of church doctrine, was also subject to reform. Two cardinals in particular, Gabriele Paleotti of Bologna and Federigo Borromeo of Milan, became actively involved in educat-

ing artists about the proper interpretation of sacred imagery. Artists took up the standard to create paintings that were clear, emotive, and illustrative of the new Christian piety. The great reformers of Italian painting at the cusp of the seventeenth century were Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, from the town of the same name in Lombardy, and Annibale Carracci of Bologna. Caravaggio's influence was immediate and profound albeit shortlived. Carracci created a new style that established the standards for baroque painting through the next century.

Caravaggio revolutionized painting by depicting powerfully naturalistic scenes, inspired by everyday reality, where neither figures nor place were idealized. Overtly dismissive of traditional pictorial conventions, he was considered by his peers to be what we would call in today's language "avant garde." *Supper at Emmaus* (1601–1602, National Gallery, London) illustrates his direct and clear narrative structure enlivened by the dramatic, almost

severe contrast of light and dark. Working from posed models, Caravaggio imbues his paintings with a vitality and naturalism that give them the impression of *tableaux vivants*. Settings are spare and participants common in type, suggestive more of genre painting than a religious episode of miraculous revelation.

Bold perspective devices implicate the viewer in the drama. In the immediate foreground, the edge of a realistically depicted basket of fruit sits partly off the table. One apostle's sharply foreshortened hand appears to reach out of the picture plane into the spectator's space. The intimacy of presentation invites an experience of surprise akin to that of the apostles as Christ reveals himself to them. In this regard, Caravaggio was a superior painter of Counter-Reformation subjects and a key innovator of the baroque style. So great and widespread was Caravaggio's influence over the next two decades that his many followers in France, Holland, and Spain have come to be known as Caravaggisti.

Carracci is credited with initiating the reform of painting in Italy and thereby creating a new and accessible pictorial language. His approach was to study nature, antique sculpture, and the achievements of his High Renaissance forebears. To this practice he added the theory of imitation and emulation, drawing on each category's perfections. With a sense of true historic awareness, Annibale synthesized the divergent regional styles in sixteenth-century Italy, including the competing aesthetic of central Italian *disegno* and Venetian *colore*. In so doing, he reshaped, with clarity and vigor, the great tradition of Italian painting and provided his contemporaries and followers with a means to achieve their own styles by using this method.

Carracci's fresco decoration for the Farnese Gallery in Rome (1597–1604) exemplified the new style in which he reinvented the classicizing idiom of history painting with wit and charm. His detailed preparatory drawings were of great pedagogical importance to contemporary artists for they indicated the necessity of drawing as professional practice, particularly in the composition of ambitious history paintings. The baroque illusionism introduced by Carracci reached its full potential a generation later in the ceiling fresco of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, painted by Giovanni Battista Gaulli in 1676–

1679 at the Church of Il Gesù in Rome. Here the period taste for spectacle is realized through painted illusions of infinity. Celestial figures appear to descend from heaven's vault above into the spectator's space within the church, blurring the boundaries between the real and unreal.

Rome became a mecca for foreign artists who came to absorb its riches and return home to spread the new style. Secular and ecclesiastic commissions burgeoned. Sophisticated connoisseurs welcomed this new wave of artistic experiment and ferment. Two French painters, Nicolas Poussin from Les Andelys and Claude Lorrain (born Claude Gellée) from Nancy, enjoyed just such patronage. Though they spent the majority of their careers in Italy, they profoundly influenced the direction of seventeenth-century painting in their native France.

France. In France, patronage flowed from the court that cultivated a strict unity of style and content to extol the virtues of the monarchy. King Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715), known as the Sun King, established in 1648 the Académie Française, which eventually institutionalized all art education and practice. A hierarchy of subjects suitable for an artist to paint was established, with history painting regarded as the highest form of intellectual expression. Genre and still life painting were relegated to the bottom of the list. Rationality, order, and harmony became hallmarks of the academic French style. Its champion was Poussin. Having experienced the heady mix of styles current in Rome, Poussin immersed himself in classical studies of art and literature. It was the consummate relationship of theory and practice in his art, based on composition and drawing, for which he was most admired. Great intellectual effort underlies the construction of Poussin's paintings, where every motif is calculated and planned and nothing is extraneous. Carefully placed vertical and horizontal accents lead the eye to the subject or serve as stately backdrops for its unfolding. Poussin's deeply reflective pictures, such as The Finding of Moses (1638, Louvre, Paris), are infused with the spirit of classicism in which the expression and mood of the subject are rendered with calm and grandeur.

Claude Lorrain, along with Poussin, created the tradition of the ideal landscape, a practice that endured until the nineteenth century. He specialized

in depictions of an idyllic Roman countryside in which pastoral and biblical themes are presented in a quiet and timeless manner. Lorrain's gifts as an illuminist are evident in the range of naturalistic light effects he produced. The sun, the source of light in his compositions, is placed just beyond the horizon to suggest a particular time of day. The frequent addition of ancient ruins in his compositions contributes to the impression of time and its passing. Above all, it is the beauty of nature that seems to be his subject.

The Netherlands. Violent political and religious conflicts during the sixteenth century fractured the Low Countries into two nations, a Protestant Dutch Republic in the north and a Catholic Flanders in the south that remained under Spanish political control. Despite these harrowing events, the two countries contributed mightily and imaginatively to the history of European painting in the seventeenth century. Flemish painters combined the dynamism of baroque art with the realism and primary palette that had characterized Netherlandish painting since Jan van Eyck. Peter Paul Rubens, from Antwerp, took these strengths of his homeland and combined them with an Italian love of form and composition acquired during eight years in Italy. His exuberant personal style, based on keen observation, a sensual, robust nature, and a deeply humanistic outlook, is joyous and uplifting. Rubens's confident brushwork contributed mightily to the vitality of his figures.

A devout Catholic, Rubens articulated the philosophy of the Counter-Reformation by creating works of immediacy, power, and beauty to strengthen the worshiper's faith and encourage devout conduct. Thus, Rubens portrayed in *Saint Ignatius Loyola* (1621–1622, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) the founder of the Society of Jesus as a Christian hero, caught up in a moment of rapture. Rubens was not limited to Catholic subjects, as he created dazzling allegories for sovereigns throughout Europe as well as portraits of great psychological depth.

Dutch painting presents a significantly different character and style from contemporary European painting. Because of its strict Protestant ethos that viewed religious imagery as idolatrous, Dutch art eschewed overtly religious themes in favor of a rich variety of subjects inspired by the immediate environment, including landscape, still life, portraiture, and genre. Effectively separate from the Italian model of patronage, where artists worked primarily through religious or noble commissions, Dutch artists participated in an open market. Holland's prosperous international trade spawned a vital middle class, which sought to appoint its homes with art that was familiar and comfortable, that inspired pride and was appreciated for its verisimilitude. Style varied from the fine, almost scientifically descriptive paintings of Gerrit Dou to the more vigorous, impastoed expression of Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn and his followers where the process of painting was evident. Recent scholarship has concerned itself with the degree to which Dutch painting was strictly mimetic or emblematic, that is, a vehicle for hidden symbolism that the consumer would have recognized.

Dutch painters tended to specialize in one genre but frequently made innovative contributions. Frans Hals of Haarlem, known for his energetic brushwork and unforgettable character portraits of smiling figures, brought a new look to the commemorative group portrait in paintings such as the Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Militia Company (1626-1627, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem), where the scene is animated by the participants' gestures and expressions, and the dynamic accents of colored sashes and drapery. Occupations, leisure time, and domestic episodes provided endless inspiration to the witty pictorial observations of Leiden-born artists Jan Steen and Gabriel Metsu. Their Delft contemporary, Jan Vermeer, one of the greatest artists of the seventeenth century, took an approach to genre painting that was more about the art of painting than its anecdotal descriptiveness. Vermeer's use of camera obscura may have contributed to the simplification of form, light, and color that characterizes his carefully composed interiors in which the subject performs a task with quiet concentration.

Pictorially, the United Netherlands was well served by its landscape painters who sympathetically depicted its variety of dunes, canals, seascapes, and cityscapes. Jacob van Ruisdael from Haarlem created vast panoramas with emphatic horizons. In *View of Alkmaar* (1670–1675, Museum of Fine Art, Boston), banks of hedges slicing through the landscape are backlit by the sun, creating strong

contrasts of light and shade and a palpable illusion of space and depth.

Rembrandt, the greatest Dutch painter, was devoted equally to painting, printmaking, and drawing. His continuous practice of experimentation with each medium enabled him to surmount previous limitations, both practical and theoretical. From the 1630s and 1640s onward Rembrandt was the premier portraitist of Amsterdam. He captured the physical characteristics of his sitters, and his skillful manipulation of light added an expressive value and suggested mood. His keen sensitivity to human psychology manifested itself in his thematic works as well. In his mature paintings, which often depicted Old Testament stories, such as Bathsheba (1654, Louvre, Paris), he favored presentations that were highly naturalistic, unidealized, and intimate. Settings were minimal and extraneous details eliminated. He used light sparingly and dramatically to suggest the internal, mental state of the subject. More than simply presenting a pictorial narrative, Rembrandt managed to convey the complexity and pathos of the moment as it occurred to his subject. As he matured, he adopted an increasingly monochromatic palette with a thick, layered paint application that called attention to the process of painting and served to better express his individuality and creativity.

Spain. By the seventeenth century Spain wielded political power over Flanders and much of Italy. The ensuing diplomatic ties exposed Spanish artists to artistic exchange. Royal and private collections grew and provided examples of artistic developments elsewhere in Europe but above all from Italy. At the same time, Spain was a highly conservative Catholic country, and its zealous participation in the Counter-Reformation witnessed the birth of punitive tribunals such as the Inquisition. Such a social and cultural underpinning was not conducive to revolutionary picture making. Nevertheless, artists including Francisco de Zurbarán, Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velázquez, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo created work of great feeling while drawing on the contemporary concerns associated with baroque art, especially that of involving the viewer in the subject of the painting and appealing to the emotions. Here, the Spanish predilection for intense physicality—an earthy quality with overtones of mortality—played an important role.

Spanish religious sentiment found significant expression in the austere religious mysticism of Zurbarán. Whether depicting saints in ecstasy or a simple still life, the resulting image was intense and realistic. He embraced the descriptive technique and pictorial devices of Caravaggio, placing his saints in dark, nondescript spaces where the strong, focused light accentuates plastic form and describes tactile values. The compelling emotional intensity of his paintings appealed to the monastic orders of Seville who provided the majority of his commissions and viewed his works as pictorial expressions of their religious vocation. Later in the century, Murillo's engaging and innovative approach to religious subject matter gave a more sensual and tender expression to Catholic art. He specialized in visionary scenes and images of the Virgin in which her beauty and compassion were stressed. He adopted a loose painting technique and lightened the dark Spanish palette. In his late work, transparent glazes were applied to enrich the effects of light.

Velázquez's early works in his native Seville, such as An Old Woman Cooking Eggs (1618, National Gallery, Edinburgh), were boldly naturalistic and palpably three-dimensional, enhanced by his use of strong contrasts of light and shadow. His career was tightly bound to the Spanish monarchy. Two voyages to Italy, in 1629-1631 and 1649-1651, made a great impression on him and had a liberating effect on his style as he adopted a freer paint application that, while it acknowledged the process of painting, did not reduce the semblance of his subjects. Indeed, he painted some of the most innovative and realistic portraits of the baroque era, including Las Meninas (The maids of honor; c. 1656, Prado, Madrid), the strikingly complex and unique family portrait of King Philip IV.

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century witnessed profound changes in politics and culture. The philosophy of Enlightenment thinkers and the development of modern science provoked a change of taste in literature and the visual arts. Institutional and court-based systems of patronage that had prevailed during the seventeenth century declined. In their place, a growing bourgeois culture exerted its influence and effected a corresponding change in the style and subject matter of painting. Baroque art's formality,

rhetorical gesture, and didacticism gave way to a taste that was tolerant, gracious, and lighthearted in conception. Dark palettes and dramatic light-dark contrasts were replaced with pastel colors and subtler approaches to illumination. Paint handling loosened in tandem with a growing appreciation for brushwork. Antiacademic theorists, including the French critic Roger de Piles, promoted the painterly colorism of Rubens over the cerebral emphasis on line represented by Poussin and all that those differences entailed. The resulting controversy between the Rubénistes and the Poussinistes, as it was called, would be reenacted in the nineteenth century by the French painters Eugène Delacroix and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres.

The hierarchy of subjects, with history painting as the most elevated theme for an artist to paint, continued as a doctrine in the academies. However, themes of social and particularly domestic life were eagerly developed with great romantic and comic flair by painters including Antoine Watteau, Pietro Longhi, and William Hogarth. Pastoral idylls and mythological themes, especially those depicting amorous encounters, were popular. Portraiture, always in demand, assumed lyrical, even daring liberties of intimacy, as evidenced in one of François Boucher's most enchanting portrayals, *Madame de Pompadour* (1756, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Rococo is the historical term for this eighteenth-century style.

Italy. Rome in particular and Italy in general continued to dominate the artistic culture of Europe. Tourists traveled to Italy to study its ancient and contemporary treasures. This popular sojourn, known as the "grand tour," encouraged the purchase of souvenirs, often in the form of paintings. Vedute or view paintings were especially popular. They combined the recognizable cityscape and its monuments with the picturesque activities of the citizenry absorbed in their daily activities. Canaletto (born Giovanni Antonio Canal) and Francesco Guardi from Venice, and Giovanni Paolo Pannini from Rome were three of its most accomplished practitioners. In View of the Molo toward the Santa Maria della Salute with the Dogana de Mare (1770s, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena), Guardi presents the glittering, ever-changing character of the Venetian lagoon with a silvery palette and lively brushwork composed of quick touches of paint on the surface. In the continuous sweep of sea and sky

and the activity of the boatmen, Guardi poetically suggests the Adriatic light that made Venice so beloved a destination.

Italian painters also traveled outside of Italy to accept commissions to decorate the various palaces of Europe. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo from Venice was the popular court painter to the monarchs of Europe, especially in Germany and Spain. He brought the tradition of grand ceiling paintings to audacious heights of creativity and illusionism. In his hands, the art of fresco painting achieved a technical brilliance that was unrivaled in Europe. Tiepolo's lofty gods and goddesses, airborne in painted kingdoms composed of sunlight and clouds, played the protagonists in complex pictorial narratives that proclaimed the nobility and inspiration of his patrons, as in the frescoes at the Kaisersaal of the Residenz at Wurzburg (1750–1753).

France. In France, the death of King Louis XIV in 1715 and the royal court's move from Versailles to Paris heralded a new ease and willingness to pursue pleasure in both aristocratic and bourgeois society. This new spirit, which found expression in the elegant interiors of Parisian hotels and the paintings that hung there, is perfectly illustrated in the complex and charming paintings of Antoine Watteau of Valenciennes. In his celebrated "painted conversations," graceful young couples, dressed in contemporary fashion, convene in fantasy garden settings. Rarely portrayed close-up, they are observed, but remain ambiguous. The impression conveyed is one of quiet reverie. Like Rubens before him, whom he much admired, Watteau relied on the suggestive and emotive qualities of color to achieve his effects. With deft brushwork, he describes the shimmering qualities of fabric, verdant foliage, and the soft illumination of the sun. The scenes are suggestive of a theatrical or operatic performance.

The overtly joyous and pleasure-loving character of the rococo finds expression in the work of Jean-Honoré Fragonard of Grasse. In the *Happy Lovers* (1760–1765, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena), a young couple enjoys each other's company in a secluded, rustic retreat. The scene is embroidered with patterns of branches, leaves, and flowers that are as charming as the subject itself. Fragonard used a palette of pastel colors, applied thickly in full

strokes to create a voluptuous surface that is complementary to the subject.

Paris-born Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin was the greatest painter of still lifes in the eighteenth century. His deceptively simple pictures composed of humble utensils and foodstuffs from the kitchen belie the carefully arranged visual relationships of the motifs. Their impression is one of casual informality. Chardin rendered objects as one might see them without attempting to make them pretty. He worked directly from the motif, varying his brushstroke to match the texture of each surface. Sharp dabs of his brush tip onto the surface of the canvas suggested the softness of rabbit fur. Indeed, the illusion of physicality in his objects stems in part from his brushwork that could be rough and scumbled in its application. His technique and choice of subject were a source of inspiration to nineteenthcentury painters. Chardin also created some of the most intimate and touching views of the preoccupations of women and children. These tender and contemplative views of domestic life were unprecedented in France. Return from the Market (1739, Louvre, Paris) shows the quiet absorption of a lone maid who is completely unaware of and does not interact with the spectator.

England. England was a Protestant country ruled by a monarchy whose powers since the seventeenth century had been mediated by Parliament. The British saw themselves as pragmatic and unfettered by doctrines and superstitions that informed the conduct of other European cultures. To this end, they were sympathetic to the ideals of the Enlightenment. British paintings illustrate the belief in humankind's capacity to improve itself, and they celebrate a simple, natural way of life.

This said, a true national school of painting with recognizable characteristics was slow to emerge. Art production in England had been long dominated by foreign artists, beginning with the German Hans Holbein in the sixteenth century and later by continental artists including Anthony Van Dyck and Orazio Lomi Gentileschi from Italy, to name a few. Aristocratic and royal collectors sought the paintings of the most highly regarded artists of the Italian, French, and Flemish schools. They seldom commissioned works from their native artists. The grand tour, in which the well-to-do British ex-

tended their education by studying on the Continent, further contributed to the influx of foreign works of art in private collections.

In the eighteenth century a recognizable school of British painting finally asserted itself. Like the Dutch a century earlier, the English had no need for lofty allegory or religious subjects. Portraiture and the circumstances of daily life presented the greatest thematic interest. William Hogarth of London, for example, was mainly celebrated for his witty and satirical pictorial narratives in which the teeming life of London is the subject. This genre, which Hogarth himself identified as "modern moral subjects," had its roots in the paintings of the Dutch school and in themes treated in contemporary British literature.

A consummate storyteller, Hogarth appropriated observable character types and described their rise and fall through greed, carelessness, and disease. His pictorial narratives developed in serial form, each canvas illustrating an episode. Each series carried a name, such as Marriage à la mode (1743-1745, National Gallery, London). The paintings are composed as though taking place on a stage with precisely described and crisply painted settings and costumes. Hogarth's main source of income from these paintings came from the copperplate engravings he based on them, which became immensely popular throughout Europe. It should be borne in mind that reproductive prints based on similar paintings were not only an important source of income for artists, but also a method by which artists advertised their style and creativity throughout Europe during this century.

Joshua Reynolds of Plympton and Thomas Gainsborough from Sudbury were two of England's greatest painters. Reynolds created a style of portraiture that resonated with the artist's study of and appreciation for the art of Italy, especially the masters of the High Renaissance. A supporter of the theoretical underpinnings of painting, he was the first president and cofounder of the Royal Academy of Art in England. Gainsborough pursued a more intuitive approach. Although his early landscapes reveal a strong Dutch influence, his palette was lighter and made liberal use of silvery tones in the highlights, as in the portrait, *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews* (1748–1749, National Gallery, London). Linear

rhythms throughout provide a sense of the life of nature. The artist's phenomenal range of light blues and grays, and his technical facility with the brush—lighter colors are scumbled over darker ones while maintaining their integrity on the surface—are characteristic of the ease and suavity of rococo painting. The informal presentation of the couple, whereby they appear comfortable and confident in their role as landed gentry, is well suited to the ideals of the age of Enlightenment.

Spain. In Spain, Francisco de Goya's career extended from the rococo to the beginning of the Romantic period in the nineteenth century. Like Rembrandt before him, his technical and imaginative powers as an artist found expression in drawing, painting, and printmaking. A gifted portraitist, Goya depicted the royal family and Spanish nobility with an unpretentious honest realism. Occasionally, his lack of flattery, as in the important painting Charles IV and His Family (1800, Prado, Madrid), assumes discomforting overtones in its suggestion of ridicule. At the same time, he exploited the decorative possibilities of color and facture in describing the fabrics, medals, and jewelry with a flurry of brushwork that hints at abstraction. Goya's mature thematic repertoire, apart from portraiture, was revolutionary in its disregard for the hierarchy of subjects promoted by academies of painting. Instead, he portrayed the great passions of Spain like bullfighting, and the folly and irrational superstitions of his countrymen. He experimented with new pictorial structures. Tradition was sacrificed to achieve his personal artistic vision. In his wrenching depiction of Spanish rebels facing a firing squad of French soldiers during the Napoleonic invasion, *The* Second of May 1808 (1814, Prado, Madrid), Goya brings the subject of history painting to the present with a realism and passion that introduce the modern era.

### **NEOCLASSICISM**

The profound political and social changes wrought by the French Revolution impacted all institutions in France and sent shock waves throughout Europe. The delightful subjects and ornament of the rococo style of painting were replaced with sober themes of moral and civic purpose, and a structured style of painting that relied on the classic lines and proportions of Greek and Roman art. This style was informed by the philosophy of the Enlightenment, which promoted rationalism and secularism, and by the renewed interest in classical art and history that was stimulated by major archaeological discoveries in Italy during the eighteenth century. This new artistic expression is known historically as neoclassicism.

See also Academies of Art; Art; Baroque; Britain, Art in; Florence, Art in; France, Art in; Mannerism; Naples, Art in; Neoclassicism; Netherlands, Art in; Rococo; Rome, Art in; Spain, Art in; Venice, Art in.

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**PALATINATE.** The Electoral Palatinate (*Kurpfalz*) was a historical German principality consisting of the "Lower Palatinate" on the Upper Rhine with its capital in Heidelberg and the North Bavarian territory known as the "Upper Palatinate" along the Bohemian border.

### **MEDIEVAL ORIGINS**

The origins of the Palatinate lay in the medieval period, when the Lotharingian count palatine (Latin, comes palatinus; German, Pfalzgraf) secured a territorial base in the Upper Rhine region. The Wittelsbach dynasty acquired the Palatinate with the sanction of Emperor Frederick II in 1214. The Treaty of Pavia (1329) assigned control of the Lower and Upper Palatinate to the elder branch of the Wittelsbach family. (Their Wittelsbach cousins continued to rule over the duchy of Bavaria and would prove formidable rivals.) The Golden Bull (1356) sealed the right of the "count palatine on the Rhine" (henceforth known as the "elector palatine") to take part in imperial elections. The elector palatine was the first secular prince of the empire and acted as vicar when the imperial office was vacant. The Palatinate housed the empire's third oldest university with the foundation of the University of Heidelberg in 1386. With Rupert (ruled 1400-1410), the Palatine Wittelsbachs produced a German king, but Rupert's division of his patrimony weakened the electorate's territorial base and created an abundance of cadet lines. Despite these alienations, vigorous electors such as Frederick I, the Victorious (ruled 1451–1476) augmented the Palatine territory. Heidelberg served as an epicenter of the humanist movement in Germany in the late 1400s. However, the Palatinate's drive to emerge as the preeminent power in southern Germany stalled during the Bavarian Succession War (Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg), 1503–1505.

### REFORMATION

The military setbacks of the early 1500s determined the tentative role that Elector Louis V (ruled 1508– 1544) would play in the early years of the Reformation. Although the Heidelberg Disputation (1518) won Luther many followers in the region, Louis remained loyal to the Catholic Church. Palatine forces played a significant role in putting down the Knights' Revolt (1522-1523) and the Peasants' War (1524–1525). Frederick II (ruled 1544–1556) first moved the Palatinate in a Protestant direction by promulgating a Lutheran church order in 1546, but the imposition of the Augsburg Interim in 1548 halted this development. The Reformation took root in earnest with the accession of Elector Otto Henry (ruled 1556-1559), a classic Renaissance prince and patron of the arts. He established Lutheranism but sowed the seeds of future discord by appointing professors of varying Protestant convictions to the resurgent University of Heidelberg.

The old electoral line died out with Otto Henry's passing of the Palatinate to Frederick III, the Pious (ruled 1559-1576) of the cadet line Palatinate-Simmern. By converting to Reformed (Calvinist) Protestantism with the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), Frederick initiated the "Second Reformation" of the Palatinate. Though Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564-1576) sought to exclude Frederick from the religious peace, the 1566 Augsburg Diet sealed the de facto legality of the Palatine religious settlement. The University of Heidelberg became a leading intellectual center of Reformed Protestantism. The Palatinate played an increasingly militant role in European politics, and Palatine forces took part in the French Wars of Religion. Yet another confessional change occurred with the accession of Louis VI

(ruled 1576–1583), who reestablished Lutheranism. The Reformed faith survived in a small principality carved out of the electoral domains for Frederick's like-minded son John Casimir (d. 1592). After Louis's premature death, John Casimir emerged as the dominant figure in the regency government of Frederick IV (ruled 1583–1610) and returned the Palatinate to its Reformed activism.

### THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The incompatibility of pairing an ambitious foreign policy with limited domestic resources reached its denouement during the reign of Elector Frederick V (ruled 1610-1623). In the years preceding the war, the Palatinate emerged as a militant Protestant power under the influence of Christian von Anhalt and organized the Protestant Union (1608), which was countered by the Catholic League (1609). When the largely Protestant Bohemian Estates revolted against the Catholic Habsburg King Ferdinand II, igniting the Thirty Years' War, Frederick accepted elevation to the throne of Bohemia (1619). The union of Bohemia and the Palatinate proved short-lived, as Bavarian and imperial forces defeated Frederick at White Mountain on 8 November 1620, earning him the moniker the "Winter King." Hostilities also ravaged the Palatine home territories, and Spanish and Bavarian troops occupied the Palatinate. Frederick went into exile, and Emperor Ferdinand II transferred the Palatine electoral dignity and the Upper Palatinate to Maximilian I of Bavaria. The Bavarians shipped the Bibliotheca Palatina, the famous library of the Palatinate, to the Vatican in 1622 as repayment for papal support. With the exception of a brief Swedish interlude in the early 1630s, the Lower Palatinate remained occupied by Bavarian and Spanish forces for the remainder of the war. The war had a devastating impact on the Palatinate; depopulation estimates in the range of 75-80 percent represented the highest losses of any major territory of the empire.

### ABSOLUTISM AND TERRITORIAL DISSOLUTION

Frederick's heir Charles Louis (ruled 1649–1680) regained the Lower Palatinate and a compensatory eighth electoral vote in the Peace of Westphalia (1648), allowing the territory to begin to recover some of its lost prestige. Unfortunately, the mar-

riage of the Palatine princess "Liselotte" (Elisabeth Charlotte, princess palatine and the duchess of Orleans) into the French royal house later provided a casus belli upon the death of the childless Elector Charles II (ruled 1680–1685) and the contested succession of Philip William (ruled 1685–1690) of Palatinate-Neuburg. In the War of the League of Augsburg (Pfälzischer Erbfolgekrieg, 1688–1697) the French King Louis XIV's forces laid waste to the entire Palatine region. The war prompted another wave of emigration resulting in the resettlement of many "Palatines" to the mid-Atlantic colonies of British North America.

The Palatinate experienced a baroque cultural effervescence and a series of rapid dynastic successions in the eighteenth century. The accession of the Catholic house of Palatinate-Neuburg (1685), which also possessed the wealthy duchy of Jülich-Berg, led to the legalization of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Reformed Protestantism. John William (ruled 1690–1716) promoted Jesuits at the University of Heidelberg and oversaw the physical division of many of the territory's churches. Friction with Heidelberg's Reformed burghers led Charles Philip (ruled 1716–1742) to move his court to Mannheim (1720), which emerged as a cultural magnet. Centuries of animosity between the sundry branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty ended with joint inheritance agreements in 1771 and 1774. However, the Palatinate became a backwater when Charles Theodore (ruled 1742-1799; after 1777 also elector of Bavaria) of Palatinate-Sulzbach moved the court and administration to Munich after inheriting Bavaria. Unsuccessful plans to exchange the Bavarian territories with Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765-1790) for the Austrian Netherlands led to the War of the Bavarian Succession (Bayerischer Erbfolgekrieg) in 1778–1779. After frequent occupation by French troops in the revolutionary wars, the former territories of the Electoral Palatinate were divided between several neighboring principalities in the imperial recess of 1803.

See also Bavaria; Holy Roman Empire; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Peasants' War, German; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria).

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CHARLES D. GUNNOE, JR.

### PALEONTOLOGY. See Geology.

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIER-LUIGI DA (1526-1594), Italian composer. Giovanni Palestrina was one of the most important composers of vocal music in sixteenth-century Italy. His name was synonymous with the Roman polyphonic style of composition that came to embody the musical goals and aesthetic ideals of the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent. The Palestrina style (stile del Palestrina) is characterized by a perfect sense of balance and equilibrium, a seamless marriage between intelligible text setting and rich vocal sonorities. Stress and accent follow the natural rhythms of the words, melodic motion and dissonance are carefully controlled, and his harmonic language is one of the finest expressions of the socalled old church modal system that would soon be superseded by modern tonality. As the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) serves as the model for the study of tonal counterpoint, the rules of counterpoint that have been gleaned from Palestrina's music have been used to teach modal counterpoint to the present day.



**Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.** Woodcut of Palestrina offering his Mass to Pope Julian III, from the title page of the 1554 edition. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Although the name by which he is known comes from the town of his birth (Palestrina, near Rome), he almost always signed letters with his given name "Giovanni Petraloysio." His birthdate cannot be definitively documented, but since the eulogy written at the time of his death in 1594 gives his age as sixty-eight, it can be safely ascribed to 1526.

Palestrina's first appointment was as organist of San Agapito in his hometown, on 28 October 1544. On 1 September 1551 he became *magister cantorum* (leader of the boy choir school) of the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter's in Rome, and he assumed the position of *magister cappellae* (leader of the chapel) in 1553. A year later he published the first book of polyphonic masses ever printed in Rome.

Palestrina was hired by the Sistine Chapel on 13 January 1555, but shortly thereafter the new pope, Paul IV, decided to reinstate the rule of celibacy for anyone working there, and Palestrina and two other married singers were forced to leave. On 1 October 1555 we find Palestrina as *maestro di cappella* of San Giovanni in Laterano, but he resigned in 1560. He then returned to the place of his early training, San

Maria Maggiori, and subsequently became director of the Seminario Romano.

During this period, the musical policies resulting from the Council of Trent—in particular the removal of "impure" or secular elements from the liturgy and the emphasis on intelligibility—proved to be both a challenge and a stimulus to Palestrina and his contemporaries. Palestrina's reputation as the savior of polyphonic church music is likely somewhat exaggerated; nonetheless, at least some of his compositions (perhaps the famous *Missa Papae Marcelli* or *Pope Marcellus Mass*) were performed for Cardinal Vitellozzi, one of the overseers of the reform, to see if the words could be easily understood. His music was also frequently sung in the papal chapel.

Palestina's reputation was such that Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II invited him to act as imperial choirmaster in Vienna in 1568, but he declined the offer. Palestrina returned to the Capella Giulia as choirmaster in April 1571 and remained there until his death. This was a time of personal upheaval for the composer; in addition to losing his two sons and a brother to the plague, his wife Lucrezia died in 1580, although he married Virginia Dormoli, the wealthy widow of a furrier, a year later. Nonetheless, the reign of Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) was particularly rich for the production of sacred music. In 1577-1578, Palestrina became deeply involved in the revision of the plainsong repertoire from the Roman Gradual and Antiphoner, a project that he never completed. Palestrina also assumed an active role in his new wife's businesses, successfully investing in real estate and even selling altar wine out of his family vineyard.

Palestrina was among the most prolific composers of his age. His more than 300 motets, 140 madrigals, 104 masses, 72 hymns, 68 offertories, and 35 Magnificats far surpassed the output of his contemporaries. His followers included such masters as Tomás Luis de Victoria and Annibale Stabile, and his preeminence was well recognized during his lifetime. An anthology of vesper psalms composed by six notable composers was dedicated to him in 1592, complete with an effusive testimonial about his accomplishments. His compositions were often reprinted during his lifetime, and he was the first

composer of the sixteenth century to appear in a complete nineteenth-century edition.

Palestrina remained in memory far more prominently and persistently than any of his contemporaries. His compositions became a permanent part of the repertoire of the Sistine Chapel, a most unusual practice at that time. His carefully wrought counterpoint became identified with stile antico (old style)—as opposed to the stile modern (modern style)—that came to be associated with notions of purity and spirituality. By the eighteenth century, Palestrina's reputation was based less on a detailed familiarity with his music than his mastery of counterpoint. The preface to Johann Joseph Fux's Gradus ad Parnassum (1725), the most important eighteenth-century treatise on Renaissance counterpoint, exemplifies the awe and devotion that Palestrina's music inspired. Palestrina, the master of counterpoint, is "the celebrated light of music . . . to whom I owe everything I know of this art, and whose memory I shall never cease to cherish with feelings of deepest reverence" (Fux, The Steps to Parnassus, p. 16).

See also Music; Reformation, Catholic; Victoria, Tomás Luis de.

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WENDY HELLER, MARK KROLL

PALLADIO, ANDREA, AND PAL-LADIANISM. Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) was born Andrea di Pietro della Gondola, but he was given the name Palladio by an early patron and mentor. Despite his modest origins and unpromising apprenticeship as a stonemason, he went on to become one of the leading architects of the Renaissance and arguably the most influential builder of all time. By Renaissance standards, Palladio was something of an anomaly. He built nothing in Rome or Florence and comparatively little in Venice, most of his work being located in Vicenza and its surrounding countryside. Seemingly indifferent to the religious and political strife of the midsixteenth century as well, Palladio until the end of his life largely shunned the mannerist artifice of his contemporaries, creating designs more in tune with the idealizing principles of the High Renaissance than with the fashions of his own age. It is ironic therefore that his work so perfectly exemplifies the character of the Renaissance as a whole. His antiquarianism, his rationalism, and his secularism together constituted the essence of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanism, and these were the very ideals that would later endear him to builders of the Enlightenment.

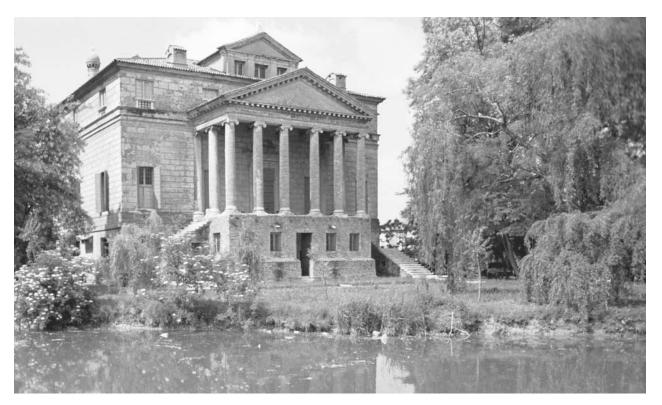
Palladio's architectural career began around 1537 at the villa of Gian Giorgio Trissino at Cricoli. The design of the villa originated with Trissino himself, a distinguished humanist and the aspiring architect's first mentor. Trissino bestowed the classical name "Palladio" on him and, more important, accompanied him on his first trip to Rome in 1541. Palladio's attraction to Rome's classical remains led him to return on four other occasions, the last time being in 1554, when he visited Rome in the company of another influential intellectual, Daniele Barbaro. Barbaro at the time was working on a translation and commentary on Vitruvius's Ten Books of Architecture, for which Palladio furnished the woodcut illustrations. It was through his associations with both Trissino and Barbaro that Palladio learned the grammar and syntax of classical architecture, lessons he never forgot in either his work or the renowned Four Books of Architecture, published

During the 1540s and 1550s Palladio devoted himself exclusively to the design and construction of

secular buildings. With the exception of the Basilica or Town Hall in Vicenza and one or two other civic commissions, these were all private residences, for the most part villas in the Vicentine countryside. It is in these private commissions, and especially the villas, that Palladio's genius expressed itself with the greatest originality. Unlike earlier Renaissance villas like those of the Medici in Tuscany, Palladio's houses were not simply weekend retreats for the aristocracy, but rather working farms whose very existence was predicated on social and economic changes that favored the region's agricultural development.

Palladio's challenge in virtually all the villas and there are nearly two dozen of them—was to reconcile his instinct for classical design with the practical needs of agrarian life. Only at the Villa Rotonda, his best-known but least typical country house, were the ideal demands of the structure uncompromised by utilitarian concerns. There a square, symmetrically divided ground plan is reflected in the equally regular exterior elevations. Each of the villa's four facades has the same projecting classical portico, while the roof is crowned with a cupola of the same diameter as that of the circular hall below. The formal consistency of this solution belies its audacious iconography, however, for both the portico and the cupola were forms that historically connoted sacred usage. Indeed, the Villa Rotonda appears to emulate the design of centralized churches from an earlier stage of the Renaissance. Although classical orders had occasionally embellished private dwellings since the fifteenth century, the cupola had not, and no Renaissance facade sacred or secular—had ever employed a classical portico so boldly. Palladio was clearly conscious of these conventions of decor; despite its visual appeal, the Villa Rotonda was to remain his only residential building crowned with a dome.

Palladio's villas all tend to be blocklike with columnar porticos, but the functional demands of farming usually necessitated the addition of flanking wings at the sides. At the Villa Foscari at Malcontenta, the attached walls were so low as to hardly affect the overall prospect, but more typically, as at the Villa Barbaro at Maser, the wings are a prominent part of the exterior elevation. In nearly every instance, however, the wings and attached outbuildings confer frontality on the complex as a



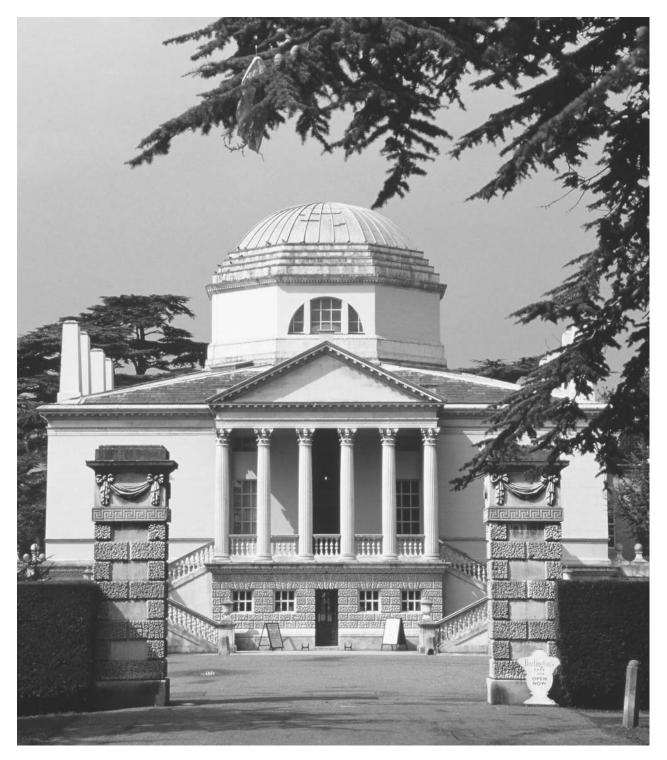
Palladio and Palladianism. Facade of the Villa Foscari at Malcontenta, designed by Palladio and built 1559–1561. ©DAVID LEES/

whole while emphasizing in their deference the grandeur of the residence itself.

Palladio's city dwellings play less dramatic roles in the urban landscape. Smaller for the most part than conventional palazzi in Venice or Florence, they are actually townhouses or palazzetti of the type popularized by Donato Bramante's Palazzo Caprini in Rome (c. 1510). Most are tucked into Vicenza's narrow side streets with facades designed to appear both monumental and at the same time sensitive to their site and surroundings. Facing on an open piazza, the Palazzo Chiericati was conceived with a bold, open columnar elevation more like that of the villas, while the exteriors of his streetfacing palaces are, in turn, flatter and more densely articulated. The Palazzo Iseppo-Porto initiates the typological development beyond the Bramantesque prototype. Designed around 1550, contemporary with the Chiericati, the two-story elevation differentiates between a rusticated, arcuated lower floor and a trabeated piano nobile embellished with half columns. Like most of his more ambitious palazzi, the plan of Iseppo-Porto was designed in accordance

with what Palladio believed to be the style of the ancient Roman house with an atrium entrance and peristyle courtyard. None of his courtyards were ever completed according to plan, however, and only the buildings' inventive facades, with their novel variation in the use of the classical orders, preserve his original intentions. Significantly, not one of his executed palaces has a pediment or dome, a further indication of his respect for conventional decorum.

The Basilica and the Loggia del Capitaniato, both in Piazza dei Signori, Vicenza's main square, were Palladio's most important civic commissions. Conceived in 1549 and 1571, respectively, they together represent the consistent principles and the evolutionary nature of his personal style. For the Basilica he did no more than encase an existing medieval town hall within a two-story loggia, but the irregularities of the earlier structure made the creation of a uniform exterior challenging. Palladio's solution was to envelop the building in a series of superimposed serliane, the lintel-arch-lintel device now so closely associated with his work that it



Palladio and Palladianism. Chiswick House, London, designed by Lord Burlington and built in 1729. ®KIM SAYER/CORBIS

is customarily called the Palladian motif. By varying the interval between the columns and piers of the nine serliane that constitute the principal facade, Palladio disguised the dimensional defect and made the elevation appear consistent. The rationality of this solution and the purity of its classical references were clearly shaped by his travels to Rome and by the knowledge of classical Vitruvian principles he

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gained while working on the Barbaro edition of the *Ten Books of Architecture*.

The three-bay ceremonial Loggia is even more monumental with its use of the giant order. But here, later in his career, Palladio's commitment to Vitruvian correctness began to wane. The architectonic purity of the structure is compromised by an extensive overlay of sculptural relief and disjunctive relationships that exist among its various parts, particularly its front and sides. Affected perhaps only now by the uncertainties of his age, Palladio began to experiment with mannerist methods of design.

It was not until the second half of his career that Palladio designed for the church. His two most ambitious commissions—SS. Giorgio Maggiore, begun in 1565, and Il Redentore, begun in 1576 are both in Venice. Although Palladio devoted the last of his Four Books of Architecture to the design of ancient temples, the dictates of the Counter-Reformation so constrained church building in his day that classicizing ideals became all but impossible. Yet SS. Giorgio and Il Redentore together offer imaginative solutions to two of the principal challenges of late Renaissance church design, their plans and facades. Palladio's introduction of a composite ground plan afforded a compromise between the aesthetically desirable, if by then outdated, centralized plan and the more functionally and symbolically appropriate cruciform plan. His cloaking of these churches' facades with superimposed engaged temple fronts was just as brilliant, if slightly more idiosyncratic.

Palladio's influence was initially limited to the Veneto region, and it was only decades after his death in 1580 that the true Palladian revival began, not in Italy but England. Inigo Jones (1573–1652) was the first to "rediscover" Palladio, visiting Vicenza and Venice during his second trip to Italy in 1613 with a copy of *The Four Books* in hand. Jones's subsequent designs for the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the Queen's House in Greenwich, and the facade of St. Paul's, London (destroyed by fire in 1666), pay worthy tribute to their sources. Not surprisingly, it was Palladio's secular buildings that attracted English and eventually American patrons. Colen Campbell's treatise *The Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715–1725) along with Campbell's own

house at Mereworth (1722-1725) and Lord Burlington's at Chiswick (begun 1725) turned Palladio into an eighteenth-century icon, a circumstance substantially aided by the publication of the Four Books of Architecture in no fewer than four English editions between the years 1663-1738. American Palladianism quickly followed, the Four Books being particularly instrumental in disseminating a style of architecture throughout the southern colonies after the 1740s. Thomas Jefferson was the last important Palladian architect, his house at Monticello (1771– 1809) perhaps being the true culmination of the Renaissance master's idealistic idiom. Significantly, Jefferson never visited the Veneto during his travels in Europe, but as his preparatory studies for Monticello indicate, Palladio's treatise provided all the initial inspiration he needed.

See also Architecture; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Classicism; Jones, Inigo.

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JOHN VARRIANO

### PAOLI, PASCAL. See Corsica.

# **PAPACY AND PAPAL STATES.** "Pope" (from the Greek *papas*, Latin and Italian *papa*, 'father') was the title given clergy in the ancient church, which in the West eventually became the

exclusive title of the bishop of Rome, who was considered the successor of St. Peter and increasingly accepted in the West as head of the whole church. At the beginning of the early modern period, the papacy had so restored its institutional authority due to the healing of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417) and its increasing victory over conciliarism that Alexander VI (reigned 1492-1503) could divide the non-Christian world and assign sovereignty over it to Spain and Portugal (1493), and Julius II (reigned 1503-1513) could be hailed "master of the game of the world." By the end of this period, however, the papacy had so sunk in prestige that on the death of Pius VI (reigned 1775–1799), a prisoner in Valence, France, the town prefect noted the demise of "Citizen Braschi, exercising the profession of Pontiff." But if the political influence of the papacy had waned, its authority over doctrinal issues was supreme among Catholics.

### THE PAPAL STATES

By gifts, purchases, and conquests, the popes became rulers over one of the oldest continuously functioning states of Europe, the Papal States, a territory that stretched from Rome and its environs northeastward to the Adriatic Sea. It was composed of six regions: Rome, the Campagna and Marittima, the Patrimony of St. Peter, Umbria, the Marches, and Romagna; it also included its vassal Ferrara in the Po Valley; two enclaves in the Neapolitan Campagna, Benevento and Pontecorvo; and territories in Provence, Comtat Venaissin and Avignon. Its economy was primarily agricultural (grains, olive oil, wine, and livestock) but also included the manufacture of woolen (Arpino) and silk (Bologna) textiles, ceramics (Ascoli), hemp products (Bologna), and paper (Fabriano), as well as the mining of salt (Cervia), sulfur (Montefeltro), iron (Narni), and alum (after its discovery at Tolfa in 1461). In the first-ever census of the Papal States, taken in 1656, the population was determined to be about 1.7 million. The most populous cities were Rome and Bologna; among those of middling rank were Orvieto, Spoleto, Perugia, Ancona, and Ravenna. The principal ports were Civitavecchia on the Tyrrhenian and Ancona, Rimini, and Pesaro on the Adriatic coast.

The public law of the Papal States was incorporated in the Egidian Constitutions (promulgated in



1357, in force until 1816), which governed the territories and regulated the local petty tyrants who were recognized as papal vicars. Many of these local rulers were eliminated in the fifteenth century. During the pontificate of Alexander VI, his son Cesare Borgia (1475 or 1476–1507) carved out for himself the duchy of Romagna by removing various local families from power. Julius II, who saw to the downfall of Cesare Borgia, brought many of these cities and territories under direct papal rule, allowing some families to return to power. In 1509 he forced Venice to return not only territories it had illegally occupied as Borgia's control weakened, but also Ravenna, which it had ruled since 1441. Julius also succeeded in driving the Bentivoglio family from power in Bologna (1506, 1512) and the Baglioni family from Perugia (1506). His successors allowed the Baglionis to return, until Paul III (reigned 1534–1549), in 1540 permanently excluded them and imposed direct papal governance. By conquest, Julius II took temporary control of Modena (1510-1511), which Leo X (reigned 1513–1521) purchased in 1514 but Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534) lost in 1527. Leo X conquered Parma and Piacenza in 1512, and Paul III invested his son Pier Luigi Farnese with both in 1545.

The elimination of local lordships in the Papal States, whether by escheat (failure of the ruler to produce a surviving legitimate male heir) or by the deposition of rebellious vassals and the conquest of their states, did not always result in direct papal rule. Some popes used the opportunity to install their relatives as the new lords. Pius V (reigned 1566-1572) in 1567 forbade this practice. As a result, the duchy of Ferrara came under direct papal rule with the death of Alfonso II d'Este in 1597, as did Urbino and Pesaro in 1624 with the renunciation of rule by Francesco Maria II della Rovere and his death in 1631. By the early seventeenth century, the process of centralizing power in the Papal States and ruling the major territories and cities directly through papal governors was almost complete. Minor feudal lordships continued, with popes purchasing them and conferring them on their relatives. Overseeing the governors and lords were the Consulta (a collective ministry of the interior headed by the secretary of state), the Buon Governo (which supervised local administrators), and the Economica (under the lifetime Camerlengo, who controlled budgets, agriculture, commerce, and public works). Scholars such as Jean Delumeau (1961) and Paolo Prodi (1968, 1982) see the popes as centralizing authority and providing a model of absolutist rule through their disregard of clerical immunity in the Papal States, while others such as Mario Caravale and Alberto Caracciolo (1978) and Hanns Gross (1990) note the persistence of local traditions, privileges, and administrative structures, with, for example, the oligarchic senate of Bologna enjoying effective autonomy.

The popes were elected, they were obliged to be merciful, and they lacked an effective police force and army; hence, they could never become strong despots. The attempt of Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644) to confiscate the duchy of Castro because of the gambling debts of Odoardo I Farnese (1612–1646) led to a war (1641–1644) and ended in failure. The popes also lost territories; for example, Modena was lost to the d'Este family in 1527. This isolated the duchy of Parma and Piacenza from

the rest of the Papal States, and papal suzerainty became so tenuous that the death of Antonio Farnese (1679–1731) did not result in direct papal rule due to escheat, but rather in the installation by the great powers of a Spanish Bourbon regime, since Antonio Farnese's sister Elisabetta (1692–1766) had married Philip V of Spain. French rulers displayed their displeasure toward various popes by repeatedly occupying Avignon and Comtat Venaissin (1664, 1688–1689, 1768–1773), which the French Republic permanently annexed in 1791.

The popes saw the Papal States primarily as a guarantor of their independence and as a source of revenue. Some popes tried to improve the economy of their territory, Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590) by ending brigandage and encouraging wool and silk production, Innocent XII (reigned 1691–1700) by enlarging the harbors of Civitavecchia and Nettuno, Clement XII (reigned 1730–1740) by stimulating commerce and manufacturing. Efforts to drain the malarial Pontine Marshes (a 300-square-mile coastal plain southeast of Rome, stretching from Nettuno to Terracina), especially under Sixtus V and Pius VI, produced little result.

### POPES AND CONCILIARISM

The attempts to challenge the papacy for leadership of the church through general councils ended with the French- and imperial-sponsored Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon (1511–1512), which was defeated by the rival papal Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517). The appeal of Martin Luther (1483– 1546) for a "free general Christian council in German lands" was initially rebuffed by the popes. When Paul III finally convoked the Council of Trent (1545–1563), he made sure that his legate presidents controlled its procedures and agenda. While the council made no direct pronouncements on the relationship between a pope and a general council, its willingness to allow the pope to resolve difficulties in interpreting its decrees led to the establishment in 1564 of the powerful Congregation of the Council, whose ever-expanding rulings bolstered papal power, led people to look increasingly to the papacy for doctrinal and disciplinary decisions, and eliminated for three centuries the need to call another council. In 1568 Pius V revised the text of In Coena Domini to excommunicate anyone who appealed to a council against a pope. The mandatory annual public reading of this bull lasted until 1770.

Conciliarist ideas, however, survived, especially at the University of Paris, where they combined with assertions of the independence of the French church and king from papal authority, a position known as Gallicanism. Paul V condemned it in 1613 and had its chief proponent, Edmond Richer (1559–1631), removed as syndic of the theological faculty. The Assembly of the Clergy in 1682 adopted the Four Articles, declaring that the French king was independent of papal authority in civil matters, that a council was superior to a pope, that the ancient liberties of the French church were to be safeguarded, and that papal decisions were not irreformable unless confirmed by a council. Innocent XI (reigned 1676-1689) in 1682 and Alexander VIII (reigned 1689-1691) in 1690 condemned those who subscribed to these articles, but Innocent XII in 1693 temporarily ended the conflict by getting the bishops to retract their signatures, while accepting Louis XIV's nominations to bishoprics and his rights to the revenues of vacant sees, as well as his right to appoint clerics to dependent benefices in them. The articles themselves were left intact.

Views similar to Gallicanism were advanced by the auxiliary bishop of Trier, Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701-1790), in his work De Statu Ecclesiae et Legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis (1763; Concerning the state of the church and the legitimate power of the Roman pontiff), written under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius. His views were condemned by Clement XIII (reigned 1758-1769) in 1764, but they were implemented in 1781 by Emperor Joseph II of Austria (ruled 1765-1790) and hence known as Josephinism; they were also adopted in 1786 by the Synod of Pistoia under Bishop Scipione de' Ricci (1741-1810) and supported by Joseph's brother and successor Leopold II (ruled 1790–1792). Eighty-five articles extracted from the synod's decrees, which supported the papally condemned Four Gallican Articles and Jansenist positions and also exempted bishops from papal authority, were rejected as erroneous, heretical, and schismatic by Pius VI in 1794.

### POPES AND CARDINALS

The early modern period witnessed some remarkable changes in the college of cardinals, the group of

prominent clerics who elected the pope and functioned as his official advisers and chief administrators. The concordats negotiated at Constance in 1418 and the decree of Basel in 1436 attempted to limit the number of cardinals to twenty-four, with no more than a third coming from any one nation, and required of them the minimum age of thirty and an advanced academic degree in Scripture or divine and human law, unless they were close relatives of a great prince. Popes, however, claimed that for the good of the church they needed to increase the number of cardinals. A large increase in the numbers occurred under Leo X in 1517, following a conspiracy on his life, when he promoted thirty-one cardinals at one time. Instead of using twice the number of Christ's apostles as the norm, Sixtus V in 1586 set the limit at seventy, the number of elders assisting Moses. Renaissance popes so advanced the Italianization of the college that only a third of its members were non-Italians, and these usually did not reside in Rome. While many cardinals were welleducated bureaucrats, others received the honor due to family or political connections, on the payment of large sums of money, and, in the case of princely pedigree, with little regard to the age requirement. Popes were also notorious for raising underage relatives to the cardinalate; for instance, Julius III (reigned 1550–1555) appointed as cardinals both his saintly twelve-year-old grandnephew Roberto de' Nobili (1541-1559) and his licentious seventeen-year-old adopted nephew Innocenzo del Monte (1532–1577). Innocent XII in 1692 issued a decree that a pope is allowed to appoint as a cardinal only one suitable relative, to whom could be given only a modest stipend. Pius VI, however, used his office to enrich his relatives.

At the beginning of the early modern period cardinals functioned as powerful, semiautonomous heads of bureaucracies and as protectors of the interests of various nations, religious orders, and factions. As the power of individual cardinals weakened with the increase in their numbers and the use of committees, the consistory, that is, the meeting of the college of cardinals to advise the pope on policy and appointments, eventually met only weekly, often to give perfunctory praise to decisions already made. Also diminishing the power of the cardinals was the rise of the offices of papal intimate secretary and cardinal-nephew. By the mid-seventeenth cen-

tury the intimate secretary had become the pope's chief adviser and minister, was known as the secretary of state, and had eclipsed the cardinal-nephew. Paul III set the college on a new course by appointing many reform-minded cardinals and instituting special congregations of cardinals to deal with specific issues, such as the Roman Inquisition (1542) and the Council of Trent (1545). Pius IV (reigned 1559-1565) set up the powerful Congregation of the Council (1564), Pius V that of the Index of Forbidden Books (1571), and Gregory XIII (reigned 1572-1585) the Congregation for German Affairs (1572). In 1588 Sixtus V rationalized the whole system by setting up fifteen permanent congregations (six for secular affairs, the others for spiritual), each staffed by three to five cardinals who would serve fixed terms and be rotated through the various congregations. As a result of such measures, cardinals became docile bureaucrats and fulfilled ceremonial roles at court and in the papal chapel. Even their power to elect the pope was de facto, though not de jure, limited by the "veto" that could be exercised by an ambassador of a major Catholic power (the Holy Roman Empire, France, or Spain) who personally attended the conclave and could exclude a candidate on the grounds of his unacceptability to that particular nation.

If the cardinals lost power over the early modern period, they managed to maintain their wealth. The reform decrees of the Council of Trent, which forbade the holding of multiple sees and required residence in the one held, forced the cardinals to find alternative sources of revenue in commendatory monasteries (monasteries whose administration was entrusted—"commended"—to someone other than an elected abbot, who was then entitled to the revenues of an abbot) and pensions drawn on multiple benefices. Cardinals from aristocratic families continued to enjoy private sources of income. And all cardinals were entitled to a handsome share in papal revenues. With such wealth, the cardinals resident in Rome maintained lavish palaces with households that varied in size but averaged about 150 persons. Cardinals so successfully used their positions of wealth and influence to promote their own and their colleagues' family interests, advancing the clerical careers of relatives and negotiating favorable marriages for others, that by the second half of the sixteenth century the college had become one big extended family, with three-quarters of the cardinals related to each other by blood or marriage.

### POPES AND BISHOPS

Early modern popes tried to assert their theoretical superiority to bishops while yielding to secular rulers greater influence in their selection. The papacy insisted on its prerogative to confirm the election of a bishop by the canons of a cathedral chapter or to make the appointment itself and to collect from the new bishop as a fee for this confirmation or direct appointment the first year's revenues from his diocese. The popes of this period frequently allied themselves with increasingly powerful local rulers in order to replace the traditional election of bishops by cathedral canons with the direct appointment by the pope of candidates nominated by the rulers. Such arrangements were incorporated into concordats. Bishops thus appointed tended to be very loyal to the rulers who nominated them, and the royal conscience determined in large measure the quality of the episcopate.

The Council of Trent raised the educational level of bishops by requiring of them advanced academic degrees in theology or law (1562), and it emphasized their pastoral responsibilities and hence the obligation of residency (1547, 1563). The national colleges the popes established in Rome (German, 1552; Greek, 1577; Hungarian, 1578, united with the German in 1580; English, 1578; Polish, 1583, 1600; Maronite and Armenian, 1584; Scots, 1600; Irish, 1628; and others) produced clergy who went on to become bishops in their native lands. To strengthen the ties between the pope and the bishops and to provide closer scrutiny of their ministry, Sixtus V in 1585 required all bishops to visit Rome every three to ten years, depending on the distances involved, and to submit regularly written reports on their dioceses. Gregory XIV (reigned 1590-1591) in 1591 ordered a stricter enforcement of the rules on episcopal qualifications and residency. Papal nuncios resident at courts kept watch over the local bishops and encouraged them to look to the pope as their protector and as head of the universal church. But local bishops could also protest papal intrusion into the affairs of their dioceses, as happened at the German archbishops' meeting at Ems in 1786.

### THE ROMAN CURIA

The central administrative, judicial, favor-granting, and financial offices of the Catholic Church, under the supervision of the pope and the college of cardinals, was known in the Renaissance as the Roman Curia. Its departments, often headed by cardinals, employed hundreds of officials ranging from learned canonists to ignorant sealers of documents, men who composed documents, kept records, and collected fees. In the course of the Renaissance, the popes sought to increase their own income by multiplying the number of these offices and selling them for ever higher prices. Those who invested in these lifetime offices were entitled to an annual stipend (valued at 10-12 percent of the cost of office) paid by the Camera Apostolica (the chief financial office of the Papal States), and the third who actually functioned in their offices were additionally recompensed by their colleges or departments for the services rendered. Some officials sought to extract extra revenues from their office by engaging in questionable practices that earned the Curia much ill will.

The early modern popes inherited a bloated bureaucracy. In the quest for new revenues, Leo X so increased the number of venal offices that they doubled during his reign to over two thousand. The popes vigorously resisted any attempts by councils to reform the Curia, claiming that they would reform it themselves. Serious reform came gradually and slowly, given the entrenched interests and hostility of cardinals and curialists. Pressure by popes eliminated some of the venal offices, abusive dispensations, and other practices. But under Sixtus V, the sale of offices, even of major offices in the Camera (chamberlain, treasurer-general, auditor, etc.) became extensive, and the pope resold the offices when promoting their holders to the cardinalate. The value of the offices at the papal court at the end of his pontificate is estimated at four million scudi, with the obligation of paying out a half-million scudi every year in stipends to officeholders. By the early seventeenth century, the Curia, never radically reformed, had been reorganized and regularized, with most glaring abuses abolished.

### PAPAL FINANCES

Throughout much of the Renaissance, papal finances were difficult to manage. The popes levied no annual income tax on church members but instead depended on a patchwork of traditional sources of

revenues. Among these were the fees charged for documents appointing or confirming officeholders, the principal fee being the annate or first year's revenue from that office. In 1521 these fees amounted to 13 percent of papal income. The Roman Curia produced almost half of the pope's income by the fees it charged to users of its various services. Fees paid for the composition of documents in the mid-sixteenth century accounted for one-third to one-half of the pope's disposable income. The sale of venal offices produced between 10 and 15 percent of papal revenues. The other major source of revenue was the Papal States. The pope's vassals, vicars, and subject communities paid annual tribute. Revenues also came from various taxes, monopolies, and the sale of shares in monti, or state bonds. In 1521 the Papal States produced about 37 percent of all papal revenues. It is estimated that between 1520 and 1605, when the inflation rate increased about 200 percent, the popes' income rose 255 percent, with temporal revenues rising by 397 percent and spiritual ones by 192 percent. The relative decline in spiritual income can be attributed in part to the loss of revenue from lands that became Protestant and to the elimination of abusive practices in the Curia. It is estimated that the Papal States accounted for 60 percent of papal fixed income under Sixtus IV (reigned 1471–1484) and 80 percent under Clement VIII (reigned 1592-1605).

Papal expenditures continued to rise during the early modern period. Almost a third of the annual budget went to paying annuities to holders of venal offices. Salaries paid to papal administrators in Rome and the Papal States accounted for another 20 percent. The cost of maintaining an army and building fortifications could consume upward of 60 percent of temporal revenues on occasion. The college of cardinals was entitled to half of the revenues derived from the Papal States. Maintaining papal ambassadors in fitting style at the courts of Christendom was also expensive. The papal court itself in Rome, with its numerous officials and the free meals it provided to them, its curialists, and others was a major annual expense. Popes spent significant sums on their relatives by way of gifts of money and lands, at times for dowries to contract aristocratic marriages. Huge drains on papal revenues were caused by wars—e.g., Venice (1509–1510), Urbino (1516–1517), the League of Cognac (1526–

1527), Florence (1530), Spain (1556–1557), Castro (1641–1644)—and by the subsidies popes paid in support of crusades against the Turks, Hussites, Lutherans, and Huguenots. Also costly were various building projects in Rome, such as the new St. Peter's Basilica, the Vatican, Quirinal, and Lateran palaces, the Roman College with its satellite national residential colleges for students, and various churches around Rome. The Council of Trent required large papal subsidies. Papal funerals, conclaves, and coronation ceremonies were periodic expenses. The burden of debt continued to grow in the seventeenth century, from about 17 million scudi in 1621 to 50 million in 1676, when Innocent XI finally cut back drastically on expenditures. Eventually about 85 percent of papal income was devoted to servicing debt. The enormous treasure of 3 million golden scudi and 1.2 million silver scudi that Sixtus V was able to amass to cover such emergencies as famine and war cushioned the papacy for two centuries but had the adverse economic effect of restricting economic growth by the removal of so much money from circulation.

### PAPAL RELATIONS WITH SECULAR GOVERNMENTS

Early modern popes tried to maintain the claims of their medieval predecessors to rule not only over the spiritual realm, but also over the temporal order in certain circumstances. They claimed the right to approve the election of the Holy Roman emperor and to crown him personally. Leo X failed in his efforts to block the election of Charles V of Habsburg in 1519, and Clement VII crowned him in Bologna in 1530. No further emperors were crowned by popes, and Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559) seriously proposed deposing Charles V because of his formal toleration of Protestantism.

Popes did excommunicate kings and encouraged neighboring rulers to conquer their territories. Paul III excommunicated Henry VIII of England by a bull dated 1535 and promulgated in 1538, while Pius V excommunicated Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, in 1570. Sixtus V in 1585 and Gregory XIV in 1591 both excommunicated the apostate Henry of Navarre (later Henry IV, ruled 1589–1610), lest this Huguenot become king of France. Paul V's (reigned 1605–1621) insistence on preserving clerical immunity and the church's right to acquire property and build churches led to his im-

posing an interdict on Venice in 1606, but in the compromise negotiated by France in 1607 the pope had to back down from his principles.

Urban VIII's support of France and, implicitly, of its ally Sweden, which helped prevent a Habsburg victory in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648); his cynical criticism of Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637) for making the unavoidable Peace of Prague (1635); and Innocent X's (reigned 1644-1655) denunciation in 1650 of Emperor Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657) for agreeing to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) weakened the legal and moral authority of the papacy. So politically powerless had the papacy become that when Innocent XI excommunicated Louis XIV and his ministers in 1688 for their support of the Gallican Articles, he did so secretly, and Innocent XII reconciled with the king in 1693 by granting him many concessions. Fear of alienating the Spanish prevented the papacy from having diplomatic relations with Portugal under the Braganza king John IV (ruled 1640-1656), thus leaving vacant many dioceses there. Clement XI's (reigned 1700-1721) flip-flops between 1700 and 1709 in supporting rival claimants to the Spanish throne alienated both the Bourbons and Habsburgs and led the great powers to ignore papal wishes. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Catholic rulers increasingly and deliberately exercised their vetoes to prevent the election of strong personalities to the papal office, so as to dominate the popes more easily. The concordats they negotiated with popes gave them ever greater control over church offices and revenues in their realms.

So weak had the papacy become that it was eventually forced by Catholic rulers to suppress the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), a religious order dedicated to service to the popes. Hostility toward the Jesuits had mounted due to jealousy over their influence in high circles, their stranglehold on Latin education in some countries, their anti-Jansenist stance, their involvement in commercial ventures to support their missions, conflicts with other religious orders, especially in the mission fields, and rumors of great wealth and resistance to the directives of popes and kings. Anticlerical Enlightenment figures who saw them as opponents of their ideas were especially keen on destroying them. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699-1782), Marquês de Pombal, prime minister (1756-1777) of King Joseph I of Portugal, succeeded in expelling the Jesuits from Portuguese lands in 1759 by accusing them of stirring up revolt among the natives of Paraguay and of involvement in an assassination attempt on the king. Louis XV expelled them from France in 1764. Clement XIII's (reigned 1758-1769) protest against these actions did not stop Charles III from expelling them from Spanish lands in 1767. Innocent XIII (reigned 1721-1724) tried to placate these Catholic rulers by forbidding the Jesuits to admit new novices for three years. But Charles III's threat to abolish all religious orders and break off diplomatic relations if the Jesuits were not suppressed throughout the church led Clement XIV (reigned 1769-1774) to issue on 21 July 1773 Dominus ac Redemptor, a draft of which bull was written by the Spanish embassy in Rome. In Orthodox Russia, where the document was not promulgated, the Jesuits survived with the secret approval of Clement's successor Pius VI.

### POPES AS DEFENDERS OF ORTHODOXY

Early modern popes continued to exercise their traditional role, codified in canon law, as the ultimate arbiters of orthodoxy, issuing rulings on their own authority or with the backing of the council, after an examination by a theological commission. In such a way, Leo X issued at the Fifth Lateran Council bulls approving as not usurious the fees charged by public credit organizations (montes pietatis) for monetary loans (1515) and condemning the teachings that denied the human soul's multiplicity and immortality, the unicity of truth, and the creation of the world (1513). In 1520 Leo X condemned the teachings of two Germans; forty-one propositions extracted from the writings of Martin Luther (1483-1546) were deemed heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears (15 June 1520), while eight days later the Augenspiegel (1511; Eye mirror) of Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) was declared offensive and scandalous and improperly favorable to Jews.

Because of the prohibitions in canon law against disputing with heretics, popes (except for Adrian VI [reigned 1522–1523]) were initially hesitant to support Catholic controversialist writers. But beginning under Sixtus V major responses to Protestant teaching were published with papal backing by Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) and Cesare Ba-

ronio (1538-1607). The two most famous cases toward the end of the Renaissance involving doctrinal questions were the condemnation (8 February 1600) of Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) for his pantheistic and hermetical ideas and the rejections (1616, 1633) of the Copernican cosmology of Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). The dispute between Jesuit and Dominican theologians over the teachings of Luis de Molina (1535-1600), which focused on whether grace was efficacious itself or due to divine foreknowledge, was declared not ripe for resolution in 1607 by Paul V. The book Augustinus, written by the bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Otto Jansen (1585– 1638), and published posthumously in 1640, was examined by a papal commission responding to the formal request of eighty-five French bishops, and the five propositions associated with the book's teaching that espoused extreme positions on grace and free will were condemned in 1653 by Innocent X in Cum Occasione.

The valid objection of the Jansenists that these propositions, as worded in the papal condemnation, were not to be found in Augustinus was rejected in 1665 by Alexander VII, who required all clergy to subscribe to a document denouncing these propositions. Similar papal condemnations followed in 1690, 1696, 1705, and 1708, culminating in the bull Unigenitus Dei Filius of Clement XI in 1713, which denounced as Jansenist errors 101 propositions extracted from the works of Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719). In 1718 the pope censured the French bishops who had appealed to a general council against his bull. Unigenitus Dei Filius was confirmed by Innocent XIII in 1721, by Benedict XIII (reigned 1724-1730) in 1725, and by Benedict XIV (reigned 1740-1758) in 1756.

The Jesuit moral teaching known as Probabilism, which allowed one to adopt an ethical course of action supported by solidly probable arguments, also became the target of papal condemnations. Propositions considered too lax were censured by Alexander VII (reigned 1655–1657) in 1665–1666, by Innocent XI in 1679, and by Alexander VIII in 1690. A form of spirituality known as Quietism, based on the teachings of the celebrated spiritual director Miguel de Molinos (c. 1640–1697), who advised many prelates and nuns in Rome on how to achieve perpetual union with God through the annihilation of the will and avoidance of exter-

nals, and similar teachings by archbishop François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715) became the targets of papal censures from 1687 to 1699. Because of its secrecy, religious indifferentism, natural religion, and alleged threat to public order, Clement XII in 1738 and Benedict XIV in 1751 condemned Freemasonry. Writings of certain Enlightenment figures were placed on the papal Index of Forbidden Books, for example, *Esprit des lois* (1748; The spirit of the laws) by Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et Montesquieu in 1752; *De l'esprit* (1758; On the spirit) by Claude-Adrien Helvétius in 1759; and *Émile* (1762) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1763.

Early modern popes established procedures and institutions to deal with heresy. Inspired by the successes of the Spanish Inquisition, founded in 1478, Cardinal Giampietro Carafa (the future Paul IV) successfully urged Paul III to institute in 1542 the Roman Inquisition, to suppress Protestant ideas in Italy and elsewhere. Also known as the Holy Office, it soon became one of the most important papal bureaucracies. Pius IV in 1564 issued the so-called Tridentine Index of Prohibited Books, the first papal index with continuing authority. In 1571 Pius V established the Congregation of the Index, composed of six cardinals, to oversee the censorship of books. Crucial to the definition of Catholic orthodoxy was the work of the Council of Trent. Pius IV had the Council's central teachings incorporated into the Tridentine Profession of Faith (1564), which he required all bishops, religious superiors, and professors to subscribe to personally with an oath.

By their establishment of the Roman Inquisition and the Congregations of the Council and Index, early modern popes asserted in a striking way their authority to decide and enforce doctrinal orthodoxy. People looked increasingly to Rome for the resolution of doctrinal disputes. Supported by theological treatises and by popular devotion to the papacy, which was promoted by Jesuit sodalities, a belief in papal infallibility steadily grew despite disagreements over how it should be formulated.

### POPES AND CRUSADES

The early modern papacy often assumed a significant role in the defense of Christendom from Islamic threats. The papacy often encouraged this effort by providing financial subsidies and sending its own troops, sailors, and ships to join in the expeditions. The efforts of Leo X to organize a united crusade against the Turks failed due to the rivalry between the Habsburg and Valois dynasties, which would hinder all serious coordinated efforts for the next forty years. The Holy League (the papacy, Spain, and Venice), which Pius V negotiated, scored a temporary naval victory at Lepanto (7 October 1571), but Cyprus fell permanently to the Turks in 1571. In the seventeenth century, popes continued to support efforts to defend Christendom, supplying ships and money for the failed attempt to save Crete in 1668–1669, helping to forge the military alliance of Catholic powers that scored a victory over the Turks at the Dniester in 1673, rescued Vienna in 1683, freed Hungary in 1686, and recovered Belgrade in 1688, and providing papal assistance to Venice in the 1690s and in 1714, which failed, however, to prevent Venice from losing all its possessions in the Peloponnese.

### PAPAL EFFORTS TO RESTORE CHURCH UNITY

Early modern popes tried by various means either to bring heretics back to the church or to eradicate them. Leo X sent Cardinal Tamas Bakócz (1442-1521) on an unsuccessful peace mission to the Hussites in 1513. On urgings from Rome, Waldensian communities were forcibly eradicated from Calabria, gradually eliminated in Apulia, and ordered expelled from France and Savoy. The papacy tried to negotiate a reconciliation with Protestants by indicating a willingness to make various concessions in the area of church discipline and property, and it also participated through its representatives in the colloquies held between Catholic and Protestant theologians at Worms in 1540, Regensburg in 1541, and Poissy in 1561, which failed to resolve major differences. Paul III sent money and troops to aid Emperor Charles V against the Lutherans, while Pius IV and subsequent popes provided financial subsidies to the French kings and the Catholic League in its armed struggle with the Huguenots. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Paul V and Gregory XV (reigned 1621-1623) provided over two million florins to the Catholic League led by the Habsburg and Wittelsbach rulers, but Urban VIII secretly backed the French, who were allied with the Protestants, and withheld subsidies to the Catholics until it was too late, thus preventing a Catholic victory. Louis XIV's revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes, which had granted toleration to the Huguenots in France, was approved by Innocent XI, who, however, disapproved of the subsequent persecutions.

The popes also tried by means of diplomacy and missionary activities to win back to the church lands that had gone Protestant. Gregory XIII entered into detailed but unsuccessful negotiations to reconcile with Sweden. Clement VIII accepted the reconversion to Catholicism of Henry IV of France and absolved him of ecclesiastical censures (1595). The popes also entertained the hope of reconciliation with the Stuart monarchs of England but failed to give support to the Catholic James II (ruled 1685–1688), whose imprudent policies Innocent XI opposed. To train missionaries to work in German, English, and Scandinavian Protestant lands the popes established seminaries.

The popes also concerned themselves with restoring church unity with Eastern Christians. Through the work of the Franciscans, the Maronites of Lebanon made a formal obedience to Leo X at the Fifth Lateran Council (1516); by the efforts of the Dominicans the elected patriarch of the Assyrian Chaldean church, Yuhannan Sulaka (d. 1555), submitted in person to Julius III, who confirmed him as patriarch Simon VIII on 20 February 1553. Clement VIII supported the work of the Jesuits to bring the Syro-Malabar Christians of India into union with Rome but did not confirm the latinizing decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599), and Benedict XIV in 1744 prohibited certain customs contained in the Malabar rite. Eighty years of papal backing for the Jesuit mission to the Orthodox Ethiopian church ended in failure in 1632 due to over-latinization.

Gregory XIII warmly received the emissaries sent in 1581 by Ivan IV (the Terrible), grand duke of Muscovy (ruled 1533–1584), who asked the pope to mediate a peace with Catholic Poland-Lithuania and suggested his own openness to a church union. Once the papal nuncio Antonio Possevino (1534–1611) had negotiated a truce in 1582, he discovered that the tsar did not want union with Rome. Fearful of Muscovite domination, the Byzantine rite bishops of Poland-Lithuania

requested union with Rome, which Clement VIII granted on 23 December 1595. The Greek Orthodox Rusyns in eastern Slovakia joined Rome at the synod of Uzhorod (1646), those in Transcarpathia (Ukraine) at Mukachevo in 1664, and those in Romania in 1713; together they constituted the Ruthenian Catholic church, given separate status in 1771. The papacy in the 1630s backed Cyril II Contares (d. 1640) in his opposition to the attempt of Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638) to introduce Calvinist doctrine into the Greek Orthodox Church. Through the efforts of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, a Melkite patriarchate in union with Rome was established in Syria under the leadership of archbishop Euthymius of Sidon and Tyre (1683– 1723) with the conversion of patriarch Athanasius IV in 1724. The Armenian communities in Poland-Lithuania and Walachia joined Rome in 1635, while some in the Near East were accepted into union with the Catholic Church by Benedict XIV in 1742, who appointed Abraham Ardzivian (1679–1749) as their patriarch. The conversion of prominent Orthodox prelates led to the establishment of the Coptic Catholic Church in 1741 and the Syrian Catholic Church in 1782.

### PAPAL SUPPORT FOR MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG NON-CHRISTIANS

The early modern popes were also concerned with the spread of the Catholic faith into non-Christian lands. Their chief allies in this task were the Iberian rulers, whose state-sponsored voyages of exploration opened up new lands for evangelization, and the religious orders whose members served as missionaries. By a series of bulls the popes conferred patronage rights and evangelization responsibilities. To aid the friar missionaries in the work of evangelizing America, Adrian VI in 1522 by the bull Omnimoda granted them many of the faculties of bishops. The Third Provincial Council of Mexico in 1585 adopted the decrees of Trent, curtailing these privileges, and Sixtus V in 1589 formally confirmed its decrees, subjecting the religious in these territories to episcopal control in their pastoral work.

The popes intervened on a number of other issues. Paul III by his brief *Pastorale Officium* (1537) condemned the enslavement of natives, a prohibition repeated in 1639 by Urban VIII. In his bull *Sublimis Deus* (1537), Paul III taught that the natives were fully human with rights of their own



Papacy and Papal States. A view of the colonnade designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and a portion of St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City. ©MARK L. STEPHENSON/CORBIS

and could become full Christians. His bull *Altitudo Divini Consilii* (1537) required the traditional rites in administering baptism to converts and assured the converts the right to receive the Eucharist—both implicit criticisms of Franciscan practices. Leo X in his brief *Exponi nobis* (1518) urged that natives be trained and ordained as clergy. While the Portuguese followed Leo's ruling, the Spanish adopted a contrary policy, which the popes had difficulty trying to modify. French missionaries opened seminaries in Asia. The first Chinese bishop was the Dominican Lo Wen-tsao (also known as Luo Wenzao and Gregorio López; 1617–1691), who began ordaining native priests in 1688.

The foundation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (1622) indicated greater papal involvement in the missions. It tried to break the stranglehold of Portuguese and Spanish patronage over the missions by opening new mission fields, establishing many more dioceses and apostolic vicariates, bringing their bishops into closer contact

with Rome, and creating native clergy. Questions of missionary methodology were brought to it for resolution. By a series of rulings from 1615 to 1742, the popes approved the use of the vernacular in the liturgy in China and tolerated (as a private civil ceremony) but then condemned (as a pagan religious cult) the veneration of ancestors prescribed by Confucianism. The approach of Roberto de' Nobili (1577–1656) in his work among the Hindu Brahmins was approved by Gregory XV in 1623. In 1627 Urban VIII founded the Collegio Urbano in Rome to train missionaries, and popes supported the seminary of the Société des Missions Étrangères (Society of Foreign Missions) founded in Paris in 1663.

### POPES AS PATRONS OF CULTURE

While most early modern popes were trained in canon law or theology and only a few in classical letters (among them Leo X, Paul IV, Urban VIII, and Alexander VII), they recognized the advantages of employing humanists as apostolic secretaries and

curial officials and encouraged writers and artists to use their skills in the service of religion. Leo X had as his private secretaries the famous humanists Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547) and Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), and he praised Desiderius Erasmus (1466?– 1536) for his scholarly editions of scriptural and patristic texts. Humanist influence is evident in the more Ciceronic prose and clear script used in the chancery and in the classicizing, epideictic style of oratory in the papal chapel. Popes patronized both traditional scholastic theology and the new humanistic theology that borrowed Neoplatonic concepts, analyzed apostolic and patristic texts, and used Christian antiquity as a model for critiquing the current church. Popes generally supported the informal academies and literary circles of Rome, while churchmen and nobles acted as their patrons.

The popes founded new institutions of learning and supported existing ones. They were generous to the Vatican Library. Between 1587 and 1589 Sixtus V commissioned the architect Domenico Fontana to construct its present elegant quarters. Gregory XV added to it in 1623 the Palatine Library of the University of Heidelberg donated by Maximilian of Bavaria; Alexander VII added in 1657 the library of the dukes of Urbino; Alexander VIII purchased in 1690 the Reginensis library of Christina Vasa (1626–1689), a convert to Catholicism and former queen of Sweden (ruled 1632-1654) who retired to and died in Rome, and his own family's (the Ottoboni) library was added in 1748; and Clement XI added a rich collection of Oriental volumes. Paul V collected the archival material from the library and housed it separately as the Vatican Secret Archives.

Of the already existing universities in the Papal States (Rome, Bologna, Perugia, and Ferrara; Macerata was added in 1540), the university in Rome (known as the Sapienza since the time of Paul III) received special papal support. Leo X established new professorships, regulations, and a Greek college. Alexander VII finished building the university's quarters at Sant'Ivo and provided it with a library and a botanical garden on the Gianicolo Hill. The Jesuit Collegio Romano was founded in 1551; courses there in philosophy and theology were inaugurated in 1553. While some churchmen established private seminaries in Rome, Pius IV in 1565 founded the Roman Seminary, whose students at-

tended lectures at the Collegio Romano, for which Gregory XIII provided new quarters and endowments in 1572.

With the help of scholars, popes carried out a number of projects. They issued the Roman Catechism (1566) and corrected editions of the Breviary (1568, 1602, 1631; in 1741 Benedict XIV set up a commission to reform it again), the Missal (1570, 1604), the code of canon law (1582), the calendar (1582), the Roman Martyrology (1584), the Vulgate Bible (1590, 1592), the Pontificale (1596), and the Rituale Romanum (1614); they also set new rules governing canonizations (1625, 1734–1738). The Vatican Press was founded by Sixtus V in 1587, and a second press known as Polyglot, which had numerous oriental fonts, was established around 1627 by Urban VIII to assist the work of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

The popes of the *ancien régime* and the Enlightenment took various stances toward contemporary culture. While they embraced many aspects of Renaissance culture, they resisted the Enlightenment when it became separated from and critical of established religion. They were unable to harness the new forces that ultimately led to the French Revolution and its attempt to replace the church with a civil deistic religion. But the papacy survived and eventually adjusted to new circumstances, as it has throughout history.

See also Benedict XIV (pope); Gallicanism; Holy Leagues; Inquisition, Roman; Jansenism; Jesuits; Josephinism; Julius II (pope); Leo X (pope); Libraries; Missions and Missionaries; Paul III (pope); Paul V (pope); Pius IV (pope); Pius V (pope); Religious Orders; Sixtus V (pope); Trent, Council of; Urban VIII (pope).

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NELSON H. MINNICH

PARACELSUS (1493/94–1541), German physician and alchemist. Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, who later gave himself the name Paracelsus, spent his early years in Einsiedeln (Switzerland) and Villach (Austria) before leaving home and wandering through much of Europe while visiting several universities. He gave his attention primarily to medicine but rejected ancient authorities in favor of a conception of medicine based in alchemical experience and a Hermetic view of nature. The principles of all things, Paracelsus believed, were the *tria prima* of salt, sulfur, and mercury, which separated initially from a prime matter, the *mysterium arcanum*, and gave rise thereafter to the four elements,

described as the material wombs of all the earthly, watery, airy, and fiery parts of nature.

Around 1520 Paracelsus composed the Archidoxis (the title could be translated as Ancient Teaching, or Deepest Knowledge), which focused on the extraction of the "mysteries of nature" (qualities, virtues, powers) from natural things. After brief residences in Salzburg and Strasbourg his reputation as a physician brought him, in 1527, to Basel as city physician and university lecturer. His teaching in German, as opposed to traditional Latin, and his condemnation of traditional medical authorities, led to sharp confrontations with the Basel community of physicians and prompted his flight from the city in 1528. Soon thereafter he composed two works dealing with syphilis in which he spoke out against the use of guaiacum (the wood from a West Indian shrub, a monopoly on the importation of which was held by the Fugger trading dynasty) and recommended instead a medicament made from mercury.

Paracelsus described the discipline of medicine as resting upon four pillars, namely philosophy, astronomy, alchemy, and the virtue of the physician. True philosophy, he argued, began with a knowledge of the ars spagyria, the alchemical art of separation. In a work called Opus Paramirum (or Work Beyond Wonder), this concept played a central role in helping him formulate a new conception of disease. In contrast to traditional humoral pathology, Paracelsus argued that each organ of the body contained an archeus (a kind of guiding spirit or principle) which acted as an "inner alchemist" and provided for the proper functioning of the organ by separating that which was good or pure from that which was impure or unnecessary. In many cases of illness, he thought, the separating function of the archeus was disturbed. Moreover, just as everything in nature was born out of the three corporeal principles of salt, sulfur, and mercury, diseases of the body were also born into these three cosmogonic categories and represented themselves as saline (for example, outbreaks of the skin), sulfurous (inflammations or fevers), or mercurial (diseases associated with excess phlegm or fluid). Diseases were thus not consequences of general humoral imbalance, as depicted in Hippocratic and Galenic writing, but specific entities with individual etiologies and characteristics located within particular parts of the

body. According to Paracelsus, specific remedies needed to match specific diseases, and physicians cured not by opposing qualities (hot to cold, or wet to dry) as in traditional therapies, but as a result of fashioning a medicine similar to the nature of the illness itself. Medicines could be prepared from anything, since the tria prima was to be found in every part of nature. The most effective medicaments, however, were prepared from minerals and metals, since these related best to the disease categories manifested as saline, sulfurous, or mercurial. In this way, like cured like. All of nature existed as a giant pharmacopoeia, and the alchemist-physician, guided by observation and experience, knew which of its parts related most closely to the various parts of the body. After selecting the appropriate material, the doctor needed to separate its purities from its impure and possibly poisonous parts. The spiritual powers thus extracted were then further ennobled and communicated as a medicine to a specific, diseased part of the body.

### MICROCOSM AND MACROCOSM

The new therapy rested on what was actually a very old idea, namely that "the firmament is within man"; that is, there exist everywhere in nature analogies and correspondences between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Within this medical cosmology, Paracelsus believed that astral emanations impressed all earthly things and gave to them their divinely designated "signatures," the material indications showing which parts of the body (microcosm) they could serve best as medicaments. Comprising the being of every person, he thought, was the mortal life of the physical body, the immortal life that corresponded to the soul, and a life derived from the heavens and which corresponded to an "astral body" or "sidereal spirit"—the essential middle link between mind and matter. While not everything in nature possessed a divine soul, all things plants, animals, minerals, and metals—did possess an astral body, which originated in the stars and which specified for all things their form and function. It was this spirit, or, as Paracelsus refers to it, this astra, that penetrated matter, giving life to all growing things, including minerals and metals. He regarded it as "the secret forger" from which proceeded every form and figure, and the source of the motions and directed actions that accounted for the vitality of the body. Because of the fall of Adam,

impurities were mixed in with the *astra*, and these could sometimes also produce certain kinds of illness.

Since the human being was a condensation of the forces, elements, and creative principles of the entire universe, Paracelsus thought that an understanding of how the healthy universe of the body worked had to begin with an understanding of how the greater world functioned. The keys to doing this were to be found in philosophy and astronomy. Philosophy, however, was not the study of Aristotle, but the comprehension through experience of how the forces, virtues, and powers hidden in natural things operated to produce specific effects. Knowledge of astronomy was similarly based in experience of the world, being an understanding of how the powers and celestial virtues linked to the stars and planets affected the functioning of the human body.

Paracelsus's handbook of surgery, the *Grosse Wundartzney*, appeared at Augsburg in 1536. His *Astronomia Magna*, a summary of philosophical, anthropological, and cosmological opinions, was never finished, and other tracts representing his views in theology in addition to medicine and natural philosophy remained unpublished at the time of his death.

See also Alchemy; Astrology; Astronomy; Hermeticism; Medicine.

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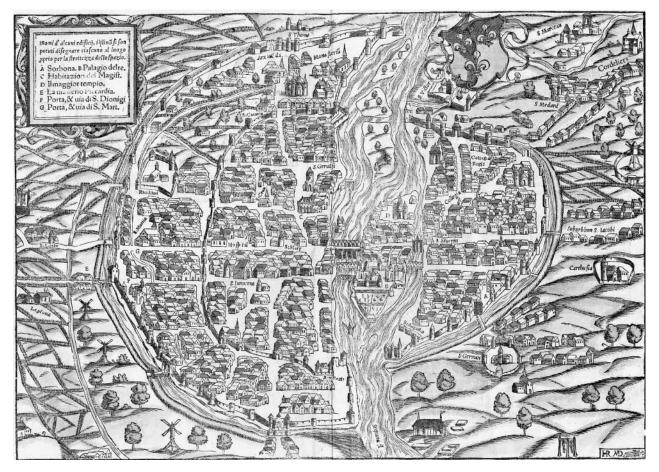
BRUCE T. MORAN

## PARADES, PROCESSIONS, AND PAGEANTS. See Ritual, Civic and Royal; Ritual, Religious.

**PARIS.** In the early modern period Paris became the city it has been for most of its modern history: the true capital of France, one of the great cities in the world, and a cosmopolitan center of European cultural and intellectual life. Before the sixteenth century, its profile was less grand. Besides its status as a legal and ecclesiastical center, dense with courts and churches, its main claim to renown was the Sorbonne, perhaps the leading university in all of Europe, which attracted students and scholars from far and wide. Though the political capital of the realm, it was not the primary residence of French kings, who mostly remained itinerant, preferring Fontainebleau or the royal castles of the Loire valley to Paris. This would change in the course of the sixteenth century. After 1528, Francis I (ruled 1515-1547) made Paris his principal place of residence. When Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610) triumphantly entered Paris in 1598 he proclaimed: "Only now am I king of France." His reign would initiate a series of changes that set Paris on its modern course.

### **GOVERNANCE**

Unlike other French cities, Paris was never granted a charter of liberties that guaranteed a measure of independence from the crown. Its very geography was dominated by seigneurial powers: primarily the king, the archbishop of Paris, and the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, each of which had the right to exercise fiscal and legal control over parts of the city. Paris did have its own governing institutions, but even here there was division, competition, and overlapping jurisdictions. The main site of municipal government was the Hôtel de Ville, where the prévôt des marchands, along with four échevins (aldermen), sixteen quarteniers (district officers), and twenty-four city councillors exercised their power. The Hôtel de Ville regulated river traffic, collected rents from market stalls, and received various fees and duties from commercial transactions. It was rivaled by the Châtelet, which had jurisdiction over the city's courts and prisons. Although the Parlement of Paris had authority over a wide expanse of northern and central France, it paid partic-



Paris. A bird's-eye view from a mid-sixteenth-century edition of Münster's *Cosmographia*, showing the city divided into the three parts created during the Middle Ages. The walled city is bisected by the Seine River, which surrounds the Île de la Cité, the center of government and worship. The Left (or south) Bank was the location of the university, and the Right Bank served as the commercial center. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

ular attention to the city's affairs, frequently challenging the power of both the Hôtel de Ville and the Châtelet. Finally, a royal appointee, the *prévôt* of Paris, rendered justice in the king's name.

### PARIS AND THE KING

Francis I's decision to reside in Paris symbolized the monarchy's renewed commitment to the capital, manifested by a new royal chateau in the Bois de Boulogne and the refurbishing of the Louvre. But it was not until after the Wars of Religion that the imprint of the royal hand began to be seen throughout in the city. Henry IV extended the Louvre, constructed the Place Royale (now Place des Vosges), and completed the Pont-Neuf, the major bridge across the Seine. His widow, Marie de Médicis, erected her own palace, the Luxembourg. She was emulated by Cardinal Richelieu, whose

Palais Cardinal became the center of a new area of urban development. The reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) witnessed a veritable boom in public squares. Pioneered under the first Bourbon, they became emblematic of the monarchy's hold on the city, with their royal statues standing in the squares' center. Louis's personal dislike of Paris is legendary, but his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert had visions of the capital as a second Rome. He demolished the old walls, graced the periphery with tree-lined boulevards, and installed new public fountains and street lanterns throughout the city.

Colbert's attempts at urban improvement were matched by royal intrusion into the city's governance. In 1666 he created the *conseil de police* and the following year the office of *lieutenant de police*, which exercised a broad range of policing activities.

Thus not only crime in its myriad forms, but also much of the city's daily life came under royal supervision and control, largely through the forty *commissaires de police* and a corps of inspectors who were responsible for patrolling Paris's neighborhoods. The *prévôt des marchands*, once elected from the mercantile elite, now tended to be chosen by the king from among his officials. The city's neighborhood officials were stripped of their former functions. In short, even though Louis XIV rarely set foot in his capital, monarchical authority prevailed over its municipal institutions as never before.

### URBAN EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT

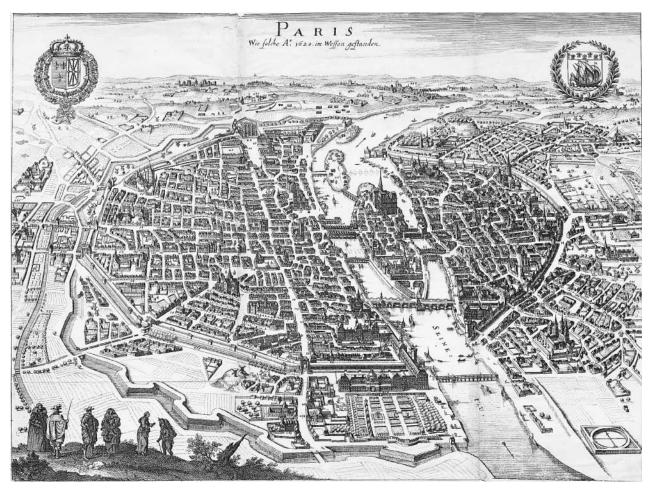
But other aspects of the city were in fact escaping royal control. Paris was growing and expanding, in part because of the enlarged royal administration, which fostered a steady increase in the number of officials, lawyers, judges, and aristocrats living in the city. Its population went from 250,000 in the midsixteenth century to nearly 700,000 on the eve of the Revolution. Much of that growth was in the burgeoning population of artisans and tradesmen who served the wealthy residents, catering to the varied tastes and expanding needs of urban consumers. In the early part of the seventeenth century, as part of the so-called Catholic Renaissance, the number of convents increased dramatically. The whole seventeenth century witnessed a building boom of aristocratic townhouses, with once marginal areas of the city, such as the Marais, transformed into choice neighborhoods for the elite. The poor too increased in number, attracted to the city by its charitable institutions. Urban growth began to run up against the obstacles of the city's traditional limits, something that the crown was intent on preserving. In 1638, an attempt was made to fix the city's boundaries by placing thirty-eight markers designating the limits of urban expansion, but to no avail. In 1670 Paris's city walls were finally torn down, a concession that its suburbs, especially those of Saint-Antoine, Saint-Denis, and Saint-Martin, were already part of the urban landscape.

In the eighteenth century Paris was second only to London in size among European cities. It had a reputation as a well-policed city, with its *commissaires* and police spies prowling its neighborhoods, backed up by the royal guard. It was also a city known for its amenities and improvements. In

the late seventeenth century gas lanterns were installed throughout the city. Some of the clutter and crowding, so characteristic of early modern cities, was steadily eliminated in the course of the eighteenth century. In 1756 shops and stalls were removed from the Pont-Neuf. After Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot's reforms in the 1770s, the dead were no longer interred within the city limits; the Cimetière des Innocents, a gathering spot for all sorts of disreputable people, was closed in 1780, as was the Cour des Miracles, a notorious beggars' haunt. The Place Louis XV, soon to be known as the Place de la Revolution (now the Place de la Concorde), was constructed, offering Parisians a large expanse of open cityscape for strolling and congregating. The rue Royale, an extended boulevard, cut across a large swath of the city, connecting the newly constructed church of the Madeleine with the Place Louis XV. Although Baron Georges Eugène Haussman's great urban thoroughfares would only appear in the late nineteenth century, eighteenthcentury Paris was already graced with several boulevards. The crown was still concerned with unauthorized urban growth, however. A series of edicts in the eighteenth century attempted to restrain the growth of Paris within fixed limits. And in 1780, the Farmers-General had a ten-foot wall constructed around the city to ensure the proper collection of taxes.

### CAPITAL OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The royal court was at Versailles, but the city was the true center of the realm's cultural and intellectual life, especially after Louis XIV's death in 1715. It was the capital of print, with over 100,000 titles produced by its printing presses in the course of the century. The city's populace was relatively literate: in the latter part of the century, 90 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women signed their wills. Paris was Europe's prime theater venue, combining such establishment institutions as the Comédie Française and the Opéra with comic opera and a vibrant boulevard theater. It was a center of Freemasonry, with over one hundred lodges. A salon culture flourished among the city's cultivated elite in which ladies of fashion hosted gatherings that fostered the new sensibility of the Enlightenment. Art galleries, libraries, coffeehouses, and other meeting places abounded, many novel to the eighteenth century, which together served to create a kind of Pari-



Paris. Matthew Merian's bird's-eye view of the city as it looked in 1620 appeared in Martin Zeiller's *Topographiae Galliae* published in 1655. The map reflects the tremendous growth of Paris during the early modern period, as French kings poured resources into its development and many of the city's architectural monuments, including the Pont-Neuf across the Seine, the Tuileries Palace, and an expanded Louvre, were erected. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

sian public. At the top of the cultural hierarchy were the royal academies: the Académie Française, the Académie des Sciences, and the Société Royale de Médecine, which by the second half of the century had largely been conquered by philosophes of the Enlightenment. Indeed, enlightened men of letters such as Voltaire, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were commanding figures on the Parisian public stage, rivaling royalty in renown and importance. Eighteenth-century Paris was rich in by-ways for the cultivation and circulation of new intellectual and cultural trends, making it not only the capital of the Enlightenment, but the creative center of European culture for the next century.

See also Academies, Learned; Cities and Urban Life; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Francis I (France);

Henry IV (France); Louis XIV (France); Salons; Universities; Versailles.

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PARIS, TREATY OF (1763). See Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

PARIS, TREATY OF (1783). See American Independence, War of (1775–1783).

PARISH MISSIONS. See Missions, Parish.

PARKS. See Gardens and Parks.

PARLEMENTS. Royal courts of law, numbering thirteen in 1789, the parlements stood at the peak of the judicial hierarchy in Old Regime France. Although they exercised some original jurisdiction, they judged mainly on appeal, both civil lawsuits and criminal offenses. If aggrieved litigants could prove good legal cause, the royal council might overrule their decisions, but normally the parlements judged in final resort. In addition, they exercised broad powers of public administration, such as setting grain prices, suppressing gambling, and controlling book publication.

Of more consequence, the parlements "registered" new laws issued by the king, the source of the law. At its simplest, registration meant that the tribunals transcribed statutes into folio registers, as a permanent record. But from about 1500 all the way to 1789, the parlements, supported by constitutional scholars, claimed that they had the duty to "verify" laws before registering them. Verification entailed deciding if new legislation agreed with divine, natural, and statute law and, especially, custom and precedent.

Any law could easily fail at least one of these tests, especially measures concerning controversial issues such as taxes, religious pacification, and judicial reform. A parlement might table disputed legislation indefinitely, weaken it with amendments, or issue a "remonstrance," a formal protest, oral or written, to the king. Despite various forms of royal pressure, these tactics might well lead to a compromise and sometimes to outright victory for the parlements. As a last resort, the kings would themselves appear in a tribunal, usually the Parlement of Paris, to hold a ceremony called a lit de justice. There the monarch invoked his sovereign power and commanded the parlement to register his law at once. High officials, acting under royal orders, conducted involuntary registrations in provincial parlements, the equivalent of a lit de justice. But the tribunals regarded coercion as an abuse and resisted even the lits de justice, ignoring any troublesome implications about the integrity of royal sovereignty.

The kings, who had created the parlements, also created and sold the offices of the judges who served in them. Starting in the early sixteenth century, monarchs openly marketed new offices when they needed money and then permitted the judges to resell their offices to third parties or bequeath them to heirs. Venal office, the name for this form of property, made the magistrates virtually irremovable and figured prominently in their private wealth. Fearing that an oversupply would cause their offices to decline in value, they invariably opposed the king's efforts to create new judgeships or otherwise to tamper with venality.

### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Once France entered the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) issued an abundance of new fiscal legislation. He created of-

fices in the parlements and tried to extract other monies from the judges. He established provincial intendants, their administrative rivals, almost everywhere. A long period of political tension got under way and rose in intensity even after the king died in 1643, as the regency government (1643-1651) of Anne of Austria increased fiscal and political pressure. The judges, fearing for the traditional political system, helped bring about the rebellion of the Parlement of Paris that led to the Fronde (1648-1653). Sympathetic disturbances erupted in several provincial tribunals, adding to the danger. Although the regency finally prevailed, it relaxed pressure upon the parlements for the rest of the 1650s, having learned not to provoke the tribunals unduly. Louis XIV (ruled 1643-1715) more or less adopted this approach in the first years of his personal rule, which began in 1661.

Already in the 1660s, however, the Sun King subordinated the parlements to the royal council for judicial purposes, replaced their historic appellation of "sovereign" courts with the neutral "superior" courts, and regulated the prices of parlementary offices. The Ordinance of Civil Procedure (1667), moreover, limited the use of remonstrances and otherwise curtailed registration powers. In 1673, in a culminating edict, the king required the parlements to register all legislation virtually upon receipt, without amendments and before they could issue any remonstrances. The laws of 1667 and 1673, for the first time in the Old Regime, eliminated the legislative powers of the parlements. Louis XIV, unlike his predecessors, governed without caring much what the magistrates thought. He created a profusion of new offices in the tribunals, extracted forced loans from the judges, and afflicted them with such new taxes as the capitation and dixième. These expedients weakened the judges politically and economically as the eighteenth century began.

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Until mid-century the parlements generally accepted a subordinate role in state affairs, while royal ministers turned influential judges into well-compensated clients. From about 1756, however, the tribunals asserted themselves with more vigor, although never pushing things too far. An unappeas-

able Jansenist minority in the Parlement of Paris nevertheless longed for real confrontation.

In 1765-1770 that parlement sided with the Parlement of Rennes in the latter's row with Emmanuel-Armand de Vignerot du Plessis de Richelieu (Duc d'Aiguillon), the royal commandant in Brittany, whom the king supported. As the "affaire de Bretagne" worsened, the old grievances of the Parlement of Paris assumed new importance, pro-Jansenist judges saw a Jesuit plot, and factions at Versailles took sides. Chancellor René-Nicolas-Charles-Augustin de Maupeou, heavily involved in factional politics, lost control of the affair and became an audacious, if accidental, reformer. In 1771 he remade the tribunals, suppressing three and drastically reducing the judicial competence of the others. He also cut the number of their judges, again drastically, and abolished venality outright. Louis XV (ruled 1715-1774) backed him unconditionally. This was either reform or despotism, as his critics had it.

Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792), anxious for a fresh start with the political nation, which largely supported the parlements, reinstated them when he assumed the throne. Time proved this decision unwise. In 1787–1788 the Parlement of Paris, supported by the provincial tribunals, aggressively thwarted the king's desperate efforts, in light of impending bankruptcy, to overhaul his fiscal system. They pressured him into convening the Estates-General, the national representative assembly, hoping that it would somehow liberalize the monarchy. The Estates, convening in 1789, launched the French Revolution and ironically abolished the parlements without regard for their eventful history.

In addition to the Parlement of Paris, by far the largest, the kings had created sister tribunals at Toulouse (Languedoc), Grenoble (Dauphiné), Bordeaux (Guienne and western Gascony), Dijon (Burgundy), Rouen (Normandy), Aix (Provence), Rennes (Brittany), Pau (Béarn and Navarre), Metz (bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun), Besançon (Franche-Comté), Douai (Flanders), and Nancy (Lorraine). In 1789 the number of judges had fallen to well under 1,000, down from a high of 1,290 under Louis XIV.

See also Absolutism; France; Fronde; Law: Courts; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France).

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**PARLIAMENT.** Between 1450 and 1700 the English Parliament developed from a medieval institution dominated by the monarch to one whose role, function, and procedure is still recognizable today. During this transition, Parliament developed omnicompetence in statutory matters; expanded its membership dramatically (particularly in the House of Commons); revived the early medieval process of impeachment; and became a permanent and essential part of the government structure in England. Parliament during the period of the English Civil War and Interregnum (1642-1660) assumed the role of the executive and ordered the trial and execution of Charles I (ruled 1625-1649) in January 1649 before internal dissension and political circumstances brought about the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Although the Restoration Settlement again limited the power of Parliament, its growing role in fiscal matters and the highly charged political and religious atmosphere of the late-seventeenth century enabled it to play a role in deposing another monarch, James II (ruled 1685–1688), in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The subsequent passage of the Bill of Rights (1689) and the Triennial Act (1694) gave Parliament a more closely knit relationship with the monarchy and the governance of England. This period also saw the rise of the political parties and the increasing reliance of the monarch on Parliament for financial support.

### **ELECTIONS**

Parliament was called and dissolved at the whim of the monarch until the enactment of the Triennial Act of 1641. Forty days before the start of the Parliament, individual writs of summons were sent to all the peers of the realm, except those disqualified by lunacy, poverty, or minority of age (usually under 21). Sometimes, as in 1626 with the case of the earl of Bristol, who was imprisoned due to his bitter dispute over foreign policy with Charles I, political confrontation with the monarch also determined whether a writ was received. The senior judges in the land were also summoned to act as legal advisers to the monarch. The membership of the House of Commons was determined by elections (under widely varying rules) held among the enfranchised in the constituencies. Towns and boroughs normally elected two members of Parliament (although a few single-member constituencies existed, primarily in Wales), while two Knights of the Shire were elected for each county. The elections were determined by the vote of 40-shilling freeholders—those men who were resident in the county and held 40 shillings per annum in freehold land. The borough franchise, however, was not so clear-cut and ranged from the most common, voting by the freeman of the borough, to oligarchic control of the town corporation, and on occasion only those resident in the borough. This led to a select few controlling the vote in certain areas. An extreme example of this was the Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, election of 1572, where one person selected the two M.P.s. The elections were further complicated by the interference of both the crown and noble patrons. The crown certainly enjoyed considerable influence, particularly in areas in which it controlled the majority of the property, while powerful magnates, such as William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, supposedly influenced favorably at least 98 seats between 1614 and 1628.

### **MEMBERS**

Until 1540, membership of the House of Lords consisted of the nobility, bishops, and representatives of the regular clergy (abbots and priors). Throughout the early Tudor period the spiritual peers reached a maximum of 48, and they easily outnumbered the temporal peers, whose numbers fluctuated between 34 and 45. However, Henry VIII's (ruled 1509-1547) break with Rome in the mid-1530s signaled dramatic changes in membership. With the dissolution of the monasteries in 1540, the parliamentary careers of abbots and priors ended, thereby removing 27 spiritual peers. Even with the creation of six new bishoprics between 1540 and 1542, the temporal peers now outnumbered their spiritual colleagues—a situation that was never reversed. For the next 100 years, the nobility summoned to Parliament continued to fluctuate. Elizabeth I (ruled 1558-1603), who was notoriously parsimonious in handing out favors, only elevated two commoners to the peerage, and the natural attrition through the failure of peers to produce male heirs, as well as nobles executed for treason, actually caused the numbers to fall from 57 to 55 over the course of her reign.

The accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I (ruled 1603-1625) changed this situation dramatically. In part, James was anxious to make up for years of Elizabethan parsimony by creating new peers, but he also saw the peerage as a money-making device. Elevation through both deserving recognition and the sale of titles meant that by the end of James's reign in 1625, the peers eligible to attend Parliament numbered 104. This process continued under Charles I (ruled 1625-1649) until the nobility reached 123 at the start of the Short Parliament (April 1640). However, during the political turmoil of the early 1640s, Charles attempted to use the bishops to ensure he always had a loyal voting bloc. This led to the exclusion of the bishops in 1642, and the numbers of the nobility attending the Lords dropped even further when the Civil War broke out and Royalist peers deserted the Parliament. By late 1642, the number in the Lords had fallen to 30. In March 1649, after Charles had lost the Civil War and been executed, the monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished. With the Restoration in 1660, the Lords returned in its familiar pre-Civil

War guise with the bishops taking their place alongside the nobility. The temporal peerage continued to grow and exceeded 150 by the turn of the century.

Changes in the Commons membership were not as drastic as those in the Lords, except during the Civil War and Interregnum. Before 1640, the number of M.P.s steadily increased, from 296 in 1485 to 493 in 1628 and 513 in 1689. In a similar fashion to the Lords, the king's supporters deserted Parliament after 1642, and over 100 attended a rival Royalist Parliament that convened in Oxford in early 1644. The numbers dropped further in December 1648 when Colonel Thomas Pride, in what has come to be known as "Pride's Purge," arrested 45 members and excluded 186 more. Other M.P.s stayed away of their own volition, leaving the "Rump Parliament" with a little over 200. Further changes in membership occurred during the Protectorate Parliaments before the Commons was restored to its pre-Civil War state in 1660.

### **FUNCTION**

The three major functions of Parliament were legislation, advice, and supply. To this may be added the revival in 1621 of Parliament as the highest court in the land. During the medieval period, Parliament had acted as a law court. This role fell into abeyance during the sixteenth century, but in 1621 charges of impeachment were presented against the Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626). This process continued throughout the 1620s and later. This role was supplemented by the like revival of the role of the Lords as the highest appellate court.

The legislative aspect of Parliament also changed. The medieval House of Commons was not an equal part of the parliamentary trinity of King, Lords, and Commons, but precedents in the fifteenth century saw it grow into a constitutionally equal partner. In 1489, the judges ruled that legislation did not have the force of law unless the Commons and the Lords assented to it. The Commons had the right to initiate legislation, like the Lords, and throughout the sixteenth century the three-reading procedure developed into the norm. This required each bill to be read three times in both the Lords and the Commons before it was presented for the monarch's assent, or, occasionally, veto. Equally, it became more common for each bill to be

committed for detailed scrutiny and amendment after the second reading. During the 1530s it was accepted that statute law could regulate every sphere of life, including religious and spiritual matters and property rights. This omnicompetence of statute law increased the monarch's need for Parliament through this extension of legislative jurisdiction.

Parliament's conciliar or advice function grew out of its origins in the king's great council, which was called together to advise the king on matters of national importance, such as war. Although Parliament was primarily called for matters of taxation, it also offered the governing elite a chance to present grievances to the king and to offer advice. For example, James I in 1624 asked Parliament to advise him on England's reaction to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The supply side of parliamentary operation was its most important role. During times of peace, monarchs were expected to live off their own revenues, although this became increasingly difficult after the inflationary years of the first half of the sixteenth century. In practice, monarchs became more accustomed to requesting taxes from Parliament for day-to-day fiscal matters. Supply was passed by act of Parliament in two distinct forms: lay and clerical taxation. The Clergy voted a clerical tax and the Commons initiated a tax based both on income and movable property. Both forms were enacted as statutes and required the assent of the parliamentary trinity. Because of drastic underassessment of income and the failure of an effective collection method, England remained one of the most lightly taxed nations in Europe, while the amount brought into the crown declined dramatically during the period.

### HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

The relationship between the English crown and Parliament in early modern England has been the subject of major debate in British history. Until the 1970s, the dominant historiography saw the House of Commons marching onward from an embryonic power under Henry VIII to executive power in the mid-seventeenth century and then to a Glorious Revolution led by Parliament, before the late Victorian model of parliamentary government eventually

emerged. This Whig view of parliamentary history, most eloquently championed by S. R. Gardiner, was challenged first by Marxist historians, who viewed the Civil War and parliamentary tensions as a bourgeois revolution. However, the Marxist interpretation foundered because the Civil War can be better explained as an aristocratic and/or religious rebellion and because no widespread or lasting social revolution occurred. Furthermore, relations between Parliament and the crown returned in 1660 to their pre–Civil War status.

The more fundamental challenge to the Whig interpretation was led by a diverse group of revisionists, in particular, Geoffrey Elton, Conrad Russell, and Kevin Sharpe. They emphasized consensus, not conflict, as the primary mode of interpreting the relationship between crown and Parliament. Elton and Russell, especially, saw the Parliament as an effective, businesslike institution in which conflict was often more the result of misunderstanding than hostility or the competition for power. Sharpe, on the other hand, saw what conflict there was in Parliament as the result of competing factions. Since the late 1980s, this revisionist view has been nuanced by the work of scholars such as Thomas Cogswell, Ann Hughes, and Richard Cust. In their "postrevisionist" view, an underlying tension and conflict was ever present, but it usually only manifested itself in times of political crisis—for example, during the mismanagement of the war against France and Spain by Charles I in the late 1620s.

### CROWN AND PARLIAMENT RELATIONS

Henry VII (ruled 1485-1509) and Henry VIII both needed Parliament to achieve their objectives. Henry VII solidified his hold on the throne by calling and consulting seven Parliaments between 1485 and 1509, while Henry VIII enacted the Reformation through Parliament. Although there was some parliamentary opposition to the policies of both monarchs, generally relations between the crown and Parliament in the early Tudor period were good. Henry VIII, in particular, adopted a style of personal intervention in parliamentary affairs, even appearing in the Commons on occasion to use his physical presence to sway M.P.s toward royal policies. There was opposition in Parliament, especially in the Lords, to the religious reformation of the 1530s, but this was defeated without a significant

crisis or breakdown in relations. The mid-Tudor Parliaments of Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553) and Mary I (ruled 1553–1558) likewise witnessed some opposition to the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation (both carried out through parliamentary statute), but again those opposed to government policy were in the minority. That changes in England's official religion, including the introduction of the Protestant Book of Common Prayer (1549) and the return of England to Roman Catholicism (1553–1554), were enacted through Parliament was testimony to its increased role in the governance of the nation and the newfound awareness of the omnicompetence of statute.

Under Elizabeth I, both Parliament and the Privy Council attempted to persuade the queen to marry or, later, to name a successor. Elizabeth had no particular liking for Parliaments and avoided calling them whenever possible, and Parliament only assembled on 13 occasions between 1559 and 1601. Furthermore, these sessions were short and relatively harmonious. No constitutional crisis erupted during the period and Elizabeth effectively managed her Parliaments by curtailing discussions on her marital status and on further Protestant reformation. Although her policy of granting manufacturing monopolies to individuals and companies came in for severe criticism in the Parliaments of 1597, 1598, and 1601, her "golden speech" of 30 November 1601, in which she promised to abolish the monopoly grants, won her fulsome praise. At the end of the Tudor dynasty, relations between the Parliament and crown were in good shape.

The policies of the first Stuart monarch, James I and VI, did cause friction between the crown and Commons in his first Parliament (1604-1610). In particular, James's desire to enact a union between England and his native Scotland aroused the ire of many M.P.s, and anti-Scottish hysteria in the Lower House. James was forced to abandon his plans for union in 1607. Similarly, disagreement arose in 1610 over the Great Contract, a scheme to reform the English financial system, but neither the Commons nor James could agree to the terms stipulated by the other party. Relations between the king and Parliament sank lower in 1614, during the "Addled Parliament." No legislation was enacted and a bitter session was dissolved by the king after claims of undue royal influence on the elections. Although

the Parliament has now been seen as an example of two factions competing for influence, it certainly discouraged James from relying on the goodwill of Parliament. In the next Parliament (1621), the king once again dissolved the Parliament in anger after it refused his decree regarding not meddling with foreign policy and the marriage of his son, Prince Charles. However, in the final Jacobean Parliament (1624), both the crown and Parliament worked together to enact legislation and debate the impending crisis with Spain.

This legacy of relative goodwill, if punctuated by friction and occasional moments of high tension, was rapidly dissipated by Charles I. His first Parliament of 1625 ended in acrimony over money and religion; the 1626 Parliament was dissolved in similar circumstances, and in 1628 both Houses forced Charles to accept the Petition of Right—a statement of the freedom, liberties, and privileges of Parliament. With relations at a low point in 1629, Charles vowed to live without Parliaments. The political reality of a Scottish army camped in northern England saw Charles once again turn to Parliament for financing to fight a campaign in 1640. However, he found Parliament even less inclined to his policies in 1640 than eleven years earlier. In the subsequent struggle between Charles and his Parliament, the king was forced to cede some of his authority to Parliament, but he refused to give up the right to control the army. The conflict culminated in war between Parliament and king—a war won by Parliament—and Charles was executed in 1649, the House of Lords was abolished, and a republic declared. The parliamentary trinity of King, Lords, and Commons had been destroyed.

Parliament during the 1640s had gradually assumed executive powers, taxing the populace, fielding an army, and effectively running the country. Parliament continued in this role and acted as the sole legal governing authority until 1653, when Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) was named Lord Protector. After the establishment of the Protectorate, Parliament sat only intermittently until 1659. The relationship between Parliament and Cromwell was often fractious and they never managed to establish an effective working relationship. This contributed to the ineffectiveness of the republic, and Parliament finally voted in early 1660 for the restoration of the monarchy.

The next major constitutional crisis between Parliament and the crown arose during the Exclusion Crisis. Between 1679 and 1681, a majority in the Commons assisted by a substantial minority in the Lords attempted to exclude Charles II's brother, the Catholic Duke of York, from the succession to the throne. Although this movement failed, it left Charles at odds with substantial sections of his Parliament. The crisis spilled over into James's reign, and after a series of pro-Catholic policies championed by the king, an Assembly of Peers invited the Dutchman William of Orange (ruled 1689–1702) to take over the throne. James fled England, and when Parliament met in 1689 it enacted the Revolution Settlement. The situation was complicated by the emergence in the previous twenty years of embryonic political parties. The Whigs believed in a contractual form of government and the right to resist a tyrannical monarch. In contrast, the Tories favored the view of a monarch's divine right to rule, where civil authority descended directly from God. Negotiations between the two parties and the king led to a compromise in which William agreed to rule jointly with his wife, Mary Stuart (ruled 1689-1694). It also led to fundamental changes in the relationship between Parliament and the crown. The Bill of Rights (1689) stipulated the "undoubted rights and liberties" of Parliament and that it was required to meet frequently. The revised coronation oath stated that monarchs ruled according to the statutes made by Parliament and the Protestant religion established by law, thus excluding Catholics from the succession. Furthermore, the 1689 Mutiny Act established that a standing army could only be raised in the kingdom with the consent of Parliament. Finally, the financial settlement imposed on William and Mary ensured that the crown revenue was forever tied to parliamentary taxation. This in turn assured that Parliament would meet every year from 1689. The settlement witnessed the establishment of Parliament as a permanent institution of government, and in it we can see the structures and actions of the modern Westminster Parliament.

See also Charles I (England); Church of England; Cromwell, Oliver; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); England; English Civil War and Interregnum; Exclusion Crisis; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Henry VII (England); Henry VIII (England); James I and VI (England and Scotland);

James II (England); Mary I (England); Political Parties in England; Representative Institutions; William and Mary.

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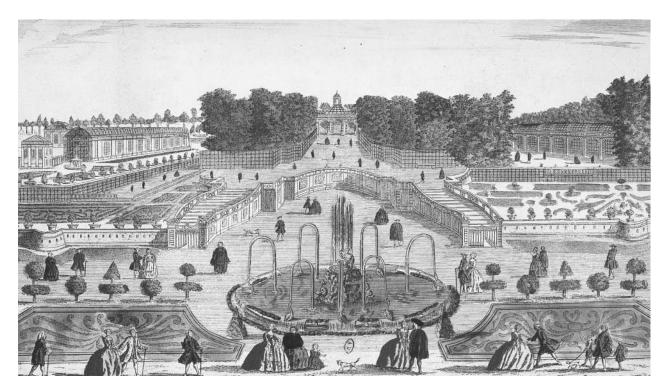
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CHRIS R. KYLE

**PARMA.** Located in the region of Emilia in northern Italy, Parma and its surrounding territory, never independent, became part of the Papal States in 1521. In 1545 Pope Paul III (reigned 1534–1549) created the duchy of Parma and Piacenza, a nearby town, and made his son Pier Luigi Farnese (1503–1547) the ruler. Paul III saw the duchy as a counterweight to Spanish power centered in Milan,



Parma. The gardens of the duke of Parma, late-eighteenth-century engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

while the Spanish viceroy in Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, viewed it as a threat. In addition, some nobles of Piacenza saw Pier Luigi's rule as oppressive. So, with the support of Gonzaga, they assassinated Pier Luigi on 10 September 1547. In the settling of accounts afterward, the duchy remained in Farnese hands but under Spanish protection.

From that point onward, Farnese dukes pursued a cautious pro-Spanish foreign policy that kept them out of most conflicts and was sometimes accompanied by suppression of internal dissent. The city of Parma had 20,000 to 25,000 people in the sixteenth century, grew to 33,000 people in the early seventeenth century, declined to a low of 19,000 by 1650, and then rose again to about 35,000 in the eighteenth century. The duchy had 350,000 to 400,000 inhabitants in 1600.

Farnese dukes pursued a policy of support for education, the arts, and building projects, which won friendship and prestige outside the state. In 1601 Duke Ranuccio I (1569–1622; ruled 1592–1622) founded the University of Parma, the only Italian university to include members of the Society of Jesus as members of the faculty. Jesuit professors

taught the humanities, logic, philosophy, mathematics, and theology, while laymen appointed by the duke taught law and medicine, the larger part of the university. The University of Parma successfully competed for professors and students with older Italian universities.

Also in 1601 Ranuccio I founded a boarding school for boys of noble blood. It accepted boys between the ages of eleven and fourteen who might remain until the age of twenty. In 1604 Ranuccio awarded direction of the school to the Jesuits. In additional to the standard Jesuit curriculum of humanities, philosophy, mathematics, and religious instruction, the Parma school taught French, singing, dancing, designing fortifications, and horsemanship, and it charged high fees. The boarders could also hunt in the duke's preserve and received honored places at public events. The Parma school attracted noble boys from Italy and other parts of Europe, because it offered a curriculum designed for them and the opportunity to mix with peers. Enrollment climbed to a peak of 550 to 600 boys between 1670 and 1700 before a gradual decline set in. Parma's school for nobles had imitators across Europe.

Other Farnese dukes engaged in building programs. They began to erect a huge ducal palace in 1583, which was not finished until the next century. The Farnese Theater opened in 1628 and immediately became a preferred setting for plays, spectacles, and operas, including those of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643).

The Farnese dynasty ruled successfully and married well into other Italian ruling families and Spain. The dynasty ended when Duke Antonio (1679– 1731; ruled 1727–1731) died without heirs in 1731. Because Elisabetta Farnese (1692–1766) was the wife of King Philip V of Spain, the duchy passed in 1732 into the hands of their son, Don Carlos de Bourbon (1716-1788; ruled Parma 1732-1736, ruled Spain as Charles III, 1759-1788). The duchy fell into Austrian hands from 1735 to 1748 but returned to the Spanish Bourbons in 1748 and remained there for the rest of the century. The most important figure of this period was Guillaume du Tillot, chief minister from 1749 to 1771. He brought with him French cultural influences and learning to the court, as well as French Enlightenment administrative reforms, agricultural methods, and restrictions on the rights of the church.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Jesuits; Papacy and Papal States; Universities.

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Paul F. Grendler

PARMA, ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF (1545–1592), soldier and governor general of the Netherlands. Born in Rome to Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma, and Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of Charles V, Alexander accompanied his mother to Brussels in 1559 when Philip II of Spain appointed her regent of the Netherlands. Philip took his nephew to Spain for his

education in statecraft and service to the Habsburg dynasty, alongside Philip's son Don Carlos and halfbrother Don Juan of Austria. Alexander returned in March 1565 to Brussels to marry Maria of Portugal, eldest daughter of Infante Dom Duarte. They returned to Parma in 1566 as troubles in the Netherlands worsened. In Parma the prince studied the art of war and fathered two sons, Ranuccio, his heir, and Edoardo, who became cardinal, and a daughter, Margherita, later duchess of Mantua. In 1571 he joined Don Juan to fight at the Battle of Lepanto, returning afterward to family concerns in Parma. In 1577, Don Juan, now governor-general of the Netherlands, begged Philip to send the prince of Parma, widowed that year, to the Netherlands with needed soldiers. Parma arrived in December and, with Don Juan, won the Battle of Gembloux in January 1578 over forces of the rebellious Estates-General (the Netherlands' parliament). After a fruitless summer campaign with an ill-paid army, Don Juan died, nominating Parma as his successor. Philip promptly confirmed Parma as governor and captain general of the Netherlands. His effective authority obtained only in the Walloon provinces (save for Tournai), most of Groningen and Drenthe, and Luxembourg. The remaining provinces were in the hands of the defiant Estates-General, which seemed firmly controlled by Prince William of Orange, but deep religious and provincial differences and personal rivalries made the Estates factious, and Don Juan had already won important Catholic nobles to Philip's side. Parma, using familiarity with the Netherlands acquired in 1565–1566, continued to exploit fissures in the Estates-General while he groomed his army. In 1579 he steered the southern Walloon provinces under his control to form the Union of Arras and declare obedience to Philip II, while skillfully employing his regrouped army to capture Maastricht and ensure communication with loyal strongholds in the northeast. In 1580 seven northern Dutch provinces, led by William of Orange and the Calvinists, formed the Union of Utrecht to oppose him, while the collapse of the peace conference at Cologne over religion brought most of the great Catholic nobles back to Philip's cause. In 1581, Parma captured Tournai.

When theocratic Calvinist militants seized control of the chief Flemish towns, including Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges, the middle classes flocked to



**Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma.** Undated portrait engraving. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

Parma. Divided, the towns fell, and, by the end of 1584, Parma was able to lay siege to Antwerp. The finances of his army having been put in order by Philip, Parma carefully ringed Antwerp with trenches and redoubts, and built a fortified pontoon bridge to cut it off from the sea. The famous "hellburner" of Italian engineer Giambelli briefly broke the bridge, but not the siege. Brussels and Mechlin had already submitted when, in August 1585, starved Antwerp surrendered, winning Philip's grateful restoration of Piacenza, a contentious issue, to the Farnese family. Parma prepared next to subdue the Dutch provinces north of the Maas and Rhine rivers, leaderless since the assassination of Orange in 1584.

Regarding Parma's successes as a threat to England, Queen Elizabeth openly allied with the Dutch and sent an army to aid them. Philip II decided on the Enterprise of England, for which he built the Spanish Armada, and ordered Parma to prepare to invade England with his army. For two

years the Enterprise preoccupied him, allowing the Dutch to recover ground under Maurice of Nassau, later prince of Orange (1618–1625). When Philip's armada reached Calais in August 1588, to cover the invasion, Parma had just learned of its approach. He hastened to embark his army, but the English forced the armada away. Its officers claimed Parma was unprepared and lacking enthusiasm, raising doubts about him in Philip. Parma was left with insufficient funds, unruly troops, and new distractions.

In 1590 Philip ordered Parma to march into France in support of the Catholic League, then waging civil war to keep the Huguenot Henry of Navarre from the French throne. Parma broke Navarre's siege of Catholic Paris and, in 1591, sparred with Maurice, to little gain, until ordered again into France. Wounded as he ended a successful campaign, he convalesced in his headquarters at Arras, where he died in December 1592, unaware that Philip had secretly ordered his recall.

Parma had saved what would become Belgium for Philip and Roman Catholicism. His son, Duke Ranuccio (1569–1622), whose strong claim to Portugal his father had not pressed, and who was bitter over Philip's treatment of him and his father, soon broke with Spain.

See also Armada, Spanish; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Elizabeth I (England); Henry IV (France); Juan de Austria, Don; Netherlands, Southern; Parma; Philip II (Spain); William of Orange.

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PETER PIERSON

# PARTITIONS OF POLAND. See Poland, Partitions of.

**PASCAL, BLAISE** (1623–1662), French mathematician, scientist, religious polemicist, and apologist. Pascal was born in Clermont-en-

Auvergne, where his mother died when he was three. He was educated with his two sisters by his father, and the family moved to Paris in 1631. Finding that the young Blaise had worked out the principles of geometry up to Euclid's thirty-second proposition, his father took him to the mathematical academy recently founded in Paris by Marin Mersenne. Influenced by the encounters he made there, Pascal published his first mathematical paper, the *Essai sur les coniques* (Essay on conic sections) in 1640. In this year, Pascal's father was appointed royal tax commissioner for Normandy, and the family established itself in Rouen. Looking to help his father with his accounting, Pascal invented the calculating machine two years later.

Following an accident in Rouen, Pascal's father was treated by two members of the Jansenist religious movement (which followed the theologian Cornelius Jansen in teaching a strict Augustinianism), and the entire family was influenced by Jansenist ideas about grace and piety. Pascal nonetheless turned, following a period of ill health during which he returned to Paris with his sister Jacqueline, to the "worldly" entertainments provided by fashionable Parisian society. His father died in 1651, and when Jacqueline subsequently became a nun at the Jansenist convent Port-Royal, Pascal opposed such commitment vigorously. It was not until the night of 23 November 1654 that he underwent a profound spiritual experience, coming to the absolute conviction that God had been revealed to him.

After this nuit de feu ('night of fire'), Pascal undertook a retreat at Port-Royal-des-Champs, where he met Isaac Le Maistre de Saci (an account of their conversations was published posthumously in 1728 and is important for the insights it gives into Pascal's reading of the secular authors Montaigne and Epictetus). At this time, attacks on Jansenism were becoming increasingly frequent, with rival Jesuit theologians closely allied with the monarchy of Louis XIV. Antoine Arnauld was on the point of being condemned by the Sorbonne for his ongoing defense of Jansen's Augustinus. Certain other Jansenists (among them the philosopher Pierre Nicole) solicited Pascal's help; known only for his mathematical gifts, he was much less likely than they to be identified as the author of an attack on the Jesuits. Between January 1656 and March 1657 Pascal composed eighteen Lettres provinciales (Provincial

letters), which launched a vicious offensive against Jesuit morality. The first ten letters constitute a dialogue between a naïve enquirer (presented as the writer of the letters), a friendly Jansenist, and some Jesuit priests. Through Pascal's diffusely ironic manipulation of these different personae, the Jesuits come across as absurd figures clinging to doctrine that is theologically unsound, especially on the subject of grace. In letters eleven through eighteen, all pretense of an exchange is dropped, and Pascal's speaker responds directly to the counterpolemic precipitated by the first ten letters. The last two letters are targeted specifically at Louis XIV's confessor, the Jesuit François Annat. Official reaction to the letters was uncompromising (they were placed on the Catholic Church's Index of Prohibited Books in 1657), but general readers, unused to having complex theological debate laid out with such immediacy, were delighted and admiring.

Pascal reopened the main topic of the letters in four Écrits sur la grâce (Writings on grace) composed around 1658. During the same period, he gave an account to his friends at Port-Royal of a planned apology for the Christian religion. The fragments he jotted down, cut up, and arranged in bundles in preparation for this work, which he did not live to complete, are known as the Pensées (first edited and published in 1670). They are imbued with the Augustinian belief that the only way we can account for the dramatic contradictions found in human beings, who are wretched, yet capable of self-awareness, is through the doctrine of the Fall once embodiments of divine perfection, humans distanced themselves from God at the moment of original sin. In the famous Fragment 199, "Disproportion of Man," which exploits the new science of the microscope and the telescope, humanity is depicted as lost between the infinitely large and infinitely small. Divertissement ('diversion') is any activity humanity turns to so as not to have to confront this metaphysical plight. The human faculty of reason can be useful (as evinced in the wager argument: we can deduce that we have nothing to lose by betting on the existence of God), but should accompany an awareness of its own limitations. Most important, these limitations can themselves be instructive, pointing to the need for faith. Pascal was fascinated by, rather than condemnatory toward, his fellow human beings and continually projected his

own authorial voice into their different positions on the spectrum of belief. Having dedicated himself, from the moment of his conversion, to the advocacy of Christian ideas, he died at the home of his sister Gilberte on 19 August 1662.

See also Jansenism; Jesuits; Mathematics; Mersenne, Marin; Philosophy.

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PASHA. See Vizier.

## PASSAROWITZ, PEACE OF (1718).

This treaty between the Ottoman Empire, Austria, and Venice was signed at Passarowitz (Pozarevac, Serbia) in July 1718. Ottoman military confidence had begun to revive following the 1711 Ottoman victory over Russia at the Pruth River. The Sultan's son-in-law, Silahdar Ali Pasha, who had lost revenues from lands in the Morea (in the Peloponnese of modern Greece) when the Venetians occupied it in 1699 according to the Treaty of Carlowitz, began to lobby the Sultan to retake it. The Grand Mufti of Constantinople, the chief religious official in the Ottoman Empire, and the Chief Black Eunuch, who possessed great personal power as the overseer of the imperial harem and the superintendent of

important religious properties, supported him. Through various intrigues, Silahdar Ali Pasha became grand vizier in 1713 and put the Ottomans on the road to war with Venice. In early 1715, the Ottomans attacked Venice on the pretext that it had aided Montenegrin rebels against Ottoman rule. Over the next three years, the Ottomans took Morea and Crete back from Venice and won several important naval engagements against the Venetian fleet, including the battles of Cape Matapan (1717) and Cerigo (1718).

At first, Austria tried to stay out of this war because of its ongoing problems in Europe following the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), but it was dragged into conflict with the Ottomans in 1716 because of concern about Ottoman advances into Dalmatia. In addition, it appeared that Austria might have to rescue Venice from financial and military collapse. Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1736), the renowned Habsburg commander, defeated the Ottomans at Petrovaradin in August, 1716, in a battle that killed many Ottoman leaders, including Silahdar Ali Pasha. Eugene took Temesvár and Belgrade over the next few months. In 1717, the new English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Sir Edward Wortley Montagu, joined with his Dutch colleague Count Jacob Colijer to press for an Austrian-Ottoman peace agreement. Their efforts helped to end a conflict that might have endangered the fragile new European political balance created by the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt (1713 and 1714). The treaty of Passarowitz, signed in July 1718, was written to reflect Eugene's 1716 victories and Austria's military triumph. The Ottoman Empire lost the Banat of Temesvár (the last Ottoman stronghold in Hungary), northern Serbia (including Belgrade), northern Bosnia, and Lesser Walachia to Austria. Venice had to cede to the Ottoman Empire all possessions in the Peloponnese and on Crete, retaining only what it held in the Ionian Islands and Dalmatia. Immediately after this agreement, the Austrians and Ottomans signed a commercial treaty that gave the Austrians a number of trading privileges in the Ottoman Empire and bolstered the Habsburg emperor's plan to create a new "Eastern Company" for Balkan trade based in his new "free port" in Trieste. A generation after Passarowitz, when hostilities between the two empires flared up again, the Ottomans recovered Belgrade and Lesser Walachia through the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade.

See also Austro-Ottoman Wars; Habsburg Territories; Ottoman Empire; Serbia; Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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ERNEST TUCKER

**PASSIONS.** In the twenty-fifth of his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733), Voltaire took on the defense of human nature against the seventeenth-century philosopher Pascal's misanthropic vision, which was centered around the notion of original sin. Intellectual acuity and strong passions, said Voltaire, go together. Human beings have been given passions as a basis for action, and reason is the faculty that guides those actions. In particular, Voltaire defended the passion of self-love, duly channeled by the law and religion, as the basis of natural sociability.

## PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND

Since early Christianity, the passions had, at least in part, been strongly associated with suffering and sin—passiones peccatorum, passiones carnales reflecting the term's derivation from the Latin pati, 'to suffer or undergo'. Voltaire's criticisms were emblematic of a certain shift from a dualistic Christian view in which man can only escape his fallen state through redemption, to an optimistic, secularizing view of humanity, based on notions of liberation, fulfillment, and happiness, and in many ways typical of Enlightenment thought. Attitudes toward the passions certainly changed very significantly in the early modern period, but there were also continuities. The Stoic notion that wisdom consists of rising above the passions and being unaffected by them remained influential, and when Voltaire spoke of the passions as the ground of human activity, but as a force still requiring the regulation of the will, he

was not as far as one might think from Thomas Aquinas's vision. Throughout the period—although this picture may have been fading in the eighteenth century as the power of dualism waned—the passions occupied an intermediary or transitional position between the body and the soul, a position that they shared in some respects with the imagination.

For the Christian philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who with Aristotle was at the heart of the Scholastic teaching that the young René Descartes received from the Jesuits in the early seventeenth century, the passions, together with sense perceptions, were modifications of the soul resulting from its union with the body. The seat of the passions was the sensitive appetite: the passions were the body's attraction to and repulsion from objects that were useful and harmful to it. In themselves, they were neither good nor bad: they represented the matter on which the virtues were exercised. The philosopher Étienne Gilson emphasizes that Thomism (the doctrines drawn from Aquinas) differs from Platonism in its "energetic affirming of the physical nature of the soul."

Descartes's Treatise on the Passions of the Soul, published in 1649 shortly before his death, can be seen as a crucial text, marked by Scholasticism but looking forward to future transformations. As for Aguinas, the passions were for Descartes the vector of the human animal's response to and manipulation of its environment, and reason had to play a role in regulating them. The etymology of the term remained visible in Descartes's distinction between the actions and passions of the soul: actions were initiated by the soul and therefore belonged in the sphere of human will and freedom, whereas passions were movements to which the soul was subjected by the body. Descartes's dualism and rationalism were visible in his general position that the will and rationality were always capable of triumphing over the passions.

Enlightenment political and moral philosophy did not speak with a single voice on the passions. The influential Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) defended the provocative view that "reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions," an antirationalist position deeply at odds with Descartes. A strand of thought running from

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) to the French materialists Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) and Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723-1789) saw the question of the passions essentially as one of selfinterest. Human beings are naturally selfish, and the task of law and morality is to engineer society in such a way that human egoism is channeled into socially useful activities. Private vices can constitute public virtues, as Bernard Mandeville's Fable of the Bees (1714-1728) put it. The relevance of this to the emergence of laissez-faire economics is obvious. On the other hand the moral sense tradition, initiated perhaps by Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), believes that human beings have an inbuilt sense of moral rightness and benevolence toward others. Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759) made greater concessions than Hutcheson to selfinterest as a social motive. But both writers represented a very important eighteenth-century movement: the belief that human society was crucially built on feelings of sympathy and benevolence that were natural and in some sense involuntary. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) saw the attempt to base morality solely on affections and sentiments as destructive of true morality. His categorical imperative was an attempt to base ethics on a universal principle of rationality.

If it is possible to generalize about the changing philosophical meaning of the passions over the early modern period, then it appears that empiricism, generally traced back to the figure of John Locke (1632–1704), was a turning point in that it rejected the Scholastic notion of innate ideas and tempered the Cartesian dualism of soul and body. In the eighteenth century, human nature appeared as a reactive potentiality rather than a set of givens, and the passions were part of that zone of reactivity that included the senses, imagination, symbolic thinking, and reasoning. In particular, the Enlightenment was interested in the social passions: sociability was what was natural to human beings. The other very significant change was that the notion of subjection inherent in the etymology disappeared. This was related to the decline of certain conceptual hierarchies within which the passions, as emanations of the body, occupied a lowly position: the gap separating the reigning category—Reason, God—from the human animal was reduced or canceled. Immanence replaced transcendence in a movement of secularization.

# PASSIONS IN LITERARY AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Let us turn now to the literary representation of the passions and their place in cultural and social history. Leaving aside the Passion of Christ, the most obvious kind of passion to be represented in literary texts is that associated with love and sexuality. It is probably anachronistic to speak of "romantic" passion before the second half of the eighteenth century, but as a literary theme it clearly stretches back as far as the courtly love of the Middle Ages and finds expression in Renaissance poetry (Pierre de Ronsard [1524-1585]), Shakespeare, and in the ethical conflicts between love and duty dramatized by the classical French playwrights of the seventeenth century. From the late seventeenth century onward, passion emerged as one of the central themes of the novel, including the novel in letter form or epistolary novel. The rise of the novel was linked to the spread of literacy and contributed to a certain democratization of subjectivity: reading novels was partly about sentimental education and self-exploration, perhaps especially for women. The passion of love was also linked to individualism and democracy in that it was frequently represented, especially in the eighteenth century, as a choice of the individual that defied parental strategies and cut across class boundaries and was therefore a progressive force. Even when, as in Rousseau's Nouvelle Héloïse (1761), passion was finally tamed and social order restored, passion still reverberated as the central poetic message of the text. The dark side of sexual passion was not absent from the eighteenthcentury view. The libertine heroes and heroines of French novelists like the Marquis de Sade (1740-1814) and Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741-1803), manipulated the passions of others for their own pleasure.

It was argued above that the sense of subjection inherent in the etymology of the word "passion" disappeared as we approached modernity. This now requires qualification. While passion came to be positively valued for its intensity and its role as a spur to action and was no longer seen as a base usurper of the prerogatives of the rational soul, it was in one sense still associated with passivity. Lovers did not love out of rational choice, but because it happened



Passions. The deathbed scene from Rousseau's novel Julie; ou, La nouvelle Héloïse. Julie has mastered her passion for an unacceptable mate in order to lead a respectable life, but on her deathbed she confesses her enduring love. ©GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS

to them; and sentimental discourse gave a huge role to the topos of misfortune, dwelling endlessly on the moral status and internal life of victims. The Enlightenment was deeply interested in prelinguistic, nonrational and involuntary states, which appeared quintessentially human because they revealed the bedrock of sense experience upon which sociability and ethics were built. Victims were temporarily in such a state, while it was a more permanent condition for nonrational subjects like children, the lower classes, and still, in some Enlightenment views, women (hysteria is precisely a case of loss of rational control of the body). A consequence of this was that if passion could not speak, it had to be read. Sentimental discourse was full of gesture, facial expression, and inarticulate cries: the work of the Swiss physiognomist Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801) and the Austrian sculptor Franz Xaver Messerschmidt (1736–1783) reached back to the theories of the French painter

Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) and to Renaissance attempts to find animal analogies to human types.

## GENERAL INTERPRETIVE QUESTIONS

Significant tensions underlie our understanding of the passions in early modernity. In one view, modernization had to do with the liberation of human potentiality, an unfettering that released, among other things, the passions. Another less optimistic view, associated most of all with Michel Foucault, emphasizes the growth of controlling and disciplinary procedures. According to this view, the whole investigation of interiority was a prelude to the medicalization of the passions in the form of psychiatry. Norbert Elias also emphasizes the increased control of the internal life associated with modernization: the social changes of the early modern period involved the privatization of affects and, consequently, a strategic need to read the external signs indicating the feelings and intentions of competitors and adversaries. Finally, we may note a current in contemporary moral philosophy that criticizes a disembodying of humanity supposedly brought about by the philosophy of modernity and seeks to recover more integrated and holistic models, including Aristotelian ones.

See also Aristotelianism; Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Pascal, Blaise; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Smith, Adam; Theology; Voltaire.

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**PASTEL.** The term "pastel" refers to a dry colored powdery artist's material, the stick or tool into which the material is formed, and the work of art executed with the stick. It also refers to an artistic practice that gives rise to a particular aesthetic approach, pastel painting. The term itself derives from the early modern European pastille (English), *pastel* (French), and *pastello* (Italian) used by grocers, apothecaries, and others to describe the various forms in which crushed or powdered substances, formed into viscous pastes, then shaped and dried, were dispensed.

Artists' pastel sticks may be differentiated from naturally available chalks by their constituents and the methods of their production. Natural chalks, amorphous minerals containing clay, have been mined from the earth from prehistoric times and used for drawing as extracted or with minimal shaping. Both fabricated chalks and pastel sticks are colored pastes of natural, fabricated, or synthetic pigments mixed with water-soluble binders and,



Pastel. Jean-Baptiste Simeon Chardin, Self-portrait with Eyeshade, 1775. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE

when they are required to modify consistency and working properties, inert clay binders. Typically, these pastes are formed into cylindrical sticks and dried. Imprecision in identifying fabricated chalk and pastel in works of art results from the impossibility of distinguishing between the two with the unaided eye or low-power magnification; instrumental analysis, which may necessitate sampling, is required.

For a long period, fabricated sticks were probably made for or by artists on an ad hoc basis. In the seventeenth century, they came to be manufactured in commercially available sets that contained large arrays of colored sticks that could be used to produce pastel paintings in a full range of colors and tones. Significantly, sets of sticks were manufactured from mixtures of ingredients selected to ensure that pigments of widely varying physical properties functioned homogenously in use. The letters of the Dutch poet and dramatist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) and his father Constantijn (1596–1687), the Dutch mathematician, physicist, and astronomer, recount the difficulties these inter-

ested amateurs experienced in making a set of pastel sticks for "face painting" (or portraiture) that handled consistently, suggesting that pastel painting was then a novelty.

These sets were used by artists to meet new needs in changing social and cultural contexts. Robert Nanteuil (1623–1678), the French engraver, practiced pastel painting as a substitute for oil painting to efficiently produce income-generating portraits, thus meeting the desire of status-seeking French professionals for ostentation and the competitive display of their images at the artist's defense of his academic thesis. In a market already dominated by Nicolas de Largillière and Hyacinthe Rigaud, talented portrait artists who worked in oil, the French painter Joseph Vivien (1657–1734) first made his name painting portraits in pastel, then a relatively "new" technique. By 1710 Vivien had established a solid reputation and turned increasingly to painting in oil. The pastel portraits of the Venetian painter Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) reflect most completely the aesthetic aims of pastel painting, gaining her Europe-wide commissions and the patronage of Pierre Crozat and the French court. The materials—shimmering areas of dense luxuriant pastel on soft pliant paper—contribute directly to the paintings' cultural meaning, privileging an aesthetic of pleasurable illusion best characterized in the writings of Roger de Piles (1635–1709).

See also Carriera, Rosalba; Huygens Family; Portrait Miniatures.

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DOROTHEA BURNS

PATINO Y MORALES, JOSÉ (1666-1736), Spanish statesman and one of the major figures of enlightened reformism under Philip V. Of Galician origin, Patiño was born in the Duchy of Milan, then under Spanish sovereignty. He was educated by the Jesuits in his native city and enrolled in the Society of Jesus, although he was never ordained as a priest. The occupation of the duchy by Austrian troops during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) caused him to move (in 1707) to the peninsula, where he began his career as an administrator in the service of the monarchy. Under the protection of Jean Orry (chief minister 1701–1706, 1713–1715) he was named intendant of Extremadura (1711) and superintendent of Catalonia (1713). Placed in charge of the provisional government of Catalonia, he served as the interim president of the Justice Board of the Principality (1714).

He became the main instigator of the Decree of Nueva Planta and implemented the property law or land tax, both approved in 1716. Giulio Alberoni's ascent to power (1716-1719) led to Patiño's transfer to the navy, where he came to occupy the post of president of the Casa de Contratación (a high tribunal trying cases involving trade with America), which had just been moved to Cadiz. He also became the head of the General Navy Intendancy, headquartered in the same city (1717). He remained the head of the latter institution intermittently until 1726. He began to reorganize the navy by assembling the bases for the future arsenal known as La Carraca (beginning in 1717); creating the School of Midshipmen (1717) for the formation of the officer corps (as instructed by his government in 1718); enacting legislation for the enlistment of seamen in the navy, to guarantee a sufficient crew for the Armada (1717, 1726; registration was voluntary until 1751); and writing the first instructions and regulations for the Armada (1726).

Patiño's first stay in Cadiz was brief, since he was soon put in charge of organizing the fleet used during the re-conquest of Sardinia (1717) and Sicily (1718). He bore the weight of the war in the Mediterranean until the end of 1719, when he was arrested during the six months after the fall of Alberoni. An inquiry defended his management of the war, allowing him to rehabilitate himself

(1720). Again becoming head of naval affairs, he helped form an expedition to lift the siege of Ceuta (1720) and decisively supported Cadiz against Seville's pretensions to retake the lead in the race for the Indies (1722). Jan Willem Ripperda's ascent to power (1725–1726) resulted in Patiño's temporary departure from Spain (he was commissioned to Brussels), but the fall of that minister signaled not only Patiño's return but also his elevation to the highest government positions: secretary of the navy and the Indies, secretary of finance (both 1726), secretary of war (1731), and first secretary of state (1733). This accumulation of ministries made him into a power arbiter in Spanish politics for more than a decade (1726–1736).

As secretary of the navy and the Indies he was responsible for arsenals and naval construction as well as for privileges given to companies for trade with the Americas (particularly with the foundation of the royal Compañia Guipuzcoana of Caracas in 1728). In the Ministry of Finance (where he also headed the General Superintendency of Rentas) he published the famous memorandum of 1726 concerning the state of the royal finances, with suggestions for their recovery. In his capacity as secretary of state he retook the fortified towns of Oran and Mazalquivir in 1732. In the African sphere he put in place a policy intended to strengthen Spain's friendship with France and position against England, in order to revise certain clauses of the Utrecht Treaty of 1713. Thus, after signing the Seville Treaty (1729) with both powers, he hindered the presence of the British "vessel of permission" in America. Patiño also signed the second treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed to the infante Don Carlos (later King Charles III [ruled 1759-1788]) the Italian duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany (1731). He participated in the War of the Polish Succession, signing the first Family Pact with France (1733), and he secured Naples for the infante (after the efficient occupation of the territory in 1734) through the signature of the preliminary peace of Vienna in 1735, clauses of which were ratified by the treaty of Vienna in 1738.

In the last years of his life, he had to defend himself against opposition, which manifested itself in the clandestine publication *El Duende Crítico* (1735–1736), written by the Portuguese activist Manuel Freire of the conservative group known as

El Partido Español (the Spanish Party). Nonetheless, his work in the service of the monarchy was finally compensated when he was granted the title of Spanish grandee in 1736.

See also Philip V (Spain); Spain.

CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW (Translated from the Spanish by Carla Rahn Phillips)

## PATRIARCHY AND PATERNAL-

**ISM.** The patriarchal political theory is associated primarily with Sir Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653), the English royalist who derived political authority from and founded political obligation on the fatherly power of Adam. While hardly unique, he was the most forthright and unyielding of the writers who expounded on the premises of patriarchalism, and it is appropriate that the doctrine be tied to his name. But the coupling of politics and the family was already well established when Filmer wrote; it had been a leitmotif in European thought at least since the time of the ancient Greeks.

## **ORIGINS**

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) asserts in the *Politics* that the state is a teleological outgrowth of the household, which is itself a natural society, and that the experiences of being ruled as a child and ruling as a parent are the best preparations for citizenship. In De officiis, one of the most widely read books in early modern Europe, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.E.) calls the family the "seedbed of the state" (seminarium re publicae), a phrase that was often repeated without attribution. Translated into something of an anthropological theory—with or without its implicit determinism—and into an understanding of the biological household as the rudimentary and foundational social institution, Aristotle's twin dicta became commonplace notions. They were especially popular in the teachings of Roman Catholicism, finding expression in the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Marsilius of Padua (c. 1280-c. 1343), and Scholastic theologians and theorists including, among others, the important English divine Richard Hooker (1553 or 1554–1600). But it was primarily as a secular doctrine that the appeal to the family acquired a political significance, and invariably, it was the male-dominated patriarchal family that served as a political model.

Aristotle had drawn a sharp distinction between the "economic" relationships of the household and the political relationships that existed in the state, and his teleology was based on a fundamental transformation that occurred as the household grew into the state. The Aristotelian formula was accepted by the French jurist Jean Bodin (1530-1596) subsequently famed for his conception of sovereign power as absolute, indivisible, and inalienable who further argued in his Six livres de la république (1576) that the political community was a union of at least three families and that the powers of fatherhood were natural and God-given and carried with them the duties to nourish and educate one's children. Johannes Althusius (1557–1638), Dutch theorist of federalism, agreed with Aristotle and in his Politica Methodice Digesta (Politics methodically ordered; 1603) used the distinction between familial and civil associations to fortify his conception of the state as a voluntary society. John Selden (1584– 1654), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), and Edward Coke (1552–1634), among others, all accepted this version of the origins of society, but none of them attempted to derive political obligation from the patriarchal origins of political authority. That move was first made by Filmer, but there was much that preceded him and that he incorporated into his theory.

From the time of Martin Luther, Protestant Christianity had utilized the Decalogue's injunction of obedience to parents to undergird political duty. "Honor thy father and thy mother" (Exod. 20: 12)—the Fifth Commandment of Anglicanism and most other Protestant confessions (the Fourth for Roman Catholics and Lutherans)—was regularly expanded to justify the duties to obey all superiors, including masters, teachers, ministers, and magistrates. With the convenient omission of "mother," this commandment became a common English shorthand for the duty to obey the king. The uniting of the biblical endorsement of paternal right with political duty was the doctrine of the catechism and frequently turned up in political tracts, legal documents, and theological writings. The political ideology was matched by the apparent social structure. In the increasingly popular literature on the household, the absolute power of the monarch was

often asserted to be parallel to the overarching authority of fathers in what was presented as the traditional, patriarchal family. The image conveyed was of a world in which household, economy, and polity were all in harmony. Coupled with the anthropological account of political origins borrowed from Aristotle, the patriarchal doctrine was nearly irresistible and was the backbone of the implicit belief system of Europe.

## **DEFENDING ROYAL AUTHORITY**

Filmer brought all this to the level of consciousness in response to the social-contract, state-of-nature, and natural-law theories that were being used to attack royal authority in the mid-seventeenth century. His best known work, Patriarcha, was not published until 1680 although it was written forty to fifty years earlier. It was one of a number of tracts commenting on the leading political writers and theories of early Stuart England. In his Two Treatises of Government (1690) John Locke attacks Filmer's works as "the Currant Divinity of the Times." Filmer argues that fatherly power was conferred on Adam by God in Paradise and that all subsequent authority is patriarchal in nature and directly derived from that grant. A mixture of biblical history, social structural inferences from the nature of household governance, reasoned arguments and assertions, and interpretations of English constitutional practice, Filmer's theories ultimately rested on a Bodinian conception of sovereignty. All authority, he insisted, was absolute and indivisible, owed its existence and nature to God, was passed on through the heirs to Adam's original grant, and would still exist intact were those heirs known. After the division of the world among the sons of Noah, the subsequent establishment of separate nations at the Tower of Babel, and the eventual loss of the identities of the true heirs to these titles, all power including that of successful usurpers—remains patriarchal in nature. This is continually reconfirmed by the biblical history of the Hebrews, by the secular practices and philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome, and by the political history of England.

Filmer's argument is based on the presumed identity of patriarchal and political power rather than on a metaphorical or analogical use of fatherhood. That strict identity enables him to attack the state-of-nature and social-contract theories.

Those doctrines presumed that the "original" condition of humanity was one of natural freedom; government and politics were contrivances instituted either to remedy the defects of nature or to complete God's plan. Filmer argues, on the contrary, that subjection to governance was the original human condition. Because people have always been and are naturally subject to the authority of fathers and because there is no distinction between paternal and political power, he claims, there never was the natural liberty that would have been necessary if people were to have instituted government by themselves. Accordingly, since government is a divine and not a human creation, it cannot be controlled by the "people." Rulers are answerable solely to God, not to their subjects.

The widespread use of the familial or patriarchal conception of the origins of civil society to counter state-of-nature and social-contract theories and to defend divine-right absolutism in Stuart England marks the emergence of patriarchalism as a comprehensive theory of political obligation; it was that theory that was finally undone by the attacks of Locke and others, although the anthropological doctrine and the traditional structure of the household were immune to those criticisms. But political patriarchalism did not disappear after Locke's onslaught. Charles Leslie, an English Nonjuror in the early eighteenth century, and Jonathan Boucher (1738-1804), an American Tory minister at the time of the Revolution, both defended Filmer, and a version of the patriarchal doctrine that could have rivaled Filmer's was asserted by the French bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) in his Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte (1677-1679).

Locke's principal conceptual task was to reassert the Aristotelian separation of familial from political authority, and he accepted a nonteleological version of that position. This modified "Lockean" account, which describes the anthropological emergence of politics from the primitive or "prepolitical" household, remained the standard account of governmental origins throughout the eighteenth century. It can be found in the writings of Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), David Hume (1711–1776), and most other political theorists who wrote about the origins of the state. The full realization of Locke's

accomplishment was at least a hundred years away, but in his response to Filmer, Locke provided a foundation for an understanding of government as an artificial human creation that could be subjected to constitutional limitations.

See also Aristotelianism; Authority, Concept of; Bodin, Jean; Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Divine Right Kingship; Hume, David; Locke, John; Monarchy; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Sovereignty, Theory of; State and Bureaucracy.

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PATRIOT REVOLUTION. The Patriot Revolution (1786-1787) in the Dutch Republic was the first popular democratic revolution in continental Europe. The self-styled Patriot movement grew out of the political and economic crisis (brought on by Dutch involvement [1780–1784] in the American War of Independence), which began when the British discovered a secret commercial treaty between the city of Amsterdam and the rebellious colonies and declared war on the Dutch Republic. The Patriots eventually mobilized a broad interclass and interregional coalition around a program of political reform that demanded the institutionalization of popular sovereignty through electoral representation. The revolution began when the Patriots seized power locally in a series of municipal revolutions, beginning at Utrecht in 1786, and it came to a climax in the summer of 1787 when the Patriots, by virtue of such piecemeal local revolutions, controlled three of the Republic's seven sovereign provinces (Holland, Overijssel, and Groningen), and divided power in two more (Friesland and Utrecht). The Patriot Revolution ended abruptly when British and Prussian military intervention restored the aristocratic Orangist regime in the fall of 1787.

Structurally, the Patriot Revolution mirrored the political decentralization of the Dutch Republic, and in the absence of a clear center of power, the revolution lacked the drama of a single, violent sei-

zure of power such as occurred in France just two years later. And since their movement was crushed by outside intervention, Dutch historians traditionally criticized the Patriots for being insufficiently "radical" or "revolutionary" to prevail against the aristocratic patronage regime that had centered on the princes of Orange since their hereditary appointment to the position of stadtholder in all seven provinces in 1747. More recent accounts have instead emphasized the breadth of the Patriots' popular mobilization in voluntary militias and by means of citizens' committees, following the American example, and credited them for their skillful use of the popular press to shift the focus of Dutch political debate from defense of Old Regime privileges to the assertion of civil and political rights under the constitutional umbrella of popular sovereignty.

Initially the Patriot reform movement attacked the military failures and alleged corruption of the patronage regime of William V of Orange (1748-1806) who, though a political appointee, closely controlled access to political office; in this early anti-Orange phase, the self-styled Patriots were led by political outsiders like F. A. van der Kemp, a Mennonite pastor from Leiden, and Joan Derk van der Capellen tot de Pol, a nobleman from the rural province of Overijssel, who in 1781 anonymously published the famous pamphlet Aan het Volk van Nederland (To the people of the Netherlands). The reform movement also booked its first political successes in the smaller cities, like Deventer, in the interior provinces—rather than in a metropolis like Amsterdam in urban and commercial Holland—by demonstrating the potency of popular petition campaigns led by special-purpose political associations. Eventually in the cities of Holland, too, the Patriots incorporated dissident members of the "regent" political elite into a revolutionary coalition that prominently included lawyers, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and even casual laborers.

In the final analysis, the Patriot Revolution brought profound changes to Dutch politics, despite the Orangist restoration in 1787. It permanently fractured the aristocratic political foundations of the Old Regime, taught valuable political lessons to a whole range of political actors who had previously been excluded from public politics, and thus laid the political-cultural foundations for the more successful Batavian Revolution, under French sponsorship, in 1795.

See also Dutch Republic; Revolutions, Age of.

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**PATRONAGE.** Patronage ties and networks formed a quasi-universal system stretching across early modern Europe. Although the patronage system may have developed from feudal vassalage, patrons did not give their clients fiefs in return for service. Patron-client ties, which had appeared by the early fifteenth century, were based on more varied forms of reward than land, including money payments. Man-to-man personal ties of loyalty were still important in patronage, but there were no oaths of homage or fealty. Choice of patron was free, and obligations were not fixed. Patronage ties were more informal and their obligations less precise than those of feudal vassalage.

Great nobles at this time maintained large households of a hundred or more and sizable military retinues. Household members and military retainers were often clients, who received money payments and room and board for their service, but not land. In the 1530s the household of François La Trémoille (1502-1541) numbered between 90 and 100, of whom 27 were noble clients. In addition to room and board, they received substantial salaries with regular increases, gifts of cash and jewelry, annual pensions, clothing for special occasions, and money for traveling expenses. In 1507 the household of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham (1478-1521), numbered 130, of whom 100 ate prodigiously at his expense. The duke also clothed them, gave them occasional gifts, and employed their relatives, but he did not give them land.

Patronage was a system of personal ties and networks in which a patron or superior offered protection and support to an inferior or client, who owed him loyalty and service in return. Patronclient ties were voluntary, emotional bonds of loyalty between unequals who were linked vertically in mutual-assistance relationships. The type of assistance varied, but a patron had to reward the loyal service of a client if he wanted to keep it, and a client had to repay his generosity with loyal service if he wanted to receive patronage in future. The obligatory reciprocity of the patron-client relationship was its definitive characteristic. Beyond this, however, there were no exact requirements about what was exchanged or when. A kinsman became a client when he joined a patron-client network headed by a family member on whom he was dependent for advancement and to whom he owed loval service in return. Kinship and marriage ties reinforced the loyalty of patron-client ties, and kin were often clients.

When Ferrara became part of the Papal States in 1598, Pope Clement VIII (1536-1605) made every effort to win the loyalty of leading families by giving them favors and benefits, particularly promotions to the cardinalate. In accepting benefits without returning them, the recipients incurred a debt that had to be repaid, and so became clients. Influential members of the Medici family frequently recommended clients to the same friend at a foreign court for the same job, which usually led to a puzzled request for clarification as to which candidate really enjoyed Medici support, and who should be appointed to satisfy the appointer's obligations as a Medici client. Fourteen of twenty-three, or approximately 60 percent, of the most trusted provincial clients of Henri II d'Orléans, duc de Longueville and governor of Normandy from 1619 to 1622, were connected to him by kinship and marriage ties.

The terminology of patronage is sometimes ambiguous, especially in English. The French patronage and the Italian patronato denote a superior's protection and support of an inferior, as does the English word patronage. In addition, the English word has a whole series of meanings that never existed in, or have disappeared from, the French and Italian. Patronage in English may also mean a kindness done with an air of superiority or condescension, the power to make appointments to office, a mode of recruitment to officeholding; that is, offices distributed on the basis of patronage, and the offices so distributed. These meanings do not exist in French or Italian. There is no separate word in

English for cultural patronage, although the word in French is *mécénat*, in Italian *mecenatismo*, and in German *Mäzenatentum*. There is also some confusion about the meaning of the words *friend* and *friendship* used in a patronage context. Historically, the English word *patronage* refers to a system of personal ties and networks that was pervasive in early modern Europe. This system's effects on social mobility, cultural production, and political stability are discussed here.

#### ADVANCEMENT AND PATRONAGE

Patronage was necessary for advancement within the army, church, and government, and was essential to social mobility because the hierarchical societies of early modern Europe had limited advancement opportunities. Louis II de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1621–1686), who was Louis XIV's cousin, maintained at his own expense two infantry regiments, two ordinance companies, one cavalry company, and one guard company. His troops were incorporated within the royal army in which Condé himself held the rank of general. As a result, he appointed both the officers of his own troops and of the other troops under his command. From 1643 to 1648 he made recommendations for the promotion of thirty-five high-ranking army officers, and more than half his recommendations were accepted. Condé's patronage assured an individual of an army commission or promotion.

Family patronage was responsible for advancement within the papal states in the sixteenth century, both inside and outside the church. The Borghese family was the most influential, although popes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries usually promoted their kinsmen, especially those who were clerics. Patronage was essential to clerical advancement. At the beginning of his ecclesiastical career, Jean Raymond de Boisgelin (1732-1804) sought the patronage of the Rohans, who were his family's traditional patrons. Louis Constantin de Rohan (1734-1803), bishop of Strasbourg, helped him to obtain his first position as grand vicar of the archbishop of Rouen in 1755. Boisgelin then went to the royal court, where he met the comtesse de Gramont and the prince de Beauvau, and through their patronage, he was named archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, an office which he held from 1770 until 1805.

Being appointed to the office of tax farmer general in eighteenth-century France was almost always the result of a recommendation by an individual with influence at court such as royal family members, royal favorites, ministers, and great nobles. Marie-Anne de Mailly-Nesle, the duchesse de Châteauroux (1717–1744), obtained a promise that the first vacancy of farmer general would be given to her client, Camuset, who finally received the office in 1749, five years after her death. Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, the marquise de Pompadour (1721–1764), married a tax farmer general in 1741. She later became Louis XV's mistress and controlled most of the appointments to these financial offices until her death in 1764. Jean de Guillemain was named commander of the Paris city guard in 1703 through the patronage of a royal minister, the comte de Pontchartrain. In 1714 Guillemain became a defendant in a criminal trial before the judicial high court of the Parlement of Paris on charges of bribery and police brutality. Despite this, his son inherited his office in the same year through Pontchartrain's patronage. Patronage was essential to advancement within the government.

The distribution of patronage was an important rationale for the existence of princely courts, which served as meeting places for the nobility and the king. If an individual wanted patronage, he had to go where potential patrons gathered, and this was the court. The imperial court of the Habsburgs in Vienna, for instance, offered a range of patronage and advancement opportunities unavailable elsewhere in the empire. Courts were also centers for the consumption of elite culture, and thus vital to cultural production. Artists and intellectuals went to court hoping to secure employment and financial support in the form of commissions and patronage. They might be hired by a court noble whose hobby was building and decorating great houses, and who employed architects, mural and portrait painters, tapestry and furniture makers, sculptors, and musicians. Household service was a form of cultural patronage, and men of letters were employed in great households as secretaries, tutors, librarians, chaplains, readers, and almoners. Annual pensions providing financial support were the preferred form of cultural patronage, however, because they allowed the recipients to live independently.

At the English court of James I (ruled 1603-1625), famous art patrons included, besides the king himself, his oldest son Prince Henry, who died in 1612, the royal favorite, the duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Pembroke, who lavishly decorated great houses. Frederick II, king of Denmark and Norway (ruled 1559–1588), was known for his patronage of the astronomer Tycho Brahe, for whom he built a castle-laboratory on the island of Ven. Brahe was the son of the queen's mistress of the wardrobe, and Queen Sophia visited Ven several times. At Tycho's urging, she encouraged his friend, the historian Anders Sørensen Vedel, to gather together and publish a collection of old Danish ballads, which remain an important source of early Danish folk literature.

Artists seeking patronage usually approached a potential patron directly or through an intermediary. In 1474 it was rumored in Milan that the duke intended to have a chapel decorated at Pavia, and the duke's agent complained that every painter in Milan had asked him about it. In 1488 the artist Alvise Vivarini petitioned the doge to let him paint something for the Great Council Hall in Venice, as the Bellinis were doing, and in 1515 Titian made a similar request. Besides having a preference for a particular style, patrons chose an artist because of family connections or based on the advice of others, a low bid on a project, or the results of a formal competition. Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) went to work for Alessandro de' Medici because Alessandro was a distant relative of Vasari's guardian, Cardinal Silvio Passerini, while Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–1492) recommended the sculptor Guiliano da Maiano to Prince Alfonso of Calabria. The duke of Milan's agent, mentioned above, chose the artist who offered to do the work for 150 rather than 200 ducats. One of the most famous competitions was for the Baptistery doors in Florence, in which Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1378-1455) defeated Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446).

The uses of cultural patronage for self-advertisement and political propaganda were widely recognized, and patrons frequently suggested the theme, subject, or style of a work. Artists and men of letters often championed their patrons in print or in some other medium, and dedicated their work to them. After university teaching, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) sought a position at the Medici and Gonzaga

courts. He finally secured one through the patronage of the young Cosimo de' Medici (1590–1621), whom he approached directly for the first time in 1605. Four years later Cosimo became duke and named Galileo court philosopher and mathematician. After Cosimo's death in 1621, Galileo went to the Roman court in search of a new patron, and secured the support of Prince Federico Cesi and Pope Urban VIII (1568-1644). His success, however, ended with his heresy trial in 1633. Galileo's father and older brother had been musicians at the Florentine court, and he had learned from them how to secure court patronage. He marketed his projects so that they were understandable and appealing, and emphasized that his success enhanced a patron's prestige. He flattered and complimented a patron, showed him deference, and graciously accepted his advice. At this time noble patronage of artistic and scientific projects was a popular hobby.

Italian humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to write civic propaganda rather than history because they were either employed in the household of a ruling prince, received a pension from him, or were employed in his government, which influenced what they had to say. Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370-1444) and Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) are well-known examples. Unless they had financial means of their own, historians needed the support of patrons, and their continuing need for patronage influenced what they wrote. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683) decided to encourage the writing of history that praised Louis XIV's government by asking the Parisian literary critic Jean Chapelain (1595-1674) to make recommendations for state-funded appointments as royal historians, and for a list of men of letters who should be awarded royal pensions for work glorifying Louis's reign. Colbert's list in 1664 contained fifty-eight names for a total of 77,500 livres. The next year there were sixty-five names for a total of 82,000 livres, and in 1666, seventy-two names for a total of 95,000 livres.

#### GOVERNMENT AND PATRONAGE

The traditional view of the patronage system emphasizes its destabilizing political effects, holding it responsible for much of the factionalism and conflict disrupting early modern courts and governments. Competition for patronage created strife and

hostility, and increased corruption, favoritism, and nepotism in government. These deleterious effects caused political instability. A newer, revisionist view, however, insists upon the constructive effects of patronage because it provided early modern governments with a powerful weapon of manipulation and control. The king and his ministers used the personal bonds of loyalty created by patronage to ensure that their decisions were carried out. They created their own patron-client networks or mobilized existing networks, and used them to enforce their policies. They distributed patronage to political opponents and unruly nobles to encourage their obedience, and withheld it to punish disobedience, thus reducing political strife and conflict.

Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) was able to control the Spanish grandees because he had extensive patronage to distribute, including titles, lands, monopolies, annuities, and a multitude of posts in the army, government, and empire. During his reign, he gathered the flow of state patronage into his own hands, and carefully distributed it himself in contrast to his successor, Philip III (ruled 1598-1621), who used a favorite, the duke of Lerma, to distribute patronage to the nobility. Elizabeth I of England (ruled 1558-1603) had four recognized favorites, the earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Walter Raleigh, but she always distributed patronage herself, and she skillfully played off court and government factions so that she was always in control. By the eighteenth century, however, power had shifted from the English crown to the Parliament, so it became the battleground for patronage, which was used to control parliamentary elections. Patronage allowed the government and the opposition to influence who sat in Parliament, and thus to determine what Parliament said and did.

Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) on his deathbed advised the young Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) to distribute patronage himself, so that the nobility would look to him for favors, a policy that would strengthen the government. Louis took his advice, and maintained close control over the distribution of patronage, demanding obedience from those who received it. He did not have favorites as a matter of principle, unlike his father, Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), whose celebrated ministerial favorite, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardi-

nal Richelieu (1585–1642), had ruled France with an iron fist. Richelieu's handpicked successor was Cardinal Mazarin, who was chief minister during Louis's minority. When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis vowed to rule by himself and did so. Both Richelieu and Mazarin had governed using clients whom they placed at the highest levels of royal government, which was permeated from top to bottom by patron-client ties and networks.

The careers of Henry Howard, earl of Northampton (1540-1614), and Honoré d'Albert, sieur de Luynes, demonstrate the constructive uses of political patronage. For decades Howard was a would-be client without a patron, unable to attend court or seek royal favor, frequently imprisoned for his support of Mary, Queen of Scots (ruled 1542– 1587). This punitive treatment did not make him abandon her cause, however. His fortunes changed in the 1590s, after her death, when he became a client of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex (1566-1601), a favorite of Elizabeth I. Able to return to court, Howard was reconciled with the queen, although he remained a Catholic. In the last years of her reign, he became a close adviser of James VI of Scotland (ruled 1567–1625), who appreciated Howard's support of his mother. When James became king of England in 1603, he made Howard earl of Northampton, and in this capacity Howard became one of James's most important ministers. As a privy councillor, Howard was an active supporter of administrative reform, and he used patronage and his own extensive patron-client network to accomplish it. When he died in 1614, his clients controlled the distribution of most court patronage, and he had amassed a large personal fortune. Howard used patronage as a tool to pursue both personal profit and government reform.

Honoré d'Albert de Luynes was a client of the powerful governor of Languedoc, Henri de Montmorency-Damville, who appointed him governor of the royal fortress of Pont-Saint-Esprit in the 1570s. Luynes was ambitious, so he went to court in search of further advancement. He became a client of Henry III's brother, the duc d'Anjou. But his pursuit of court advancement cost him the patronage of Damville, who severed their ties and removed him as governor of Pont-Saint-Esprit. Luynes was reinstated by the king, however. Henry III regularly used the distribution of court patronage, especially

by his favorites the ducs de Joyeuse and d'Epernon, to manipulate and control the French nobility. Henry III distrusted Damville, who was known as "the uncrowned king of the south," considering him an overmighty subject and a Protestant sympathizer. So, he reversed Damville's decision and reinstated Luynes, who was a staunch Catholic. Luynes promised to raise troops to drive Damville's Protestant governor from Pont-Saint-Esprit and did so. As a reward, he received the fortress governorship from the king. When the duc d'Anjou died, however, Damville removed Luynes from office again, and this time the king did not intervene. Although Luynes went to court in search of a new patron, he did not find one, and he received no more appointments. The king and Damville had used the bestowal of patronage to encourage obedience, and its removal to punish disobedience. Early modern governments used the selective distribution of patronage to enforce their policies and discipline unruly nobles. In this way, the patronage system helped to reduce strife and increase political stability.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: Artistic Patronage; Court and Courtiers; Feudalism; Officeholding.

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# PATRONAGE, ARTISTIC. See Art: Artistic Patronage.

**PAUL I (RUSSIA)** (1754–1801; ruled 1796–1801), emperor of Russia. Like his father, Peter III (1728–1762), Paul I was assassinated by members of elite guards' regiments, on 23 March 1801 (11 March, O.S.). Historians are divided as to what motivated his policies during his brief rule, and equally as to what brought about his demise. The most consistently repeated theme is Paul's abiding



**Paul I.** Portrait by Pompeo Batoni. The ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI FLORENCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

dislike of his mother, Catherine the Great, and a wish to avenge his father, whose remains he had transferred to St. Petersburg's Peter and Paul Fortress to lie next to Catherine's. It is true that Paul exiled or dismissed many of his mother's favorites, and he released from exile several prominent intellectuals and nobles who had incurred her wrath during the later 1780s and 1790s, including Nikolai Novikov and Aleksandr Radishchev. Within weeks of ascending the throne, Paul effectively decreed an end to the legacy of female rule by replacing Peter the Great's law of succession (which had given the reigning monarch absolute authority to name an heir) with a system that gave preference to male heirs. Henceforth the eldest son would inherit the throne automatically, and the only opportunity for a woman to inherit power would be if the entire male lineage (other sons and brothers) generated no candidates.

Paul's mercurial personality undoubtedly contributed to his unpopularity among the leading families at court. The question of royal madness lin-

gered throughout his reign, and several historians have concluded that he was indeed insane. He surrounded himself with a small coterie of advisers and established a series of ad hoc institutional barriers between himself and the leading servitors. Thus, the heads of Russia's civil administrations, or colleges, were placed under the close jurisdiction of the court. He also endeavored to impose restrictions on the exploitation of serf labor by pronouncing that landlords should demand only three days of corvée per week on their land. Three days were to be reserved for the peasants' own plots, and Sunday was to be observed as the Sabbath. This decree appears not to have significantly modified serf exploitation in the short run, and the secular shift from quitrent to corvée, begun in the mideighteenth century, continued apace until the abolition of serfdom in 1861, at least in the central heartland. But the decree constituted at least a symbolic challenge to noble serf owners, the very people who, through the early nineteenth century, dominated the upper rungs of the imperial service system known as the Table of Ranks. As several of Paul's forebears had learned, the emperor may have reigned supreme, but without the acquiescence of the guards' regiments and powerful clans at court he could not effectively rule.

Napoléon Bonaparte's emergence as ruler of France guaranteed that foreign policy would play an increasingly central role during Paul's reign, in particular the vaunted "Eastern Question" and Paul's Northern System. The latter plan briefly united Sweden, Russia—since the partitions of Poland firmly ensconced on the Baltic sea—and France in a revival of the League of Armed Neutrality, a naval alliance directed in large measure against Great Britain. The Eastern Question was more complex, but Paul believed that he could work with Bonaparte to advance into the Caucasus (annexing Georgia in 1801), the Black Sea, and at one point even India. Paul's southern ambitions led to his establishing a personal protectorate over the Knights of Malta, becoming their grand master. Like his mother he had designs on Istanbul, but these came to naught.

The coup that led to his murder repeated a well-worn pattern. A coterie of elite guards and Freemasons, led by Count Peter von Pahlen, the governorgeneral of St. Petersburg, and Platon Zubov, the last favorite of Catherine the Great, plotted the

coup. As before, the conspiracy endeavored merely to replace a despised monarch with a more acceptable ruler, in this case Paul's son, the future Alexander I. And, as in the past, the beneficiaries of the coup had been informed in advance of what was intended. Although murder had not been the intent—it never was—the coup did turn bloody, and Paul was killed.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Russia.

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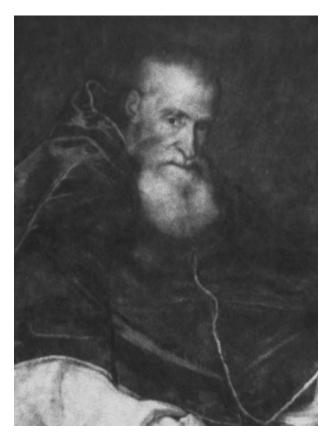
**PAUL III (POPE)** (Alessandro Farnese; 1468–1549; reigned 1534–1549), Italian ecclesiastic. Born 29 February 1468 at Canino in Latium of noble parents and in comfortable circumstances, Paul was educated in Rome by humanists Pompeo Leto and Giovanni Battista Pio and studied at the University of Pisa and at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503) elected him cardinal-deacon. He was ordained a priest in 1519, before which time he had four illegitimate children. He held bishoprics in Parma and Ostia, was made dean of the Sacred College by Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), and was elected pope on 13 October 1534. He died on 10 November 1549.

Paul's complex personality and decisions as pope typified a prince of the High Renaissance. Reflecting his sense of self-importance, his pontificate was given to the wholesale aggrandizement of his family: family members received key ecclesiastical positions, benefices, and lands. His pontificate

also occurred when the Roman Church instituted new measures to check Lutheranism in Italy and northern Europe. A shrewd administrator who selected many men of talent (among them, cardinals Gasparo Contarini, Reginald Pole, and Giovanni Morone), Paul grasped the urgency for ecclesiastical reform, especially after the devastating sack of Rome (1527). Early on, he set up a reform commission to identify abuses in the church "in head and members" (1537); its private memorandum (Concilium de Emendanda Ecclesia) fell into the hands of Protestants and caused embarrassment, but it identified key abuses the Council of Trent would later address (such as episcopal absence and plurality of benefices). Frustrated after sending legates to Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541 to debate with Lutherans on theological questions such as transubstantiation, free will, and justification, he took more direct action. In 1542, he established the Roman Inquisition to check the spread of Lutheranism in Italy. Foremost in his mind was a general council of the church to clarify doctrine and correct abuses; after numerous delays, the council opened at Trent (1545-1563); Paul saw completed the council's first session (1545-1546).

Unyielding on papal authority, he gained a reputation early as an effective diplomat and negotiator for Julius II (reigned 1503-1513), Leo X, and Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534), distinguishing himself as a person acceptable to all political factions. As pope, he maintained frank and at times tense relations with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519-1558), but supported him in his military efforts to defeat the Protestant princes, even allying with him in 1546 against the Protestant Schmalkaldic League. He kept up cordial ties with Francis I (ruled 1515-1547), king of France, throughout the latter's perpetual antagonism with the emperor. Paul succeeded in bringing both parties to a truce long enough to open the Council of Trent. He urged a crusade against the Turks and chastised Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509-1547), though he grew frustrated after repeated efforts to resolve Henry's break with Rome.

In 1540 Paul confirmed the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). He supported the work of new religious orders such as the Barnabites, Capuchins, Theatines, Ursulines, and Somaschi. He also urged relations with the Armenian and



Pope Paul III. Engraving after the portrait by Titian. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Maronite churches, supported missionary work in Africa and the Americas, and forbade enslaving the American Indians.

Paul III, a liberal patron of education and the arts, gave generously to both these causes by rebuilding the University of Rome, bringing in scholars (such as Romolo Amaseo, teacher of rhetoric), donating books and manuscripts to the Vatican Library, and commissioning urban renewal, buildings, and artistic works, most notably the Palazzo Farnese on the Via Giulia, the renovation of the Campidoglio, the Castel Sant'Angelo, and the frescoes of the Sala Regia and the Capella Paolina. He commissioned Michelangelo to paint the *Last Judgment* for the Sistine Chapel, and appointed him to carry on as architect of the new Saint Peter's Basilica after the death of Antonio da Sangallo.

See also Inquisition, Roman; Papacy and Papal States; Rome, Sack of; Trent, Council of.

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PAUL V (POPE) (Camillo Borghese; 1552–1621; reigned 1605–1621), Italian pope. After receiving a doctorate in law at Perugia, Borghese, who was of Sienese origins, was ordained at Rome and took curial positions. In 1593, Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) sent him as envoy to Philip II of Spain. Having served as bishop of Iesi (1597–1599), vicar of Rome, and inquisitor (1603), he was elected pope largely because of his neutrality toward Spain and France. He held strong views on papal authority and had able cardinals, Bellarmine and Baronius, for support in controversies.

Paul's plea to James I (ruled 1603–1625) not to punish Catholics in England after the Gunpowder Plot (5 November 1605) brought Parliament to demand an Oath of Allegiance of Catholics, which abjured belief in the pope's power to depose rulers and withdraw their subjects' loyalty to them. Paul condemned this, but his ambiguous communications with James on the duties of Catholics toward their king and disputes among Catholics in England triggered harsh reactions against them.

Paul adopted a tenacious adherence to the principle of clerical immunity from secular jurisdiction. In 1606, this sentiment clashed with the Republic of Venice when two criminal clerics were prosecuted in secular courts in that region. Venice also had passed laws against appropriating immoveable property for the church and against constructing new churches without permission of the Republic. After Venice refused to repeal the laws and release these clerics, Paul excommunicated the doge and government of Venice, placing the city under interdict. In defiance, Venice held religious services and battled Rome in a pamphlet war. A year later, a compromise negotiated by France made clear the ineffectiveness of such sanctions as well as the papacy's weakened position against European powers.

In 1611 Paul condemned the theories of the Gallican church, which held that the king's power came directly from God and was not mediated through the pope. The French king eventually backed away from this position. In 1614, when the Estates-General banned publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent in France, many French prelates resolved to publish them in provincial synods.

In central Europe, tensions between Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist princes led to renewed hostilities in 1618 after the collapse of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). Paul eventually gave weighty support to Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637) in this conflict, known later as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

Paul promoted Tridentine reform by enforcing episcopal residency, safeguarding Catholic orthodoxy through the Inquisition and Congregation of the Index, and promoting the work of the newer religious orders (Jesuits, Theatines, Capuchins, and Oratorians). He enjoined both Dominicans and Jesuits to teach their positions on the question of free will and God's foreknowledge (Molinist Controversy) without accusing each other of heresy. He instructed Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) to refrain from teaching as truth Copernicus's theory about Earth's rotation around the sun. He approved the use of the vernacular language in liturgical services for missionaries in China and India, and he encouraged missionary activity in Canada, Japan, Ethiopia, Congo, and the Middle East. Paul canonized Carlo Borromeo (1610) and Francesca Romana (1614) and beatified Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Teresa of Ávila, Isidore the Farmer (all canonized in 1623), and many others.

Paul enriched his family, especially his cardinalnephew Scipione Borghese, who became a great patron of the arts by giving Gian Lorenzo Bernini commissions, constructing the Villa Borghese, and refurbishing churches in Rome. Paul renovated the Quirinal Palace and completed Saint Peter's basilica (and had his own name inscribed on its facade). He enriched the Vatican Library, created the Vatican Secret Archives, and restored the aqueduct of Trajan. In 1614, he published the reformed *Rituale Romanum*. Paul suffered a stroke when celebrating the defeat of the Calvinist king, Frederick V of Bohemia, at the Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620); he died shortly afterward. He is buried in the Borghese Cappella Paolina of Santa Maria Maggiore.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Bellarmine, Robert; Gallicanism; Papacy and Papal States; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Venice.

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**PAWNING.** Pawning is the practice of taking a loan against an item of greater value than the amount of the loan. The lender may sell the item at the end of the loan's term if the borrower, whether deliberately or not, fails to repay both the principal and interest. Literary references testify to the importance of pawning in early modern Europe: in Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, *Part Two* (1598), Falstaff, faced with arrest for a bad debt, tries to persuade Mistress Quickly to pawn her plate and tapestries on his behalf.

Through the fourteenth century, Christians, charging up to 80 percent interest per annum, dominated pawnbroking. Increasingly seen as usurious and subsequently prohibited by bankers' guilds, licensed pawnbroking in much of Europe became identified with Jews by the fifteenth century. Typical contracts between Jewish lenders and local authorities exacted a tax in exchange for the right to open pawnshops, and regulated interest rates: 20 percent in Rome, 15 percent in Venice. The perception that pawnbroking exploited poor Christians contributed to the debasement of Jews and sometimes sparked anti-Semitic outbursts, as in Frankfurt in 1614.

In mid-fifteenth-century Italy, Franciscans began advocating monti di pietà—charitable public pawnshops offering low-interest loans to the poor, displacing the Jews and their pawnbroking. The first monte was established in Perugia in 1462; others quickly followed. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spaniards could seek loans at civic pawnshops (positos); residents of the southern Netherlands frequented local monti; inhabitants of Amsterdam and Stockholm brought pawns to their own municipal lenders; Protestant Frankfurt am Main established a community chest, modeled after the monte. Public pawnshops, however, could not accommodate all potential borrowers, a fact evinced in the sixteenth century by the Medici dukes' concessions to Jews of monopoly pawnbroking privileges in areas with no monti, and in the argument of a Venetian patrician against the expulsion of Jews on the grounds that pawnbroking was essential for the needy.

The wealthy, too, resorted to pawning, whether at pawnshops or other institutions, including international banks. Clients of Siena's monte included patricians, lawyers, and doctors. In Spain, Charles I (ruled 1516-1558; Holy Roman emperor as Charles V 1519–1556) secured loans by pledging income from unfilled benefices. The Venetian Republic pawned jewels from the church of San Marco against a loan from the banker Agostino Chigi (c. 1465–1520). In 1456 the banker Tommaso Spinelli lent Pope Calixtus III (reigned 1455-1458) nineteen thousand florins against a bejeweled tiara crafted by the sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1378-1455). The Medici bank's Basel branch took jewelry as pledges, revealing that the Medici occasionally served as glorified pawnbrokers to the rich and famous. In England, where Jews had been expelled in 1290, an act of Parliament in 1603 attempted to control the alleged criminal tendencies of pawnbroking, to which, nonetheless, the wealthy sometimes resorted for purposes like raising cash for their daughters' dowries.

Whether through pawnbrokers, institutions such as *monti di pietà*, or, more rarely, large banks, pawning offered the only ready source of loans for the needy during seasonal or unexpected crises, and allowed the powerful to obtain cash for valuables. It thus formed one of the financial strategies of rich and poor alike in early modern Europe.

See also Charity and Poor Relief; Interest; Jews, Attitudes toward.

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PEACE. See Pacifism.

**PEASANTRY.** The existence of a European peasantry did not change fundamentally between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, but during those three hundred years significant shifts in the status, occupation, and livelihood of peasants occurred at various times and places. Generally speaking, the fortunes of Europe's agriculturalists conformed to a cycle of upswing until the later sixteenth century, followed by depression or even crisis, which lasted in some parts of Europe until the late seventeenth century, to be succeeded by a recovery in the eighteenth. Although Europe's peasantries had been the prisoners of Malthusian checks—with war, famine, and disease serving to restore a population in danger of outgrowing available resources to a new homeostatic balance—by the eighteenth century substantial and sustainable population growth in the countryside was being achieved by means of improved crop rotations, the planting of new crops (not least potatoes, which in many instances replaced grain as the staple of subsistence), and some technological innovations. But the pace of change

was slow and incremental: there was no "agricultural revolution," and it is doubtful whether changes in the rural economy were responsible in any direct fashion for the supposed industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. Rather, the increased stratification of rural society, above all the emergence of a sizeable class of cottars and landless, which is an almost universal feature of early modern Europe, created pressures for employment that were often satisfied by the rise of "proto-industries" based in the countryside; the alternative, especially in much of southern Europe, was seasonal mass migration into towns, with peasants returning to their fields during the months of plowing, sowing, and harvesting.

#### TENANCY AND INHERITANCE

Two contrary strands can be observed in the pattern of farm-holding peasants' stake in the land after 1500: their rights of tenancy became generally more secure, even if hereditary leases were often reduced to term-leases, but their possession of the land (outright ownership was rare) was progressively eroded by nobles' and bourgeois' acquiring extensive estates, on which the peasants might continue as rentpaying smallholders, but where they were frequently employed as wage-laborers or obliged to enter into sharecropping agreements. The classic instance is France, where generally favorable rights of tenancy were powerless to prevent a decline in peasant landholding in the face of purchases by the administrative nobility (noblesse de robe), so that by the eighteenth century peasants held no more than one-third of the land. A similar tale unfolded in southern Italy, though here it was nobles of the blood who became major latifundistas. On a parallel track, in Spain the common land (forest and pasture) at the disposal of the peasant community was sold to meet growing tax demands; after 1570, 40 percent of commons, known as baldios, were alienated, ending up in the hands of the aristocracy or the church, which came to own two-thirds of all agricultural land in the peninsula. Secure rights of tenure were to be found in parts of the Holy Roman Empire (with peasants holding up to 90 percent of the land in western Germany, around 70 percent in Austria, and even 60 percent east of the Elbe River in Brandenburg), as well as in much of Scandinavia, or else—under a commercial agrarian regime—in parts of the Low Countries (where hereditary leases

were common, even if farms were often very small), and in Catalonia. In England, where the yeoman paying a market-determined ground rent to a capitalist landlord is supposed to have displaced the traditional peasant, customary tenures of manorial provenance in fact persisted well into the seventeenth century. The beginnings of capitalist agriculture were as likely to be driven by such peasants (who in any case had long been able to dispose of their customary tenancies on the open market) as by freeholders or "yeoman" leaseholders. Indeed, contrary to received opinion, security of tenure may have stimulated a land market and agricultural investment by peasants, as has been argued for western Brabant within the orbit of Antwerp, or for many areas of France, where village elites embraced specialized crops and complex crop rotations.

The efforts by landlords to shorten leases after 1500, however, can be seen in France, in Italy (where short-term contracts replaced customary leases), or in Spain (though emphyteutic leases, that is, perpetual leases at fixed rents, were common in the north), and, under a harsher sign, in the German lands east of the Elbe, where hereditary tenures were relegated to leases revocable at will. Although the boundaries between areas of partible and impartible inheritance customs throughout Europe barely shifted over the centuries, landlords in southern Germany, a region poised between the two, showed some willingness after 1500 to encourage impartibility in place of equal division of the farm and its inventory among the heirs, not least in order to underpin the peasantry as a fiscal and economic resource. An ideological variant of this policy was pursued by the Austrian Habsburg rulers of the Tyrol, who, in one alpine valley on the linguistic borderland with Italy, promoted impartibility among their ethnic German full-holding peasants in order to shore up their role as local agents of state policy, but who allowed their Romance-speaking subjects, an underclass of cottars and migrants, to cleave to partibility. Where partibility was practiced (as in all of Mediterranean Europe), the size of farms tended to decline; in France, most holdings were less than five hectares (about twelve acres), with up to 90 percent of the rural population having to seek alternative employment as manual laborers. But the consequence was not invariably the rise of a rural proletariat, as shown by the example of western Germany,

where the manpower required by agrarian regimes such as viticulture could absorb (at least seasonally) the labor of members of the peasant household otherwise destined for impoverishment.

#### **SERFDOM**

After 1500 the burdens and restrictions upon European peasants are held to have followed two sharply diverging paths: the disappearance of servile obligations in the west, whether negotiated or achieved by popular resistance (as in the *remenças* revolt in Old Catalonia before 1486), and their intensification in northeastern and east-central Europe. Although broadly accurate, this verdict is open to misinterpretation. It elides the distinction between personal and tenurial serfdom: even in England, where serfdom is supposed to have vanished by 1500, the East Anglian rebels in Kett's Rebellion of 1549 well knew the difference between bondmen and "bondy lands."

Forms of tenurial unfreedom persisted in parts of northwestern Germany, while in southern Germany lords before and after 1500 deployed personal or residential serfdom as an instrument to consolidate small or fragmented territories. East of the Elbe, by contrast, a "second serfdom" became prevalent, whose hallmark has been taken as hereditary personal subjection, placing severe restrictions upon movement and marriage, ultimately coupled with onerous labor-services and the expropriation of peasant farms. In fact, the origins of a revived serfdom in eastern Europe were identical to those in the west: the lords' attempts against the background of the late medieval demographic and economic downturn to find tenants for abandoned farmsteads. Only gradually and much later, in the seventeenth century, did serfdom as a personal disability with degrading connotations become widespread, often, but not always, linked to the rise of large cerealproducing commercial latifundia under aristocratic control, which relied upon the corvées of unpaid (sometimes paid) forced labor. But a settled peasantry, working its own farms, by no means disappeared east of the Elbe; demesne farming, with attendant labor-services, was slow to develop, especially in Russia (in Belarus it was even abandoned in the later seventeenth century in the wake of the Northern Wars). Moreover, in the case of Denmark, labor services on demesne estates were embedded in

a form of personal subjection (vornedskab) that granted peasants security of tenure but no freedom to move.

## PEASANT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The image of peasants as possessing tenants, farming their lands with family labor within a nuclear household, underwent much retouching in early modern Europe. In many areas peasants turned their hand to alternative employment such as rural crafts or petty dealing, to the point where, as with the maritime provinces of the northern Netherlands, a traditional peasantry is supposed to have disappeared—or, rather, to have subsisted as one rural class alongside other groups no longer defined by agricultural livelihoods. The marked recovery in European population from the late fifteenth century onward certainly put pressure on land and resources, squeezing the chances of heirs inheriting farms that were viable in their own right, yet the

spread of rural manufacturing and the growth of an underclass of landless or wage-working hired hands were not, contrary to expectations, seriously interrupted by the renewed economic and demographic calamities of the early seventeenth century. In some areas the need for peasant by-employment was obviously shaped by ecological constraints independent of secular cycles (the harsh climate of Scandinavia, for instance, or the poor soils of upland Castile). In others, such as many parts of Germany, France, northern Italy, and, somewhat later, Russia, a dense urban network together with constraints on manufacturing capacity within towns created a demand for goods that could be produced more cheaply and flexibly in the countryside, commonly through outwork by means of the "putting-out system." Urban capitalists and entrepreneurs advanced money, raw materials, or tools of trade to dependent pieceworkers ("outworkers") in return for delivery of finished or semi-finished goods. Such a system was



Peasantry. The Corn Harvest, 1565, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. (See also the cover of Volume 1.) ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

particularly applied to the production of textiles—linen, fustian (a linen/cotton blend, which required merchants north of the Alps to supply Mediterranean cotton to peasants who locally could only grow flax), the woolen and worsted "new draperies," or silk.

But a distinction needs to be drawn between such put-out by-employments, controlled by urban entrepreneurs, and the subsequent growth of genuine proto-industries in the countryside that were able to flourish precisely because they evaded urban supervision (as with Italian silk-weaving, or Bohemian and Silesian textile production). State authorities did not always look kindly upon unregulated rural manufacturing; in France, the textile boom of the sixteenth century gave way to decline in the seventeenth, as state manufactories were set up with strict quality controls. Nevertheless, no matter how far the peasant economy was penetrated by crafts and manufacturing, the essential structure of peasant society remained unaltered (barring the northern Netherlands, and ultimately, for different reasons, England). A switch to the secondary sector and production for market should not be taken as automatic solvents of the peasant household and economy; indeed, it has been argued (for France and the southern Netherlands, for instance) that such diversification provided the very safety-valve that allowed traditional peasant social structures to survive.

From the time of the late medieval economic depression onward, these influences set their stamp on the peasant economy as a whole. There were few regions of Europe that did not witness a diversification into new crops, especially fodder plants grown as catch crops (so-called green manures), which restored nitrogen to the soil, and the cultivation of industrial crops such as flax, dyestuffs (saffron and madder, but especially woad) and, by the seventeenth century, tobacco. The initiative for the development of commercial farming lay as often as not with the peasants themselves, especially in urbanized areas such as the Low Countries, where a ready-made consumer market and good communications (via canals, and latterly paved roads) enabled peasants with holdings of five hectares or less to survive and prosper, not least because they were able to raise crop yields appreciably. A similar story unfolded in Catalonia, where advanced agriculture

benefited from the stimulus of Barcelona as a major outlet. In both cases, the resilience of a diversified peasant agriculture was underpinned by long-term leases and moderate ground rents. The advantages of land drainage and reclamation, moreover, so evident in the Low Countries, were matched elsewhere, as in the Lombard plain, by irrigation systems that allowed peasants to dispense with fallowing altogether. The prevalence in much of northern Italy of intercropping or particulture (coltura promiscua), with grain, olives, and vines grown intermingled, allowed peasants to seize regionally or seasonally varying market opportunities and so to spread their risk.

Nevertheless, such agrarian regimes were often managed by sharecropping, in which a proportion of the harvest (usually half) was surrendered to a bourgeois or noble landowner. The general verdict on sharecropping, whether in France (where it was prevalent beyond the northern cereal-growing plains), Iberia, or Italy, is entirely negative: it is regarded as economically backward, encouraging riskaversion, and a lack of investment and innovation. While it is possible to qualify this verdict (especially for parts of Lombardy), there is no denying that agricultural diversification as such, whatever its initial responsiveness to market demand, might in certain circumstances prove a blind alley. But it posed less of a hazard to the autonomous peasant household than the appearance in early modern Europe of latifundia, large estates devoted to agricultural specialization (usually a cereal monoculture), which sprang up in southern Italy, Iberia, and above all in east Elbia. Here large sections of the peasantry were reduced to the status of laborers, with little economic independence (though in Spain latifundistas also resorted to sharecropping), a development that might lead to enserfment (east of the Elbe), but need not (as in the Mediterranean). The fortunes of the peasantry of early modern Europe were in the end adversely affected, not so much by the accumulation of land in the hands of noble or ecclesiastical magnates as such, as by the latter's unwillingness to invest in their huge estates (unlike the aristocracy in England), preferring instead the life of the rentier, who viewed his lands as a vehicle of social prestige.

#### PEASANTS AND THE STATE

By the late sixteenth century, however, peasants in many countries of Europe were faced with an additional threat: the burden of state taxation. The costs of war, bureaucracy, and representation fell most severely on the mass of the population as peasants, except in England (where the aristocracy was not exempt from taxation) and the northern Low Countries (where commerce was taxed and towns obliged to purchase state loans). The level of public taxation was already rising before 1500 (provoking tax revolts in Italy, for instance), but it was in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the state's fiscal appetite unleashed popular uprisings across a broad swathe of Europe—France, Italy again, the German lands (especially in the north), and Russia, where up to half the peasants' income was swallowed up by the state in the wake of Ivan the Terrible's wars. But there was another side to this coin. Rulers were often just as concerned to protect their peasants for reasons of state: Bauernschutz, the maintenance of viable peasant households with a measure of civil legal protection, was practiced by the Austrian Habsburgs, not least on their mortgaged estates where state revenues must not be allowed to diminish by destructive exploitation of the peasantry, and in Brandenburg-Prussia, notwithstanding the spread of serfdom. And that policy was extended to the peasant commune itself, which, contrary to older views, was far from crushed east of the Elbe; in Russia, it was actively promoted by the tsars as an agent of local policing in a country vast and difficult to govern. The peasant household and commune indeed became upholders of social discipline and morals at the village level, as the welter of "housefather" literature in western Germany attests. At all times in early modern Europe, lordship, state authority, could only be exercised effectively with, rather than simply over, peasants, who remained the bedrock of ancien régime society.

See also Agriculture; Capitalism; Class, Status, and Order; Feudalism; Landholding; Rentiers; Serfdom; Serfdom in East Central Europe; Serfdom in Russia.

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Том Scott

PEASANTS' WAR, GERMAN. The German Peasants' War was among the most significant rebellions in modern European history. The political movements arising from the rebellion fit none of the stereotypes of Europe's peasant revolts. In 1524–1525 peasant armies briefly shattered the rule of countless lords, small princes, and urban governments in the southern and central parts of the Holy Roman Empire, creating the potential for revolutionary changes had the rebels' political programs been fully realized. The name of the rebellion is a misnomer as it was neither a strictly German affair nor a war involving only the peasants. The rebellion sprawled across southern and central Germany, parts of modern France, Switzerland, Austria, and northern Italy. The name that chroniclers and writers settled on after the rebellion also masked its strong urban and religious character. The rebellion's ties to the Reformation and urban reform were therefore played down. Efforts to rename the revolt as "an early bourgeois revolution" or "the Revolution of 1525" have, however, been unsuccessful. While the rebel bands ultimately failed to realize their audacious political programs, the rebellion still bears comparison with the other great political upheavals of European history, such as the English Civil War, the French Revolution, the Revolutions of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

#### NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

The Peasants' War is best understood not as a single revolt but as a set of five closely related regional revolts. The center of the rebellion lay in Upper Swabia in southern Germany. In the summer of 1524 peasant protests against the seigneurial burdens of the counts of Stühlingen and Lupfen spread quickly to nearby villages and lordships. By early March 1525 the rebellion, expanding with stunning speed, had engulfed the Klettgau, the Hegau, the Black Forest, and eventually much of the land between Lake Constance and the Danube River. Ties to evangelical preachers from Zurich were established. Even small towns went over to the rebels. By April, five well-organized bands, totaling 40,000 peasant soldiers, controlled much of Upper Swabia.

From there the rebellion spread north into Franconia and Thuringia, then into the rich lands along the Upper Rhine and the Palatinate. By late April and early May three well-led peasant armies dominated Franconia and won the most significant victories of the rebellion, including seizing the imperial city of Heilbronn, calling a Peasant Parliament, forcing the capitulation of the archbishopric of Mainz (the seat of the chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire), and temporarily capturing Würzburg from its bishop. The risings in Thuringia were more diffuse due to political fragmentation, weak organization, and narrow goals. The participation of many small towns also complicated the politics of rebellion. The Thuringian rebellion was noteworthy for the ideological leadership of the firebrand preacher Thomas Müntzer. In Alsace the rebellion was characterized by the strong role of religion in organizing rebel bands and the links made between the preaching of the Word of God and the rebel programs.

As these rebellions ended, disturbances broke out in the Alpine lands of Tyrol and the archbishopric of Salzburg. Rebels successfully brought their demands to the attention of the territories' diets or estates. In the meantime the army of the Swabian League under Georg Truchsess von Waldburg negotiated a peaceful end to the rebellion in Upper Swabia at Weingarten and then swung north to confront rebel armies in Württemberg and Franconia. The devastating defeats of peasant armies on 15 May at Frankenhausen and then 2 June at Königshofen crushed the rebellion for good. Punitive reprisals by lords and princes lasted into 1526 and 1527.

#### **ORIGINS**

Social and economic reasons alone fail to explain the rebellions. The roots were political, legal, and even religious in nature. Among the socioeconomic grievances, complaints against the burdens of lordship played a prominent part. Villagers complained of high rents, dues, labor services, tithes, fees, access to common resources, and serfdom. Some scholars characterize these grievances as a response to an "agrarian crisis" of the late Middle Ages. In Upper Swabia, for example, peasants resisted the lords' uses of serfdom to reduce mobility and control peasant marriages and labor. Population growth may also have exacerbated the competition for land and other resources in some regions. These conditions made small-scale revolts common before 1520. When local harvests failed in the early 1520s and lords dealt ineptly with peasants, the possibility of wider protests grew.

Political and religious tensions explain why the local protests of 1524 expanded quickly in scale and organization. The small revolts of the fifteenth century had broken out over the exercise of three different types of political powers. Clashes over lordship itself represented the most serious source of conflict. Lords viewed their rights and privileges as legitimate and just and expected loyal subordination from their subjects. Villagers, on the other hand, tended to view lordship as a reciprocal relationship in which loyalty was offered in exchange for protection and justice. Tensions also ran high over taxes and other burdens as states began to develop. When powerful lords, princes, and prince-abbots consolidated their lands and jurisdictions into more com-

pact territories in southwest Germany, a region of notoriously fragmented lands, the foundations of early modern states—and resistance to them—were laid. The development of courts and the imposition of Roman law also sparked conflicts.

Long-simmering conflicts involving small towns added to the potential for rebellion. Tensions between townsfolk and local government oligarchs formed one source of tension. Towns were also frequently at odds with overlords, local bishops, and the clergy over religious issues, legal privileges, and taxes. When the uprising spread in 1524 and 1525, these local conflicts easily spilled over into rebellion.

Anticlericalism also fueled the rebellion, especially when it mixed with the evangelical programs of the early Reformation. Many bishops, abbots, and abbesses combined formal political powers and lordship over the land in the core areas of the rebellion and provoked protests against ecclesiastical taxes before 1525. When these protests were added to demands to reform the clergy and the evangelical zeal for the Gospel after 1520, anticlericalism gained momentum.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND GOALS

In response to these challenges from feudal lords, rebel bands developed their own political organization, notably through communal assemblies. Village communes had long organized many vital local affairs: crop rotation, the division of labor, and access to common fields. While communes tended to treat their members as equals, creating powerful bonds of solidarity, these institutions were not democratic institutions. Women and those who did not hold property were excluded. Communal assemblies and village notables had experience imposing discipline on their neighbors, however, through customary law, courts of discipline, the parish church, and the local militia. In the century before the rebellion, communal institutions had become even stronger in the heartlands of the Peasants' War. Through them villages developed seasoned leaders, skill and experience in negotiations, and the means to organize marches and protests against lords. As the scale of rebellion grew, the commune provided the basis for larger political organizations: rallies, bands, and even federations. When seasoned by veteran soldiers from the militias or mercenary armies, these peasant organizations could be formidable indeed.

The most impressive aspect of the rebellion was the way in which some well-led bands began to act like sovereign political organizations. This occurred when oaths of loyalty were imposed, ordinances issued, and constitutions drafted. Recognition came, often coerced, from local nobles and other political authorities. The most notable of these organizations was the Christian Union of Upper Swabia. In some areas, such as Tyrol and Salzburg, peasants worked through territorial diets or estates. When Archduke Ferdinand summoned the Tyrolean Estates in the summer of 1525, two hundred peasant delegates came. The whole proceeding was observed by representatives from Italian and German principalities. Rebels also forged alliances with small towns. Some towns, such as Memmingen in Upper Swabia, simply went over completely to the rebels. Most towns made alliances of convenience while pursuing goals quite different from those of their allies from the countryside. These were brittle alliances. In other cases peasants subjugated a town or city, as when the army of the Odenwald-Neckar Valley seized Heilbronn and made it the capital of the rebellion in Franconia. The challenge to the lords lay in the fact that the peasant armies undermined established loyalties, creating solidarity where it had not existed before and making large political associations and even revolutionary political programs possible. To some the possibility was not far-fetched that the lands between Lake Constance and the Danube might simply "turn Swiss," successfully throw off their noble overlords, and assume federal forms of government modeled on the Swiss Confederation to the south.

No other peasant rebellion in Europe advanced political programs as original as those of the Peasants' War. The best known of these programs was the Twelve Articles of the Peasantry. As the program of the Upper Swabian rebellion, the Twelve Articles envisioned a radical restructuring of society that would acquire its legitimacy through the Gospel. Once considered a utopian program, the Twelve Articles are now seen to be a concise distillation of peasant grievances from across much of Upper Swabia. They were also widely adopted by rebel bands in the Black Forest, Franconia, Thuringia, the Upper Rhine, and Alsace. Other notable political

programs included Friedrich Weigandt's "Draft of an Imperial Reformation," Thomas Müntzer's "Eternal League of God," Michael Gaismair's draft constitution for Tyrol, and, later, Hans Hergot's utopian treatise on the transformation of Christian society. Scholars differ in their assessment of these programs. Some see them as conservative documents. Others stress their revolutionary potential.

The connections of the rebellion with the early German Reformation are now indisputable. For a long time scholars played down the association, stressing the socioeconomic nature of many grievances and the coincidental timing of the revolt with the early evangelical movements. How to assess the role of religion in the rebellion is difficult, however. Some scholars see in the revolt an explosive extension of the evangelical movements into the countryside and look upon 1524–1525 as a turning point in the Reformation as a whole. Certainly evangelical preachers preached to rebel armies and some helped draft lists of grievances. Other preachers provided ideological justification for the revolt in divine law and the Gospel. In Franconia preachers even formed up their own company of soldiers. Rebels who looked to Martin Luther, however, were disappointed. Luther condemned the rebels and, while blaming greedy and oppressive lords for the rebellion, appealed to the authorities to crush the rebellion without pity. In southern Germany, however, Huldrych Zwingli's theology inspired in part several political programs, including the Twelve Articles. There were also a few preachers who, like Thomas Müntzer, aroused millenarian hopes for the rebellion.

## AFTERMATH AND CONSEQUENCES

One should not assume that the violent repression of the rebellion meant that it ended without consequences. In the short term the reprisals were harsh. Chronicle accounts emphasize how bloody and violent the reprisals were. Somewhere between several tens of thousands and 100,000 peasants lost their lives in the rebellion's aftermath. The authorities especially targeted leaders for trial and execution. Fines and other punishments were common. Not everywhere was the aftermath violent. The Upper Swabian rebellion ended through peaceful negotiations.

More difficult to assess, however, are the longterm effects on lord-peasant relationships in the Holy Roman Empire. Many lords and princes seem to have exercised more caution in their dealings with the peasantry after 1525 so that disputes might not escalate dangerously. In southern Germany serfdom weakened and ceased to expand. At the Imperial Diet of Speyer in 1526, the committee reviewing grievances of the common man recommended a return to customary levels of exaction and just treatment of peasants. A solid case can also be made that fears of another rebellion contributed to the tendency to channel disputes into the courts and commissions of arbitration, thereby giving the empire ways of defusing rural conflict through legal institutions. Popular support for the Reformation also waned in the aftermath of the rebellion as public authorities guided the evangelical movements into a "magisterial Reformation." In this way religion lost much of its capacity to legitimize radical political protest in the empire.

Views of the Peasants' War have naturally reflected political attitudes in modern Germany. In the nineteenth century Leopold von Ranke dismissed the rebellion as an event unworthy of serious analysis. Conservatives to this day play down the rebellion's political significance. By contrast Friedrich Engels saw it as a pivotal turning point in German history and laid down a socialist view of the event. Not surprisingly East and West German historians in the 1960s and 1970s clashed over the meaning of the Peasants' War. Marxists saw in it an "early bourgeois revolution" while some liberal West German historians viewed it as a "system conflict" or a revolution and high-water mark of a populist communal tradition. Given the importance of the war, it is likely to remain a controversial subject for historians.

See also Feudalism; Holy Roman Empire; Luther, Martin; Reformation, Protestant; Serfdom; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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THOMAS ROBISHEAUX

**PEIRESC, NICOLAS-CLAUDE FABRI DE** (1580–1635), French antiquarian. Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc was one of the most famous European scholars of the first half of the seventeenth century. Although he was largely forgotten after his death, his fame was kept alive in the circle of great antiquarians like John Evelyn and the Comte de Caylus, and his name remained a byword among historians of scholarship. In his 1962 Sather Lectures, Arnaldo Momigliano called him "that archetype of all antiquarians."

Born in the town of Belgentier near Toulon, the young Nicolas-Claude Fabri was educated by the Jesuits at Avignon and then set out for Italy. The ostensible purpose of the trip, according to his father and uncle, both lawyers, was study at the famous law school at Padua. Peiresc used this freedom to pursue not law but the entire *orbs doctrinae*, or encyclopedia. These years from 1600 to 1602 laid the foundation for much later work on antiquities, Oriental studies, natural history, and astronomy. He also made friendships with fellow students Girolamo Aleandro the Younger (1574–1629), Lo-

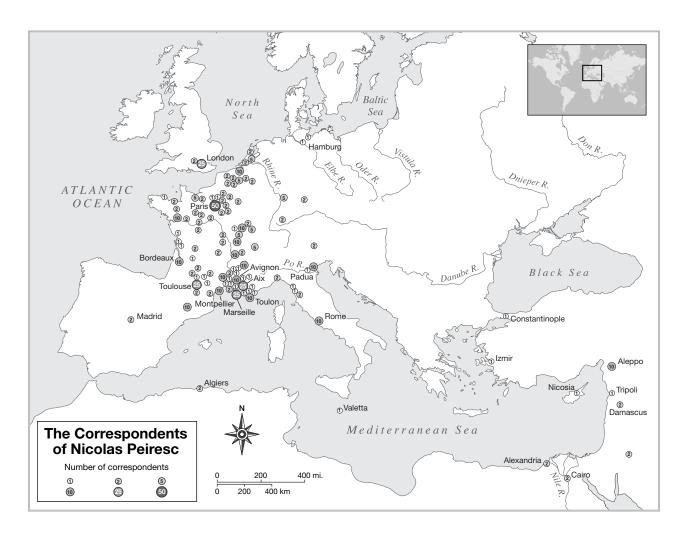
renzo Pignoria (1571–1631), and Paolo Gualdo (1553–1621) that lasted all their lives. In Padua, he frequented the circle of Gian-Vicenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), who served as a mentor and introduced him to Marcus Welser, Paolo Sarpi, Galileo Galilei, and, indirectly, Joseph Scaliger.

Back in France, Peiresc studied at Montpellier with the noted jurist Giulio Pace and took his law degree at Aix in 1604. This was followed by travel to the Spanish Netherlands, United Provinces, and England, where he visited with many scholars, including Abraham Gorlaeus, Scaliger, and William Camden. In Paris on the way home, Peiresc met the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou and the circle around him.

In 1607 Peiresc took up his uncle's position as councillor in the parlement of Provence. He soon became the secretary of its president, the philosopher and orator Guillaume du Vair (1556–1621), and through him met the poet François de Malherbe (1555-1628). Peiresc followed du Vair to Paris when he was summoned to serve as keeper of the seals under the regency of Marie de Médicis. He was witness at close quarters to the rise and fall of Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes, and Concino Concini, marquis d'Ancre, and the beginnings of Richelieu's ascent. Peiresc was a fixture in the learned Cabinet Dupuy where he met and befriended such visitors to the French capital as Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645).

Peiresc returned to Aix in 1623 (du Vair had died in 1621) and from then until his death in June 1637 never left Provence. His duties in the parlement absorbed most of his time, but his energies belonged to learning. His houses in Aix and Belgentier became centers for advanced study. Visitors plying the route from Rome to Paris, whether clergy, merchants, or diplomats, were frequent guests. Proximity to both Marseille and Toulon enabled Peiresc to insinuate himself into the far-flung network of Provençal merchants. Through them he was able to establish an extensive correspondence with the Ottoman world that made him among those Europeans best informed about the Levant.

During these last fourteen years of his life, Peiresc became one of Europe's leading scholars. His correspondence with Athansius Kircher, Claude



de Saumaise, John Selden, and Cassiano dal Pozzo, among others, reflects the breadth of his encyclopedic pursuits. The Roman household of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), whom dal Pozzo served as secretary, was one of Peiresc's key centers—through it he reached also Giovanni Battista Doni, Lucas Holstenius, Jean-Jacques Bouchard, and Jean-Marie Suares, the latter two being placed there by Peiresc.

Peiresc published nothing, although there are many finished essays and countless drafts among his vast collection of papers. His contributions to astronomy, for example, were substantial—discovery of the Orion nebula and exact reproduction of Galileo's 1610 telescopic observation of the moons of Jupiter, eclipse observation, and mapping of the moon (with the engraver Claude Mellan [1598–1688])—but have remained for the most part buried in manuscript. This is true for some of his other interests as well, such as botany, glyptics, met-

rology, the history of Provence, and historical linguistics.

His correspondence has drawn much more attention. While some portion seems to be missing, about 10,000 letters do survive. In this case, we are not far off in declaring that the letters are the man, and yet here too, only about half have been published and no satisfactory catalogue of the correspondence exists. The full extent and detail of his intellectual life is, therefore, still hard to discern. But even the little we know is enough to justify Marc Fumaroli's description of Peiresc as the "Prince of the Republic of Letters."

See also Galileo, Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Republic of Letters.

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PETER N. MILLER

PEPYS, SAMUEL (1633–1703), English diarist and politician. Although Samuel Pepys spent fewer than ten years of his life keeping a daily record, his diary has become an extremely important source of information about Restoration England. The *Diary*, which begins on 1 January 1660 and ends on 31 May 1669, chronicles, with both exacting detail and stylistic flair, some of the most important events in seventeenth-century British history, such as the coronation of Charles II in 1660, the Great Plague of 1665, and the Great Fire of 1666. The *Diary* has also become an important primary text for historians of music and drama, as Pepys was an avid patron of the arts and wrote regular entries describing the performances that he attended. Much of what modern scholars know about the Restoration stage, from the physical construction of the theaters to the mannerisms of the actors and the audiences, comes directly from the observations of Samuel Pepys. Since its first partial

publication in 1825, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* has been an invaluable historical record, a key example of early modern aesthetic criticism, and a valuable literary work in its own right.

Samuel Pepys was born in London in 1633. His father, John Pepys, was a reputable tailor with the means to provide his son with an education that included St. Paul's School in London and Cambridge University. Pepys came of age during the turbulent decades of the English Civil Wars, and his family was intimately involved in the political struggles that characterized the day. Samuel's father was a first cousin of Sir Edward Montagu, an important nobleman who initially supported Cromwell, but whose eventual conversion to the Royalist cause helped pave the way for the Restoration in 1660. After graduating from Cambridge in 1654, Pepys went to work as a minor functionary to his famous cousin. One year later, he married a French refugee named Elizabeth St. Michel and settled into a career as an English civil servant.

The first year of Samuel Pepys's *Diary*, 1660, is also the year of Charles II's coronation and the reestablishment of the monarchy in England. Edward Montagu's abrupt switch to the Royalist position after Cromwell's death placed Pepys in the center of the politics of the Restoration. In March of that year, Montagu asked Samuel to accompany him on a sea voyage to Holland to bring Charles II back to England as the king. Some of the earliest and best entries in the *Diary* consist of Pepys's firsthand observations of this momentous journey. Once returned to power, Charles rewarded Montagu's support by creating him the first earl of Sandwich; Montagu rewarded Samuel's service by helping him secure increasingly important positions with the Royal Navy. A skilled manager, Pepys eventually became the Navy's top administrator and is still credited with significant modernizations to its operations.

Believing that he was in danger of going blind, Pepys wrote his last *Diary* entry in 1669; however, he continued his career as a public servant for another twenty years. In 1673, he was elected to a seat in the House of Commons, which he held, with several interruptions, until 1687. Pepys's close political ties to the Stuarts brought him into conflict with the earl of Shaftesbury, who worked diligently

during the 1670s to prevent the succession of Charles II's Catholic brother, James, to the throne. In 1679, Pepys was briefly imprisoned in connection with the "Popish Plot," a manufactured conspiracy in which Jesuits and French sympathizers were supposedly planning to assassinate Charles II. When it became clear that the evidence against Pepys was entirely fabricated, he was released to resume his public career. In 1684, he was elected president of the Royal Society of London, where he oversaw the printing of Isaac Newton's magnum opus, Principia Mathematica, in 1687. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688-1689, Pepys retired from public life and wrote Memories Relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England (1690), the only work he published during his life.

According to the terms of Samuel Pepys's will, both his extensive book collection and his personal papers-including the Diary-were donated to Cambridge University after his death. As the Diary was written in shorthand, with foreign words often replacing English ones when the subject matter was sexual in nature, it was not immediately accessible to historians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1825, a heavily edited, bowdlerized, and badly transcribed version of the Diary was published to widespread acclaim as Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S. More complete versions were published throughout the nineteenth century, but the first complete and unabridged version was not available until 1983, when Robert Lathan and William Matthews completed their definitive eleven-volume edition for the University of California Press.

See also Biography and Autobiography; Charles II (England); Diaries; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Literature and Language.

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MICHAEL AUSTIN

## PERFECTIBILITY. See Progress.

PERRAULT, CHARLES (1628-1703), French poet, literary theoretician, and fairy tale writer. Charles Perrault belonged to a family of middle-class government functionaries, among whom was his brother Claude, an architect best remembered for his remodeled columns on the Louvre. Charles began his literary career by writing satiric verse ("The Burlesque Aeneid," 1648) and gallant poetry while he was studying law. He developed his work under the patronage of Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, and wrote a forgettable Christian epic entitled "Saint Paulin." Perrault's shorter poetry was more noteworthy, and his poems praising the young Louis XIV (1638-1715) were well received at court. Nonetheless, at the time his influence on culture derived less from his verse than his position in the royal administration in the 1660s, where he served under the protection of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683). As general comptroller of buildings, Perrault sought to centralize efforts from the various academies, including the French Academy, of which he became a member and the secretary in 1671. With the death of Colbert, however, his influence at court declined, and he found himself in bitter literary arguments with Jean Racine (1639-1699) and Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711), historiographers of the king and staunch proponents of the "ancients." Boileau even mocked Charles' brother Claude.

Perrault's poem "Le Siècle de Louis le Grand" (The century of Louis the great), which he read aloud to his assembled fellow academicians in 1687 was both a panegyric to the king and a manifesto of the modernist position. While comparing Louis with Alexander the Great, he proclaimed that the French king's exploits surpassed those of Alexander and that progress was possible not only in politics, but in science, and even in the arts. The ideas and terms of the dispute were not new, but Perrault's poem synthesized them eloquently and launched an



Charles Perrault. Portrait painting by Philippe Lallemant.
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DE CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

intense quarrel that lasted seven years (and indeed, in various forms, into the following century). He developed his position at length in the prose *Parallèles des anciens et des modernes* (1688–1697; Parallels of the ancients and moderns, 4 vols.).

As this phase in the quarrel subsided, he published three verse fairy tales (including "Donkey Skin") in 1694, which were soon followed in 1697 by eight prose tales in Histoires ou contes de temps passé: Contes de ma mère l'oye (Stories or tales from olden days: Tales of my Mother Goose). The concisely written stories became an immediate and huge success and established Perrault's literary reputation. Tales such as "Cinderella," "Puss 'n Boots," "Tom Thumb," and "Bluebeard" had been staples in the oral folk tradition for centuries, and they now became written texts to be circulated and enjoyed among the bourgeoisie and nobility, both old and young alike. Fairy tales were a genre that had been popular in women's salons since the mid-1680s, practiced by such writers as Mme Catherine d'Aulnoy (c. 1650-1705), Mlle Catherine Bernard (1662–1712), and Perrault's niece, Mlle Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier (c. 1664-1734). Perrault used the tales' popularity to present stories that exemplified his own literary theories and taste. By their origin the tales are not part of the Greco-Roman tradition, and their subject matter of fairies, ogres, and magical objects removes them from the mythology of classical antiquity. Although he refused the canon of acceptable textual models, Perrault's approach followed many of the tenets of French classicism in that he did not invent his material (with the exception of "Little Red Riding Hood"), and he expressed himself with an economy of language and stylistic devices. The role of magic in the tales is often minimal, and greater emphasis is placed on human nature and social conduct, both good and bad.

The tales exhibit a didactic intent, both within the stories themselves and in the explicit, verse "morals." And even though the events are set "once upon a time" in a fictive land where animals talk and fairy godmothers wave magic wands, the tales are filled with references to seventeenth-century life and satiric commentaries on contemporary society. Perrault retained enough elements of archaic language, repetition, dialogue and dramatic tension to convey a sense of the oral tradition in his sparse, simplified narration. The tales appear as a synthesis, therefore, of both the oral and the literary, of classicism and an anticlassical verve. These competing forces give dynamism to these modern versions of old stories.

Readers today, who are more familiar with the versions of the fairy tales retold by the brothers Grimm, may find some striking, and brutal, points of contrast with the Perrault stories: Little Red Riding Hood is not saved in the end, and Sleeping Beauty marries her prince only to discover he has an ogress for a mother. The decorum demanded in the classical aesthetic did not extend to this new genre with its extremes of fanciful whimsy and cruel violence.

See also Academies, Learned; Ancients and Moderns; Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; Classicism; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Folk Tales and Fairy Tales; French Literature and Language. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ALLEN G. WOOD

**PERSECUTION.** Life was difficult for almost everyone in early modern Europe. Malnutrition, grinding poverty, pervasive disease, and frequent warfare over much of the continent were commonplace challenges for early modern Europeans. Furthermore, most political systems oppressed at least some people to some degree, though the nature of that oppression changed over time and from place to place. In the context of such challenges, then, it is important to understand what persecution meant to early moderns themselves. Until recently, persecution was generally understood to apply to attacks made for reasons of religion. Individuals or groups persecuted those who, in the opinion of the persecutors, provided a particular challenge or threat to society and its underlying religious values. Thus, while in the twenty-first century people think of persecution as encompassing race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation as well as religion, to early moderns persecution explicitly referred to oppression due to one's religious practices and faith.

## **CONFESSIONAL VIOLENCE**

Confessional violence—that is, violence perpetrated by one religious group (adhering to one "confession" or denominational statement) against another—was the prototypical religious persecution of the early modern period. In the wake of the upheavals caused by Martin Luther (1483–1546), Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1581), John Calvin (1509–1564), and the radical reformers, debate over religious matters grew increasingly heated and violent. Political leaders in the Holy Roman Empire attempted to resolve the threat of religious violence

by mandating that each leader could choose one faith for his territory—either Catholicism or Lutheranism—and that all citizens would have to comply with that decision. This was at best a temporary and partial solution, however, since it took into account neither the newly emerging Calvinists nor the theologically diverse range of reform ideas brought together by the term *Anabaptists*, or radical reformers. Anabaptists suffered particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as would Quakers at a slightly later date, for their stark rejection of conventional religious practices, social customs, and markers of political authority.

Confessional violence often was not instigated by elites, but rather was perpetrated by peasants and artisans against other peasants and artisans. Catholics and Protestants engaged in religious persecution through most of Europe. Some places, like the Dutch Republic, witnessed a relative paucity of confessional violence. Despite some outbreaks of iconoclasm (forcibly removing images from churches) the Low Countries won an early reputation as a haven for a number of religious adherents, both Christian and Jewish. Likewise, those countries with a largely homogenous religious population—Catholic Spain and Calvinist Geneva, for example—did not experience widespread mass confessional violence per se. Other countries were not so peaceful. Particularly infamous was France, where sporadic outbreaks of widespread violence marked the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598). The nadir of this violence came on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1572, when fears of a Huguenot (French Calvinist) plot against the Catholic crown led the king to order troops into Paris. A Calvinist noble and Huguenot leader was executed, and mass violence broke out, leading to the deaths of perhaps three thousand Huguenots in Paris. Over the next few days the violence spread to other French cities, and around twenty thousand more Huguenots were killed.

# INQUISITIONS AND OTHER JURIDICAL ACTIVITY

The involvement of the French crown and Catholic nobility in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre suggests that not all persecution took the form of popular mass violence, and indeed state, local, and religious officials also persecuted dissenters within their dominions. Adherents of minority Christian faiths,

heretics, and those accused of witchcraft were subject to a variety of legal proceedings designed to limit their influence or eliminate them entirely.

The early modern Inquisitions of Spain and Italy provided religious leaders with a means of discouraging popular practices, like bigamy, that went against church doctrine. It could also become a means through which people could accuse and harass their political rivals. In Spain, the Inquisition was established as an arm of the state by Ferdinand and Isabella with the approval of the pope. The first target of the inquisitors were Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendents, known as conversos. These conversos may or may not have been practicing Christians, but accused of "false and simulated conversions," they were subject to whippings, exile, imprisonment, or execution. Later, the inquisitors turned their attention to "Lutherans" (Protestants), converts from Islam (known as Moriscos), and other heretics.

Protestant countries had their own legal methods of countering forbidden beliefs. Like the Inquisition, the Star Chamber in England and the Consistory in Geneva were concerned with determining the intentions of those accused, and then punishing them for wrong beliefs and intentions. But it was the Consistory that exemplified Protestant juridical attacks on heresy and other unapproved acts. The Consistory was a part of the ecclesiastic-political rule of Calvinist Geneva, designed by Calvin himself to help create a New Jerusalem. The Consistory was the organization concerned with oversight of behavior, and as such it monitored everything from gambling to heresy. Calvin was also responsible for the first execution of a heretic by a reformed church—Michael Servetus (Miguel Serveto, 1511-1553), who challenged the doctrine of the Trinity.

Witchcraft was also considered a dangerous challenge to religious orthodoxy and to the salvation of those involved, and so also faced considerable legal persecution. Although the precise genesis of witch-hunting is unclear, at the end of the Middle Ages thinkers began to associate certain folk practices with *maleficium* (evildoing) and with devilworship. Like the Inquisition, witch trials could serve as a means of exerting control over the populace, particularly for local authorities attempting to retain their power in the face of increasingly power-

ful royal authorities. Religious leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, could also use witch trials to attack folk practices that challenged their authority as much as did other denominations. It also seems clear that women were a particular target of witch hunts. Women involved with issues of life and death, like midwives and healers, and women on the margins of society could potentially be brought back under control by an accusation of witchcraft. Whatever the reason, and whatever those accused thought they were doing, witchcraft accusations rose dramatically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

# PERSECUTION AGAINST JEWS AND MUSLIMS

Non-Christians were at times considered dangerous to political authorities, and were subject to frequent restrictions and persecutions. Jews had been expelled from most of northwestern Europe in the Middle Ages; in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century they were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula and parts of Italy and the Holy Roman Empire. However, Jews continued to live in other parts of Italy and the empire, and in eastern Europe. Jews were not citizens of the towns they inhabited and existed at the mercy of the authorities. Sometimes, as Gluckel of Hameln (1646-1724) writes in her autobiography, Jews were expelled from individual towns, only to be permitted to return at a later date during daylight hours to conduct business. In other places, most notably Venice, Jews were forced into walled communities or ghettos, in part to control their movements and in part to protect them from occasional mob violence. There were some exceptions to this grim picture; the Netherlands in the west and Poland-Lithuania in the east offered generally safe havens for Jews, and England readmitted Jews in the 1660s. Furthermore, conditions for Jews were much better in southeastern Europe under the rule of the Ottomans. Compared to Jews, there were few Muslims in Europe. The relatively large Muslim population of Spain was forced to convert in 1500, and their descendents faced occasional charges of heresy until they were expelled en masse in 1609-1613. Muslims in the east increasingly came under the protection of the expanding Ottoman Empire.

#### PERSECUTION AND TOLERATION

By the end of the seventeenth century, persecution was on the wane in Europe. There are several explanations for this. If persecution was a means for states to exert their authority, then the decline in persecution would suggest that states had found other means of keeping their subjects in line. Independent prosecutions by local authorities were increasingly constrained by growing state authority. Religious leaders also found new means of ensuring conformity, or in some cases stopped challenging rival beliefs and practices. In addition, there was decreased interest in pursuing religious minorities and witchcraft accusations, almost an exhaustion of zeal that some have attributed to a rejection of intense interest in religious matters after the violence of religiously motivated conflicts like the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the English Civil Wars (1642-1649).

Moreover, the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century generated a new "toleration debate" among the educated, in which earlier ideas about the individual nature of religious belief reemerged, this time reasoned to the conclusion that religious belief could not be coerced. John Locke (1632-1704), for example, argued that religious belief was voluntary, and outside the control of civil authorities, with the exception of Catholics and atheists. Skepticism—about the efficacy of witchcraft and about the nature of religious belief itself—grew, as thinkers like Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) published their ideas from the relative safety of Amsterdam. Finally, thinkers argued that political states could no longer afford to wage war over religion. Suppression of religious populations within a state, and religiously motivated wars with other states, had become so destructive that it was politically and economically unfeasible. Charles-Louis de Secondat, marquis de Montesquieu (1689-1755), and Voltaire (1694-1778) argued against the Inquisition as the epitome of an irrational, and economically counterproductive, denial of political liberty. Others pointed out that, by other names, Lutherans and Calvinists had instituted their own inquisitions that were equally dangerous. By the end of the eighteenth century, Europe had moved away from the religious persecution that had marked the beginning of the early modern period.

See also Anabaptism; Calvinism; Conversos; Ghetto; Huguenots; Inquisition; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Law; Lutheranism; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Reformation, Protestant; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Toleration; Violence; Wars of Religion, French; Witchcraft.

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**PETER I (RUSSIA)** (1672–1725; ruled 1682–1725), tsar of Russia. Peter I, who was formally known as Peter the Great after defeating Sweden in the Great Northern War in 1721, has long defined the transition from old to modern Russia in Russian historical consciousness. Although recent scholarship has modified this view somewhat, pointing out the antecedents of his reforms and the unchanged reality of Russia as a state built on the pillars of agriculture, elite service, and servile labor, few would challenge the defining character of the Petrine era for Russia's subsequent sense of its own modernity.

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By the time of Peter's accession in 1682, Muscovy had become a vast and sprawling realm, subsuming most of the east Slavic world, as well as the vast and barely explored Siberian expanse. It lacked access to the Baltic Sea to the north and the Black Sea to the

south and suffered on the southern steppe border from debilitating raids by nomadic and pastoral peoples. In pursuit of a Baltic presence, Peter clashed with the equally ambitious Charles XII of Sweden and became enmeshed in the Great Northern War, a conflagration lasting over two decades, ending victoriously for Russia only in 1721 with the Treaty of Nystadt. Simultaneously, Peter faced a southern war against the Ottoman Empire, allied with Sweden for most of the Northern War.

Unsuccessful battles at Azov against the Ottomans in 1695-1696 set Peter's drastic reform of state and military structures in motion, convincing him of the urgency of building a navy. After opening a shipyard on the lower Volga River, in Voronezh, he departed on his vaunted Great Embassy, an extended journey through Europe, traveling nominally incognito as a captain ("Peter Mikhailov") largely to avoid ceremonial obligations at foreign courts. He spent most of 1697-1698 abroad, in Holland, England, the Germanies, and France, observing trades and hiring hundreds of craftsmen and naval officers to work in Russia building and training a fleet. Upon his return he inaugurated a flurry of changes, mostly designed to build a formidable navy and maximize the number of men in arms. These included establishing a Navigational (later Naval) Academy and initiating a military draft to replace the outmoded mobilization of peasant militias. Beginning in 1705 one adult male in seventy was to be drafted, and, during the course of the Northern War, the ratio fell as low as one in twenty. Those drafted served for life, and their legal status became that of soldier. While the number of those in arms was not dramatically greater than before, perhaps a quarter million at its peak, these soldiers, organized into permanent regiments and detachments, were far better trained and equipped than their forebears.

The dual war against Sweden and the Ottoman Empire (and, at the end of the reign, against Persia) constituted an immense drain on resources and cost tens of thousands of lives. After succumbing to Sweden's superior forces at Narva, in contemporary Estonia, in 1700, Peter's forces slowly gained an upper hand, most spectacularly in the south at Poltava in 1709. A significant setback in 1711 at Pruth, north of the Caspian Sea, nearly cost Peter his life and much of his army, but they recovered,

and by 1714 the tide of war had turned decisively in Russia's favor. The final victory and Treaty of 1721 secured Russia's place in Europe's northern waters, and it began Russia's extended push to the south, a process not completed until the 1780s.

#### PERSONAL AND COURT LIFE

Biographies of Peter emphasize his untraditional upbringing in the suburban Muscovite village of Preobrazhensky. Removed from the confines of the Moscow Kremlin, he spent much of his boyhood playing at war, in the company of commoners and foreigners rather than with churchmen and the scions of aristocratic families, as had been the norm. Peter's height (over six-and-a-half feet tall) and energy, his unquenchable curiosity, in particular for practical technologies, and his bawdiness and impatience with the formalities of tradition also are invariably seen as embodying his differences from those who preceded him to the throne. This tendency toward earthiness manifested itself in drunken and debauched revelry with his confreres at court, Peter's so-called fledglings, but the Petrine "culture of laughter" had a political and ritualized side beyond the mere exercise of merriment. Peter created mock institutions, such as His Majesty's Most-Drunken Synod, as an antidote to the solemnities of the church hierarchy—to which he nevertheless regularly had to submit—as if to emphasize the tsar's independence of them and his devotion to this-worldly endeavors. He created the mock title of "Prince Pope," a playful alter ego sometimes termed the Russian John Barleycorn.

#### **CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM**

Peter's cultural revolution often took on a decidedly coercive cast. Symbolic of his statist and modernizing vision was the establishment of a new capital, St. Petersburg, situated in the swampy territory of Ingermanland, on the site of a small fortress on the southeastern rim of the Gulf of Finland. First proclaimed in 1704, the capital's initial permanent structures were completed in 1707, when the government began to shift from Moscow. Situated far from the center of Russian population, with a German name, a decidedly un-Russian rectilinear street pattern, and distinctly European architecture, the new capital stood as a powerful statement of the massive Europeanization to which Peter meant to subject his realm.

Taxes on beards and sleeves, first imposed in 1699-1700, obliged serving men to break with Muscovite appearances and adopt European dress. The balls at court, culminating in the 1718 decree on "assemblies," imposed a new Europeanized public sociability at court, one that commanded the visible presence of women as well as men at balls, formal dinners, and celebrations. The switch in 1700 to the Julian calendar (previously the new year had occurred on September 1), and counting the years from the birth of Christ rather than from creation, commanded nothing less than a renovatio of time. The imposition of a new "civil" alphabet in 1707, which over time became the orthography of officialdom and secularity, reinforced in highly visible ways the symbolic separation of the church's spiritual realm (Church Slavonic and the religious calendar) from the state's civic realm.

Peter's determination to separate the church from and subordinate it to the state defined his entire approach to ecclesiastical authority, culminating in the elimination of the patriarchate in 1721 and its replacement by a governmental body, the Holy Synod. Peter's relationships to church and religion were more complex than mere caesaropapism, however. Sincerely if eccentrically religious, he held redemption and salvation paramount, and he relied on clergy to help him rule and reign. Leading ecclesiastic officials, such as Feofan Prokopovich and Gavriil Buzhinskii (the first rector of the Alexander Nevski monastery), articulated the ideological legitimation for Peter's reforms and produced the defining panegyrics of his reign and legacy. Parish clergy were required (at least by the terms of the Spiritual Regulation of 1721) to act as agencies of the law as well as of the soul, by reading aloud new decrees and keeping parish registries and confession lists. The large monastic clergy, whom Peter viewed as little more than parasites, experienced reform personally as Peter closed approximately two-thirds of Russia's monasteries and submitted the rest to a test of their social utility.

## SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

It would be a mistake to imagine that Peter's reforms followed an orderly or systematic path. Nevertheless, a functionalist schema suggested by the early-twentieth-century historian Paul Miliukov effectively captures the dynamics of policy reform.



**Peter I.** A monument to Peter I created in 1782 by French sculptor Étienne Maurice Falconet stands in the Plaschad Dekabristov in St. Petersburg. The monument was commissioned by Catherine the Great. ©BRIAN A. VIKANDER/CORBIS

Military necessity drove technological and military reform, whose immense costs (commanding up to 90 percent of the budget) necessitated changes in taxation and in mass mobilization. Thus, Peter imposed numerous tariffs and luxury taxes before transforming direct taxation in 1724 from a household basis to a per capita "soul tax" of 74 kopecks, which counted adult males (with certain exemptions). He eliminated slavery, making all former slaves into serfs, who were thus subject to the soul tax and military recruitment. Changes such as these demanded comparable reforms in central and provincial administration, the conducting of regular censuses, and the overhaul of state service.

Peter's interventions in the landed nobility were particularly momentous. Having done away with the last of the landed militias, and freed from the old system of precedence (*Mestnichestvo*), Peter pursued ad hoc strategies to make service more professional. As before, service remained compulsory, but it was

deemed a full-time, lifelong obligation, slowly transforming noble serving men into absentee landlords. Seeking to loosen the stranglehold of elite noble clans, Peter collapsed all forms of land tenure into hereditary land, and he elevated several foreigners and lowborn Russians to positions of authority, nominally on the basis of ability. This latter practice was institutionalized in 1722 with the Table of Ranks and Orders, which pegged specific work to specific ranks, salaries, and privileges. In addition to eliminating virtually all of the Muscovite terms of status, such as "boyar" and "boyar's son," the Table of Ranks created a mechanism of advancement, at least on paper, whereby untitled servitors could advance first to personal nobility and then to hereditary nobility. Peter also intervened directly in familial inheritance by abolishing partible inheritance in 1714 in favor of unigeniture, wherein one son would inherit the entire estate. Deeply resented by noble families, unigeniture was dropped in 1731 and partible inheritance returned.

To maintain administration during his frequent absences, he created the Ruling Senate in 1711, which had the power of decree in the tsar's name. Originally composed of his closest advisers, the Senate took on a more bureaucratic cast toward the end of his reign, when Peter replaced the Muscovite system of ad hoc civil chancelleries with twelve functionally defined colleges, each of which was to be run by a council rather than by a single individual as in a ministerial system. Each college was represented in the revised Senate. Provincial government underwent a somewhat more modest reorganization in 1708 with the creation of eight vast territorial governments. These territorial governments had almost no direct contact with the populations over which they nominally ruled. As before, the exercise of governmental authority in the provinces relied mostly on a mixture of military presence and unpaid office holding. Exceptions to this rule were tax collecting and military recruitment, placed in the hands of a cadre of armed horsemen called fiscals, a group whose name became synonymous with violence and brute confiscation.

The disruptions generated by these widely unpopular policies engendered extensive popular resentment and periodic waves of armed resistance and defections from his ranks. These included rebellions by Moscow's musketeers (strel'tsy) in 1697,

Cossack-led rebellions (Bulavin's revolt in 1707 and Mazepa's defection to the Swedes in 1708), and Old Believer riots (1703–1704 and later). Numerous elements of Russia's population looked upon the era as one of oppression and betrayal and upon the tsar as a tyrant, usurper, and Antichrist. All such opposition met fierce repression; none elicited moderation or concessions.

#### **SUCCESSION**

A combination of familial rivalry (the disinheritance of his eldest son, Alexis, and his death in prison before his planned execution in 1718) and misfortune (the death of his youngest son, Peter, in 1716) deprived Peter of direct male heirs. In response, Peter decreed a new form of succession in 1722 in which the reigning monarch named the successor. This shortsighted decision virtually guaranteed periodic instability at court, especially when a ruler died without naming a successor, as was the case with Peter himself. Unintentionally, however, it opened the way for nearly a century of female rule by displacing the principle of father-son lineage. Peter's widow, Catherine, thus became Russia's first crowned female ruler in 1725.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Catherine II (Russia); Church and State Relations; Moscow; Northern Wars; Russia; St. Petersburg; Taxation.

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GARY MARKER

#### PETRUS RAMUS. See Ramus, Petrus.

PETTY, WILLIAM (1623-1687), English political economist. Born in Romsey, Hampshire, William Petty was the son of a tailor. At age thirteen, Petty became a cabin boy on a merchant ship. He broke his leg at sea and left the ship in Caen, France, where he enrolled in a Jesuit school and mastered Latin, Greek, and French. On returning to England, he joined the Navy, but in 1643, with the outbreak of the Civil War, he went to the Netherlands to study medicine at Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam, and then to Paris, where he became acquainted with Thomas Hobbes and Marin Mersenne. In 1646, Petty returned to England and later studied medicine at Oxford, receiving his M.D. in 1649. He was appointed professor of anatomy at Brasenose College, Oxford, and then professor of music at Gresham College, London. In 1652, Petty became the physician-general to Oliver Cromwell's army in Ireland. Petty directed the famous Down Survey, using the army to map all Irish lands in just one year. In the process, he acquired an immense amount of property, especially in County Kerry. In 1661, Petty was knighted by Charles II. In 1667, he married Elizabeth Fenton and they had two sons and one daughter who survived to adulthood.

Petty was a virtuoso. In 1662, he became a charter member of the Royal Society in London. (He was also one of the founders and the first president of the Dublin Philosophical Society.) He is most famous for his contributions to economics and his promotion of a new science he called political arithmetic. The aim of political arithmetic was to treat political problems (broadly defined) mathematically. One of the most pressing problems for Petty was population. Petty viewed labor as essential to the production of wealth and advocated means to increase population and to measure it. To this end, he urged the English and Irish governments to col-

lect regular statistics on births, deaths, and total population. In his *Treatise of Taxes* (1662), he argued that the use of political arithmetic could rationalize tax collection and thus put the nation on more stable financial ground.

Petty was a close friend of John Graunt, who had pioneered the numerical study of society. Like Graunt, Petty investigated bills of mortality for a variety of purposes, ranging from determining the optimum number of physicians for England to demonstrating the superiority of England to France. In a series of pamphlets, Petty developed methods to estimate population from the number of houses and from the number of burials and christenings. He stated that the number of deaths due to contagious, acute, and chronic diseases would provide a measure of the salubrity, or healthfulness, of a specific parish. He compared the mortality rates at London hospitals with those of Paris hospitals and concluded that London's were lower.

Petty was a prolific writer and published numerous books, pamphlets, and articles. Many other writings were published posthumously. He has been regarded by later writers, including Karl Marx, as the founder of English political economy. More recently, historians have emphasized his contributions to the quantifying spirit of the eighteenth century and his advocacy of creating new methods of governance (especially statistics) that are characteristic of modern societies.

See also Census; Cromwell, Oliver; Graunt, John; Hobbes, Thomas; Public Health; Statistics; Taxation.

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Andrea Rusnock

**PHILADELPHIA.** Established in 1682 by the Quaker aristocrat William Penn, Philadelphia became British North America's largest—with forty thousand occupants—and most diverse city by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Although Penn hoped to create a Quaker colony, his policy of open immigration meant that the Quaker majority of Philadelphia's early years gave way to a city of many languages, religions, and national identities. One of the largest immigrant groups was German Pietists, who established complex immigrant networks in Philadelphia. The colonies' second largest city (after Boston) in 1690, Philadelphia grew rapidly in the eighteenth century, surpassing all other colonial cities in population by 1743.

Philadelphia's involvement in colonial and transnational trade was perhaps more significant than that of any other North American city. It served as a center of both shipping and shipbuilding innovation. The city was most noted as a center of colonial culture, however. Replete with coffeehouses, philosophical and scientific societies such as the American Philosophical Society, museums, and stately homes, it embraced the intellectual and social trends of the eighteenth century with gusto. Its schools for children, especially the Philadelphia Academy, were considered the best in the colonies, while the College of Philadelphia (now known as the University of Pennsylvania) trained young scholars in Latin, Greek, medicine, mathematics, chemistry, physics and philosophy from its founding in 1755. Philadelphia's most famous eighteenthcentury inhabitant, Benjamin Franklin, the originator of the idea for the college, is emblematic of this wide-ranging intellectualism, experimenting with electricity, optics, and thermal dynamics, founding the Library Company of Philadelphia and publishing Poor Richard's Almanack.

Of all its claims to fame, Philadelphia is most proud of its relationship to the Revolution. The birthplace of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution also served as the new nation's capital from 1790 until 1800.

See also American Independence, War of; Boston; British Colonies: North America; New York.

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FIONA DEANS HALLORAN

PHILIP II (SPAIN) (1527–1598; ruled 1556–1598), king of Spain. Philip, the firstborn of Charles V (ruled 1516–1556 as Charles I [Spain]; Holy Roman emperor, ruled 1519-1556) and Empress Isabella, was reared in Castile. The emperor's frequent absences limited Philip's contact with his father, and he was raised in his mother's court until her death in 1539. His tutor (1534–1541) was the future archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Siliceo (1486–1557), while the Castilian nobleman Juan de Zúñiga (d. 1546) headed his household from 1535 and supervised his knightly training. Philip displayed reasonable aptitude in arms and letters alike, though historians have faulted Siliceo's narrow piety, and Philip for ineptitude in modern languages. Later he would study with more illustrious tutors, including the humanist Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella (d. 1593). Philip was close to his sisters, María (1528–1603) and Juana (1535– 1573), and to two pages, the Portuguese nobleman Ruy Gómez de Silva (c. 1516-1573) and Luis de Requesens (1528–1576), the son of his governor Zúñiga. These men would serve him throughout their lives, as would Gonzalo Pérez (d. 1566), his secretary from 1541.

Departing Spain in 1543, Charles V named Philip his Spanish regent, leaving him experienced advisors—notably the secretary Francisco de los Cobos (1477–1547) and the general Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba (1507–1582)—and written instructions emphasizing the defense of Catholicism on the one hand and mistrust of his advisors and personal intimacy on the other. Charles also arranged Philip's marriage to a first cousin,



Philip II (Spain). Portrait by Titian, 1551.

María Manuela of Portugal, who died in 1545 after the birth of Don Carlos (1545–1568). Philip acquitted himself well as regent, taking an increasingly active role when advisors such as Cobos and Zúñiga died. In 1548, he left Spain to visit his prospective Burgundian inheritance in the Netherlands. He met Charles in Brussels in 1549 and toured the Low Countries to be formally recognized as heir. Before returning to Spain, Philip attended the Imperial Diet of Augsburg (1550) and lingered while Charles negotiated the 1551 family agreement that would leave the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand I (ruled 1558-1564); Philip would inherit Charles's other lands, then succeed his uncle as emperor. Subsequent reverses in Germany, however, invalidated this plan, and Philip renounced his claims to the empire in 1555.

Philip returned to Spain in mid-1551 and resumed his duties as regent. In 1553, in Brussels, Charles negotiated Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor of England (ruled 1553–1558) without consulting the prospective groom, who preferred a Portuguese match and had little interest in Mary or England. Nevertheless, Philip wed Mary in July 1554, receiving Naples and Milan from his father as wedding gifts. He spent fifteen frustrating months as consort in England before departing in September 1555 after Mary's pregnancy proved false.

Having resolved to abdicate, Charles relinquished the Netherlands to Philip in a Brussels ceremony (25 October 1555). A few months later (16 January 1556) Charles resigned Spain and its territories, subsequently transferring the Franche-Comté and—with dubious legality—imperial suzerainty in Italy to his son, now Philip II of Spain. The emperor retired to Castile, where he died in 1558. The young king was soon tested by his dynasty's enemies. War with Pope Paul IV (1555-1559) broke out in 1556, triggering a wider war against Henry II of France (ruled 1547-1559) in 1557. Alba quickly triumphed in Italy, while victories over the French at St. Quentin (10 August 1557) and Gravelines (13 July 1558) led to the 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Mary Tudor died in 1558, enabling Philip to seal the treaty by marrying Henry II's daughter, Isabelle de Valois.

#### INTERNAL POLICIES

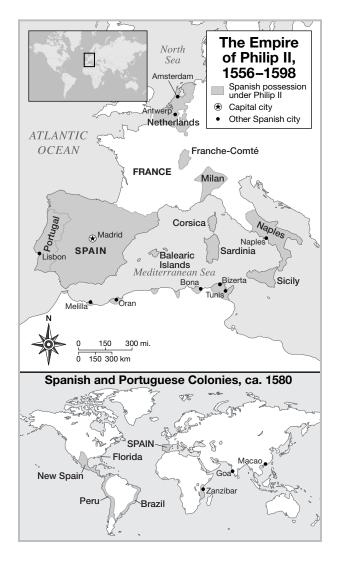
Philip returned to Castile in 1559, establishing his court permanently at Madrid in 1561. He would never again leave Iberia. During his first years in Spain the Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés (1483–1568) spearheaded a campaign against heterodoxy, rooting out Protestant cells within Castile and contriving to destroy his rival (and Philip's confidant), Bartolomé de Carranza (1503–1576), archbishop of Toledo. Philip's government strove to rebuild crown finances, crushed by decades of military expenditures, and succeeded by 1562 in increasing Castilian revenues by 43 percent. During this period rivalry between two principal ministers, Ruy Gómez de Silva (now prince of Éboli) and the duke of Alba dominated the court. By 1565, Éboli's influence waned while Philip elevated Diego de Espinosa (1502-1572) to president of the Council of Castile, inquisitor-general, and cardinal. Espinosa's repressive policies provoked the Granadine Morisco revolt (1568–1570), suppressed with difficulty by forces under Don Juan de Austria (1547–1578), Philip's illegitimate half-brother.

As Espinosa (1572) and Éboli died (1573), and Alba fell from grace, Philip governed more personally through secretaries such as Mateo Vázquez de Leca (1543-1591) and Antonio Pérez (1540-1611). Increasingly the king manifested the traits of a roi casanier ('stay-at-home king')—sedentary, obsessed with redacting state papers, and reclusive, retiring for months at a time to the Escorial and other palaces. Personal tragedy prompted some of Philip's introversion. His heir Don Carlos died insane under house arrest in 1568, soon followed to the grave by Queen Isabelle, who left Philip two daughters, Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566-1633) and Catalina Micaela (1567-1598). To secure the succession, Philip married his niece, Anna of Austria (1549-1580), in 1570. They had five children, including the eventual heir, Philip III (ruled 1598-1621). Philip's isolation allowed Antonio Pérez to embroil him in the 1578 murder of Don Juan de Austria's secretary, Juan de Escobedo. The unraveling of Pérez's plot forced him to flee to Zaragoza and caused the revolt of Aragón (1591). Philip sent Castilian troops to suppress the uprising, but afterward left most traditional Aragonese privileges intact.

Philip's reign in Iberia was marked by one great triumph—the annexation of Portugal and its empire in 1580–1581, following the death of his nephew, King Sebastian (ruled 1557-1578)—and also by the crown's worsening financial difficulties. Even unprecedented silver yields from America could not offset the expense of Philip's warlike policies. Four times—in 1557, 1560, 1575, and 1596—he suspended payments and renegotiated terms with his bankers. From 1590, the crown imposed the regressive excises known as the millones ('millions'). Royal debt—Castile's share tripled to 85 million ducats between 1560 and 1598-and mounting taxation contributed to Castilian economic deterioration, and eventually to the eclipse of Spanish power in Europe.

#### THE WARS OF PHILIP II

Constant warfare—against Muslims, rebellious subjects, and the Protestants of northwestern Europe occupied much of the attention of Philip II, and in the long run overextended the resources of his realm. In the first decade of his reign, Philip's government faced acute threats in the Mediterranean from the naval forces of the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520-1566) and his North African clients. Spain was shocked by the loss of thirty galleys and six thousand troops at Djerba in 1560; combined with subsequent disasters, the king's fleet was reduced by 40 percent by 1562. Massive sums went into rebuilding the galleys by 1565, when García de Toledo (1514-1578) led them to the successful relief of the Turkish siege of Malta. That victory and the death of Suleiman provided some respite in the later 1560s, although the Morisco uprising excited fears of a Muslim invasion of Spain, while the Turkish assault on Cyprus in 1570 sharpened the threat to Venice. These anxieties fostered the brief and unstable Holy League, a naval alliance between Philip and the Venetians brokered in 1571 by Pope Pius V (1566-1572). Commanded by Don Juan de Austria, the Holy League inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto (7 October 1571), which would stand as the greatest victory of Philip's reign. The Holy League collapsed when Venice withdrew in 1573, but Lepanto opened a period of relative disengagement in the Mediterranean, as both Philip and his Ottoman counterparts attended to other affairs.



The early 1560s saw the progressive breakdown of religious unity and allegiance to the Spanish crown in the Low Countries as Calvinism made inroads in the southern towns, and the nobles grew restive under the government of Philip's half-sister Margaret of Parma (1522-1586) and Cardinal Granvelle (1517-1586). Philip worsened matters by appearing to relent in the face of noble protests in 1564-1565—he dismissed Granvelle, and excited false hopes of relaxed strictures on heresy before his continued rigidity provoked open rebellion in 1566. After some hesitation, Philip opted for repression, dispatching Alba and a Spanish army to restore order in the Low Countries in 1567. The duke's harsh measures had nearly crushed the revolt when the diversion of Castilian resources to the Holy League, coupled with the assaults of the Sea Beggars (Dutch privateers who harassed Spanish

shipping), allowed rebellion to flare again in 1572. Alba was relieved of command in 1573. Despite following more flexible policies, his successors, notably Luis de Requesens (1573–1576) and Don Juan de Austria (1576–1578), could not fully restore crown authority. From 1578, Philip had a more adept governor in the Low Countries, his nephew Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (1545–1592). Through shrewd diplomacy and military skill, Farnese forced the rebels onto the defensive, and perhaps only English intervention (negotiated in the 1585 Treaty of Nonsuch) thwarted Philip's reconquest of the Dutch provinces.

Elizabeth's (ruled 1558-1603) interference spurred a rapid deterioration in Anglo-Spanish relations, punctuated by the execution of the Catholic Mary Stuart (ruled Scotland 1542-1567), and Francis Drake's (1540?–1596) raids on Iberian ports in 1587. Provoked, Philip activated a plan for an amphibious invasion of England, the Enterprise of England, aborted by the disastrous voyage of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Primary responsibility for its failure rests with Philip, who named a naval tyro (the duke of Medina Sidonia) to command his great fleet, while persistently disregarding the difficulties of coordination that would frustrate the planned English Channel rendezvous between Parma's Army of Flanders and the Armada. Philip impassively shrugged off this setback but beyond its cost in treasure, matériel, and trained manpower, the defeat of the Armada proved a great psychological victory for Philip's Protestant foes.

Undeterred, from 1589 Philip intervened in the final phases of the French Wars of Religion, ordering Parma's army into France in a failed effort to unseat Henry IV (ruled 1589-1610), and perhaps dreaming of placing his favorite daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia, on the French throne. This adventure too came to naught (and cost Farnese his life), and Philip II's long reign ended with his negotiation of the inconclusive Peace of Vervins with Henry IV in 1598. This treaty and Philip's designation of Isabel Clara Eugenia and her consort the Archduke Albert (1559–1621) as rulers of the Low Countries were intended to scale back the monarchy's commitments for the benefit of the king's callow heir, Philip III, but the costly and seemingly endless conflict in the Low Countries would bedevil the Spanish Habsburgs for another half-century.

## REY PRUDENTE?

As the *bête noire* of late sixteenth-century Protestantism, Philip II acquired an odious reputation, which grew only more fearsome with the passage of time. His vexed and conflicted relations with several popes, however, belie any notion that he was a simple pawn of the church, while accusations of cruel treachery should be balanced against the conscientiousness attested by the king's work habits, and the concern for his subjects' welfare reflected in his 1559 instructions to a viceroy: "The first thing you must realize is that the community was not created for the prince but rather that the prince was created for the sake of the community."

Conversely, the traditional Castilian appreciation of Philip II as el rey prudente ('the prudent king') will not withstand critical scrutiny either. In crises, his vaunted deliberation in reaching decisions partook more of avoidance than prudence. Philip's bureaucratic and reclusive bent and his mistrust of his counselors led to decision making divorced from practical considerations. The king repeatedly privileged statecraft over politics, for example, in his choice to impose his will on the Low Countries by proxy rather than journeying north to conciliate his powerful subjects. A cleric excoriated Philip for "the manner of transacting business adopted by your majesty, being permanently seated at your papers ... in order to have a better reason to escape from people." The Armada fiasco and the quixotism of the Spanish intervention in France testify to Philip's recklessness rather than prudence, while the lasting deleterious effects of his unrelenting wars arose largely from his lifelong inability to grasp the monarchy's financial circumstances or the consequences of his expenditures.

Throughout his reign, Philip II tenaciously guarded his territorial inheritance from Charles V and heeded the emperor's 1543 warning not to "allow heretics to enter into your kingdoms." The lingering quagmire of the Netherlands war was the principal legacy of the policies Philip learned from the father, whom he did not know well but extravagantly admired. Even on his deathbed, Philip continued to defer to his father, ordering the exhumation of Charles V so he might learn what a ruler properly wore to the grave, and grasping the emperor's crucifix as he expired at the Escorial in September 1598. Overmatched by his myriad re-

sponsibilities, during a long reign Philip did his duty, but failed to achieve his fondest goals.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Armada, Spanish; Burgundy; Calvinism; Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Cobos, Francisco de los; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568-1648); Éboli, Ruy Gómez de Silva, prince of; Elizabeth I (England); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Granada; Henry II (France); Henry IV (France); Holy Leagues; Holy Roman Empire; Inquisition, Spanish; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Juan de Austria, Don; Lepanto, Battle of; Mary I (England); Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, 7th duke of; Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Netherlands, Southern; Ottoman Empire; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip III (Spain); Pius IV (pope); Pius V (pope); Portugal; Sea Beggars; Spain; Suleiman I; Wars of Religion, French; William of Orange.

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PHILIP III (SPAIN) (1578–1621; ruled 1598–1621), king of Spain; ruled Portugal as Philip II. Philip III had the misfortune to be the son of Philip II, and was saddled with the perhaps undeserved reputation of being an unprepared simpleton. He was the son of Philip II's fourth and last wife, Anna of Austria (1549-1580), and married a second cousin, Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), who bore him eight children by the time she died in childbirth at the age of twenty-six. If his abilities have never been celebrated, his devotion and upright behavior always have. The apt assessment by the count-duke of Olivares (Philip IV's powerful prime minister and court favorite in 1623–1643) was that his sins were those of omission, not commission. Upon taking the throne, Philip III took one look at his country's economic crisis and diplomatic entanglements, measured up his own abilities against his father's, and promptly withdrew from public life. He spent much of his reign leaving governance in the hands of others, most notably his court favorite, the powerful and scandalous Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, marquis of Denia, duke of Lerma (1552 or 1553-1625).

In 1601 the king, following Lerma's advice, moved the court to Valladolid, where it stayed until 1606. The move was expensive and impractical, as the government remained in Madrid, 100 miles southeast of the court, whose ostentation seemed to defy the austere legacy of Philip II. Upon returning to Madrid, the king ordered Juan Gómez de Mora to commemorate the event by completing the rest of the Plaza Mayor, begun by Juan de Herrera in the 1560s. This grand plaza (finished 1619) is the most emblematic of seventeenth-century Spanish squares



Philip III. Equestrian portrait by Velázquez, c. 1631-1636. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

and is marked in its center by an equestrian statue of Philip III, modeled by Florentine sculptor Giambologna and cast by his student Pietro Tacca.

The sixteenth century was a time of expansion, but the boom ended by the 1590s, when birth rates began to fall and a plague epidemic ravaged most of the Iberian Peninsula (1596–1600). A further economic setback was the introduction of copper coinage to save silver (in short supply in Spain because of a decrease in trade with Peru and Mexico), which prolonged inflation and led to monetary instability. The depression that ensued prompted tract writers called *arbitristas* to inundate the uninterested king with proposals for economic reform that ranged from the exotic to the astute to the prescient. Those writings were consulted later in the eighteenth century and have been the subject of much attention in recent years.

Philip's father had left him a depleted treasury, an exhausted army, a swiftly diminishing tax base, and increasingly insecure shipments of silver from America. With a potentially dangerous succession about to occur in England after the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, Spain wanted peace. The so-called Pax Hispanica was the period between the wars of Philip II and those of Philip IV. Largely as a result of this lull, Spain lost no territory during Philip III's reign; he passed on to his son more or less what he had inherited from his father, who had laid a foundation of peace by securing a treaty with France in 1598, just before his death. This was extended by Spain's treaty with England in 1604 and the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609 with the Dutch, and was marred only by clashes with Savoy and Venice (1615-1617). During the peace, the European powers consolidated trade routes, rebuilt armies and navies,

and prepared for a new round of wars. Lerma fell from power in 1618, hastening the end of the peace in 1620.

On the domestic front, other than corruption, crisis, and opulence, Philip III is most remembered for having expelled the Moriscos, nominally Christian remnants of Iberia's Islamic population, who, despite having been forced to convert, still observed their cultural traditions. In Aragón, (northeastern Spain), they were protected because of their role in the agricultural economy, but the Moriscos of Castile were looked upon with suspicion, especially after they revolted against cultural restrictions imposed in 1568. They continued to speak Arabic and wear Arabic clothing and were thought to spend too little, work too much, and multiply too quickly, and new uprisings were feared. The expulsion, first proposed in the 1580s, was finally carried out from 1609 to 1614, and was opposed by Lerma, the Aragónese, and many royal advisers. The day of the expulsion order coincided with the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce, a fitting coincidence in that, for Philip, the alleged humiliation of the latter could be compensated by the glory of the former. In five years, close to 300,000 people were expelled, 200,000 of them from Aragón, although many would later return.

Spain's literary life reached its apogee during Philip III's reign, a period when Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), Lope de Vega (1562–1635), Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), and Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) were all writing. Quevedo wrote a brief hymn to the young king's prowess in 1603, but had little to say thereafter. Unlike his father and his son, Philip III was not an avid patron of the arts.

Philip died young, in 1621, near the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, while his monarchy was engaged in increasingly frantic efforts to tax its subjects, defend Catholicism, and maintain its realms. His sixteen-year-old son, Philip IV, inherited those onerous tasks.

See also Church and State Relations; Habsburg Dynasty: Spain; Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 1st duke of; Monarchy; Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Philip II (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Spanish Literature and Language; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). BIBLIOGRAPHY

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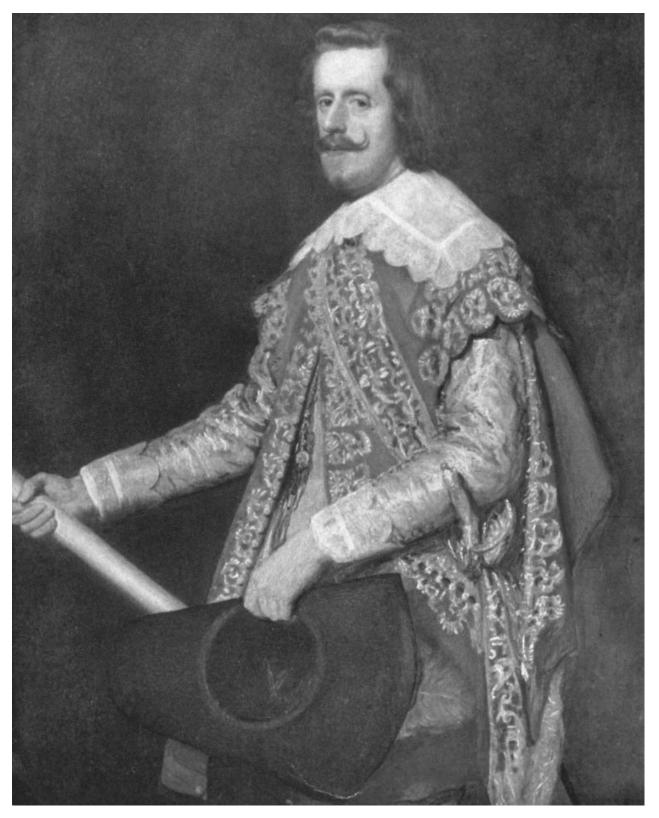
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PHILIP IV (SPAIN) (1605–1665), king of Spain (1621–1665). Philip, his father Philip III (1578–1621), and his son Charles II (1661–1700) are sometimes known as the "minor Habsburgs" to differentiate them from their sixteenth-century predecessors. Studies have shown that the seventeenth-century Spanish monarchs did not deserve the pejorative term, though the reevaluation is due less to their abilities than to the events of their reigns, which have been the subject of important works of revisionist history.

Philip IV came to power as war between Spain and the rebellious Dutch recommenced after the expiration of a truce. In 1618 Spain had been drawn into what became the Thirty Years' War, and in 1628 it became ensuared in the so-called War of the Mantuan Succession, which turned out to be expensive and useless as it angered Spain's natural allies and gave a victory to France. There were a few early military triumphs, among them the 1624 surrender of Breda by the Dutch and the king's brother's victory over the Swedes at the 1634 Battle of Nördlingen, immortalized respectively by Diego Rodríguez de Silva Velázquez and Peter Paul Rubens. In 1635 Spain and France declared mutual war, which ended in 1659 with the Treaty of the Pyrenees (which included a double marriage that eventually served to hand the Spanish crown to the Bourbons). Philip also oversaw the increasingly fu-



Philip IV. Portrait by Velázquez. Getty Images

tile war with the Dutch, which ended with the 1648 Treaty of Münster and the independence of the United Provinces. In 1640 he endured rebellions by both Catalonia and Portugal. The former ended unsuccessfully for the Catalans in 1652; the latter ended in 1668, after the king's death, with the independence of Portugal.

Domestically Spain in the seventeenth century underwent a deep economic crisis. Demographic recession and dislocation, repeated epidemics, crop failures, industrial stagnation, and high taxation in Castile, all linked to the continual warfare, contributed to the famed "decline of Spain" which, though more nuanced than often depicted, was nonetheless indisputable and has become emblematic of Philip's reign.

Philip is best known for the men who surrounded him. Like his father, Philip had advisers who often were accused by jealous noblemen of usurping the throne. The greatest of these favorites was Gaspar de Guzmán, the count-duke of Olivares (1587-1645), whose rival and counterpart across the Pyrenees was Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) of the court of Louis XIII (ruled 1610-1643). Olivares trained and cultivated the young king, seeing in him the possibility of restoring Spain's fortune and reputation. Though Philip has been dismissed as a monarch who essentially abdicated, his correspondence shows he was not a puppet. He shared with the powerful Olivares a frantic desire not only to triumph on Europe's battlefields but to reform Spain from within, the latter desire fueled by the former. Philip spent his entire reign not only waging war on multiple fronts but balancing the competing interests of his vassals—the aristocracy, the cities, and the commoners—all of whom he was forced to negotiate with to obtain revenues to raise and maintain the military.

Philip's reign coincided with the Siglo de Oro, the golden age of Spanish art and literature. The king was an important patron of literature, the theater, and the fine arts. Chief among the era's painters was Velázquez (1599–1660), whom Olivares engaged in an important public relations campaign. Velázquez created a magnificent series of equestrian portraits of the royal family (now housed in Madrid's Prado Museum) for the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid, which J. H. Elliott has called "a

gigantic exercise in self-projection" that ultimately backfired because of the court's isolation (Elliott, 1989, p. 187). The playwright, poet, and satirist Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) was another great figure enlisted for propaganda purposes, though the relationship ended badly. Quevedo eventually was banished for championing the king over Olivares, whom he regarded as a tyrant.

Olivares fell from power in 1643, and his system of government was dismantled. That year Philip met and came under the influence of Sor María de Jesús de Agreda (1602-1665), a mystic with whom he corresponded for the rest of his life, receiving spiritual and political advice. Philip also acquired a new favorite, Olivares's nephew Luis de Haro (1598-1661), who presided over Spain's gradual disengagement from the European and peninsular conflicts. Spain's humiliations, for which Philip felt responsible, made the king's last years melancholy ones. Of equal concern was the absence of an heir. His first wife, Isabel of Bourbon, who died in 1644, had one son, who died in 1646 at the age of seventeen. Philip then married his niece, Mariana of Austria, whose second son, Charles, inherited the throne upon Philip's death in 1665. The frail fouryear-old Charles was the last of the Spanish Habsburgs.

See also Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of; Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Velázquez, Diego.

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**PHILIP V (SPAIN)** (1683–1746; ruled 1700-1724, 1724-1746), king of Spain. Philip V, born in Versailles in 1683, was the first of the Bourbon monarchs and the so-called Enlightenment reformers. The son of the grand dauphin of France and Maria Ana of Bavaria, he was the duke of Anjou and consequently received a meticulous education that inculcated him with religious fervor, a strict respect for conjugal faithfulness, and an enthusiasm for reading and other artistic pursuits, such as music. Appointed king of Spain by the will of Charles II (ruled 1665–1700), he made his first appearance in Madrid in 1701, only to leave immediately for Barcelona, where he was reunited with his wife, María Luisa of Savoy, and where he met with the local parliament or *corts*. This resulted in a good working relationship between the sovereign and the Catalan Estates.

When the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) erupted to dispute his kingship, Philip had to depart for Italy. He disembarked in Naples and personally took part in the battles that brought about the victories of Vitoria and Luzzara (1702) before returning to Spain, where he was actively engaged in the events leading up to the decisive battles of Almansa (1707), Brihuega (1710), and Villaviciosa de Tajuña (1710). His tireless energy earned him the nickname "El Animoso," which he was called from then on. The Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (Rastadt) treaties (1714) that ended the war forced the sovereign to accept the loss of the Low Countries and Italy, the amputation of Minorca (Menorca) and Gibraltar from the peninsula, and some concessions concerning the Americas. Widowed, Philip married Isabel Farnese (1692–1766) in 1714. After the war the king extended his reformist policies regarding government, economic development, culture, and revision of the harshest terms imposed by the Treaty of Utrecht. He relied on a number of notable ministers, including the Frenchmen Jean Orry and Viscount Amelot, the Italian Giulio Alberoni, and the Spaniards José Patiño y Morales, José del Campillo, and Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la Ensenada.

Philip was not always able to carry on this ambitious program on his own, since he suffered from periodic bouts of melancholy, which led him to aban-

don some governmental matters and to avoid interaction with courtiers. These infrequent episodes also resulted in various other strange habits, including sleeping during the day and performing his ordinary activities at night. As a result of his inclination toward solitude, he abdicated in 1724, granting the crown to his firstborn son Luís I, who governed for only a few months before his premature death. The resulting constitutional crisis regarding the reassumption of the crown by Philip V was promptly resolved by the queen's energy and the collaboration of supporting courtiers. Later, again with the purpose of alleviating the sovereign's depression, the court moved to Seville during the so-called Royal Lustrum (1729-1733) before returning definitively to Madrid. There the king spent the rest of his life, alternating, as was the custom, with seasonal stays in the other royal palaces (sitios reales).

The reformist measures instituted during Philip's reign included, in the administrative sphere, the "Nueva Planta" decrees, which established a new governmental regime for the states of the Crown of Aragón and subordinated them to royal authority; the creation of secretaries of state as an alternative to councils, which continued to coexist with the new institutions, except for the Council of Castile, at greatly diminished authority; and reinforcement and reorganization of the armed forces, with regiments replacing the traditional tercios, the creation of artillery and engineering corps, the refoundation of the Military Mathematics Academy of Barcelona, the establishment of a new recruitment system for draftees; the creation of the Royal Navy, the foundation of arsenals, the creation of a school for midshipmen in Cádiz, and new legislation regarding the enlistment of seaman.

In the cultural realm Philip V founded Cervera University and the Seminary of Nobles in Madrid. He also provided the impetus for royal academies of history, medicine, jurisprudence, and fine arts. Concerning economic development, he created various royal factories that produced cloth in Guadalajara, tapestries in Madrid, and glassware in San Ildefonso (La Granja). He also reorganized the trade with Spain's American colonies, supporting the foundation of privileged companies, such as the Guipuzcoana Company of Caracas and the Havana Company. In foreign policy, the revision of the Peace of Utrecht led to the reconquest of Sardinia (1717)



Philip V. Engraving after a painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1700. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and Sicily (1718), which Spain had been forced to renounce in 1714; involvement in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748); the first Family Pacts with France (1733 and 1743); and finally, the initiation of hostilities with England that opened a decadelong conflict (1739–1748). Before the end of the last war, Philip V died in Madrid, and his remains were interred in the Colegiata de la Granja de San Ildefonso near Segovia.

See also Academies, Learned; Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Ensenada, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la; Farnese, Isabel (Spain); Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

PHILO-SEMITISM. See Jews, Attitudes toward.

PHILOSOPHES. Literary writers, scientists, economists, and political theorists, the philosophes of eighteenth-century France explored topics and issues that ranged across a broad spectrum of thought. Yet they shared the assumption that all beliefs and ideas had to be submitted to the test of rational examination, including those that were the most established and institutionally sanctioned. Their faith in human reason was unshakable, and they were confident that the scientific method could produce an accurate and useful understanding of the world and the individual's place within it. Committed to improving the secular order, the philosophes proposed social, ethical, and legal reforms to bring about greater happiness for the greater num-

ber. The more cautious, restrained tone of writers such as Voltaire and Montesquieu, who dominated the philosophe movement during the first part of the eighteenth century, gave way to more extensive and strident criticism. During the French Revolution of 1789, the more radical philosophes were viewed as having brought about the revolutionary upheaval. The philosophes were not radical revolutionaries, however, but, for the most part, liberal reformers who were committed to critical inquiry to promote a rational, progressive, and emancipatory reworking of the intellectual, social, and political order. As such they represent prototypical figures of the modern-day public intellectual.

# PLACE IN SCIENTIFIC AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

In 1759 Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), mathematician and coeditor of the *Encyclopédie*, whose first volume appeared in 1751, called his age "the century of philosophy." French writers had often before staked a claim for the modernity of their cultural moment and its break with past modes of thought, values, and forms of expression. In the seventeenth century, "ancients" debated fiercely with "moderns" over literary values. The eighteenth-century philosophes saw their own break with the past in an unstoppable spread of "philosophy," by which they meant not a limited discipline but a more general mode of understanding, a new manner of organizing, producing, and using knowledge.

The philosophes drew the impetus for this new relationship to knowledge from the work of René Descartes (1596-1650). In Discours de la méthode (1637; Discourse on method) and Meditationes de Prima Philosophiae (1641; Meditations on first philosophy), Descartes proposed that radical doubt must winnow out received ideas and opinions, freeing thought from traditional intellectual authority, before true knowledge can be attained. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) pursued this strategy in *Penseés* diverses sur la comète (1683; Miscellaneous reflections occasioned by the comet), affirming that human beings are not at the center of the universe and are incidental to any divine plan. Exemplifying a corrosive skepticism, Bayle's Dictionnaire historique et critique (1697; Historical and critical dictionary) employed a subversive technique of anecdote, quotation, and commentary to undermine orthodox

Christian beliefs. This technique was later adopted in many of the articles of the *Encyclopédie* and in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764; A philosophical dictionary).

The philosophes embraced Descartes's liberating skepticism, yet they rejected the idealist, metaphysical tendency of Cartesianism. They favored a more empirical and analytical approach, based on experimental investigation rather than on abstract speculation. Many of the philosophes had serious scientific interests or even substantial scientific training. Extending the implications of the scientific method of inquiry to aesthetics, social and political theory, and ethics, they helped solidify the cultural ascendancy of science in the eighteenth century. The influence of seventeenth-century English empiricism on the philosophes was considerable. Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) Novum organum (1620; New instrument) and Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) Philosophia Naturalis Principia Mathematica (1687; The mathematical principles of natural philosophy) were viewed as groundbreaking works in the advancement of a more experimental science, and John Locke's (1632-1704) Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690) helped shift theories of knowledge away from Cartesian idealism towards a sensationalist epistemology, which was more experiential, empirical, and ultimately materialist. Voltaire helped popularize Locke's ideas in France, as did Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715– 1780), author of Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines (1746; An essay on the origin of human knowledge). Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709-1751) developed sensationalism into a more radical and atheistic materialism in L'homme-machine (1747; Man, a machine). Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715-1771) attacked the religious foundation of ethics and promoted a hedonistic sensationalism. Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723-1789), hosted a coterie of similarly radical thinkers. His Système de la nature (1770; The system of nature) and his Système social (1773; The system of society) argued that religion was harmful and untrue, that selfinterest was the highest utilitarian duty, and that individuals were machines devoid of free will. Toward the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the influence of the philosophes would be felt in the economic and social reforms of the Physiocrats and the ideologues.

#### MAJOR PHILOSOPHES

Author of many popular tragedies, epic poems, and histories, Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet; 1694–1778) was a tireless defender of human rights. Briefly imprisoned then forced into exile to England early in his career for expressing liberal opinions, upon his return Voltaire wrote *Lettres philosophiques* (1734; Philosophical letters), in which praise for English religious tolerance, science, and free commerce served as a critique of contemporary France. Voltaire's histories of Charles XII and Louis XIV helped found modern historiography. Employing biting wit and a masterful style, Voltaire wrote numerous satirical tales, such as *Candide* (1759) and *Micromégas* (1752), that treated moral and philosophical issues.

Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), was a nobleman and member of the parlement of Bordeaux. His *Lettres persanes* (1721; Persian letters) painted a satirical portrait of French society, and his *L'esprit des lois* (1748; The spirit of the laws) established his importance as a political philosopher. He viewed societies as organic structures, shaped and governed by a complex set of factors whose workings could be comprehended through examination and rational investigation. Opposed to the injustices of despotism and slavery, Montesquieu's thought influenced the conception of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, written during the French Revolution, as well as the Constitution of the United States.

Denis Diderot (1713-1784) was the chief editor of the Encyclopédie (1751-1772), perhaps the most significant work of the French Enlightenment. Promoting useful and productive knowledge, and advancing the philosophes' battle against entrenched powers in church and state, the Encyclopédie project was a catalyst for a cohort of reformist writers. Diderot wrote numerous novels, dialogues, and tales. Proponent of a materialist, atheist philosophy, his Le rêve de d'Alembert (1769; D'Alembert's dream) anticipates nineteenthcentury evolutionary theory. His innovative dramatic reforms, including the new genre of the drame bourgeois, promoted ways to heighten theater's moral and social impact. Diderot has been hailed as the first modern art critic for his commentary on Parisian art exhibitions. His dialogue Le neveu de Rameau (pub. 1821; Rameau's nephew) presents a cutting satire of contemporary society.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was an outspoken critic of the moral excesses of refined civilization. In Discours sur les sciences et les arts (1750; Discourse on the sciences and the arts), he argued that the arts have no beneficial effect on civilization, and in Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes (1755; Discourse on the origin and bases of inequality among men) he maintained that increasingly complex social organization tends to promote increased inequality. Rousseau enjoyed considerable popularity through his opera and ballet, the novel Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse (1791; Julie, or the new Eloise), and his autobiographical Confessions (published in 1782 after his death). He wrote on pedagogical reforms in Émile, ou de l'éducation (1762; Emile, or on education), and on sociopolitical theory in Le contrat social (1762; The social contract), which greatly influenced political thinking during the French Revolution.

Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794), was an active participant in the Encyclopédie project, a leading member of numerous scientific and literary academies, and a fervent supporter of reformist views (concerning economic freedom, religious toleration, legal and education reform, and the abolition of slavery). He was active during the early phase of the French Revolution, presenting reform projects on state education and the constitution. Written in 1795 while Condorcet was in hiding during the Reign of Terror, the most radical phase of the Revolution, his Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain (Outlines of an historical view of the progress of the human mind) argued that the human race progresses continually toward perfection.

# SOCIAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

The eighteenth-century philosophe emerged in part because of the absolutist state's decreasing will or power to control literary production and patronage. The philosophes did not generally advocate political equality, and they readily accepted the notion of royal sovereignty, as well as the tangible and symbolic privileges it bestowed. Their work contributed to producing a sphere of public discussion and critical debate not directly controlled by the state.

Members of regional and national academies, meeting to discuss intellectual matters in drawing rooms away from court, the philosophes believed themselves to belong to a republic of letters, a society of world citizens, as Immanuel Kant called it. They called for their ideas to be judged by the court of public opinion, whose pronouncements were reached through the use of critical reason. The philosophes defined their social, political, and intellectual relation to state institutions not in terms of absolute opposition but instead as a set of complex negotiations of dependency, autonomy, and resistance. As expressed in the Encyclopédie article "Philosophe," the philosophes' own image of themselves was that of spokespersons for reason, essentially sociable citizens who were useful to a productive and refined society whose collective welfare they both enjoyed and sought to promote.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Ancients and Moderns; Bacon, Francis; Bayle, Pierre; Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; Helvétius, Claude-Adrien; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Kant, Immanuel; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Locke, John; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Newton, Isaac; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scientific Method; Voltaire.

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Daniel Brewer

PHILOSOPHY. In the sixteenth century, "philosophy" still meant Aristotelianism in its medieval Christian form, with Platonism and other ancient doctrines, including stoicism, Epicureanism, skepticism, eclecticism, and various occult traditions, remaining on the academic margins, though they were becoming lively topics of intellectual controversy. Philosophical practice of the period was increasingly devoted to the comparative study of these systems. Opposing these dogmatic (or skeptical) traditions, however, was the novel and unorthodox question posed by Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), "whether it is useful for Christian philosophy to construct a new philosophy after that of the pagans, and if so, on what grounds." This was a challenge taken up by a number of fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century thinkers, including Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and other Neoplatonists; Lorenzo Valla, Desiderius Erasmus, and other humanists; Rudolphus Agricola, Petrus Ramus, and other reformers of rhetoric and logic; Jacopo Zabarella, Giordano Bruno, and other Italian natural philosophers; and Francis Bacon, Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, Isaac Newton, and other champions of the "party of nature" and a self-proclaimed "new philosophy."

The study of these and other philosophical movements beyond the academic mainstream has been pursued in the past two generations, especially by Paul Oskar Kristeller and his students. This has opened up new perspectives on the history of Western thought, even though the older traditions—which tend to jump from the medieval theologian-philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1224/1225–1274) and Scholasticism directly to Descartes (1596–1650), the French rationalist and metaphysician, and other seventeenth-century system builders—

have remained dominant in the modern philosophical canon.

# THE BREAK WITH SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY

According to convention, modern philosophy begins with Descartes and the English empiricist and philosopher of science Francis Bacon (1561–1626), pivotal figures who broke decisively with the intellectual system of the late medieval world and helped to articulate a new agenda for philosophy. This simplifies a complex story, as medieval philosophy gave way to early modern systems of thought slowly, across several generations. But Bacon and Descartes indeed helped to usher in a revolutionary period in philosophy, with upheavals in crucial areas such as epistemology, metaphysics, philosophy of science, ethics, and political philosophy.

At the start of the seventeenth century, the presumptive authority of time-tested ancient thinkers, particularly the towering figure of Aristotle (384– 322 B.C.E.), still carried great weight in philosophy and the sciences. The overwhelmingly dominant philosophical system, firmly entrenched in the universities, was Aristotelian Scholasticism, a synthesis of Aristotle's philosophy with Christian doctrine that had been forged by Aquinas. But modern philosophers such as Bacon and Descartes rejected this traditional deference toward Aristotle and other ancient figures of authority and broke with the Scholastic system. The decline in respect for traditional philosophical authorities had various sources. The religious crises of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation had shaken the presumption in favor of tradition, opening space for a more assertive questioning of received doctrine. Humanist scholars had unearthed and reintroduced lost systems of thought, such as ancient Greek atomism and classical skepticism, that presented alternatives to the theories of Aristotle, encouraging critical debate on the merits of all these competing systems. Developments in Renaissance science and the burgeoning scientific revolution were also exposing the fallibility of Aristotelian physics and cosmology. While Scholastic philosophy continued to dominate the universities through the seventeenth century, the main developments in modern philosophy came from thinkers operating outside of this old establishment, usually men of independent means or supported by aristocratic patronage rather than a professor's salary. These philosophers typically addressed their works to the educated classes more broadly and wrote in the vernacular rather than the Latin of Scholastic academia.

In practice the break with the Scholastic intellectual system helped to reestablish philosophy as an autonomous discipline outside of theology. While most of the leading early modern philosophers were religious believers who sought to develop philosophical theories consistent with their religious commitments, nevertheless there was a marked shift toward the scientific study of human nature and the physical world, unmediated by an explicit emphasis on theological doctrine. The trend toward secularization encompassed even ethics and political philosophy, with philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), David Hume (1711–1776), and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) founding moral and political principles on reason or human nature, rather than the commands of God. (This "secularization thesis" is also part of the conventional story of modern philosophy, but it has been challenged by some recent scholars, most notably Hans Blumenberg.)

## ASSOCIATION WITH THE NEW SCIENCE

The agenda of early modern philosophy was closely connected with the new scientific worldview pioneered by figures such as Galileo (1564-1642), Kepler (1571–1630), and Newton (1642–1727). Bacon, Descartes, and the philosophers who followed them were gripped by the explanatory range and power of the new science and were concerned to articulate, codify, and defend its methods and to explore its implications for metaphysics and epistemology. Several philosophers of the period were involved firsthand in the practice of science: leading examples include Descartes and the German philosophers Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) and Kant. Early modern philosophers would also self-consciously import the experimental method of the new science into the realm of philosophy, as in the theories of mind developed by the British empiricists John Locke (1632-1704) and Hume.

The new scientific worldview brought a fresh range of philosophical questions to the fore. First, there were questions concerning scientific method (a particular interest of Bacon, Locke, and Hume). How could inductive extrapolation from observed phenomena to unobserved cases be justified? Would

science ever show us the inner essence of things and explain their underlying causal powers, or was it limited to merely cataloging correlations and patterns among surface phenomena? Then there were the metaphysical questions. What did the success of the new mathematical, quantitative models of nature show us about the relationship between mathematics on the one hand and empirical reality on the other? In what sense were subjective features of experience like colors and sounds part of the material world? And, most pressingly, what was the status of human beings in the scientific world picture? Was there still room for free will, morality, religion, and the human soul in the vast, cold, deterministic world of the new mathematical sciences?

#### **EPISTEMOLOGY**

Early modern philosophy is justly famous for its reorientation toward epistemology, or the theory of knowledge. The examination of the processes by which we arrive at and justify knowledge claims took on a new primacy in the period, as philosophers such as Bacon, Descartes, Locke, Hume, and Kant each in their own way urged the importance of clarifying the nature and limits of our own cognitive faculties. Apart from the general wisdom of examining the sources and justifiability of our beliefs before boldly advancing theories on subjects that may exceed our capacities, the new emphasis on epistemology had several more immediate motivations. It was connected to the collapse in the prestige of traditional sources of authority such as Aristotle and church doctrine. If ancient authorities no longer commanded automatic deference, then who-or what—should a responsible thinker take as a legitimate source of knowledge? It was also related to the questions of method and scientific procedure raised by the achievements of the new science. Most famously, it was prompted by the skeptical onslaught of figures like Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), the great French essayist and popularizer of ancient forms of skepticism, who argued that all the bases of our so-called knowledge are inadequate.

It is customary to distinguish between two main factions in early modern epistemology: the empiricists on the one hand and the rationalists on the other. The distinction can be overemphasized at the risk of falsely caricaturing the rationalists as hostile to empirical investigation, or of obscuring a complex pattern of intellectual influences back and forth between the two groups. Nevertheless the distinction does capture an important difference in approaches to the theory of knowledge. The empiricists-led by Bacon, Locke, and Hume-argued that all our ideas are ultimately acquired in experience, and that the limits of experience set boundaries on our knowledge. The empiricist thus counsels a certain humility: our knowledge is forever limited to the patterns and regularities we witness among the empirically observable features of the world; metaphysical speculation about the inner nature of things transcends our capacities. By contrast, the rationalists—led by Descartes, the Dutch Jewish metaphysician Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), and Leibniz-argued that our minds are innately furnished with certain ideas over and above those we acquire in experience. Using these innate ideas we can reason about things transcending experience. For the rationalist, this explains how we can have knowledge that goes beyond all possible empirical confirmation, either because of its universal nature (logic, mathematics, knowledge of the laws of nature) or because of its transcendent subject matter (God, the soul, morality).

## **METAPHYSICS**

Early modern philosophers explored a wide range of issues in metaphysics (the study of the ultimate nature of reality), including, notably, problems of space and time, causation, the ultimate structure of matter, the nature of morality, and God. However, the most characteristic metaphysical questions of the period focus on the connection between the human mind or soul on the one hand and the physical world on the other. Clearly these issues were related to the epistemological turn, and in particular to Descartes's famous skeptical problem of how we can know that there is a physical realm beyond our minds at all. But such questions were also forced by reflection on the new scientific worldview. Advocates of the new science such as Galileo and Descartes argued that the objective, mind-independent world described by science could be exhaustively characterized in terms of mathematically tractable "primary" qualities such as shape, size, and motion. "Secondary" qualities such as colors, tastes, sounds, and smells were then downgraded to a derivative status and were in some sense observer-relative and mind-dependent, more a feature of subjective experience than ultimate objective reality. This distinction had great appeal for most early moderns, but it would be challenged by figures such as the Irish cleric George Berkeley (1685–1753), Hume, and Kant, who pointed out that a clear distinction between mind-dependent and mind-independent properties is not so easy to draw. Kant argued that even space and time were mind-dependent or "ideal." For Berkeley the notion of any mind-independent reality whatsoever was fundamentally incoherent: all that exists are minds and their ideas.

Granted the existence of an objective material realm, the next question concerned the relationship between the mind and the physical body. Descartes developed the popular theory that the mind is an immaterial soul-substance over and above the material brain, arguing that this helped to explain the existence of consciousness and made room both for an afterlife beyond bodily death and for free will (as well as moral responsibility) outside the deterministic laws governing the material order. But others thought the theory raised more problems than it solved, including difficulties in accounting for the causal interaction between immaterial soul and material body. Materialists such as Hobbes and Spinoza insisted that the human animal, mind included, was just a complex material system; others such as Locke counseled a metaphysical agnosticism about the ultimate nature of the thinking self.

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The medieval church and the Scholastic tradition had located the source of political legitimacy in implicit divine approval of established dynasties, a conservative doctrine that left little room for individual rights against the monarch or for systems of popular sovereignty. Leading Protestant theologians such as Martin Luther (1483-1546) reaffirmed the doctrine of divine right, although some of the more radical Anabaptist reformers preached against it. The main philosophical revolt against this medieval tradition came with the social contract theorists: the Dutch legal scholar and philosopher Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Hobbes, Locke, and the Swiss-born social theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). These figures posited a hypothetical "state of nature" without government to explore the basic rights of the individual, and they argued that legitimate state authority was ultimately

derived from such foundational individual rights, transferred conditionally through popular (though perhaps implicit) consent. The corollary was that individuals retained certain inalienable rights against government, that state authority was in some (perhaps quite attenuated) sense contingent on popular consent, and that regimes in breach of the implicit contract were illegitimate and could be justly overthrown. Locke would extend the contract theory to argue for religious toleration (although Catholics and atheists were excluded as beyond the pale) on the basis of natural rights, adding arguments premised on general empiricist epistemic humility and on the involuntary nature of religious belief. Conservatives such as Hume and Edmund Burke (1729–1797) attacked the contract theory, arguing that there was in fact no popular consent; the foundation of natural rights was metaphysically dubious; and the doctrine threatened to destabilize the ancient political settlements that secured peace and civic order.

In the international arena the Florentine diplomat and political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) notoriously endorsed realism, the harsh doctrine that there are no moral constraints governing relations between distinct states. Here he was followed by Hobbes, a skeptic about political morality in the absence of an overarching sovereign power to coercively enforce duties. Opponents of realism included Grotius, who developed a substantial system of international law and moral precepts on the basis of treaty, and Kant, who argued that reason prescribed a universal political morality transcending national jurisdictions and advocated the creation of a "league of nations" to enforce international law.

See also Aristotelianism; Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; Bruno, Giordano; Burke, Edmund; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Enlightenment; Epistemology; Erasmus, Desiderius; Free Will; Galileo Galilei; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Idealism; Kant, Immanuel; Kepler, Johannes; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Logic; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Montaigne, Michel de; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Nature; Neoplatonism; Newton, Isaac; Political Philosophy; Ramus, Petrus; Renaissance; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism, Academic and Pyrrhonian; Spinoza, Baruch; Stoicism.

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**PHYSICS.** Physics, as a structured mathematical and experimental investigation into the fundamental constituents and laws of the natural world, was not recognized as a discipline until late in the early modern period. Derived from the Greek word meaning 'to grow', in ancient and medieval times "physics" (or "natural philosophy") was concerned with the investigation of the qualitative features of any natural phenomena (psychological, chemical, biological, meteorological, etc.) and was often guided by the metaphysical and epistemological tenets set out in the physical books of the Aristotelian corpus. These included the idea of the cosmos as a finite sphere in which no void or vacuum could exist, the division between the sublunary and celestial realms (each with its own types of matter and motion), the doctrine of the four sublunary elements (earth, air, water, and fire, each naturally moving either upward or downward), and a complex causal theory according to which any natural change requires the interaction of an agent that initiates the change and a patient that undergoes the change. As with many of the developments of the early modern period, modern physics defined itself in reaction to these received Aristotelian ideas.

This is not to say that Aristotle did not go unchallenged until the early modern period. In Hellenistic times, for example, Aristotle's theory of natural motion was seen to need supplementation since it could not explain satisfactorily why a thrown object continued in projectile motion once separated from the cause of its motion (for example, a hand) instead of immediately resuming its natural motion downward. The concept introduced to explain this was impetus—a propelling, motive force transferred from the cause of motion into the projectile. Similarly, atomism posed a long-standing challenge to Aristotelian matter theory. According to atomism, the universe consisted of small material particles moving in a void, and all natural change could be explained by the particles coming together and separating in various ways.

The challenges reached their climax in 1277 as Archbishop Tempier of Paris issued a condemnation that forbade the teaching of Aristotle as dogma. Although other criticisms of Aristotleian philosophy continued through the fourteenth century and after, the basic Aristotleian ideas regarding the nature of motion and the cosmos persisted in European schools and universities well into the seventeenth century, albeit in Christianized forms. The critical treatments of Aristotleian philosophy became the seeds from which modern physics grew.

Many other social, economic, and intellectual events also were responsible for the birth of physics and modern science. The Reformation and its consequent religious wars, the voyages of exploration and exploitation, the rise of capitalism and market economies, and the geographical shift of power from the Mediterranean basin to the north Atlantic were of particular import. In a somewhat controversial fashion we might characterize these influences as promoting a social, economic, and intellectual sense of insecurity among the people of Europe and contributing to a concomitant rise in entrepreneurial and epistemic individualism. One important result of this was an increased skepticism both as an everyday viewpoint and, as in Michel de Montaigne's (1533–1592) case, a full-blown skeptical theory.

The rise of printing is particularly important among the cultural changes leading to the birth of physics. The printed text allowed for wider distribution of recently resurrected and translated ancient

texts on philosophy and mathematics. Euclid's (fl. c. 280 B.C.E.) Elements, for example, was published in numerous modern editions, and the pseudo-Aristotelian Mechanics and the works of Archimedes (c. 281–212 B.C.E.) were brought to the Latin-educated public. These works formed the basis of the mixed or middle sciences (being both mathematical and physical) and provided the disciplinary form into which the new physics would fit. The use of diagrams and illustrations as teaching and learning devices was crucial to this revival of applied geometry. Books also allowed for a standardization of material that enabled widely dispersed individuals to study the same texts of classical and modern authors. In the sixteenth century, publications of how-to-do books and pamphlets brought mathematics and concerns about mechanical devices to a much broader public, including artisan and nonuniversity classes. However, the practical inclination toward mechanics was given theoretical credence by the anti-Aristotelian theory of atomism (reinvigorated in the Latin West by the early-fifteenth-century recovery of Lucretius's [c. 95-55 B.C.E.] De rerum natura [On the nature of things]) and philosophical criticisms of Aristotle's theory of causality, which took mechanical devices as exemplars of phenomena for which Aristotle's theory could not properly account.

The increased focus on the workings of the natural world led to the institution of societies dedicated to scientific learning. In 1603, for example, the Academy of the Lynxes (Academie dei Lincei) was founded in Naples by Prince Federico Cesi (1585–1630). In 1662, the most influential of the new institutions, the Royal Society of London, was founded by Charles II of England (ruled 1660–1685). The society encouraged Christian gentlemen to study natural philosophy, held regular meetings, and published its proceedings. The Royal Society proved a venue for many amateurs to pursue science and may have created the first professional scientist by hiring Robert Hooke (1635–1703) as its curator of experiments.

# THE NEED FOR A NEW THEORY OF THE NATURAL WORLD

The general attacks on the Aristotelian view of nature gained momentum through the pressing need to solve a set of particular physical problems that were largely intractable given Aristotelian premises.

In particular, demand for a revision to Aristotelianism was brought to crucial focus by Nicolaus Copernicus's (1473–1543) publication of On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres in 1543. In it, Copernicus laid out an astronomical system based on circles and epicycles much in the same mathematical vein as Claudius Ptolemy's (c. 100–170), but shifted the sun to the mathematical center of the earth's orbit and made the earth move in a threefold manner (daily, annual, and axial motion to account for precession). The theoretical shift left a major conceptual problem for Copernicus's followers: namely, how to reconcile a physical description of the universe with Copernicus's new mathematical description of it. In particular, it became problematic to talk about the motion of bodies on earth if the earth itself was moving and also to account for the motion of the earth itself. Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) was one of the first to worry about physical cosmos, and based on his own marvelous celestial observations, devised his own compromise system. But Tycho's system was qualitative and never put into good mathematical shape, and, therefore, useless to professional astronomers. Nevertheless, his work on comets did away with the crystalline spheres in which planets were thought to be embedded.

The first to successfully challenge Aristotle on his physics, matter theory, and cosmology—and, in the process, vindicate Copernicus—was Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). Galileo was trained by artisans, and after dropping out of medical school, began to work on problems of mechanics in an Archimedian manner, modeling his proofs on simple machines and floating bodies. Contributing to Galileo's confidence in the Copernican system was the construction of his own telescope in 1609 (one of the first) and his consequent investigation of the moon, the sun, the Milky Way, and the discovery of four moons of Jupiter. These investigations were published in *The Starry Messenger* in 1610 and in the Letters on the Sunspots in 1613. They affirmed Galileo's conviction that the earth was a material body like the other planets, and that Copernicus's system was an accurate physical description of the universe. But he still lacked an account of how bodies moved on an earth that was itself moving.

Galileo's most influential book, *Dialogues con*cerning the Two Chief World Systems (1632), was his most elaborate defense of Copernicanism. In this book he argued most effectively that a theory of motion for a moving earth was not only possible but more plausible than the Aristotelian theory of motion. Specifically, he argued for a form of natural motion (inertia) where bodies moved circularly, and for the principle of the relativity of observed motion (which had been used before by Copernicus and others). This allowed him to claim that the motion of the earth was not perceptible since it was common to both the earth and bodies on it. At the end of the *Dialogue*, he thought he proved Copernicanism by claiming the earth's trifold motion could physically explain of the tides.

Galileo's condemnation for heresy under the papacy of his former friend Urban VIII was based on the Dialogue; he was put under house arrest for the rest of his life. During this time, he began work on his final publication, Discourses concerning Two New Sciences (1638). This work revived the Archimedean, mechanical physics he had virtually completed between 1604 and 1609. Here he argued for a one-element theory on which matter was to be understood solely by its mechanical properties, as Archimedean machines were understood, and for a theory of motion on which motion was essentially related to time. Particularly, he argued that falling bodies accelerate in proportion to the square of the time of their fall, and provided experimental evidence for this by measuring balls rolling down inclined planes. The emphasis on time as the important independent variable occurred to him from discovering the isochrony using pendulums, whose isochrony he discovered. As Galileo was working out the details of a new physics, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) formed the world's first mathematical astrophysics. It was he who finally abandoned the principal assumptions of Ptolemaic and Copernican astronomy by introducing elliptical motion and demanding that astronomical calculation describe real physical objects. Although to his contemporaries Kepler was mostly known for producing the most accurate astronomical tables to date, his legacy lies in a reorientation of astronomy away from a predictive discipline aimed at mathematically "saving the phenomena" to one that combines observational predictions (how the planets move) with physical theory (why they move). For example, Kepler offered not only his so-called three laws describing planetary motion, but also answered the causal Copernican problem by explaining that the planets were moved by a quasi-magnetic force emanating from the sun that diminished with distance and were hindered by their natural inertia or "sluggishness." His integration of underlying physical mechanism and descriptive law, much in the same manner as Galileo's, was to become a hallmark of seventeenth-century science. It is in this sense that both thinkers built the foundation on which the mechanical philosophy was to rest.

#### THE NEW SYSTEMATIZERS

Although Galileo's and Kepler's works were complementary, neither thinker attempted to reformulate the whole of the Aristotelian natural philosophy. René Descartes (1596-1650), on the other hand, attempted to build a complete system to replace Aristotelianism and put philosophy, including natural philosophy and the science of motion, on a firm epistemic and theological basis (the Cartesian cogito—I think therefore I am—and that God is no deceiver; Meditations on the First Philosophy, 1641). Regarding motion, he shifted emphasis from Galileo's machines to collision laws and promulgated a version of straight-line inertia. Descartes's laws of collision combined with a belief in a corpuscular (if not strictly atomic) matter allowed him to consider many physical problems in terms of material contact action and resulting equilibrium situations. For example, Descartes attempted to account for planetary motion and gravity in terms of vortices of particles swirling around a center, pushing heavier particles down into the vortex while carrying others around in their whirl. The Cartesian program was laid out in its most complete form in The Principles of Philosophy (1644). There he used the vortex theory and the strict definition of place to placate the church and to show that Copernicanism was not literally true. Descartes hoped this book would become the standard text at Catholic schools, replacing even Thomas Aquinas, but it was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1663.

Descartes's followers could be called "mechanical philosophers," though in fact the phrase was coined later by Robert Boyle (1627–1691). Most notable among them was Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), who, apart from making several important astronomical discoveries (for example, the

rings of Saturn and its largest moon, Titan), published works on analytic geometry, clockmaking, and the pendulum, and corrected Descartes's erroneous laws of collision. Huygens's laws were proven by using Galileo's principle of relativity of perceived motion in *On Motion* (published in 1703; composed in the mid-1650s). He forcefully championed Cartesian philosophy in his criticisms of Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) notion of gravity, rejecting it as a return to occult qualities and offering instead his own aetherial vortex theory in *Discourse on the Cause of Heaviness* (1690).

In England, Robert Boyle emerged as the most vocal champion of the new philosophy. Boyle wrote prolifically on physics, alchemy, philosophy, medicine, and theology, and approached all with a single and forcefully articulated mechanical worldview, though in practice he seldom rigorously applied it.

For Boyle, all natural phenomena were to be studied experimentally, and explanations were to be given by the configurations and motions of minute material corpuscles. Boyle's writings either argue for this view generally—for example, The Origine of Formes and Qualities (1666)—or by example, for example, New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall, Touching the Spring of the Air and Its Effects (1660). In the Origine, for example, Boyle argues against the Scholastic reliance on substantial forms, holding these to be unintelligible in themselves and useless for practical purposes. Instead he offers explanation using analogies for natural processes that were already well worn: that of the lock and key and that of the world as a clock. Boyle's criticisms were widely circulated both in England and on the Continent. (It is of note that Robert Hooke's work on springs was more rigorous and his version of the mechanical philosophy in terms of vibrating particles was later



Physics. Experiment with an Air Pump, 1768, painting by Joseph Wright of Derby. National Gallery, London, U.K./Bridgeman Art Library

to become more widely used than Boyle's.) Boyle, like some other seventeenth-century thinkers, was deeply committed to the use of mechanical science to further belief in God. This fact is important to note, as no great schism was felt in the seventeenth century between the findings of science and belief in the deity, although the charge of atheism was often leveled in battles between competing scientific schools, particularly against Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who may be the most coherent of all the mechanical philosophers, and who had the widest philosophical impact during the mid-century.

#### THE NEW PHYSICS

If the systematization of these modes of thought and physical problems into a coherent whole can be attributed to one man, it is Isaac Newton (1642-1727). In his Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy (1687), Newton combined the study of collision theory, a new theory regarding substantial forces and their the measure, and a new geometrical version of the calculus to draw consequences regarding motion both on earth and in the heavens. The book begins with the three laws of motion: the law of inertia, the force law, and the law of action and reaction. Although the law of inertia was first framed by Descartes, the latter two laws were Newton's stunning innovations. Of particular importance is the second law, in which Newton introduces a novel measure of force akin to the modern notion of impact (instantaneous change in momentum). Considering force in this way, Newton was able to treat the effect of any force as if it were the result of a collision between two bodies, thus reducing the variety of physical phenomena to cases of collision.

In general, the evolution of the concept of force in the seventeenth century constitutes a crucial feature in the birth of modern physics. At the beginning of the century, the term "force" was used with a variety of intuitive meanings. Lack of a precise concept was due, in part, to the fact that characterizations of force were derived from analyses of several different physical situations: equilibrium situations in terms of the law of the lever (where a specific weight was related to the force required to balance it), impact in collisions, and free fall. It was unclear how to relate these, which were all by the

Aristotelian tradition violent motions, that is, against a body's natural inclination. With Descartes's formulation of the principle of inertia, the mechanical analogue of Aristotelian natural motion, force came to indicate the cause of any deviation from (seemingly natural) inertial motion. By further fixing its meaning in all cases, Newton was able to provide a unified treatment of the physical situations mentioned above.

Newton also showed that the Cartesian explanation of planetary motion by an aetherial vortex was untenable. Moreover, using Kepler's laws and a host of other planetary observations, he demonstrated that the planets must be drawn toward the sun (as well as toward one another) by a force inversely proportional to their distance and directly proportional to their mass: by a gravitational force. This was Newton's most contentious discovery. Although his laws of motion were quickly recognized as correct, Newtonian gravitation, was dismissed by many as a "fiction" and a "mere hypothesis." Put differently, since the gravitational force did not rely on the collisions or springs endorsed by mechanical philosophers, Newton's contemporaries perceived it as a return to recently banished occult Aristotelian properties. In general, since force (gravitational or otherwise) is not a directly perceivable property of matter, it seemed Newton was rejecting a mainstay of the mechanical philosophy by admitting ontologically gratuitous terms into his physical explanations. (George Berkeley [1685-1753] would try to recast Newtonian mechanics without force in his On Motion [1721].)

Newton's most powerful critic in this and other regards was Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). Although their antagonism originated with a priority dispute in the mid-1690s over the invention of the calculus—which Newton and Leibniz had actually invented independently—it ended with Newton's anonymous writing of the official opinion of the Royal Society in which it was declared that he, Newton, was the true originator. This tiff was continued in a protracted epistolary debate between Leibniz and Newton's disciple, Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), over the metaphysical and religious implication of Newtonian physics. Leibniz claimed that Newton's theory of gravitation not only did not explain anything (since the notion of gravitational action-at-a-distance was itself unintelligible), but promoted atheism. The other key debate was over the nature of relative versus Newtonian absolute space. Similar debates between Newtonians and their detractors regarding the explanatory and theological significance of universal gravitation were to color the philosophical landscape well into the eighteenth century.

Most importantly, however, Newton's debates with Leibniz yielded Newton's most explicit characterizations of his scientific method, which were to serve as a basis for all later science. In warding off criticism, Newton often insisted that the notion of universal gravitation was not in the least hypothetical, but was securely and positively based on empirical evidence. His insistence that theoretical claims should be justified only by observations, even when dealing with properties not directly perceivable, contradicted the idea of some of his contemporaries, who were accustomed to deducing theoretical claims from higher-level metaphysical or theological principles. The reliance on observation and experiment, more than any of Newton's particular claims, quickly became a hallmark of science as a whole. The Royal Society, increasing professionalization, an experimental method, and a set of unique problems all testify to physics' emergence as its own discipline during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

#### RECASTING PHYSICS

Curiously, despite its numerous innovations, Newton's work was mostly written in an older geometrical style, not the differential calculus. The move away from geometry—which had dominated mathematical thinking since antiquity—was not completed until the middle of the eighteenth century, well after Newton's death, although it had begun in the early years of the seventeenth century with the work of François Viète (1540-1603), Thomas Harriot (c. 1560–1621), Descartes, and Pierre de Fermat (1601–1665) on infinitesimals and the algebraic treatment of curves. This new analytical treatment of mathematics was the cause of aforementioned dispute between Newton and Leibniz regarding the calculus: while Leibniz's version of the calculus was based on the algebraic techniques gaining strength at the time, Newton's version (at least as published during his lifetime) was a geometrical analogue. Leibniz's version was eventually

adopted, and by the mid-eighteenth century, virtually all developments of the calculus were undertaken in an algebraic style. The culmination of this movement was to come in Leonhard Euler's (1707–1783) *Mechanics or the Science of Motion Exposited Analytically* (1736) and Joseph-Louis Lagrange's (1736–1813) *Analytical Mechanics* (1788).

Finally, it remains to remark that Newtonian physics and Newton himself, by name if not by precise deed, was taken as exemplary for the age that followed. Numerous works for children and women, now thought fit for education, appeared in many languages; among such were E. Wells, Young Gentleman's Course in Mechanicks, Optics, and Astronomy (1714) and Francesco Algarotti's (1712-1764) Sir Isaac Newton for Use of Ladies (1739). More serious discussions and popularizations of Newton and his work were also numerous. To mention only a few, we find in the early eighteenth century John Theophilus Desagulier's (1683-1744) Course of Experimental Philosophy (1744), Willem Gravesande's (1688-1742) Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy (1721), Henry Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy (1728), and most impressive of all Colin Maclaurin's (1698–1746) posthumously published An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy (1748). In France Newton also had his fame; Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698-1759) taught Newtonianism to Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778), and to Madame du Chatelet (1706-1749), leading Voltaire to write the popular Elements of Newtonian Philosophy (1741), which is perhaps the best known but certainly not an isolated instance. Newton was seen during this time as the man who had brought modernity (and perhaps salvation) to England and to the world. The prevailing thought of the times was well summed up by Alexander Pope in his "Epitaph Intended for Sir Isaac Newton":

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night; God said, "Let Newton be!" and all was light.

See also Academies, Learned; Astronomy; Berkeley, George; Boyle, Robert; Brahe, Tycho; Catholicism; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Huygens Family; Kepler, Johannes; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Mathematics; Montaigne, Michel de; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Reformation, Protestant; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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PETER MACHAMER AND ZVI BIENER

# PHYSIOCRATS AND PHYSIO-

**CRACY.** Physiocracy was an economic theory that flourished in France in the second half of the eighteenth century, and an important example of Enlightenment social science. In 1757 François Quesnay (1694–1774), the chief theorist of Physiocracy, met Victor Riqueti, marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789), initiating a lifelong collaboration. Two years later, Quesnay published his Tableau *aconomique*, a work he and Mirabeau regarded as the foundation of Physiocracy. This was followed by Mirabeau's *Théorie de l'impôt* in 1760, and the *Phi*losophie rurale, the first full exposition of physiocratic thought, in 1763. In the 1760s, Mirabeau and Quesnay recruited Pierre-Samuel Dupont (1739– 1817), Guillaume-François Le Trosne (1728– 1780), Nicolas Baudeau (1730–1792), J.-N.-M. de Saint-Péravy (1732–1789), and Paul-Pierre Le Mercier de la Rivière (1719–1801); the latter published the most complete account of the doctrine in his L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques (1767). Physiocracy also won converts in Sweden, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and Le Mercier de la Rivière traveled to Russia to consult with Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796).

Physiocracy addressed critical problems of the French state in the aftermath of the Seven Years'

War (1756–1763). French statesmen wanted to understand why England had surged ahead of France in wealth and power, and they sought a program to reestablish French preeminence. The Physiocrats offered a diagnosis of French weakness: France had neglected agriculture in favor of commerce and manufactures. The central premise of Physiocracy is that agriculture is the sole source of wealth. Quesnay denied that commerce and manufacturing produce riches. The increase in value that manufacturing confers on raw materials, he argued, covers only labor and production costs, and a profit for the entrepreneur equivalent to a moderate interest on his capital. Agriculture, on the other hand, pays wage and production costs, a profit for the farmer, and still leaves a surplus—a "net product"—to pay a rent to the landlord. Quesnay argued that statesponsored industrial development in France, combined with efforts to keep manufacturing wages low by regulating grain prices, had impoverished agriculture. The Physiocrats also criticized the fiscal system. They called for the abolition of existing taxes and their replacement by a single tax, which was to fall only on the net product. The net product represents the whole economic surplus of society, they argued; to collect tax on revenues other than the net product is merely to increase the costs of collection. To revivify the agricultural economy, and regenerate the nation, the Physiocrats sought to replace peasant cultivation with an English-style commercial agriculture. They also demanded the deregulation of the grain trade, including a relaxation of the laws against export, so that the price of grain could return to its natural level. The Physiocrats were doctrinaire advocates of free trade, rejecting the "balance of trade" theory, which held that statesmen must ensure that national exports always exceed imports. They regarded unfettered property rights as the foundation of prosperity, and they also argued in favor of absolute liberty to work, which led them to condemn the trade corporations that regulated the artisanal economy.

Although they identified the market economy as "natural," the Physiocrats believed that vested interests had blocked its development. To override such interests, they proposed to establish "legal despotism," a governing authority untrammeled by constitutional checks. By legal despotism the Physiocrats meant not arbitrary rule, but government

under laws derived from the "natural order." Though they suggested that an independent magistracy and public opinion would watch over the acts of the sovereign, they expected self-interest to function as the principal check on its actions.

During the 1760s, with the enthusiastic support of the Physiocrats, the French administration committed itself to a program of economic reform, introducing domestic free trade in grain in 1763 and freedom of export in 1764. As grain prices rose between 1764 and 1770, deregulation was attacked. The Physiocrats defended the government in pamphlets and in the physiocratic journal, the Ephémérides du citoyen. They also supported the administration's policy of ending the monopoly of the Indies Company in 1769. Whatever influence Physiocracy enjoyed in the 1760s, it lost with the fall of the reform-minded administration in 1770. The anti-physiocratic Abbé Terray reinstituted regulation of the grain trade in 1770, and in 1772 closed the Ephémérides du citoyen. The Physiocrats enjoyed a resurgence when Louis XVI appointed Turgot, a physiocratic sympathizer, as controller general in 1774. The new minister reinstituted free trade in grain, reestablished the Ephémérides, and moved against the trade corporations. However, the opposition Turgot's reforms aroused swept him from office in 1776 and Physiocracy never again enjoyed the same prominence.

See also Agriculture; Enlightenment; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Taxation.

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## PHYSIOLOGY. See Anatomy and Physiology.

PICTURESQUE. Use of the term "picturesque" has varied greatly since its emergence in the late seventeenth century, and its meaning has been frequently disputed. Ostensibly derived from the Italian pittoresco or the French pittoresque, meaning "like a picture" or "as if by a painter," the English version exceeded those meanings even in its earliest usage. For example, in notes to his translation of Homer's Iliad (1715-1720), the poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744) used the word "picturesque" to signal descriptive passages that, when visualized, were particularly compelling. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the term generally implied that the subject in question was to some degree in keeping with conventions of painting. However, that conformity might be deliberate or by chance and, consequently, the expression was equally applicable to designed and natural subjects: gardens and remote wilderness, artful compositions and haphazard arrangements, brushstrokes within a painting, and even paintings themselves.

During the last third of the eighteenth century, the meaning of "picturesque" became a major subject of debate among three theorists particularly interested in landscape: William Gilpin (1724–1804), Uvedale Price (1747–1829), and Richard Payne Knight (1750–1824). Central to the debate were questions about how and where aesthetic properties were constituted.

Gilpin was a rural schoolmaster and clergyman who believed that aesthetic qualities were based on

objective properties. He argued that the "picturesque"—defined in his *Essay on Prints* (1768) as "expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture"—referred to compositional formulas and textures such as those found in the landscape paintings of Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), Gaspard Dughet (called Poussin; 1615–1675), and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), in which an open area seen from a low viewpoint was backed by a screening device and framed on both sides by wings, all painted in rough brushstrokes. Gilpin popularized his theory through a series of travel guides, published beginning in 1782, in which he pinpointed places from which to view "picturesque" scenes within rural landscape.

Price and Knight looked not to rustic scenery but to estate landscapes in their appraisals of the picturesque. Like Gilpin, Price believed that aesthetic qualities were objective properties. Influenced by Edmund Burke's treatise, A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757; revised 1759), however, Price also believed that perception of specific forms and textures could elicit specific thoughts and feelings within the mind of an observer. In his Essay on the Picturesque (1794), Price described the picturesque as an aesthetic category in which perceptions of roughness, irregularity, and unexpected variety could produce sensations of curiosity and pleasure. In "The Landscape" (1794), a poem dedicated to Price, and later in his substantial Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste (1805), Knight differed from Gilpin and Price by suggesting that the picturesque was defined not by objective properties but by a mode of perception. More specifically, Knight proposed that the picturesque was an understanding produced in the mind of the observer through the association of ideas, and that individuals with higher levels of cultural education would be more inclined to experience it.

Despite theoretical uncertainties, the practice of configuring real space to resemble paintings became a vital aspect of garden and landscape design in eighteenth-century Britain, particularly in the work of William Kent (1685–1748), William Shenstone (1714–1763), and Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1715–1783). Price and Knight severely disapproved of Brown's untextured designs and hoped, through their writings, to foster appreciation



**Picturesque.** View of the small Italianate temple and gardens at Stourhead Manor, Wiltshire, England, designed by Henry Hoare in 1741. Influenced by the paintings of Claude Lorrain, Hoare designed extensive gardens incorporating classical structures for his estate. ©CLAY PERRY/CORBIS

among estate owners of more variegated, "patinated" landscapes. On the Continent, picturesque composition played an important role in the emergence and development of irregular design, beginning in the 1760s in France and, subsequently, in countries as far separated as Italy and Russia.

See also Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Burke, Edmund; Gardens and Parks; Painting.

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## PIEDMONT. See Savoy, duchy of.

**PIETISM.** Historians have had difficulty agreeing about a definition for Pietism. A major reason is that the term has been controversial since its first use in German Lutheran territories in the 1670s. Today historians debate how narrowly or broadly to define the subject. However, there is general agreement that, although in a narrow sense a Lutheran (and in part also a Reformed Protestant) phenomenon of the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Pietism had roots in the concerns of those sixteenth-

and seventeenth-century Christians who wanted to realize the ideals of discipline and godliness in their personal and collective lives.

This impulse developed in part out of a dissatisfaction with institutional, hierarchical Protestantism and its emphasis on salvation by faith alone. While pious theologians and laypeople usually agreed that faith was necessary for salvation, they insisted that sanctification was also essential. In other words, merely dogmatic religion was not enough, for on its own it could lead to moral decline and institutional complacency. True faith had to transform believers.

A wide range of Christians shared this kind of conviction before the rise of Pietism in the narrow sense. Among those who held a lasting influence for later Pietists were Catholic mystics, British Puritans, Protestant Nonconformists and spiritualists, and Dutch Reformed and German Lutheran clergymen concerned about moral reform.

### THE "PIETISM" CONTROVERSIES

By the early 1690s the definition of "Pietism" had become a subject of heated public debate across Lutheran Germany. The Pietism controversies were important because with them godliness was transformed from a subject for a minority of Protestants to an issue that divided believers and resulted in deep and lasting changes in the character of Lutheranism and even Protestantism as a whole.

The roots of the controversy grew from the 1670s, and at their center was the Lutheran pastor Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705). In 1675, while based in Frankfurt am Main, Spener published *Pia Desideria* (Pious desires). In *Pia Desideria* Spener outlined a program to improve the quality of the clergy and the moral lives of believers according to a biblical model in the hopes of a better future for Christians. He did not intend his proposals to undermine the established orthodox Lutheran hierarchy; reforms, he felt, should take place within existing institutional structures and be led by ordained clergymen.

A key part of Spener's reform plan involved the *collegia pietatis*, small devotional sessions held in addition to regular church services, during which participants prayed and read the Bible together to encourage one another to live upright lives. Spener had helped organize such meetings in Frankfurt as

early as 1670. With the publication of *Pia Desideria* and clerical networking, the movement to renew Christendom through moral reform spread throughout Lutheran Germany. Moderates like Spener tried to avoid unwanted conflicts with authorities by limiting and controlling lay participation in the Bible reading sessions.

Nonetheless, the spread of conventicles was ecclesiastically, politically, and socially contentious. Within a few decades conventicles had risen from a phenomenon of limited, localized popularity to the main form of pious sociability. As the conventicles spread, so too did the involvement of laymen and laywomen, as well as ecclesiastical and theological experimentation. Many orthodox clergymen and some secular rulers felt the devotional meetings were an unregulated breeding ground for sectarianism and political subversion. Therefore, numerous territorial rulers published edicts forbidding the private meetings, often to no avail.

The movement entered a new phase with the sudden upsurge in revivalist excitement between 1689 and 1693. Developments in Leipzig were especially important. During a controversy there about conventicles the name "Pietist," which until then had been used only occasionally in Germany, became a widely recognized name for the supporters of reform. Enthusiastic theology students like August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) were among those forced to leave Leipzig when authorities banned the growing movement in 1690. These activists formed the core of the spreading popular movement. The reform message that had been championed since the 1670s predominantly by moderate clergymen was transformed into the message of a vounger, more exuberant generation of Lutherans fired by missionary zeal.

In this new phase, intense conversion experiences, anticlerical tendencies, and apocalyptic expectations also became common among those who participated in conventicles. Particularly noteworthy were waves of lay prophecy that occurred in numerous German towns in the early 1690s; the most publicized cases involved women and caused public scandals. Thereafter, the moderates, including Spener and Francke, distanced themselves from the popular movement and eventually broke their connections with the pious conventicles. Another

important post-1689 development was a pamphlet war fought between reformers and their orthodox Lutheran opponents. Between about 1690 and 1720 hundreds of polemical pamphlets were exchanged on a range of issues, among them the definition of "Pietism."

#### PIETISM AFTER THE 1690S

Despite opposition, Pietism flourished throughout the eighteenth century and was influential in Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, as well as in England and the North American colonies. There were Calvinist Pietists in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most significant was Gerrit Tersteegen (1697–1769). However, when investigating eighteenth-century Pietism, historians commonly focus on several German Lutheran groupings.

One of the most significant institutional forms of Pietism was centered in Halle. Under the influence of Spener, the Prussian government established a new university there in the early 1690s. Several of the theology students who had been expelled from Leipzig in 1690 were on the faculty in Halle. Among them was Francke. In addition to professorial duties, he was instrumental in the foundation of a set of influential institutions. These included an orphanage and orphan schools (established 1695), and several domestic and international missionary organizations. One of the unique characteristics of Pietism based in Halle was the importance placed on repentance for sins and a personal experience of conversion to a godly life. While encouraging education in religion and practical sciences, Francke and other leaders also emphasized discipline among orphans and students. This became the model for educational reform in the Prussian state in the eighteenth century.

The other major officially sanctioned form of eighteenth-century Pietism was based in Württemberg. The church leader Johann Valentin Andreä (1586–1654) had promoted piety and discipline there. His lasting influence among members of the Lutheran church hierarchy made it easier for secular authorities after the 1690s to accept Pietist reforms. Although conversion experiences were not as central as in Halle, strict godly living became a widely accepted norm in Württemberg's universities, churches, and households. Thus, unlike Pietists

in Halle and Prussia, who established close connections with the nobility, Pietism in Württemberg had a much broader social base. Also in contrast to Halle, Württemberg's university elite encouraged not only useful skills and piety, but also academic theology and biblical scholarship.

While leaders in Halle, Prussia, and Württemberg discouraged conventicles as a main form of fellowship, the meetings of the pious were a central feature of Pietism based in Herrnhut. There in the 1720s the Unity of Brethren (also called Moravians), a group of lay Christians with pre-Reformation roots, came under the charismatic leadership of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), a former student at Halle. While he rejected the strict regimentation of life in Halle, Zinzendorf shared an emphasis on conversion. His willingness to ally himself with a nonconformist community is an example of the ecumenical attitude typical of this branch of Pietism. Its missionary communities established themselves throughout central Europe, as well as in North America in Georgia and Pennsylvania.

Zinzendorf was influenced not only by Pietism in Halle, but also by a range of nonconformists whose experiences had been shaped by the extraordinary events of the 1690s. Historians sometimes use the label "radical Pietism" to identify this diverse range of individuals and small groups. Radicals distanced themselves from institutionalized Protestantism, often going so far as to separate themselves from the official territorial church. Among the characteristics shared by many (but not all) in these circles were the centrality of conventicles and personal conversion experiences; lay as opposed to clerical leadership, with women often playing key roles; mysticism, apocalyptic expectations, and prophetic tendencies; innovations in sacramental practice; and unconventional attitudes toward sexual norms. Radical Pietism had no single representative, institution, or geographical center.

#### **IMPACT AND COMPARISONS**

Pietism's impact on early modern European society is difficult to evaluate because it was so varied. Its adherents came from a wide range of social stations, and their actions and beliefs both supported and undermined established social and political norms. Philosophically Pietists participated in both the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement. Al-

though often vehemently antipapal, they contributed to the weakening of confessional boundaries, especially among Protestant churches. Protestant revivalism and evangelicalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries owe much to Pietist traditions.

The godly impulse so characteristic of Pietism was also shared by other religious groups in the eighteenth century. In Christian Europe these included Catholic Jansenists and Protestant Camisards in France, as well as English Methodists. Scholars could also find similarities (although not direct historical connections) with Jewish Hasidism in eastern Europe.

See also Apocalypticism; Calvinism; Leipzig; Lutheranism; Moravian Brethren; Prussia; Puritanism; Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig von.

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PIETY. See Religious Piety.

PILON, GERMAIN (1525/1527?–1590), considered the greatest French sculptor of the sixteenth century. Born in Paris to the sculptor Antoine Pilon, who is believed to have trained him, Pilon was chosen for the most prestigious commissions of Catherine de Médicis and her sons Francis II (ruled 1559-1560), Charles IX (ruled 1560-1574), and Henry III (ruled 1574–1589). Catholic and funerary subjects dominated his oeuvre as they did those of most of his contemporaries. The transcendent spirituality of Pilon's sculptures, however, was unequalled by any other artist of his time. His oeuvre combines traditional French prototypes (his Virgin and Child in Notre-Dame de la Couture in Le Mans, from 1570, for example, follows fourteenth-century models) with the breathtaking sophistication of a dying court style and the superhuman power of Michelangelo's figures, which must have been transmitted to him by Francesco Primaticcio (1504-1570).

None of Pilon's earliest documented works (nor any of his father's) has been preserved. It is logical, however, to suggest that he worked at Fontainebleau even before receiving the commission in 1561 for wood statues intended for the queen's garden there: not only would this contact have provided a fundamental inspiration for his elegant style, but it also would account for the fact that many of his earliest known extant sculptures were commissioned for projects overseen by the supervisors of royal architectural works, Philibert de l'Orme (1515?–1570) and Primaticcio. Among these early sculptures were allegorical figures of children holding inverted torches, symbolizing the extinction of life, commissioned in 1558 for the tomb of Francis I (Saint-Denis), but never included in that monument. A sculpture in the Musée National de la Renaissance (Écouen, France) is usually identified as the only one that remains today, but another can easily be attributed to Pilon among the three that were instead used for the monument to the heart of Francis II (Saint-Denis).

The reliefs of the evangelists, sorrowing putti, and the *Resurrection of Christ* (c. 1559) on the underside of the canopy of the tomb of Francis I can also be attributed justifiably to Pilon. Their exquisite chiseling in extraordinarily low relief shows a brilliance unknown in the technique of any of

Pilon's contemporaries, and the dimpling of the draperies occurs, without any other precedent, only in the three female figures carved for the monument to the heart of Henry II (Louvre, Paris), popularly called the *Three Graces*. This is Pilon's earliest (1560–1563) extant documented work, and his best known.

Pilon was among several sculptors chosen by Primaticcio to realize Henry II's tomb in Saint-Denis (1563–1570). Pilon's sumptuous bronze praying figures of the king and Catherine de Médicis are on the upper level of this two-tiered monument, while his marble sculptures of their corpses rest beneath. Four bronze *Virtues* stand at the tomb's corners; of these, *Justice* and *Fortitude* are Pilon's. The authorship of the four marble reliefs on the base of the tomb is still debated, although it is likely that Pilon carried out two of them: *Faith* and *Religion* (the relief traditionally believed to represent hope).

By 1572 Pilon had also completed the over-life-size marble *Resurrection* (Louvre), toward which the praying figures of the king and queen were oriented. This would be complemented by elaborate effigies (1583) of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis and the mystical *Virgin of Sorrows* (1586, marble example in Saint-Paul–Saint-Louis, Paris; terra-cotta in the Louvre), all intended for the Valois Chapel, the mausoleum envisioned by Catherine de Médicis.

Charles IX's unhappy reign brought commissions for a grand figure of a horse, known only through the posthumous inventory of Pilon's workshop; the gigantic decorative frame for the clock of the central courthouse in Paris; and appointment as overseer of the Paris mint. Only during Henry III's reign was the frame of the clock, renowned in its time as the Horloge du Palais, completed. (It was replaced in the nineteenth century.) Indeed, the most fecund period of Pilon's career coincides with the fifteen years of Henry III's desperate attempts to restore peace and religious toleration in France. Pilon was commissioned to do fifteen funerary monuments, ranging from a simple epitaph to the costly bronze and mixed-marble tombs of such courtiers as the chancellor René de Birague (1584, surviving elements in the Louvre) and the king's three favorites (1578, formerly in Saint-Paul, Paris),

which were destroyed in Pilon's own lifetime in a bloody uprising against Henry III.

Less than half of Pilon's work is preserved today, mostly in the Louvre. Nonetheless, his oeuvre not only constitutes the artistic apogee of the end of the Valois dynasty, but also marks a significant transition in style to the peculiarly disciplined restraint of French baroque sculpture of the seventeenth century. Pilon's influence, paradoxically, also brought a mannered classicism to the sculpture of the Low Countries and England.

See also Catherine de Médicis; Sculpture; Valois Dynasty (France).

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MARY L. LEVKOFF

**PIRACY.** Piracy was a prominent feature of the Mediterranean world up through the nineteenth century. The relative poverty of the soil, the inviting expanse of the sea with its lively commercial life, and the many hiding places provided by the islets scattered across the area—particularly in the Aegean ensured that the coastal inhabitants would always be tempted by the life of the pirate. Such low-level raiding, as constant and predictable as it was, is almost an environmental given rather than a phenomenon that begs the attention of the historian. At times, however, piracy spilled beyond such narrow limits and became a vital instrument of state building or state destruction. At such times in the Mediterranean, any explanation of historical change must include piracy in the narrative.

The early modern period in Mediterranean history—roughly the fifteenth through the eighteenth century—begins with the tapering off of one such period of piratical recrudescence. The final crumbling of Byzantine maritime power in the fourteenth century encouraged fierce competition between Latin Christians and Turkish emirs for

control of the Aegean and its vital trade links. Both sides built up their navies, raided each other's territory, and preyed on each other's shipping in pursuit of supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. Both sides recruited pirates (conveniently called corsairs once they were serving a legitimate political entity) to help them achieve their goals. The Knights of St. John, for instance, captured the island of Rhodes in 1308 with the help of a Genoese corsair (Inalcik, p. 186). The eventual victor in this fierce competition was the Turkish side, specifically the Ottoman Turks whose original base was inland but who eventually expanded outward to become a maritime power of the first order. With the conquest of Constantinople (1453), the Ottomans became masters of the vital commercial routes that linked the Black Sea and the Aegean. In 1522 they vanquished one of their most persistent naval competitors when Suleiman the Magnificent captured Rhodes and forced the departure of the Knights. Venice continued to have possessions in the eastern Mediterranean, but the Ottomans steadily eroded her power as well.

Having thus established control over the area, the Sultans quite naturally no longer looked with favor upon piracy and punished pirates whenever they were able to do so. Those who could be absorbed into the state apparatus—as naval commanders, for example—enjoyed a new life as Ottoman officials. Independent actors, however, were no longer tolerated. In 1504 the Ottomans seized the ships of a pirate who had served as a corsair in the recent wars with Venice. When he continued his raids in peacetime, he lost not only his ships; the authorities burned his house to the ground and executed seventy of his men (Brummett, p. 99). Ottoman maritime supremacy, combined with the Venetian desire to protect her commercial interests, ensured that the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed a long hiatus from piracy in the sixteenth century.

Farther to the west, in North Africa, the picture was largely similar. The corsairing captains who had raided the Spanish coastland on behalf of the Ottomans now settled down to life as the rulers of the newly acquired territories in North Africa. The high level of hostility between the sultan and the Spanish kings, however, meant that piracy was more tolerated in the western Mediterranean.

Things changed again after the Ottoman defeat at the battle of Lepanto (1571). Revisionist histori-

ography has made it clear that this clash was not the watershed it was once presumed to be. It was important, however, in terms of piracy. The staggering and ever increasing costs of galley warfare convinced both the Ottomans and the Spaniards that it was best to turn their energies elsewhere. The Mediterranean was left to its own devices. The pirates once again took to the seas, and the seventeenth century was the golden age of the pirate republic. The slave markets of Algiers and of Valletta teemed with miserable captives from the other side, as both Muslims and Christians pursued their opponents with equal ferocity.

To a certain extent the pirates of the seventeenth century were operating on their own initiative and were motivated by the issues of economic scarcity that had always figured prominently. As with earlier centuries, however, shifts in the Mediterranean balance of power were working themselves out through piracy. It was in this period that northern newcomers—the Dutch and the English—put an end to Italian commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean and piracy was a vital instrument in this assault. The English pirate in his berton became a hated and feared figure for the Venetian merchant. This northern invasion is only the bestknown example, however. France backed Catholic pirates—particularly the Knights of St. John—as part of its ambition to replace the Venetians as the preeminent Catholic power in the eastern Mediterranean, and to hurt her economic competitors. The North African regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers would prove similarly useful for English and French ambitions. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these two powers signed a number of treaties with the North Africans, agreements that were designed both to protect their own merchants from North African piracy and to encourage raids on their competitors' shipping. In the eighteenth century the power of the regencies dwindled as they themselves devoted fewer and fewer resources to such assaults and European supremacy became ever more evident. Nevertheless, remnants of the system were still at work as late as the American Revolution. Once the Americans declared their independence from the British, Lloyds of London discreetly informed the North Africans that American ships were no longer under the protection of the British navy. North African attacks on

the merchant shipping of the new republic predictably ensued.

In 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte captured the island of Malta and took the previously unimaginable step of freeing all the Muslim captives held by the Knights of St. John. His dramatic actions were an illustration of a more prosaic truth. By the end of the eighteenth century combatants in the Mediterranean were strong enough to fight their naval battles and conduct their trade without the help of Mediterranean pirates turned corsairs. Once the state turned its back, piracy never again achieved the international significance that it had enjoyed from time to time in the early modern period.

See also Africa: North; Mediterranean Basin; Navy; Shipping; Suleiman I.

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MOLLY GREENE

## PIRANESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA

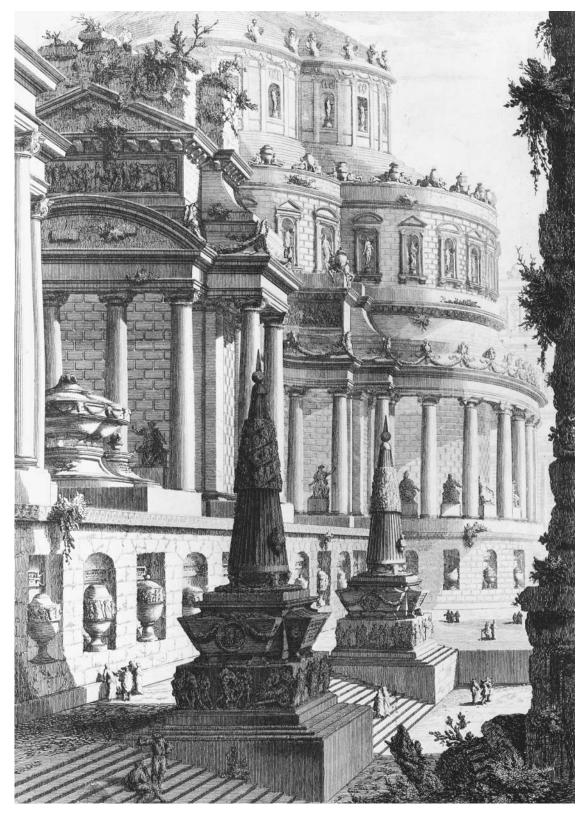
(1720–1778), Venetian architect, engraver, and archaeologist. By means of over a thousand etched plates and his theoretical defense of creative fantasy, Piranesi revolutionized the European perception of Roman antiquity and exerted a major influence on many of the leading architects and designers of European neoclassicism. The son of a stonemason and master builder, he spent his first twenty years in Venice training in architecture and stage design, and was strongly influenced by the local tradition of topographical art represented by Canaletto and the etched fantasies of Marco Ricci (1676–1729) and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770).

Moving in 1740 to Rome, where he spent the larger part of his life, a lack of practical commissions led him to develop skills in etching souvenir views,

or *vedute*, for the grand tour market. As a graphic artist of genius he was to transform the mundane topographical view into a highly sophisticated means of architectural communication—based on a strongly practical understanding of ancient technology—as well as a vehicle of powerful emotional expression. Around 1748 he began to issue his magisterial views of Rome, *Vedute di Roma* (135 plates), which he published individually, or in groups, throughout the rest of his career. These theatrical images were to generate a highly charged emotional perception of the Eternal City and its environs that has lasted to the present day.

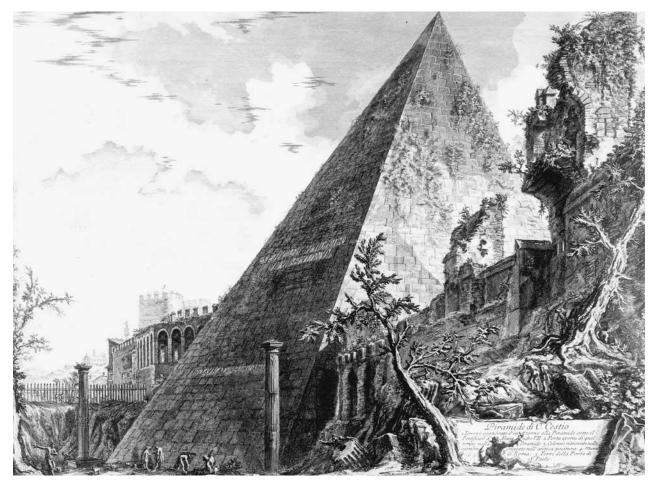
Piranesi's main creative energies were concentrated on developing the architectural fantasy, or capriccio, as a device for formal experiment, creative release, and a stimulus for contemporary architects, whose designs he thought had failed to measure up to the ruined grandeur around them. Such was the intention behind his first publication, Prima parte di architetture e prospettive (1743; Part one of architecture and perspectives) as well as a group of arcane prison compositions, Carceri d'invenzione (c. 1745; Prisons of the imagination). By these means Piranesi was to exercise a seminal influence on visiting artists, architects, and patrons in Rome over the course of nearly four decades. His personal contact with visiting designers such as William Chambers, Robert Mylne, George Dance, John Soane, and, above all, Robert and James Adam, enabled him to exert a critical influence on the development of avant-garde British architecture.

During the 1750s archaeology became increasingly important to Piranesi. His four-volume treatise, Le antichità romane (1756; The antiquities of Rome), pioneered new archaeological methods and techniques of illustration, and its publication quickly won him international recognition; he became a leading protagonist for Rome in the furious controversy provoked by the excessive claims of Hellenic originality by promoters of the Greek revival. With the election of the Venetian Pope Clement XIII (reigned 1758-1769), the 1760s became a golden age of patronage for Piranesi, who won financial support for a series of impressive polemical folios: Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani (1761; Concerning the magnificence and architecture of the Romans); Il Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma (1762; The Campus Martius of



**Giovanni Battista Piranesi.** *Mausoleo Antico (Ancient Mausoleum),* etching, from *Prima Parte,* 1743. Courtesy of John Wilton-Ely

EUROPE 1450 TO 1789



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. Piramide di Cestio (Pyramid of Cestius, Rome), etching, from Vedute di Roma, c. 1760. Courtesy of John Wilton-Ely

ancient Rome), and others. In response to criticism by the French critic Pierre-Jean Mariette, in 1765 Piranesi issued the manifesto Parere su l'architettura (Opinions on architecture), which advocated a highly eclectic system of design inspired by ancient Rome in contrast to the radically astringent taste supported by Greek revivalists such as Marc-Antoine Laugier, Julien-David Le Roy, and Johann Winckelmann. Through the pope and members of the Rezzonico family Piranesi received commissions to carry out these ideas in reconstructing the Order of Malta's church in Rome, Santa Maria del Priorato (1764–1765), together with designs for an unexecuted tribune for S. Giovanni in Laterano. He also produced various furnished interiors from which only two tables survive (Minneapolis, Institute of Fine Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), complex marble chimneypieces (such as the one at Burghley House, Lincolnshire), and a pioneering painted Egyptian interior for the English Coffee House in Rome (destroyed in the nineteenth century). Many of these works were to be illustrated in his internationally influential folio, *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini* . . . (1769; Various ways of ornamenting chimneypieces . . . ), which illustrated a range of his own designs for interior fittings, furniture, and decorative objects.

His closing years were involved in producing a quantity of imaginatively restored antiquities from excavated fragments, notably represented by large vases and ornamental candelabra primarily for the British market. Ironically, Piranesi's final work, completed and published posthumously by his son Francesco, was a potent contribution to the Greek revival in the form of etchings of the Doric temples at Paestum, south of Naples (1778). Perhaps the ultimate legacy of Piranesi's unique vision of antiq-

uity, however, is represented by the dramatically refashioned plates of the *Carceri* (2nd state, 1761)—a series of visual metaphors for the endless creative inspiration of the past, which had a profound impact on such leading figures of Romanticism as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Victor Hugo, and which continue to inspire writers and poets as much as artists, architects, and film directors.

See also Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Rome, Architecture in; Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista.

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PISCOPIA, ELENA LUCREZIA CORNARO. See Cornaro Piscopia, Elena Lucrezia.

# PITT, WILLIAM THE ELDER AND WILLIAM THE YOUNGER (1708–

1778; 1759–1806), English statesmen. The Pitts, father and son, are unique in eighteenth-century British political history for their success in fashioning and refashioning self-images of disinterested public service that captured the imagination of a nation. Both were consummate players of the Hanoverian political game who reached the highest rungs of power from unpromising backbench origins.



William Pitt the Elder. Mezzotint by Richard Houston, 1766.

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Upon entering Parliament in 1735, the elder Pitt soon established himself as an eloquent critic of Court Whig government as established by the premiership of Sir Robert Walpole. While Pitt was by no means Walpole's only backbench critic, he was unique in his cultivation of an outspoken and haughty independence. Pitt was once widely regarded as a "commonwealthman," an exponent of a seventeenth-century English republican ideology that defined political virtue as the maintenance of continual vigilance against the twin evils of corruption and over-mighty executive power. To thisthough Pitt's commitment to it has been questioned—has been attributed his support for avantgarde causes: parliamentary reform, an independent county militia, and the cause of the Thirteen Colonies against Britain.

There can be little doubt that Pitt was a master of public relations. When he first took office as paymaster general in 1746, he stood out for his refusal to enrich himself from the perquisites of office, a self-restraint that stunned contemporaries used to peculation in high places. In 1757, upon entering office in partnership with the duke of Newcastle as secretary of state for the Southern



William Pitt the Younger. Undated portrait. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Department, he insisted upon sole management of Britain's Seven Years' War (1756-1763) effort against France and Austria, thereby preserving his reputation for independence of thought and action. Pitt was a gifted military strategist who masterminded a series of bold and successful assaults on French possessions in India, Canada, and the Caribbean that began to establish Britain as the dominant European power in the wider world. When, in 1761, he resigned over George III's refusal to extend the war to Spain's maritime empire, he asked the crown to grant a peerage to his wife so that he could return as an independent M.P. to the House of Commons. His high-minded image was slightly compromised in 1766, when he finally accepted the earldom of Chatham, but many by that date thought a peerage no more than Pitt's due, and he remained a trenchant critic of British imperial policy until his death in 1778.

The Younger Pitt, a reserved workaholic, was very different in temperament from his flamboyant

father, but displayed a talent for self-representation from his earliest days at Westminster. Having inherited Chatham's persona as an independent and critical Whig, Pitt appeared in 1781 as a fresh face to a Parliament and public weary of a twelve-year-old government and an unsuccessful war in America. Following the fall of Lord North's ministry in 1782, he was courted by several opposition groups but renounced all his connections to lead a minority government at the invitation of George III in December 1783. This was a political gamble that could easily have ended in disaster but Pitt, banking on the support of the crown and its supporters, outfaced his critics and was confirmed in power by a landslide general election victory in May 1784. He would not leave Downing Street until 1801, and returned from 1804 to 1806 to lead a second ministry.

The Younger Pitt's career has been traditionally divided into two halves: a liberal youth (1781-1791), in which he advocated parliamentary reform, the abolition of the slave trade, and religious toleration while inaugurating a kind of fiscal and administrative efficiency that established his reputation for honest, responsible government; and a conservative middle age (1792–1806), when he seemingly repudiated all the avant-garde causes of his youth to lead a war against revolutionary and Napoleonic France, in so doing suspending the civil liberties of Britons in the name of national security. Pitt is still remembered as the founding father of the modern British Conservative party for having overseen the transformation of Toryism from a traitorous Jacobite creed into a political doctrine that valued tradition and stability over speculative change. What really went on in Pitt's mind remains a bone of contention. Did he simply take fright at the coming of the French Revolution? Was his advocacy of enlightened policies during the 1780s merely a form of window dressing? Was he some sort of progressive conservative or, alternatively, a cautious liberal? Pitt's own followers were unsure for decades after his death, and all they could agree upon was the shining image of incorruptibility that he presented to the world.

See also George III (Great Britain); Parliament; Political Parties in England; Representative Institutions; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Walpole, Horace.

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PIUS IV (POPE) (Giovanni Angelo de' Medici; 1499-1565; reigned 1559-1565), Italian pope. Born in Milan, Pius IV studied medicine at Pavia and received his doctorate in canon and civil law from Bologna. He entered papal service as a governor in the Papal States, then as apostolic commissary to the papal forces assisting the emperor in Transylvania and Hungary against the Turks (1542-1543), and afterwards as administrator in the papal states. In 1545, he was appointed archbishop of Ragusa, and in 1549 he was elevated to cardinal when the duke of Florence invited him to take the coat of arms of the House of Medici, though he was not related. He served as permanent prefect of the Segnatura gratiae, the supreme tribunal of the Roman curia for responding to appeals and supplications, under Julius III (reigned 1550-1555), but withdrew from service during the reign of Paul IV (1555-1559), whose anti-Spanish policies he rejected. In 1558, he left Rome for Tuscany. He was elected pope on 25 December 1559 as a candidate acceptable to all factions.

Pius's most notable achievement was to recall (and maintain control over) the general church council that had met at Trent (1545–1546 and 1552–1553) for its third and final period (1562–1563). On 4 December 1563, after completing work in its 25th session, the council was dissolved. Pius confirmed its decrees orally on 26 January 1564 and with the bull *Benedictus Deus* (30 June 1564). He asserted the right of the papacy to be final interpreter of the Tridentine legislation, which he entrusted to the Congregation of the Council of Trent. He carried out the council's directives promptly; among his first actions was an order that

all absentee bishops return to their dioceses. In 1564, he established the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books, which mitigated the Index of Paul IV. He allowed bishops to give the chalice to the laity in lands affected by the Reformation, but he deferred the question of married clergy. With Tridentine legislation as the touchstone of Catholic belief, he ordered all higher clergy and individuals holding ecclesiastical office to take the Profession of the Tridentine Faith, an oath made to the pope, which consists of the Nicene Creed and twelve additional articles reflecting the clarification of Catholic dogma at Trent.

Pius made his sister's son, twenty-one-year-old Carlo Borromeo (canonized in 1610), a cardinal and appointed him secretary of state and archbishop of Milan. Borromeo rendered heroic services to his uncle in reforming the Sacred College and the offices of papal administration at Rome (Chancery, Datary, Rota, Sacred Penitentiary, and Apostolic Camera), as well as carrying out papal policy in Europe.

In contrast to his predecessor, Pius maintained good relations with Philip II of Spain and Emperor Ferdinand I, but he faced extraordinary challenges in the spread of Lutheranism within the empire and of Calvinism throughout much of Europe. He offered financial support to the French monarchy in resisting the Huguenots, watched anxiously the measures Queen Elizabeth took in England after the death of Mary Tudor, and gave moral, but not financial or military, support to Mary Stuart in Scotland.

At Rome and in the Papal States, Pius worked to repair damages wrought by the overbearing policies of his predecessor. He appointed Cardinal Giovanne Morone, whom Paul IV had persecuted on suspicion of heresy, as president at the Council of Trent. He had a number of cardinals and nobles arrested for murder and improprieties, and approved the execution of cardinals Carlo and Giovanni Carafa and others involved. He limited the powers of the Inquisition and mitigated much of Paul IV's harsh legislation. Pius also promoted education and was generous to artists: He appointed Paulo Manuzio to head a new printing press at Rome for Christian texts, and he beautified the Vatican (with the Casino di Pio IV), Rome (with

Michelangelo's Porta Pia), and the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in the Baths of Diocletian, where his remains were transferred in 1583.

See also Bellarmine, Robert; Borromeo, Carlo; Papacy and Papal States; Trent, Council of.

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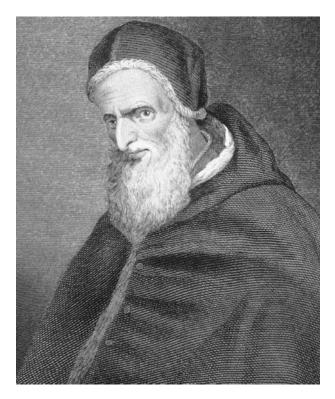
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PIUS V (POPE) (Antonio Ghislieri; 1504– 1572; reigned 1566–1572), born 17 January 1504 at Bosco Marengo, near Alessandria; elected pope 7 January 1566; died 1 May 1572; beatified 10 May 1672; canonized 22 May 1712. From poor circumstances, Antonio Ghislieri entered the Dominican Order at age fourteen at Voghera and changed his name to Michele. He studied at Bologna and Genoa, was ordained a priest in 1528, and taught philosophy and theology at Pavia until 1544, when he was made inquisitor for Como, and later Bergamo. Noted for austerity, intelligence, independence, incorruptibility, and rigorous fidelity to Roman Catholic orthodoxy, he was appointed to many offices within his order and soon found favor among cardinals urging strong measures to combat the Lutheran heresy in Italy. Appointed high commissioner of the Inquisition in 1551 by Julius III (reigned 1550-1555), Ghislieri would zealously promote its work until his death, prosecuting persons without respecting social or clerical status or privileges to ensure an Italy purified of heresy. Elected bishop of Sutri and Nepi in 1556 and made prefect of the Palace of the Inquisition, he was made cardinal and appointed Inquisitor General (Grand Inquisitor) of the Roman Church the following year (1557), but removed himself from Rome to the diocese of Mondovi upon the election of Pope Pius IV (reigned 1559–1565).

Elected pope in 1566 by the faction led by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (nephew of Pope Pius IV), he set about implementing the decrees of the Council of Trent, demanding that bishops reside in their dioceses and clerics in their ministries and that nuns and regular clergy be cloistered. He reformed many religious orders, and in the Papal States, he rigorously enforced the prohibition against the alienation of ecclesiastical properties. Responding to the Council of Trent's call for a catechism and standard liturgical texts, he had published the Roman Catechism (1566), the revised Roman Breviary (1568), and the Roman Missal (1570), and he set up the Congregation of the Index (1571) to examine books published in Italy. An extreme reformer of morality, he sought to cleanse Rome of blasphemy, cursing, adultery, witchcraft, sodomy, and all vestiges of paganism; he banished prostitution and outlawed bullfighting (without success in Spain). At the same time, he promoted constant preaching, the cult of Mary and the Rosary, and eucharistic devotion. Zealous to maintain a purified religion in the Papal States, Pius restricted Jewish merchants to their quarters at Rome and Ancona, expelling all others. Uncompromising with heretics and championing orthodoxy, he condemned seventy-six theses of Michael Baius (1567), and canonized Thomas Aquinas as the fifth doctor of the Latin Church, also seeing to the publication of his works.

Pius's rigor carried over into foreign affairs. He strongly supported Catherine de Médicis in France against the Huguenots in the Wars of Religion (1562-1598), but was angered at the tolerance later extended to Huguenots in the Peace of Saint-Germain (1570). He urged Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) to prosecute heretics vigorously in the empire, but was irate after receiving little satisfaction. He supported the Duke of Alba's efforts in the Netherlands to suppress heresy, but vigorously challenged King Philip II's efforts to exert control over the church in Spain. Other monarchs felt his fury. He ill-advisedly excommunicated and deposed Queen Elizabeth I with the bull Regnans in Excelsis (1570), demanding that Catholic subjects withdraw obedience from her under pain of excommunication; he received little support for this. Pius's unilateral, often counterproductive, actions in foreign affairs seemed to take little account of political realities. Yet he attained success on 7 October 1571: joining his naval forces with Venice and Spain under the command of Don John of



Pius V. GETTY IMAGES

Austria, he brought about the defeat of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Pius is said to have had a vision that Christian forces were victorious there. The failure to follow up this victory, however, would later prove a strategic mistake. Pius's remains lie in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.

See also Borromeo, Carlo; Elizabeth I (England); Inquisition, Roman; Lepanto, Battle of; Papacy and Papal States; Religious Piety; Trent, Council of; Wars of Religion, French.

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**PIZARRO BROTHERS.** The Pizarro brothers, Francisco and his half brothers Gonzalo, Juan, and Hernando, were the conquerors of Inca Peru. Francisco (c. 1478–1541), the illegitimate son of Captain Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisca González, was a native of Trujillo in southwestern Spain and

received little formal education. In 1502 he sailed to the Caribbean with Nicolás de Ovando, the new governor of Hispaniola. Over the next two decades Pizarro helped explore and plunder Central America. He accompanied Vasco Núñez de Balboa's expedition that crossed Panama in 1513 and discovered the South Sea (Pacific Ocean). The infamous Governor Pedrarias de Ávila awarded him an *encomienda* (grant of indigenous tribute and labor) and made Francisco lieutenant governor of Panama.

Such rewards and status did not satisfy his ambitions. Francisco formed a partnership with Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque to investigate rumors of rich indigenous lands south of Panama. Two expeditions (1524 and 1526–1528) brought him to the city of Tumbes, in the northern Tawantinsuyu (Inca Empire). Returning to Panama, Francisco consulted with his partners and then went to Spain for royal authorization to conquer Peru. The Agreement of Toledo (26 July 1529) gave him overall command of the enterprise and left Almagro feeling cheated and bitter.

In Trujillo, Francisco recruited family and other adventurers for the foray. Three half brothers, all born after his departure in 1502, joined up: Hernando (the legitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro and Isabel de Vargas [c. 1503–1578]); Juan (the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro and María Alonso [c. 1509–1536]); and Gonzalo (the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro and María de Biedma [c. 1512–10 April 1548]).

In Panama, the Pizarros outfitted an expedition and headed south in late 1530. They found Tumbes partially destroyed in a civil war between rival Inca factions headed by Huascar and Atahualpa. Receiving word that Atahualpa and his victorious army were inland near Cajamarca, Francisco took a small force of less than 200 into the Andes to meet the Inca ruler. They massacred Atahualpa's guard and took the overconfident ruler captive on 16 November 1532.

Spanish plunder of the Andes began. To ransom himself, Atahualpa offered to fill a room with gold and silver. Hernando Pizarro went to Pachacamac to seize gold at the shrine there. In Cajamarca the Spaniards divided Atahualpa's fabulous ransom, each Pizarro claiming great quantities of gold and silver. Francisco sent Hernando back to Spain with

the king's fifth of the treasure, executed Atahualpa on 26 July 1533, and then moved south to Cuzco, the Inca capital. There, Francisco set up a Spanish government but controlled the Andeans through a puppet ruler, Manco. He distributed encomiendas and lands to his followers, reserving many for his family. For better communications with Panama and Spain, Francisco established Lima on the coast on 18 January 1535. Meanwhile, Almagro remained resentful, particularly when Francisco placed Hernando, back from Spain, in command of Cuzco. In 1535, Almagro departed for Chile, futilely looking for rumored wealth, and Manco launched a massive uprising throughout the Andes. Juan Pizarro died in the fighting at Cuzco. Almagro's forces returned from Chile in 1537 to help lift the siege of Cuzco but then turned on the Pizarros, who defeated the Almagrists at the battle of Salinas (6 April 1538) and captured and executed Almagro.

The hatred between the Spanish factions brought Francisco to a violent end on 26 June 1541, when Almagrists murdered him in Lima. In his sixties by then, Francisco had risen from the shadows of illegitimacy and illiteracy to possess great wealth and govern a vast realm. The king had made him a marquis. With a sister of Atahualpa, Inés Huaylas Yupanqui, he had two children, Francisca and Gonzalo, although he recognized neither her nor them in his will. He conquered an indigenous empire of perhaps 14 million people through his own tenacity, factionalism among the Incas, superior Spanish weaponry and horses, and the inadvertent introduction of deadly diseases such as smallpox and typhus.

Little interested in living in the Andes, Hernando returned to Spain in 1539. Francisco's murder left Gonzalo to defend Pizarro interests in Peru. As governor of Quito, Gonzalo led an ill-fated search into the Amazon basin for the "Land of Cinnamon." After tremendous suffering, Gonzalo and part of the expedition struggled back to Quito; Francisco de Orellana continued down the Amazon to the Atlantic. In 1544 Gonzalo led a rebellion when Blasco Núñez de Vela, the first viceroy of Peru, attempted to enforce the New Laws of 1542, which would have stripped the conquerors of their *encomiendas*. Gonzalo was defeated and executed by royalist forces on 9–10 April 1548 near Cuzco.

Only Hernando died a natural death, long after violence claimed his brothers. In 1541 Almagrists secured his arrest in Spain for Diego de Almagro's murder and other crimes. Hernando spent the next twenty years imprisoned, although his wealth and fame enabled him to turn the time into a relatively comfortable existence. From his confinement he managed the family estate and in 1550 married doña Francisca Pizarra, Francisco's mestiza daughter, to unite and protect the family fortunes. He also built a great palace on Trujillo's central plaza before his death in 1578.

See also Colonialism; Cortés, Hernán; Exploration; Potosí; Spanish Colonies: Peru.

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**PLAGUE.** The first great plague pandemic (1347–1350) was the greatest single epidemic interval in European history, yet some of the plagues of the period from 1500 to 1750 witnessed catastrophic mortality, in some cases over 40 percent. However, there was no continent-wide plague during any three-year interval after the Black Death of the fourteenth century. While in particular times and places later epidemics were as great as those of the Black Death, the burdens of mortality and disruption to ordinary life events fell most heavily upon those who could not escape to safe locales. Privileged sectors of the population typically had choices among fairly reliable strategies for avoiding exposure to plague.

The losses and costs of great epidemics between 1500 and 1750 can often be documented because one of the strategies of the elite and of governments



Plague. A manuscript illumination from the fifteenth-century Toggenberg Bible depicts two plague victims. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

representing them was to create surveillance systems that monitored urban mortality. After the invention of printing, local histories of plagues and plague treatises magnified the activities of urban administrators during mortality crises, reinforcing reams of correspondence and other non-printed records of church and state actions to minimize social and economic disruption from plague. In general, Italy and Spain led the rest of Europe in monitoring disease threats, relying upon trade and travel restrictions, urban boards of health, and hospital isolation strategies to segregate the ill from the well. All of these measures expanded bureaucratic surveillance and record keeping, and provided those with access to information a way to minimize the social and economic costs of plague. Collective governmental responses were more readily adopted in regions that remained Catholic. Protestants, instead, tended to encourage individual charitable care of one's afflicted neighbors, while retaining a strong sense that plague occurred as the result of God's moral

judgment on the sinful. Therefore, fleeing the plague, as one would flee sin, was also sanctioned. Because plague controls were bureaucratized in what became the Catholic countries, better documentation of plague losses and responses survives from the late Middle Ages. Protestant regions began parish-level registration of births, marriages, and deaths after Catholic reforms at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Such records were created to reinforce the sense of community and responsibility among members of individual Protestant churches, but historical demographers have used them in modern times to provide documentation of mortality crises comparable to urban mortality registers.

The cause or causes of these recurrent epidemics is the subject of considerable recent debate. Most geographical, demographical, and epidemiological evidence available from rural continental Europe suggests a slow spread of human mortality across trade and travel routes, patterns consistent



**Plague.** St. Charles Borromeo with the Plague Victim, painting by Sigismondo Caula, seventeenth century. As archbishop of Milan in 1576, Borromeo organized the clergy to care for the victims of a plague epidemic which struck the city that year.

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with a rodent-borne bubonic plague. Great urban regions were served, however, by interregional trade, maritime and riverine, and were centers for distribution of infectious diseases. The practice of confining the ill and the well together in their homes or in vast pesthouses fueled morbidity and mortality during times of plague. The lazaretto of Milan, for example, held 12,000 to 15,000 people daily over the worst month of the murderous 1630 epidemic, in a complex that had a total of 256 enclosed rooms and minimal provision of clean water and medical care.

Recurrent plagues caused local population losses far steeper than chronic warfare or the burdens of other diseases. In the 150 years following the Black Death pandemic, the overall population of Europe fell 30 to 50 percent. Depopulation was especially dramatic in rural areas that had been culti-

vated during the High Middle Ages, leaving visible aerial traces of "deserted villages" and once-farmed land. As the overall population of Europe fell after the Black Death, the political and economic management of rural areas shifted to urban landowners, typically maximizing profits by turning the uses of the land to labor-conserving tasks, such as sheepherding (in Britain) or cattle-farming (in German and eastern European regions). European population recovery in the sixteenth century still left cities unable to replace their numbers, even in non-plague years. Cities had to draw their labor forces from the countryside. Rural to urban migration fueled early urban industries, such as cloth manufacture. Mountainous regions exploited mining. The first 150 years of recurrent plagues in Europe intersected with the beginnings of print, guns, and global trade all orchestrated from urban monetary sources of power, all requiring the move from agriculture to industry.

The economic costs of plagues in towns and cities increased over the early modern centuries, in part because of surveillance and isolation practices, in part because destruction of personal property dramatically impoverished survivors. Urban health boards devised mechanisms for sealing personal property within homes when early cases of plague were identified. With the seal unbroken, a closet or room could escape the fires and acids of disinfection procedures if plague subsequently entered the household. Maritime states meanwhile created the first international health procedures, codifying lengths of detention of people and goods in quarantine, mechanisms for disinfecting cargo, and the symbolism of a yellow flag, to indicate a ship that had "touched" plague.

Whatever the causes or the demographic and economic effects of recurrent plague, the methods of controlling both exposure to plague elsewhere and the unacceptable consequences of an epidemic locally established a tradition in epidemic management that is still very much a part of Western society. From particular urban plagues there also survives a legacy of literary and artistic production, of which Daniel Defoe's 1722 A Journal of the Plague Year, about the 1665 Great Plague in London, and Alessandro Manzoni's 1827 I promessi sposi (The betrothed), set in seventeenth-century Italy, are the two best-known novels. Plague art typically focused on divine retribution for sin, and the intervention of saints (especially St. Roch and St. Sebastian) to aid the plague-stricken, collective penance, and votive gifts expressing communal thanks for a specific plague's ending were popular themes. By the seventeenth century, plague art often portrayed themes of religious devotion to the sick even amid a chaotic tableau of suffering.

Plague, whatever its cause or causes, receded from Europe during the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715). The last plagues in northern Europe and Britain occurred in the 1660s; the last plague in southern Europe occurred in Marseilles in 1720–1721. Messina, in Sicily, was stricken in 1743 and during the later eighteenth century the Austro-Hungarian Empire devised an extraordinary thousand-mile-long cordon sanitaire, a military border

between Christian Europe and Muslim regions to the east. Whether through such aggressive measures to minimize all contact with plague in the Middle East and southern Russia, or because maritime trade was increasingly directed over the North Atlantic, commerce with regions that still experienced plague declined steeply. Local commercial barriers to the importation of plague certainly played a role in the plague's disappearance. But so, too, did the widespread use of arsenic oxide, a colorless, tasteless rat poison, by the late seventeenth century. Some have further speculated that the disappearance of plague in the years from 1650 to 1750 may have been the result of global ecological changes, reflected in the cooler climate called the "Little Ice Age" and the absence of sunspot activity called the "Maunder Minimum." The disappearance of plague, whatever its cause or causes, did coincide with the beginning of the modern rise of population throughout Eurasia and European domination of overseas trade.

See also Public Health.

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**POISONS, AFFAIR OF THE.** The greatest scandal of the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) of France, the Affair of the Poisons revealed that a

score of the king's highest-ranking courtiers, including his official mistress, Madame de Montespan (1641–1707), had ties to a flourishing criminal underworld that was dealing in magic. This loose network of sorceresses, magicians, and renegade priests peddled magical remedies, love charms, demonic rituals, and arsenic-based "inheritance powders" to a clientele drawn from all ranks of Parisian society. Determined to eradicate what he termed "this miserable commerce in poisons," Louis XIV appointed a special judicial commission, the Chambre de l'arsenal (Chamber of the arsenal), in 1679 to try those accused. While the commission investigated over 400 suspects during its three-year tenure, approximately sixty of those arrested were never brought to trial. The Sun King considered their potential testimony regarding his mistress's patronage of the notorious sorceress La Voisin too incendiary to be heard. These unfortunates were instead placed in solitary confinement for the rest of their lives and forbidden to speak even to their jailors.

After Louis XIV dissolved the Chambre de l'Arsenal in July 1682, he issued a royal edict condemning both belief in magic and those who claimed to be able to practice it. All those alleging to perform "so-called acts of magic," it declared, were simply frauds. All self-styled sorceresses and magicians were therefore to leave France within three days or face execution. The edict also instituted, for the first time anywhere in Europe, state regulation of the sale of arsenic and other poisons. And perhaps not coincidentally, Louis XIV took no other mistresses after the Affair of the Poisons had been brought to a close.

See also Louis XIV (France); Magic.

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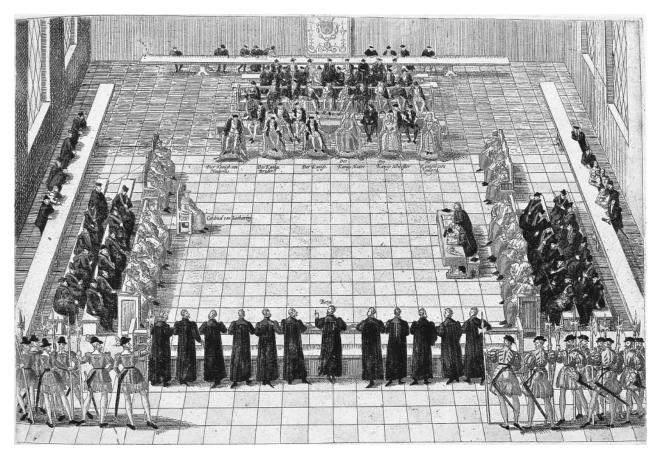
**POISSY, COLLOQUY OF.** On the eve of the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598), a con-

ference between Calvinist and Catholic theologians, aimed at religious reconciliation, took place outside Paris. The history of the Colloquy of Poissy, September–October 1561, was one of great hope, then failure, followed by the unprecedented destruction of civil war.

The calling of the colloquy was a clear indication of the royal government's intention to resolve religious problems in France on the national level. Catherine de Médicis, the queen mother and regent, wanted to ensure that the French church could reform itself without the intervention of the pope and the general council, the convocation of which had been announced in November 1560. The Colloquy of Poissy followed a national synod of the Gallican Church that had met at Poissy from July through August. This assembly had proposed a number of significant reforms affecting the clergy and further agreed on the annual subsidy of the clergy to the crown, known as the Contrat de Poissy. Now Catherine hoped to achieve theological agreement through the discussion between Protestants and Catholics.

The colloquy began on 9 September with a discourse by Théodore de Bèze, Calvin's alter ego. Bèze's presentation of the Reformed doctrine of sacraments, specifically its objection to Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist, brought to the surface the most divisive issue in the colloquy. Bèze's remark that Christ's body was "as far removed from the bread and wine as is heaven from earth" prompted cries of blasphemy. Charles de Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, delivered on behalf of the Catholics a fundamentally irenic speech. The cardinal pointed out, however, the disagreement of the German Protestants with the Reformed on the real presence in the bread and wine, and proposed on 24 September that Bèze subscribe to the Lutheran formula on the Eucharist.

The introduction by the cardinal of Lorraine of the Augsburg Confession, a moderate statement of Lutheran belief formulated in 1530, led contemporaries, including Calvin, as well as many historians, to question the cardinal's sincerity and good faith. Yet it is unlikely that the cardinal of Lorraine, the most ardent champion of the Colloquy of Poissy, was willing to risk the collapse of the colloquy simply to embarrass the Reformed party by pitting it



Colloquy of Poissy. Engraving by Hogenberg, late sixteenth-early seventeenth century. The ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

against the Lutherans. Rather, the cardinal at this point aimed at an interim religious settlement, such as the Augsburg Interim (1548), as a step toward restoring religious unity in France. On 1 October the theologians at Poissy, led by the moderate Claude d'Espence, came up with a common eucharistic formula. The assembly of the clergy refused its approval. Thus ended the Colloquy of Poissy.

What the organizers of the colloquy, including Catherine de Médicis, Chancellor Michel de L'Hôpital, and the cardinal of Lorraine, strove to achieve was a concord based on mutual concession between Catholics and Protestants. Concord, designed to bring all together in one Christian church, was different from toleration, because once concord had been established, the king would have forced all his subjects to conform to it. This effort at a religious compromise in the colloquy failed mainly because of the intransigence of both Protestants and Catholic extremists. The fiasco of the Colloquy of

Poissy ended any hope that a national synod would provide remedies for the religious schism in France. The government attempted toleration of Protestants with the Edict of January in 1562, but it could not prevent the Wars of Religion that began with the massacre of Huguenots at Vassy on 1 March 1562.

See also Bèze, Théodore de; Calvinism; Catherine de Médicis; Gallicanism; Guise Family; Huguenots; L'Hôpital, Michel de; Lutheranism; Wars of Religion, French.

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**POLAND, PARTITIONS OF.** The partitions of Poland, which ought to be known as the partitions of Poland-Lithuania, saw the removal from the map of one of Europe's largest states at the end of the eighteenth century (1772–1773, 1793, 1795). Executed by the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian monarchies, the causes and dynamics of the partitions have been the subject of debate in both Polish and European historiography. The Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania had existed in dynastic union since 1385 under the Union of Krewo and in constitutional union since the Union of Lublin in 1569. However, the eighteenth century had seen the Commonwealth beset by problems, including the Great Northern War with Sweden (1700–1721), the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), and increasing international intervention in Polish and Lithuanian affairs. After the death of Augustus III (1696-1763; ruled 1734-1763; elected to the Polish-Lithuanian throne at Russian behest), Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski (1732-1798; ruled 1764-1795), the former lover of Empress Catherine the Great (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796) of Russia, was elected king in September 1764.

There are two predominant schools of thought as to the causes of the partitions. The so-called Cracow school saw Poland-Lithuania's fate as inevitable, the result of the factors within the monarchy that had encouraged foreign interference. Debate usually centers around the role of the liberum veto (the need for unanimity when passing legislation in parliament), the preservation of magnatial and noble interests, and the inherent problems of an elective monarchy. In addition there were clearly internal conflicts between the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Lithuania, fueled by the self-interests of their powerful magnates. The Warsaw school views the events as the destruction of a progressive state that was enacting far-reaching social, political, and cultural reforms, which reached its apotheosis with the constitution of 3 May 1791, the first freely adopted constitution in Europe. In the light of the French Revolution, the absolutist monarchs of Prussia, Russia, and Austria were swift to stamp out what they regarded as Jacobin ideas in Poland-Lithuania.

Plans to partition Poland-Lithuania had been formulated as early as 1656. Prussia had long wanted to join the territories of Brandenburg and ducal Prussia by obtaining the Polish territory of royal Prussia that lay in between. Russia had long coveted the eastern reaches of the Commonwealth but had contented itself with dominating the Commonwealth's political affairs by a combination of force and bribery. Russia brought its influence to bear upon the Commonwealth's confederate Sejm (parliament) of 1767-1768 to obtain equality for religious dissenters, to retain the liberum veto, and to secure a seat in the senate for the Orthodox bishop of Mohylew. In addition Russia declared itself the protector and guarantor of Poland-Lithuania's constitution and territory. In 1768 this provoked the establishment of the Confederacy of Bar (one of whose leaders was Casimir Pulaski [1747-1779]), which aimed to reverse the religious settlement, overthrow the king, and restore the Saxon Wettin dynasty to the Polish throne. Russia intervened to crush the confederacy, but its four-year struggle inspired civil war and unrest. Fortunately for Poland, the Ottoman Porte declared war against Russia in 1768, which diverted its attention for six years.

## THE FIRST PARTITION, 1772-1773

In the five years preceding the first partition, Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780) of Austria had annexed Polish towns in the Spisz region along the Carpathian border. In June 1771 the first partition was agreed in principle between Prussia and Russia, with Austria agreeing in Saint Petersburg in 1772. Empress Catherine the Great of Russia took extensive lands along the rivers Dvina and Dnieper, Austria took lands along the rivers Vistula and San, and Frederick II (1712–1786; ruled 1740–1786) of Prussia took the economically and perhaps strategically most important lands of West Prussia without the cities of Danzig (Gdańsk) or Thorn (Torun). In April 1773, Tadeusz Rejtan (1742-1780) blocked access to the parliament's debating chamber in protest as the Commonwealth was forced to ratify the partition (the subject of a famous painting by Jan Matejko in 1886). Three treaties of cession, signed in September 1773, deprived Poland of five million out of its fourteen million inhabitants and one-third of its richest territory.

Meanwhile Prussia had made overtures to the Poles and even encouraged them to rebel, promising troops in exchange for Danzig (Gdańsk) and Thorn (Torun). In 1781 Russia had renounced its alliance with Prussia, preferring to elicit the support of Joseph II (ruled 1765-1790) of Austria (Maria Theresa had died in 1780) in the fight against the Ottoman enemy. Russia annexed the Crimea in 1783, the Turks declared war in 1787, and again attention was diverted from the Polish question. By 1786 the Prussian throne had passed to Frederick William II, and in 1787 Poniatowski attempted a last rapprochement with Russia, proposing a Russo-Polish alliance against the Turks. This was refused, and Poniatowski, deprived of an international role, embarked upon a further round of reforms at home. Between 1788 and 1792 Poland-Lithuania convened the Four Year Parliament, which took over the running of the country and repudiated the 1773-1775 settlement. Significantly for its neighbors, it voted to increase the army fivefold. Sweeping reforms were also passed in the areas of administration, taxation, and diplomatic ventures, culminating in the constitution of 3 May 1791, which instituted a hereditary monarchy among other reforms. These achievements contributed to a tendency in Polish historiography toward a glorification of these reforms in the wake of the tragedy of the partitions.

This national revival was short-lived, as Russian troops, victorious after their defeat of Turkey, poured into Poland in 1792. Prussia refused to honor its defensive alliance on the pretext that it had brokered an agreement with a monarchy, not a republic. In the Russo-Polish War of 1792–1793 (the War of the Second Partition), Poniatowski, for reasons debated by all parties, ordered his troops to cease their fire against the Russians and declared his support for the Russian-backed Confederacy of Targowica. The army dispersed, and Warsaw was occupied. Popular debate continues as to whether Poniatowski, facing an enemy with a threefold numerical advantage, was acting to save lives or out of cowardice.

## THE SECOND PARTITION, 1793, AND THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

With the treaty of the second partition, signed on 4 January 1793, Russia took the remaining part of Lithuania, and Prussia annexed Danzig (Gdańsk),

Thorn (Torun), and Wielkopolska (Great Poland). Austria received nothing, and the small part of Poland that remained (with a population of four million) was under Russian protection. As previously, the Sejm was forced to ratify the partition and sign agreements with the partitioning powers. It met between June and October 1793 at Grodno (Hrodna), Lithuania, and enjoyed the distinction of being the last Sejm to meet in the Commonwealth. Under Russian threat, the constitution of 1791 was rescinded, the liberum veto was restored, the partition was approved, and cession treaties were signed. However, the reformers were not yet defeated. There was protest in the military, among local sejmiki (dietines), and in government throughout the winter of 1793-1794. Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746-1817), who had trained in France and had won fame and glory as a hero of the American War of Independence, declared the fight for Polish independence on Cracow town square in March 1794. At the battle of Raclawice on 4 April 1794 Kosciuszko's forces, with a heavy peasant contingent, defeated the Russian forces under General Alexandr Petrovich Tormasov (1752-1819). Warsaw rose on Easter Thursday and expelled the Russians, and the Lithuanian capital Vilnius followed. An insurrectionary court was established, and collaborators were tried and executed along with those who had led the Confederacy of Targowica. In Warsaw the insurrectionary government took control, and in Vilnius the Act of Insurrection of the Lithuanian Nation was declared.

Kosciuszko continued to fight, and on 7 May 1794 he declared the Proclamation of Polaniec, promising to free the peasants in an effort to swell the ranks of the army and also because he was genuinely dedicated to the cause of personal freedom. However, this provoked discontent among the nobility, still committed to protecting its own interests. In anticipation of an attack by the Russian general Aleksandr Vasilyevich Suvorov (1729-1800), Kosciuszko attacked the Russian general Ivan Fersen's (1747-1799) corps at Maciejowice and was defeated. Praga (a suburb of Warsaw) was stormed by the Russians, and up to ten thousand are thought to have been massacred. Cracow and Vilnius were captured, Warsaw fell, and finally Kosciuszko was defeated. The king was captured

and deported, and the insurrectionary government was suppressed.

## THE THIRD PARTITION, 1795

On 3 January 1795 Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed the final partition treaty in Saint Petersburg amid extremely cool relations between Prussia and Austria. Austria occupied a huge area around Cracow, and on 24 October 1795 it received Cracow from Prussia and renamed the area New Galicia. Prussia took over Warsaw, where its army replaced that of the Russians, and called the area New South Prussia. A month later Poniatowski abdicated, and he died in Saint Petersburg in 1798. A tripartite convention between the partitioning powers was signed two years later, and neither Poland nor Lithuania reappeared on the European map until the end of World War I in 1918.

See also Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Russo-Polish Wars.

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POLAND TO 1569. Before the Polish state was established, many impermanent tribal states existed in the territory of present-day Poland, the most important in the ninth and tenth centuries being those of the Polanie, in Great Poland around Gniezno, and the Wiślanie, in the basin of the upper Vistula. The territorial expansion of the Polanie led to the unification of most of the neighboring tribes in the tenth century and to the foundation of a state under the hereditary rule of the Piast dynasty. The first recorded Piast ruler was Mieszko I (d. 992), who, after assuming power, probably at the beginning of the 960s, adopted the Christian faith from Bohemia in 966 and obtained the right to establish a missionary bishopric in Poznań (968). Poland

thus joined the sphere of Western culture, and Catholicism began to play an essential role in her history.

Mieszko took over central Pomerania, reduced western Pomerania to submission, and successfully defended the country against German expansion with his victory at Zehde (Cedynia) in 972 and his repulsion of Otto II's expedition in 979. He also incorporated Silesia and Little Poland, with Cracow, into Poland around 990 and created a relatively centralized state. At the end of his rule he put the state under the protection of the pope in order to secure its political and ecclesiastical independence from Germany. Mieszko's policy of state consolidation and territorial expansion was continued by his son, Bolesław I the Brave (992-1025). During Bolesław's meeting with the Emperor Otto III in Gniezno (1000), an ecclesiastical metropolis, independent of Germany, was set up there, with bishoprics in Cracow, Wrocław (Breslau), and Kołobrzeg (Kolberg). Bolesław was crowned king in 1025. His death was followed by successive periods of internal disorganization and-from the middle of the eleventh century—of relative stabilization. After Bolesław III's death (1138), the state was fragmented (by the end of the thirteenth century) into numerous provincial duchies. The political situation of the weak and quarreling duchies was aggravated by the expansion of Brandenburg into Polish territories and by the invasions of the Lithuanians and Pruthenians. The German order of Teutonic Knights, installed in the Chełmno region (northwestern Mazovia) by Conrad of Mazovia in 1226, was to defend Poland. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Władysław I the Short (who ruled as king 1320-1333) united the state, but a full consolidation was done by his son, Casimir III the Great (1333–1370), who interrupted the cycle of wars with the Czechs and Teutonic Knights (Peace of Kalisz, 1343). In 1340-1366 he waged victorious wars against Lithuania for Halicz and Vladimir (Red Ruthenia), incorporating large, ethnically non-Polish territories into Poland. At the same time, thanks to his fiscal and judiciary reforms and his support for the development of towns, the organization of settlement in rural areas, and the expansion of the state's defense system by building castles and town walls, Casimir ensured internal stability and economic development. By treaty with

the Hungarian Angevins (in 1339 and 1355), Casimir's nephew, Louis I the Great (ruled 1370-1382; king of Hungary 1342-1382) ascended the Polish throne after Casimir's death. In order to gain the consent of the Polish lords and noblemen to his daughter's succession to the Polish throne, Louis made the Pact of Koszyce in 1374, which strengthened the nobility's position and restricted the king's power. In 1384 Louis's daughter, Jadwiga, ascended the throne (1384-1399); to cement a treaty of union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (formalized by the Union of Krewo, 1385), Jadwiga married the Lithuanian grand duke Jogaila, who in 1386 was baptized (becoming Władysław Jagiełło) and crowned king of Poland, initiating the Jagiellon dynasty.

The basic problem facing Władysław II Jagiełło (1386-1434) was to halt the expansion of the Teutonic Knights; the victory at Grunwald (Tannenberg; 1410) marked the beginning of the decline of the Knights' state. Poland's bonds with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were strengthened by the Union of Horodło in 1413. Jagiełło secured a guarantee of his sons' succession to the Polish throne by granting privileges to the nobility (1422, 1423, 1430). The reign of his son Władysław III Warneńczyk (1434-1444), who was also elected king of Hungary (1440), was short; he was killed in the battle against the Turks at Varna in 1444. His successor, Casimir IV Jagiellończyk (1447–1492), won favor with the noblemen by issuing the Privilege of Nieszawa (1454), which confirmed their old privileges and granted new ones; it also opened the way to the development of parliamentary rule, allowing the sejmiki (provincial diets) to raise new taxes. Casimir eliminated the Teutonic danger by defeating the Order in the Thirteen Years' War (1454-1466). By the Peace of Toruń (1466) Gdańsk Pomerania, the Chełmno lands, the regions of Malbork (Marienburg) and Elblag (Elbing), called Royal Prussia, and Warmia (Ermeland) were incorporated into Poland; the Teutonic Knights' state became Poland's fief. The Jagiellon dynasty's position was strengthened when the king's son, Vladislav II, was crowned king of Bohemia (1471) and Hungary (as Ulászló II; 1490). The reigns of the next two Jagiellons, John I Albert (1492–1501) and Alexander (1501-1506), reinforced the position of the nobility through the privileges of Piotrków (1496) and the Nihil Novi constitution of 1505, which specified that no new laws were to be made without the consent of the Sejm ('diet').

The sixteenth century was the period of the country's greatest development. The balanced foreign policy pursued by Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548) resulted in friendly relations with the Habsburgs (Treaty of Vienna, 1515); the secularization of the Teutonic Knights' state (henceforth called the Duchy of Prussia), leading to the homage paid by the Order's grand master, Albrecht von Hohenzollern, in Cracow in 1525 (the so-called Prussian homage); and the conclusion of a lasting peace with Turkey in 1533. On and off Poland and Lithuania fought wars with Muscovy, with varying success; the borderland with Moldavia was the main trouble spot. Mazovia was fully incorporated into Poland in 1529.

The king's reliance on the magnates (the wealthiest nobles, who held the highest senatorial offices and civil posts) pushed the remaining nobility into opposition and induced it to demand a program of far-reaching political and economic reform. This program was endorsed in 1562-1563 by the king's son, Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548-1572). The most important problem during his reign was the question of Livonia, which was attacked by Ivan IV the Terrible in 1558. When the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, which ruled Livonia, was secularized, Sigismund put Livonia under his protection and rule in 1561. In 1563 a war broke out with Russia; the protracted fighting was brought to a halt by a truce in 1570, but the conflict was not resolved. The most durable achievement of Sigismund Augustus's reign was the permanent constitutional union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, sealed by the Sejm in Lublin in 1569. The country also began to construct a navy and set up a standing mercenary army. The reign of the two Sigismunds is regarded as a golden age in Poland's history.

The consolidation of the state under Casimir III the Great and Louis I the Great was conducive to the emergence of an estate-based monarchy. After Casimir's death (1370) the throne became elective. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries royal power was weakened by the fact that public offices were held for life. A bicameral parliament or Sejm

came into being in the fifteenth century; it consisted of the king, church and lay dignitaries (members of the Royal Council who later became members of the Senate), provincial officials, noblemen who did not hold any office, and, initially, representatives of towns; the Sejm performed legislative functions and dealt with internal and foreign policy. Legislation relating to the judicial system came into the competency of the Sejm and the provinical *sejmiki*, which increased in importance.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, privileges, which at first were conferred on the nobility by the king, began to be conferred during Sejm sessions by the noblemen themselves. A period of noblemen's democracy set in, in which power was in the hands of both the king and the nobility. Legislative power was held by the Sejm (the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the king) and by the provincial (or, in Lithuania, district) sejmiki; executive power was in the hands of both central officials (marshals, that is, chairmen of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, the chancellor, vice-chancellors, treasurers, hetmans) and local officials (starostas). The nobility kept strengthening its position in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, playing an increasingly important role in the exercise of political power through the sejmiki and the Chamber of Deputies. The influence of Polish noblemen's liberties and institutions spread to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and all legal differences between the Lithuanian and Polish nobility were abolished by the Union of Lublin, concluded in 1569.

The situation of the peasants deteriorated; they were gradually deprived of the right to leave their villages, and the amount of work they had to do for the landowner (corvée) steadily increased. The religious situation changed; the state, which was overwhelmingly Catholic at the beginning of Casimir the Great's reign, became a Catholic-Orthodox state when it enlarged its territory in the east, in particular after the union with Lithuania. The multidenominational character of the country became even more striking in the sixteenth century as a result of the success of the Protestant Reformation, which found many adherents among the nobility and magnates and also among townsmen. The peasants remained, on the whole, faithful to the Catholic or Orthodox faiths. Although the Counter-Reformation, which grew in strength after the middle of the sixteenth century, diminished religious toleration, it was officially reconfirmed by the Compact of Warsaw in 1573.

In the economic sphere, the increased demand for grain in Western Europe led to the development of manorial estates, large farms engaged in agriculture or stockbreeding, whose production was based mainly on the labor of serfs. Exports to the West increased, as grain and forest products were sent mainly by sea, and cattle and furs, by land. Gdańsk, Poland's largest and richest city, enjoyed great independence and handled most of the maritime trade with Western Europe. An increasingly important role in the economy was played by Jews, who flowed into Poland in large numbers in the sixteenth century, mainly from Germany. Cracow, Poznań, Lwow (Lviv), Lublin, Przemyśl, and Jarosław all had Jewish communities numbering in the thousands.

Culture flourished under the Jagiellons. The University of Cracow, set up in 1364 and reformed in 1397-1400, became an important center of science and culture; its influence penetrated to Lithuania, Ruthenia, and Silesia. The medieval historiographical tradition was continued by Jan Długosz in the second half of the fifteenth century, and sociopolitical writings reached a high level in the middle of the sixteenth century, above all in the works of Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski. The ideas of Italian humanism began to filter into Poland in the middle of the fifteenth century; in the sixteenth century the Reformation influenced the development of literature and reading habits. Literary Polish was formed and developed by Mikołaj Rej and Jan Kochanowski; science was advanced by the work of Mikołaj Kopernik (Nicolaus Copernicus), the theologian and philosopher Mathew of Miechów, the physician Jan Struś, and the historian and geographer Bernard Wapowski. The royal court in Cracow and the courts of lay and church magnates became centers of Renaissance literature, art, and science.

See also Belarus; Cracow; Jadwiga (Poland); Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Jews and Judaism; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Lublin, Union of (1569); Polish Literature and Language; Prussia; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Serfdom; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Stephen Báthory; Władysław II Jagiełło (Poland).

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MARCIN KAMLER

POLAND-LITHUANIA, COMMON-**WEALTH OF, 1569–1795.** The Union of Lublin, signed in 1569, joined Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into the Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita) of Both Nations, with one elected monarch serving as king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. Poland and Lithuania were to have a joint Sejm (parliament) while preserving separate (but parallel) administrations, treasuries, and armed forces. Lithuania gradually integrated with Poland culturally, and the legal status of its nobility was adapted to that of the Polish nobility, so that at the beginning of the seventeenth century there was no difference between the two groups. Lithuanian and Ruthenian noblemen adopted the Polish language and culture and, after some time, also the Poles' state consciousness. Royal Prussia, whose political system was at first distinct, was linked closely with Poland in 1569.

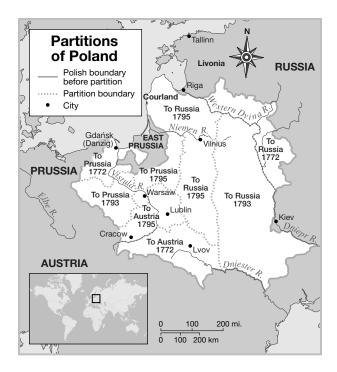
The childless death of Sigismund II Augustus (1572) ended the rule of the Jagiellon dynasty, and the subsequent kings were elected by all noblemen (szlachta) at an electoral Sejm or Diet (referred to as a viritim election). After the episodic reign of Henry of Valois (1573–1575), Stephen Báthory's ten-year reign (1576–1586) was marked by attempts to strengthen royal power, but at the same time concessions were made to the nobility, such as the establishment of the Crown Tribunal in Piotrków and Lublin in 1578 and in Lithuania (in

Vilnius, Minsk, and Nowogródek) in 1581. The endeavors to subordinate Gdańsk to the Commonwealth (the 1577 war) ended in only partial success, unlike the wars with Russia over Livonia (1579–1581), which were brought to an end by the favorable Treaty of Iam Zapol'skii (1582).

Claims to the Swedish throne raised by Báthory's successor, Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632), drew the Commonwealth into a prolonged, unsuccessful armed conflict with Sweden in Livonia (despite Poland's glorious victory at Kircholm in 1605) and in Royal Prussia in 1626–1629. The attempt to win the Russian throne (the war of 1609-1618) failed, even though the truce concluded at Deulin in 1618 accorded large territorial gains to Poland. No more successful were the wars with Turkey, punctuated by Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski's defeat at Cecora in 1620 and a successful defense of Chocim (Khotin) in 1621. The king's support of the Counter-Reformation and his aspirations to gain absolute power were opposed by the nobility and led to a civil war (Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's rebellion, 1606-1609), which ended in the king's victory but forced him to change his policy of absolutism. Soon after the rebellion (in 1611) the transfer of the king's residence from Cracow to Warsaw, begun in 1596, was completed. Władysław IV Vasa's plans (1632-1648) to resume the war against Sweden and later against Turkey did not gain the support of the magnates (the highest stratum of the noble estate) or the nobility.

#### DECLINE

The reign of John II Casimir Vasa (1648-1668; abdicated) was marked by many wars—Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Cossack uprising (1648-1654); the war with Sweden (the "deluge"; 1655-1660, terminated by the peace of Oliwa); the war with Russia (1654–1656 and 1659–1667), concluded by the truce of Andrusovo, which deprived the Commonwealth of vast territories in the east, including Kiev; and Jerzy Lubomirski's rebellion (1665-1666) which resulted in the economic devastation and depopulation of the country, chaos in political life, loss of territory, and a substantial decrease in Poland's international importance. The lawlessness of the magnates and their political parties (pro-French and pro-Habsburg) increased during the reign of Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669-1673). The sit-



uation improved temporarily thanks to the splendid victories of John III Sobieski (1674–1696) over the Cossacks, Tatars, and Turks (at Podhajce in 1667, Chocim in 1673, Żurawno in 1676, and his relief of besieged Vienna in 1683). The king's plans to incorporate Ducal Prussia and strengthen Poland's position on the Baltic were, however, thwarted by the opposition of the magnates.

After John III Sobieski's death (1696) the Commonwealth became a pawn in the policies of the neighboring countries. The participation of Augustus II the Strong of the Wettin dynasty, the Saxon elector and king of Poland (1697–1706), in the Great Northern War (1700–1721) ended in his defeat and removal from power by the Swedes. The short reign of Stanisław I Leszczyński (1704–1709), raised to the Polish throne by the Swedes, came to an end when the Swedish king, Charles XII, was defeated at Poltava (1709). During the second part of his reign (1709–1733) Augustus II had to subordinate his activity to the will of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who were interested in keeping the Commonwealth weak.

Meanwhile Polish and Lithuanian magnates clashed over their private interests, the Sejms were not held or were broken by means of the *liberum veto* (by which any one deputy was able to block a measure and have the Sejm dissolved), and the privi-

leged estates were reluctant to undertake any financial obligations to the state. Taking advantage of this situation, Russia successfully opposed all attempts to reform the Commonwealth's political system and, by guaranteeing the resolutions of the Silent Sejm (1717), which confirmed the state's old system and the nobility's rights and greatly reduced the size of the army, kept the Commonwealth weak and in a state of chaos. Poland's attempt, with France's help, to free herself from subordination to her neighbors through the reelection of Stanisław Leszczyński (1733) was thwarted by Russia's armed intervention. As a result, Augustus III Wettin was installed on the Polish throne (1733–1763). The country's sovereignty was curtailed still further, anarchy deepened, and an increasingly important role was played by antagonistic magnatial coteries of Saxon favorites and ministers, such as the Branickis, Count Heinrich von Brühl (the prime minister of Saxony), and Alexander Sułkowski.

#### PARTITION AND ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

In 1764 the strongest political party (called Familia, or 'the Family'), directed by the Czartoryskis, Poniatowskis, and Lubomirskis, put forward Stanisław II August Poniatowski as a candidate for the throne; his election (1764–1795), supported by the Russian Empress Catherine II, made it possible to carry out some limited internal reforms, with Russia's consent. In reply to these reforms, Russia's interference in the Commonwealth's internal affairs, and the king's pro-Russian policy, conservative noblemen and magnates set up an armed union called the Confederation of Bar in 1768; the confederates announced the deposition of the king and launched a bloody civil war (1768–1772), which spread over nearly the whole country. The fighting was suppressed by Russian troops, with the participation of some Polish royal forces and Prussian units.

The direct consequence of the Confederation of Bar was the first partition of Poland (1772), by which Austria, Prussia, and Russia annexed a total of a third of the Commonwealth's territory. Russian interference in the Commonwealth's internal affairs continued; it was effected mainly through the Permanent Council, a body set up in 1775 to deal with government and administration; while it was dependent on Russia, the council did useful work in the

administration of the country. Some reforms were initiated and supported by Stanislaus Augustus (although they were curtailed by Catherine II); for instance, in 1773 a Commission for National Education, a central office dealing with education and upbringing, was set up. But it was only during the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) that the patriotic party, which worked with the king, succeeded in carrying out many important reforms. The Sejm increased the size of the army, set up organs of local administration known as Commissions of Civil and Military Law and Order, increased the rights of townsmen, and, most importantly, adopted the Constitution of 3 May 1791, the first basic law in Europe.

These endeavors to reform the country were thwarted by the Confederation of Targowica, established by Polish magnates in St. Petersburg under Catherine's patronage in 1792, which called for Russian intervention, resulting in the Polish-Russian war of 1792. As a consequence Russia and Prussia carried out the second partition of Poland (1793). In 1794 an insurrection commanded by Tadeusz Kościuszko, attempting to save the remnants of Polish independence, ended in defeat, which led to the third partition of the country in 1795, again by Poland's three neighbors. The Commonwealth ceased to exist as a state and remained under foreign rule until 1918.

## THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The political system formed during the Jagiellonian period survived until the collapse of the Polish state. But important changes in the makeup of the political forces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries influenced the workings of the state apparatus. In the sixteenth century, alongside the monarch, the entire noblemen's Estate had a say in power. In the last two centuries of the Commonwealth's existence, however, the magnates gained the upper hand (hence the imprecise term "magnate oligarchy"). From the middle of the seventeenth century and, quite blatantly, in the eighteenth century, they exercised total control over all political matters in the country; under Stanisław August decisions were made by just a few families. An important factor that made it easier for the magnates to gain the upper hand was the noblemen's participation in the royal election, adopted in 1572 (viritim election); the noblemen easily gave in to the magnates' pressure.

Royal power was weakened further by the duty of each elected king to swear fidelity to the Henrician articles (1573), which reasserted the basic principles of the Commonwealth's political system and allowed noblemen to refuse obedience to the king, should he violate these principles, and the Pacta Conventa, which listed the king's obligations with regard to foreign policy and financial matters. After the defeat of Zebrzydowski's rebellion (1606–1607) and even more so after Lubomirski's rebellion (1665–1666), the king's authority declined and so did the political importance of the middle nobility, while the magnates strengthened their position.

The state could not function properly, because parliament had to adopt all laws unanimously, and the deputies had to observe the instructions given them by the *sejmiki* (provincial diets). Sejm sessions dissolved when they failed to reach agreement on the submitted bills within six weeks or were broken (from 1652 on) by the liberum veto, which made it possible for a single deputy to invalidate all the laws the session had adopted. Between 1582 and 1762, 60 percent of all Sejm sessions were thus dissolved. The ossification of the political system caused by the nobility's insistence on its freedoms and privileges (the cardinal rights underlying their so-called golden freedom) and the unwillingness of most magnates and noblemen to undertake reforms resulted in the growing inefficiency of the state, particularly in financial and military matters. The Commonwealth was therefore unable to stand up to its much more powerful neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which at first planned to incapacitate it and then sought to liquidate it outright. The reforms adopted by the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) and envisaged in the Constitution of 3 May 1791 were annihilated by the fall of the state.

## ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS, AND CULTURAL LIFE

The Commonwealth's economy began to decline in the 1620s. The fall in western Europe's demand for Polish grain and the inefficiency of an agricultural system based on serf labor undermined the manorial farms; the crisis also affected peasant holdings. Recession extended to towns, impover-



Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania. This map appeared in the British periodical the *Gentleman's Magazine* in November 1772 at the time of the First Partition of Poland. The First Partition cost the country a third of its territory, and by the time of the Third Partition in 1795 the Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth ceased to exist. Map Collection, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

ishing the majority of townsmen. But it was the wars and epidemics of the mid-seventeenth century and the first twenty years of the eighteenth that had truly catastrophic results, leading to the depopulation and devastation of villages, towns, and cities and to a sharp and long-lasting decline of agriculture, handicrafts, and trade.

The first attempts to introduce changes in agriculture were made in the 1720s and assumed a larger scale in the second half of the century. Instead of the *corvée*, peasants began to pay rent for the land they tilled, manorial estates were parceled out, new crops came under cultivation (fodder crops and

then potatoes), and stock breeding was modernized. Handicrafts revived in towns under the Saxons, but a real breakthrough could be noticed only in the last decade of the eighteenth century, when many artisan workshops were set up, breaking the ossified guild system. But as long as the Commonwealth existed there was no real improvement in the situation of peasants or townsmen.

With regard to religion, an important event was the Union of Brest (1596), which was intended to unite the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the Commonwealth, but in fact split the Orthodox Church into two opposed churches, Greek Catholic (Uniate) and Orthodox, the latter not recognizing the Union. The loss of vast territories in the east (1667) weakened the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth and led to the predominance over it of the Uniate Church by the eighteenth century. The ban on apostasy (which was punishable by death as of 1668) reflected the triumph of the Counter-Reformation and was a departure from Poland's previous religious toleration. Intolerance, which increased as the general crisis grew in the eighteenth century, was reflected in the fight against non-Catholics, in the ban on public Protestant services and on the construction of Protestant churches (1717), and in the formal exclusion of Protestants from state posts and the Sejm in 1733. The discrimination against non-Catholics gave Russia a pretext to interfere in the Commonwealth's internal affairs.

Political and economic disorganization led to the decline of learning in society in general, and to xenophobia, bigotry, and obscurantism. The noblemen's uncritical self-admiration laid the foundations for Sarmatism, an ideology according to which the origins of the Polish nobility were distinct from those of the peasants. High culture developed in magnates' courts and a few large cities, especially Gdańsk. The Enlightenment, which came to Poland during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, sparked breakthroughs in education and arts and letters. The schools run by the Catholic Piarist order, which had been active in Poland from 1642, were thoroughly reformed in 1750–1755, while the king formed the Commission for National Education. Theater, music, fine arts, literature, and political writing flourished on the initiative and under the patronage of the king; his court and Warsaw as a whole became cultural centers that influenced the entire Commonwealth.

See also Belarus; Catherine II (Russia); Cossacks; Gdańsk; Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Lublin, Union of (1569); Poland, Partitions of; Polish Literature and Language; Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Stephen Báthory; 3 May Constitution; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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**POLICE.** Police, services composed of trained, full-time, paid officers dedicated to reducing the causes of crime, deterring its commission by regular patrols, and investigating lawbreaking and apprehending its perpetrators, are central to the operation of modern, bureaucratic, and centralized states. But at the start of the early modern period, most European states lacked effective professional police forces, and such agencies developed only slowly, in part because of the relative weakness of early modern state institutions and the fiscal limitations under which they labored. Also, the very word "police" described for early modern administrators all those institutions and regulations necessary to establish a well-ordered state, not just to fight crime. Thus officials encumbered some early police agencies with far more duties than those of their modern counterparts.

Everywhere too the effectiveness of early modern policing was limited by the reluctance of much of the population to have recourse to the police. Historians find this reticence revealed in several ways. Early modern Europeans often themselves regulated much of the behavior controlled by modern police. Among established populations, disputes that produce police action in modern societies often entirely escaped the attention of the authorities in the early modern period, when they concluded with subjudicial settlements mediated by priests, notaries, or local dignitaries. Additionally, interper-

sonal violence frequently resulted in vendettas that endured for years before coming to the cognizance of the authorities. Indeed, citizens sought state judicial and police authority only under certain circumstances. For example, local residents readily reported to authorities the activities of outsiders, like wandering vagrants, and they also sought the assistance of agents of the state against neighbors whose misdeeds transcended local thresholds of tolerable behavior. Early modern police agencies, both traditional institutions and newer forces that proved to be the precursors of modern policing, depended on such civilian cooperation for the limited effectiveness they possessed.

### TRADITIONAL POLICE AGENCIES

When they did have contact with representatives of police authority, most early modern Europeans dealt with agents of seigneurial, municipal, or royal courts charged with executing arrest orders issued by magistrates in response to citizen complaints. On the Continent, larger courts often had paid officers for such duties, men bearing a variety of titles, including sergents in many French jurisdictions and sbirri in the Papal States. The numbers of such officers were always limited, and they were at a great disadvantage in the face of concerted opposition to the execution of their orders. In late-seventeenthcentury Amsterdam, for example, the force of the schout, an official who functioned much like a public prosecutor and police chief, numbered only eighteen men in a city of 200,000 inhabitants. The same number of officers served the criminal court of Florence, the Otto di Guardia e Balìa, in the midsixteenth century when the city had sixty thousand citizens.

At even greater disadvantage were the unsalaried officers of justice common in several countries. In England, western Germany, Sweden, and much of the Dutch Republic, justice and policing were in the hands of unpaid citizens serving terms of office that punctuated their everyday occupations. Often without formal legal education, the justice of the peace of England, the *länsman* of Sweden, the *Schultheis* of Württemburg, and the judge of the Dutch *schepenbanken* sought execution of their orders by unpaid officers also drawn from the local community. These men, including the English constable and the Dutch *baljuw*, *ruwaard*, or

*drossard*, might sometimes be in considerable danger while fulfilling their duties because they usually acted alone. Their only possible aid might have been the citizen participation in a general hue and cry required by ordinances in England and many German jurisdictions.

In addition to these agents of the courts, most European towns had various forces that also performed police functions. Even small cities on the Continent possessed ceremonial municipal guard units composed of local citizens who turned out armed and uniformed on such occasions as a royal visit, but they were ill-trained and of little practical use for law enforcement. More common were various sorts of watch units enlisting men who sometimes drew municipal salaries, like those of the guet of Bordeaux in the eighteenth century. The Bordeaux watch was quite typical of many such units in its numerical weakness. It had but seventy men to patrol a city with a late-eighteenth-century population of about 100,000 persons. Night watch arrangements in England were even less formal and until the eighteenth century depended on the Statute of Winchester of 1285, which required individual citizens to take unpaid turns in nightly patrols of their local parishes.

## TOWARD PROFESSIONAL POLICING

Only slowly did some European states manage to create full-time, paid, professional police forces, and France led in this process. France was the only European state to create and maintain a centrally administered agency of rural policing in the early modern period. That force, the Maréchaussée, originated in an armed military police force that not only maintained order along the army's line of march and pursued deserters but also had the power to try in its own courts those it apprehended. By the sixteenth century the French monarchy added to that force's military duties competence over a growing list of nonmilitary offenses, including highway robbery, vagabondage, popular disturbances, and other offenses that the crown viewed as fundamental threats to France's stability. Until the French Revolution the Maréchaussée retained its dual power to arrest certain kinds of criminals and to judge those it apprehended in military courts, whose verdicts were not subject to appeal.

The number of lawbreakers who experienced this summary justice of the Maréchaussée was limited chiefly by the force's manpower. By 1789 the Maréchaussée mustered only 4,114 officers and men assigned to outposts throughout the kingdom. Such numbers were inadequate for effective rural policing, and in the Bordeaux généralité in 1790, for example, only 111 mounted policemen patrolled 26,000 square miles of territory. Thus the blue-uniformed Maréchaussée officers must have been rare sights indeed in most rural hamlets, and their effectiveness, like that of more traditional police agents, ultimately depended on the cooperation of those they policed. Nevertheless, many French people recognized the importance of professional rural policing, and their demands (cahiers de doléances) for the Estates-General of 1789 frequently called for an improved force. As a result, legislation in 1791 created the gendarmerie nationale, an enlarged Maréchausseé deprived of its judicial authority, that still served rural France in the early twenty-first century.

France also led Europe in the creation of modern urban policing. In his edict of 15 March 1667 Louis XIV created the office of lieutenant général de police de la ville, prévôté et vicomté de Paris. The holder of this office was a magistrate who presided over a police court once weekly but, more importantly, was the administrator charged with maintaining all aspects of order in a growing capital city whose population reached 600,000 by the 1780s. The traditional early modern definition of police functions initially shaped the work of subordinates of the lieutenant général, and street lighting, trash collecting, firefighting, care of foundlings, building inspection, enforcement of commercial regulations, censorship, and other duties occupied many of them. But in 1788 the lieutenant général also commanded 1,931 men who did the work of a modern police force. He deployed various types of uniformed units for mounted and foot patrols of the city, coordinated the efforts of police investigators and spies, and administered police justice through his own court, aided by forty-eight commissioners (commissaires), magistrates stationed throughout the city and empowered to initiate criminal procedures and to order arrests.

The only other early attempts by a European central government at large-scale policing opera-

tions originated in the lands of the Spanish monarchy. In their Castilian lands, the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella created the Council of the Holy Brotherhood (Santa Hermandad) in 1476 to consolidate locally funded militias into a federation of rural forces that had police and judicial powers, like the Maréchaussée, over a select group of crimes, including murder, rape, highway robbery, and rebellion. Founded in response to the disorders of the succession crisis of the early reign of Isabella in Castile and to lawlessness accompanying the Granada War of 1482-1492, these armed and uniformed forces never developed into a permanent national police. The monarchs never gave the council crown funding, failed to extend it to the rest of their Iberian territories, and disbanded it entirely in 1496 with the end of the Granada War. For over two centuries thereafter, rural policing responsibilities were entirely in the hands of local governments, not all of which had the will or means to fund forces. Even when the crown established a number of royal police units in the eighteenth century, these forces lacked central direction and adequate funding. Only in 1835 did Spain achieve national policing with the advent of the guardia civil.

Spanish monarchs also attempted to establish rural policing in their Netherlands territories. There, a force endowed with both police and judicial powers operated in Artois from about 1517 until the county's annexation by France in 1659. Other such forces emerged in the seventeenth century in the counties of Flanders and Namur, but all had limited effectiveness because of insufficient funding and manpower, problems that continued to hamper the work of police brigades functioning in these areas even after they passed to Austrian Habsburg rule in 1714.

Elsewhere in Europe efforts at improved policing, funded by growing state resources and driven by a rising fear of crime rooted in several developments, appeared only in the eighteenth century. Certainly the growth of a cheap popular press highlighted existing crime for government officials and encouraged them to improve police services. Officials also sought to bolster police resources in response to new threats to public order. Historians of British crime, for example, show that property crime increased in periods of economic distress, and these periods frequently followed the conclusions of the

century's many wars. Additionally, population growth and structural economic changes, like enclosure, everywhere produced large numbers of vagrants, who generated considerable fear in settled populations.

Greater London, Europe's largest metropolitan area, produced a number of developments in eighteenth-century policing. Composed of numerous independent municipalities, it presented significant problems in policing. Until 1735 the various municipalities of the metropolis attempted to meet their police needs within the provisions of the Statute of Winchester, that is, with constables and unpaid night watches whose authority ceased at individual parish or municipal boundaries. In 1735 two parishes, St. James, Piccadilly, and St. George, Hanover Square, secured legislation permitting them to levy local taxes to pay permanent, professional patrols for their jurisdictions. Other jurisdictions followed suit, and slowly thereafter local and national authorities created a variety of police units, including highway and river patrols, with general jurisdiction in the metropolitan area. One of these units, the Bow Street Runners, initially privately employed by the London magistrates Henry and John Fielding, was the prototype for the modern detective branch of policing. Only in 1829, however, did Parliament create the London Metropolitan Police, a unified force with jurisdiction encompassing all of Greater London.

The middle and late eighteenth century witnessed experiments in rural policing too, especially on the European continent. Southern German states, including Baden, Bavaria, and Württemburg, employed mounted police units called *Hatschiere*, composed of former soldiers, to patrol rural areas and especially to search for vagrants. These states also used hussars, cavalrymen drawn from the regular army, for patrols and arrests, but neither these units nor the *Hatschiere* seem to have had sufficient discipline or numerical strength to provide effective policing. The same problems seem to have afflicted the mounted police units created by Victor Amadeus III of Piedmont-Sardinia in the 1770s and 1780s.

European police agencies remained relatively weak by modern standards through the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the foundations of modern policing are evident in developments in the late early modern period.

See also Crime and Punishment; State and Bureaucracy.

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Julius R. Ruff

## POLISH LITERATURE AND LAN-

**GUAGE.** The "golden age" of Polish literature (1520-1620) arose out of modest medieval beginnings. Latin-writing historians (Gallus Anonymus, 1113-1115; Bishop of Cracow Wincenty Kadłubek, early thirteenth century; Jan Długosz, or Longinus, fifteenth century) produced chronicles of Polish events; churchmen wrote poetry, saints' lives, and theological and political tracts. Extant literature in Polish paints a still more modest picture. We have a Psalter translated for Queen Jadwiga (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) and a Bible done for Queen Sophia (c. 1455); two collections of sermons (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); a versified Legenda o świętym Aleksym (mid-fifteenth century; Legend of St. Alexis); Rozmowa Mistrza Polikarpa ze Śmiercią (late fifteenth century; Conversation of Master Polikarp with Death); Słota's didactic poem about table manners (early fifteenth century); a few secular songs and satires; some religious hymns, perhaps the oldest of which was an

invocation of the mother of God ("Bogurodzica"); and apocrypha, such as the fifteenth-century *Meditation on the Life of Lord Jesus*. Many of these works had Latin, German, and Czech models, and there are some indications that untranslated works of Czech literature (which experienced a flourishing in the mid-fourteenth century) may have found a Polish readership.

Humanist circles began to develop in the late fifteenth century around the courts of king, magnates, and bishops, and at Cracow's university (founded 1364). The Italian political refugee and writer Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus, 1437-1496) found haven at the court of Archbishop of Lviv Gregory of Sanok, before rising to become a royal secretary and tutor to the sons of King Casimir IV Jagiellończyk. One of these sons, King Sigismund I the Old (ruled 1506-1548), married an Italian (Bona Sforza) and presided over the rise of the Polish Renaissance. The Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana, a loose grouping of humanistically trained writers, grew up around Bavarian poet Konrad Celtis (Pickel, 1459-1508), who studied in Cracow (1488-1491) and wrote of his Polish adventures in his Quattuor Libri Amorum (Four books of love) of 1502. A young Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) studied humanities and mathematics at the Cracow Academy in this period (1491-1494).

## RENAISSANCE

The Polish Renaissance was neo-Latin in its first phases. Maciej of Miechów (1453 or 1457-1523) introduced Poland to the humanistic world with his Tractatus de Duabus Sarmatiis (1517; Treatise on the two Sarmatias) and Chronica Polonorum (1519; Chronicle of the Poles), as did later Marcin Kromer (c. 1512-1589) with his De Origine et Rebus Gestis Polonorum Libri XXX (1555; Thirty books on the origin and affairs of the Poles) and Polonia, Sive de Situ, Populis, Moribus, Magistratibus et Republica Regni Polonici Libri Duo (1577; Poland, or Two books on the site, peoples, customs, magistracies, and republic of the Polish kingdom). A first generation of Polish humanist poets writing in neo-Latin included Paweł of Krosno (Paulus Crosnensis, 1470–1517), Jan of Wiślica (Joannes Vislicensis, c. 1485-c. 1520), Andrzej Krzycki (Cricius, 1482-1537), Jan Dantyszek (Dantiscius, 1485–1548), Mikołaj Hussowczyk (Hussovianus, c. 1480–after 1533), and Klemens Janicki (Janicius, 1516–1543). Hussovianus, scion of a non-noble family likely from Belarus, was a client of Bishop of Płock Erazm Ciołek, whom he accompanied to Rome in 1521–1522. At his patron's request, he composed an epic on the Lithuanian bison for Pope Leo X (*Carmen de Statura*, *Feritate ac Venatione Bisontis*, 1523).

Literature in Polish developed dramatically in the next generation. A precursor was the versified Aesop (1522) of Biernat of Lublin (c. 1465-c. 1529), who proclaimed reforming views on church, doctrine, and society in the years before Martin Luther. The Calvinist nobleman Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), who proved to his countrymen that "Poles have their own, and not a 'goose's language" (i.e., inarticulate noises) has long been considered the "father of Polish piśmiennictwo" ('writing, literacy'), if not of Polish literatura ('literature'; that honor goes to Jan Kochanowski). Among the most important works of this prolific writer were a Calvinist postil (1557; Lithuanian translation, 1600); Wizerunk własny zywota człowieka poczciwego (1558; Proper likeness of the life of the honorable man), written in imitation of the Zodiacus Vitae (early 1530s; Zodiac of life) of the Ferrara humanist Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus; and Zwierzyniec (1562; Menagerie).

The peak of the Polish Renaissance coincided largely with the reign of the last Jagiellonian king, Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548-1572). The humanist political thinker Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (Fricius Modrevius, 1503–1572) was the author of the influential Commentarium de Republica Emendenda Libri Quinque (1551, 1554; Five books of commentaries on the reform of the republic), a Polish translation of which, by Cyprian Bazylik, was published by the Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny at Łosk in 1577. Łukasz Górnicki published his Dworżanin polski (Polish courtier), a translation and adaptation of Baldassare Castiglione's Il cortegiano, at Cracow in 1566. (Where Castiglione urged the perfect courtier to avoid affectation by banishing Old Tuscan words from his speech, Górnicki admonished the Polish courtier to cease peppering his Polish with Czech.)

Polish humanistic prose reached new heights in the works of Stanisław Orzechowski (1513–1566),

grandson of an Orthodox priest from Red Ruthenia (Przemyśl), himself a Catholic cleric who argued against celibacy, married (in 1551), and went on to conduct polemics in support of gentry liberties and against Modrzewski and Reformation writers (he remained "Catholic"). Żywoty świętych (1579; The lives of saints) and Kazania sejmowe (1597; Sermons before the Diet) of the Jesuit court preacher Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), one of the chief architects of the Union of Brest (1596), attained the rank of best-sellers over the centuries. The standard Bible translation for Catholic Poles (first printed at Cracow in 1599) was the work of the Jesuit Jakub Wujek (1541–1597).

The poet Jan Kochanowski, proficient in several poetic genres, especially lyric and anacreontic, quickly achieved classic status and was the object of much imitation during the baroque period. His nephew Piotr Kochanowski provided the model for a Polish epic with two masterful translations, verse renderings of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1618) and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (first twenty-five cantos first printed at Cracow, 1799).

### **BAROQUE**

The Rytmy, albo wiersze polskie (Rhythms, or Polish verses) of Mikołaj Sep Szarzyński (c. 1550–1581) were published posthumously in 1601. The poet's topics (the inconstancy of the temporal world, the paltriness of man subject to the whims of fortune) and stylistic inclinations (ellipses, inversions, antitheses, oxymoron) made him the precursor of a highly developed Polish baroque. Leading practitioners of a European baroque style (concettismo) in Poland included Zbigniew (c. 1628–1689) and Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (1621–1693), two members of a prominent Antitrinitarian family that produced several poets (Jan Andrzej was also a translator of Giambattista Marino and Pierre Corneille); Szymon Zimorowic (1608–1629); and the neo-Latin poet Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (Sarbievius, 1595-1640), known throughout Europe as the "Christian Horace."

The Antitrinitarian poet Wacław Potocki (1621–1696) produced an epic on the Chocim War of 1621 against the Turks, and Samuel Twardowski (c. 1600–1661), an epic on the 1648 Khmelnytsky Uprising (1660; Civil War with the Cossacks and the Tatars). An anonymous Tasso imitator (which

meant also a Piotr Kochanowski imitator) sang of the 1655 Swedish siege of Jasna Góra, the Pauline monastery at Częstochowa.

Hetman and Chancellor Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547–1620), the hussar Samuel Maskiewicz (c. 1550–c. 1640), and the soldier turned gentleman farmer Jan Chryzostom Pasek (c. 1636–1701) wrote memoirs. Sarmatian messianism found expression in the *Genealogy* (1633) of the Polish state by the Franciscan Wojciech Dembołęcki (1585–c. 1646), who proved (by etymology) that all languages, including and above all Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, derived from Polish. In his *Psalmodia Polska* (1695; Polish psalmody), Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700) sang in similarly messianic tones of King John III Sobieski's 1683 relief of Vienna.

The decline of the Commonwealth that began in the mid-seventeenth century was accompanied by a decline in literary culture. Many works, even of the peak of Polish baroque literature in both its European and Sarmatian variants, long remained in manuscript, often seeing print only in the nineteenth century. (A good example is the work of Wacław Potocki, an unusually prolific writer whose literary profile has only recently begun coming into focus.) This decay increased during the "Saxon Night" (the reigns of Augustus II and III of Saxony as kings of Poland, 1697–1764), a period high in quantity of literary production and low in quality. Worthy of note is one of Poland's first women writers, Elżbieta Drużbacka (c. 1698–1765), who wrote lyric, satyric, idyllic, and epic poetry (the latter based on French romances) and was prized by Polish Enlightenment reformers for the richness and purity of her language. The same reformers rather disdained the work of Father Benedykt Chmielowski (1700-1763), whose Nowe Ateny, albo Akademia wszelkiej sciencji pełna (expanded edition in four volumes, Lviv, 1754–1756; New Athens, or the academy full of every sort of science) has often been held up as the epitome of late Sarmatian backwardness (and prized by historians for its window on a worldview).

#### **ENLIGHTENMENT**

Reactions to Sarmatism began in the Saxon period. The brothers Załuski, Bishop of Cracow Andrzej Stanisław (1695–1758) and Bishop of Kiev Józef Andrzej (1702–1774), were tireless collectors of books and manuscripts; they established Poland's

first (and one of Europe's first) public libraries. During the reign of Poland's last king, Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski (1764-1795), Sarmatism and Enlightenment trends continued their uneasy coexistence. The participants in the Confederation of Bar (1768–1772), which can be seen as the last defense of the Old Polish worldview or as the first modern Polish national uprising, wrote poetry in the Sarmatian baroque style. Meanwhile Bishop of Warmia Ignacy Krasicki (1735-1801) came to be regarded as the leading poet and novelist in the Enlightenment mode that was becoming dominant in Polish culture. His comic epics Myszeis (1775; Mouse-ead) and Monachomachia (c. 1778; War of the monks), together with his novel Mikolaja Doświadczyńskiego przypadki (1776; The adventures of Nicholas Experience), provided critiques of Sarmatian religious and political obscurantism.

See also Baroque; Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Kochanowski, Jan; Kołłątaj, Hugo; Lithuanian Literature and Language; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Renaissance; Sarmatism; Ukrainian Literature and Language.

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POLISH SUCCESSION, WAR OF **THE** (1733–1738). In February 1733 Augustus II (1670-1733; ruled 1697-1704, 1709-1733), elector of Saxony, king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania, died, leaving the throne of the elective monarchy of Poland-Lithuania vacant. Two candidates emerged, backed by opposing European alliances in a war that became significant not only for Poland-Lithuania but also for the brokering of power in Europe. Augustus II had attempted to introduce a hereditary monarchy to safeguard the Polish throne for his son Frederick Augustus II (1696–1763; ruled 1734–1763). However, Poles and Lithuanians were reluctant to elect a third candidate from Saxony, confirming a hereditary precedent set by Augustus I (Sigismund II Augustus; 1520-1572; ruled 1548-1572) and Augustus II. Most of the nobility, whose duty it was to elect the monarch, supported the Polish candidate Stanislaw I Leszczynski (1677–1766; ruled 1704–1709, 1733-1735), formerly elected king of Poland between 1704 and 1709 under a Swedish protectorate. Supported by his son-in-law the French king Louis XV (1710–1774; ruled 1715–1774) and the influential Polish Potocki and Czartoryski families, Leszczynski was elected king by the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm (parliament) on 12 September 1733. However, Russia and Austria, despite a previous secret agreement with Prussia in 1732 to exclude both candidates, pledged support for Augustus as the only pragmatic alternative. In addition the Saxon had promised the Duchy of Courland to Russia and to renounce his rights to any claims to the Habsburg throne.

At the election of Leszczynski, Russian and Saxon armies marched into Poland, and the nobility was forced to elect Frederick Augustus as Augustus III in December 1733. Leszczynski, supported by the Confederation of Dzików (led by Adam Tarlo), was forced to flee to the city of Danzig (Gdańsk), which refused to surrender to the Russians. When Danzig fell to the Russians (despite what some would call half-hearted French military and naval aid), Leszczynski fled Poland. In 1736 the so-called Pacification Parliament succeeded in normalizing the situation in Poland and saw the departure of Russian and Saxon troops.

The War of the Polish Succession manifestly demonstrated the continuing interference in Polish-Lithuanian affairs by foreign powers, especially Russia. However, its significance was not confined only to the succession to the Polish throne; it had geopolitical consequences for other European states. France, allied with Spain and Sardinia, took the Duchy of Lorraine and made Leszczynski its nominal duke on condition that the duchy revert to France upon his death. Leszczynski also retained his royal title. In turn the deposed duke of Lorraine was compensated with the grand duchy of Tuscany upon the death of its last surviving Medici ruler. Spain had gained Austrian-ruled Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, while Austria received the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. Importantly, France agreed to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction that guaranteed Maria Theresa's (1717-1780) succession to the Habsburg throne. Negotiations for peace began in Vienna in 1735, but a final treaty was not signed until 1738. Therefore some sources date the end of the War of the Polish Succession 1735, while others favor 1738. Retrospectively this war was seen by many as one of the precursory events to the partitions of Poland-Lithuania.

See also Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); Poland, Partitions of.

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**POLITICAL PARTIES IN EN- GLAND.** There has been considerable debate over when political parties came into existence in England—whether it was during the Exclusion Crisis (1679–1681), when the terms Whig and Tory were first used as party labels, or not until after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689)—as well as over the nature of the relationship between court and country identities and partisan political loyalties.

In England, rival political grouping, reflecting an intensifying conflict between court and country interests, can be detected from the mid-1660s through the 1670s, although these are normally thought of as factions rather than parties. Although

the court experimented with new forms of parliamentary management, political organization remained rudimentary and the unity of the court interest fragile; likewise, the country interest, although beginning to cohere around an ideological platform of opposition to the growth of popery and arbitrary government (especially from the mid-1670s, when Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl of Shaftesbury [1621–1683], emerged as the leading country spokesman), is best seen as a series of coalitions of place-seekers, back-benchers, and separate politician-connections with discrete political agendas who were temporarily united by a desire to bring down the ministry of the day.

The first age of political parties is usually dated to the Exclusion Crisis and the struggle between the Whigs—who sought to exclude the Catholic heir, the future James II (ruled 1685-1688), from succession on the grounds of his religion—and the Tories, who championed divine right monarchy and indefeasible hereditary right. However, some would maintain that while the first Whigs were a party, the Tories were not; others insist that neither grouping was a true party, since they lacked a recognizable leader and ideological coherence, and because political allegiances remained fluid throughout this period. The old view of a monolithic Whig party with Shaftesbury as its leader has long been discredited: The Whigs incorporated a number of discrete interests (Shaftesbury's being just one) and reflected a spectrum of belief from supporters of a strong, albeit Protestant, monarchy to those who wanted to reform the powers of the monarch to bring England nearer to a republic (some of whom preferred limitations on a popish successor to Exclusion). However, the Whigs did evince a degree of political organization that was impressive by the standards of the day: they had political clubs, to coordinate tactics and strategy; they employed electoral agents; they orchestrated a highly sophisticated propaganda campaign, deploying a wide range of visual, aural, and printed media; and they sought to mobilize the populace nationwide to support their platform through mass petition campaigns and political rallies. Although they might have differed over England's ideal constitutional settlement, all Whigs would have agreed that government existed to protect people's lives, liberties, and estates; they were also united in their condemnation of the religious

intolerance of the high Anglican establishment. To counter the Whig challenge, the Tories mimicked many of the Whigs' organizational and propaganda techniques, but rallied around a platform of commitment to the existing settlement in church and state (as established by law) and opposition to Protestant Nonconformists. If political parties are understood as organized groupings of people, with mass followings, that are united in the promotion of a series of principles that were intended for the public good, then both the Whigs and the Tories of that time would qualify.

Party identities were temporarily blurred in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. The dethroning of James II and his replacement by William III (ruled 1689-1702) seemed to have solved the issue that had given rise to party strife in the first place; moreover, the Whigs, who had started as a party in opposition to the executive, now found themselves in power, whereas the Tories, who had been the court interest, were now disfavored. Indeed, during the first half of the 1690s it is more accurate to see politics as dividing once more along court-versus-country lines. Historian Robert Walcott has even denied that parties existed during the reign of Queen Anne (ruled 1702-1714), insisting instead that political connections based on family ties were more important, though his views have been discredited. Division lists show that from the mid-1690s through the reign of Anne, most peers and members of Parliament voted consistently along party lines. Likewise, poll books reveal that the parliamentary electorate voted for party tickets (voters rarely split their votes between rival Whig and Tory candidates), while local research has demonstrated how many communities throughout the land were divided by partisan rivalries. From the mid-1690s through the end of Queen Anne's reign in 1714, the two parties had developed fairly sophisticated organizational structures to ensure unity: regular planning meetings, political clubs, circular letters and regional whips, electoral organizations, and extensive propaganda campaigns. Ideologically, the parties were divided over a series of issues. One was the conduct of foreign policy, specifically how to fight the wars against France (1689-1697 and 1702-1713) that England had become involved in as a result of the Glorious Revolution; the Whigs favored an all-out commitment to the Continental

theater, and the Tories a blue-water campaign with an emphasis on maritime and colonial operations. Another divisive issue concerned religious policy: The Whigs remained the party of the "Low Church," sympathetic to the plight of dissenters, whereas the Tories were the High Church party, convinced that the Anglican establishment was in danger of being undermined by the growth of Protestant heresy and the practice of occasional conformity, which had flourished in the wake of the Toleration Act of 1689. A third issue centered on the parties' respective attitudes toward the Glorious Revolution, with the Whigs believing that James II had been overthrown for breaking his contract, the Tories that the king had deserted and left the throne vacant, and therefore that no resistance had taken place in 1688. Although a few Tories remained loyal to the exiled Stuarts, the Tory party was not, on a whole, a Jacobite party, and most Tories were prepared to accept the Hanoverian succession in 1714. The implication of some leading Tory politicians in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, however, split the Tory party and permanently discredited them in the eyes of the new Hanoverian monarchs, leading to Tory political proscription and the rise of Whig oligarchy under the first two Georges.

See also Anne (England); Church of England; England; Exclusion Crisis; Glorious Revolution (Britain); James II (England); Parliament; William and Mary.

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TIM HARRIS

# POLITICAL PATRONAGE. See Patronage.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. At the dawn of early modern Europe, political philosophy had been largely shaped by the categories and language of Aristotelian thought as integrated into the Christian Scholastic framework during the preceding two centuries. According to Christian Aristotelians, political "science" constituted the highest form of practical knowledge, but ultimately was subordinate to the still higher forms of theoretical excellence and transcendent truth to be found in the pursuit of philosophical and theological wisdom. Scholastic political philosophy thus promoted government that comported with the virtue and salvation (and thus happiness) of members of the community. The Latin recovery of the main social writings of Aristotle (the Nicomachean Ethics and *Politics* as well as the *Economics* of Pseudo-Aristotle) in the mid-thirteenth century provided the framework within which medieval Christian political ideas were ultimately crystallized and systematized.

The history of political philosophy during the fifteenth and subsequent centuries should be recounted against this Scholastic backdrop, negatively as well as positively. Despite a renewal of Scholastic energy in the midst of the Counter-Reformation fervor of the sixteenth century, the political ideas

associated with Christian Aristotelianism served as targets of widespread attack throughout the early modern era. Yet at the same time, themes familiar to readers of medieval Scholastic writings recurred and refused to disappear entirely.

### **HUMANISM**

Repudiation of Scholasticism commenced with the Italian Renaissance. The republican doctrines commonly associated with the so-called civic humanists of the Renaissance (especially in Italy) were not inherently antagonistic to Aristotle. Indeed, Latin translations of the *Politics* and the *Economics* produced by one of the pillars of Renaissance humanism, Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370-1444), converted Aristotle into an intellectual figure amenable to civic humanist values. Yet the humanists consciously rejected the methods of the Scholastics as well as the general perception of their civic disengagement. Without disputing or denigrating the Christian aim of salvation, the civic humanists stressed sacrifice for the sake of one's fellow citizens and city as the fullest expression of a virtuous earthly life. Many famous humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries themselves served as secretaries and diplomats in the service of Italian cities, so that their glorification of citizenship reflected their own civic commitments. Drawing upon the rhetorical style of the ancients, they praised urban life in general as well as the mores and physical assets of their own cities in particular. The humanists realized that the quality of civic life depended heavily upon the wealth generated by trade, commerce, and other economic activities. Hence, they lauded the enterprise of merchants and manufacturers, to the extent that Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) contended that industriousness and selfacquired possessions constituted the foundation of morality and the greatness of the city.

There has been a tendency for scholars to equate Italian humanist political thought almost entirely with the civic version of humanism. Yet many leading humanists showed a notable preference for monarchy and even universal empire. Thus, Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina (1421–1481), and Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503), among others, wrote treatises *de principum* (of principle) that praised kingship and advised rulers how to conduct themselves and display their majesty. Like-

wise, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), who became the humanist pope Pius II (reigned 1458–1464), composed a defense of Roman imperial authority that nonetheless borrowed directly from the political concepts and categories familiar to humanism. It would be disingenuous to claim that such writings were somehow less authentically representative of humanist thought than tracts reflecting the urban ethos.

The migration of humanism over the Alps during the course of the sixteenth century underscores the adaptability of humanist learning to political affairs. The so-called northern humanists concentrated (sometimes critically) on the issues shaping the courtly life of the monarchies that ruled the emergent national territorial states of early modern Europe. In his pursuit of a spiritually revitalized Christian commonwealth, Desiderius Erasmus (1466?-1536) offered advice about the education of the Christian prince. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) imagined a New World utopia where the ills of his modern, supposedly "civilized" societywar, greed, abuse of power-were unknown and human beings lived communally without conflict arising from political and economic inequality. Jean Bodin (1530-1596) proposed a definition of sovereignty as absolute and indivisible, so that the ruling power possessed sole final authority over the legislative, judicial, administrative, and military functions associated with the state. In formulating this conception of sovereignty, Bodin explicitly challenged many of the central tenets of Aristotle's political science, such as the distinction between the governance of the family and the rulership of the state.

It is noteworthy that northern humanism spoke with a decidedly legal accent. A large number of the most prominent of the northern humanists received education in the law and often served as members of university law faculties. This legal inflection rendered humanist doctrines considerably more applicable to the political practices of the northern monarchies, which were organized around systems of royal courts and, increasingly, of legislative pronouncements. The emerging character of state power in sixteenth-century Europe may also help to account for the diffusion of the "Machiavellian" doctrine of *ragione di stato* or *raison d'état* (reason of state). From soon after the death of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) until the era of the French Revolution, Machia-

vellism formed a central feature of political theory, as well as of literary culture more generally.

Whether Machiavelli would have recognized himself in the Machiavellism of later times is an open question. The historical Machiavelli seems to have been a dedicated republican whose civic humanism, although tinged with the realism of a career politician, remained grounded in the values and principles espoused by the literature of Florentine political thought that preceded him. His Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio (1514?-1518?) and other political writings testify to this consistent streak of republicanism. However, it was Il Principe (1513–1514), a short work that he seems to have composed in great haste, that earned him his later reputation. In it, Machiavelli overturns many of the standard conventions about the personal qualities necessary for rulers to conduct themselves effectively. He argues that politics is principally guided by considerations of self-interest. Hence, political success requires the capacity to use violence against one's enemies, to engage in systematic deception, and to violate the tenets of religion—in sum, to do whatever is required to "maintain one's state." While he by no means rejects the practice of virtue in its ordinary sense when this does not interfere with the prince's goals, Machiavelli insists that the ruler can only be assured of his supremacy when he possesses virtú, construed as the ability to adapt to political circumstances rapidly and without reference to moral standards or religious pieties.

# THE PRIMACY OF POWER

Machiavelli's emphasis on political success as the only standard for politicians appeared to substitute power for civic virtue as the decisive issue of public life. The political justification of violent acts, even those such as murder that are clearly criminal, became synonymous with his name. Subsequent authors who wrote in this intellectual vein were often called Machiavellians, but they generally rejected the label in preference to the phrase "reason of state." This nomenclature seems to have crystallized by 1589, when Giovanni Botero (1540-1617) published Della Ragione di Stato. "Reason of state" was primarily applied to international relations, which supposedly constituted a special sphere of human conduct. Advocates of "reason of state" hold that appeals to justice or other moral values in dealings between states have no efficacy. Rather, force, treachery, deception, and similar uses of power, regardless of moral worth, are considered legitimate in gaining the upper hand in intrastate rivalries. The appeal to the primacy of power fundamentally transformed political discourse in early modern Europe and paved the way for many forms of so-called political realism, seemingly devoid of moral content.

A clear example of this interest in power is found in the writings of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), especially his masterpiece, the Leviathan (1651). An avowed opponent of Aristotelianism and the Scholastic approach in natural philosophy as in political affairs, Hobbes proposed to create an entirely "scientific" and "mathematical" foundation for the study of human nature and of government. According to Hobbes, all human motivation may be reduced to the twin principles that people desire self-preservation and that they fear pain and especially violent death. Thus, he insists that our moral concepts and our political institutions are correctly arranged only when they are strictly derived from this postulate with Euclidean precision. The Leviathan itself purports to offer such a derivation.

Like Bodin, Hobbes insisted that the only justifiable form of sovereign authority is absolute and indivisible. Hobbes ascribed to human beings natural liberty and equality, which license them to undertake any actions necessary in order to preserve themselves and to avoid pain. He believed that the pursuit of self-preservation by free and equal creatures left to their own devices (the "state of nature") logically leads to unceasing conflict and unremitting fear. Frustrated in their realization of their basic desires, human beings voluntarily exchange their chaotic natural freedom for peace and order by means of a social contract, the terms of which call upon the parties to renounce all liberties and rights they possess by nature (with the exception of selfpreservation itself). Any contract that permits the retention of some rights and thus a limitation on the sovereign's absolute authority will fail to achieve the peace sought and will eventually slip its members back into the state of nature. Power thereby replaces virtue as the central concern of the "science of politics."

Hobbes also identifies religion as an especially fertile source of political conflict. To remedy the divisive consequences of religion, he offers the rather extreme solution in the second half of Leviathan of strictly limiting the autonomy of ecclesiastical officials and offices and reinterpreting Christian theology in a manner consonant with his conceptions of human nature and sovereignty. While Hobbes's Erastian proposals were highly unusual, his comments about the corrosive effects of religion on public order were widely echoed among other early modern philosophers. The success of Protestant reformers during the early sixteenth century in challenging the Roman Church's monopoly over the interpretation of Christian doctrine and the maintenance of clerical obedience generated waves of violent persecution and suppression of religious dissent as well as forceful resistance by the oppressed confessions. Catholic princes and cities burned reformers of all stripes; Protestant rulers and communities did the same to Catholics as well as to members of other reforming sects. The state as an agent of confessional enforcement only reinforced the impression that effective use of coercion and violence (even if in the name of the salvation of souls) were the real qualifications for political leadership.

The controversial role of religion in public life in turn spawned major contributions to political philosophy. Authors began to argue for toleration of differences of conviction and rite. Sébastien Castellion (1515–1563) argued that coercion is an inappropriate tool for effecting a change of religious views since Christian belief must be held with sincere conviction. Hence, clerics and magistrates must refrain from persecution of convinced Christians who cling to doctrines that do not coincide with official teachings. Many important European philosophers came to the support of some principle of religious toleration. Without doubt, the most famous advocate of tolerance proved to be John Locke (1632–1704), who proposed to extend respect for liberty of conscience and worship to many Christian (and perhaps some non-Christian) confessions in his Epistola de Tolerantia (1689; A letter concerning toleration). Locke proposed that the magistrate should not concern himself with caring for the condition of human souls. Rather, political authority ought to be confined to the maintenance of public tranquility and the defense of individual rights. Locke was not, however, the first (or even the most extreme) defender of toleration during the

seventeenth century. In the writings of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), the right to liberty of thought and belief without interference from a sovereign power or a church was enunciated. According to Spinoza, no such "external" authority enjoyed the prerogative of determining the truth or falsity of one's ideas. Similarly, Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) condemned the persecution of religious diversity, claiming that it encouraged hypocrisy and eroded social order. Bayle maintained that an erring conscience, if it be held in good faith, merited protection just as surely as a correct one. He even extended this principle to atheists, a view that Locke adamantly rejected.

# THEORY OF RESISTANCE

Locke also stood at the culmination of another important line of early modern thought concerning the rights of populations to refuse obedience to tyrannical rulers, especially in matters of religion. Reforming Christians of a Calvinist persuasion led the way in articulating a theory of resistance to illegitimate applications of power. Initially, John Knox (c. 1513-1572) and other British exiles propounded the view that government has a responsibility to God to eliminate all forms of idolatry (the cipher for Catholicism). If the ruler refuses to act on this duty, then lesser magistrates and even the common people must step in to suppress idolaters and their sympathizers, that is, Catholic priests and their royal protectors. The Huguenot reformers of France developed this basic insight into a general account of resistance to an oppressive regime that aids, abets, and even guides the violent persecution of religious minorities. Authors including François Hotman (1524-1590) and Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) produced a sizable literature combining traditional Christian prohibitions against popular rebellion with the view that so-called "intermediary" magistrates, officials in service to a prince, are obliged to repel and contravene commands by their superiors that require religious persecution.

In his Second Treatise of Government (published in 1689), Locke in many ways extended the application of Calvinist resistance theory. Arguing that a ruler who systematically violates the natural rights of subjects to life, liberty, and estate violates the bond of trust that authorizes his office, Locke insists that no one is obligated to obey his commands. If the

magistrate attempts to coerce their obedience, members of civil society may legitimately use force against him, just as they would in the case of robbery or assault. Locke's argument is framed carefully so as to remain consistent with the general Christian view that active revolt against duly constituted authorities violates divine law. For Locke, it is the ruler who breaches the public trust, not the disobedient subjects.

The political philosophy of the eighteenth century witnessed the extension of the themes of constitutional limitation of power and the protection of individual freedom that had been pioneered in earlier centuries. In his *De l'esprit des lois* (1748; The spirit of the laws), Charles-Louis de Secondat, marquis de Montesquieu (1689–1755), examined issues surrounding the distribution of authority that had been previously left aside, including the separation of powers and the nature of political representation. Montesquieu thereby supplied many of the missing pieces of the puzzle of how power might be constrained.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) raised more fundamental questions about the project in which modern political philosophy had been engaged. Reversing the standard view that civilized society had led to the enhancement of human liberties and capacities, Rousseau pointed out how humanity had in fact become enslaved by political, cultural, legal, and economic practices and institutions. Only the creation of a communal life, and an attendant system of law and government, consonant with the general will of all citizens, could rectify the oppressive character of modern civilization. Hence, Rousseau pioneered a synthesis between individualistic and republican conceptions of political power and its purposes, which pointed toward to the extension of democratic rights that would occur in succeeding centuries.

See also Absolutism; Aristotelianism; Bayle, Pierre; Bèze, Théodore de; Bodin, Jean; Democracy; Divine Right Kingship; Equality and Inequality; Erasmus, Desiderius; Hobbes, Thomas; Humanists and Humanism; Knox, John; Law: Lawyers; Liberty; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; More, Thomas; Natural Law; Persecution; Resistance, Theory of; Rights, Natural; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Theology; Toleration; Utopia.

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# **POLITICAL SECULARIZATION.** The term "secularization" did not convey the same thing to early modern ears that it does to ours. The public today interprets it as a decline of religious influence that is characteristic of modern developed societies. To an early modern observer, it usually

meant the curtailing of an exclusively clerical privilege or institution, like the transfer of jurisdiction from religious to secular courts. The Reformation introduced a more unsettling connotation: the confiscation of church property by political authorities. The tendency of the new Catholic religious orders, like the Jesuits, to live in the world rather than apart from it, would also have been viewed as secularization. The possibility of a society in which religious life and thought occupied only a restricted sphere was envisaged before the mid-seventeenth century, but its real impact came later. It grew in importance, not as a result of freethinking or skepticism, but through the subordination of religion to secular political aims. Even at the end of the 1700s, however, politics remained closely entangled with religion in every European state.

The limited and uneven advance of political secularization can be examined as both an intellectual and a practical phenomenon, although these were aspects of a single process. For European intellectuals, secularization was chiefly shaped by the legacy of the ancient pagan classics. Aristotle (384– 322 B.C.E.) was made compatible with Christianity, but this did not prevent his political thought from being discussed in essentially worldly terms by writers from Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224-1274) to Henning Arnisaeus (c. 1575-1636). Italian political thinkers of the Renaissance drew from the Romans a political morality that owed nothing to Christian revelation. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527) went so far as to advise the prince to discard Christian morality in dealing with issues of state. In his Discourses, he imagined a political order that seemed entirely classical in derivation. Later in the 1500s, the virtuous principles of the Roman Stoics seemed to offer intellectuals in the Low Countries and France, such as Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592), a secular moral path out of the thicket of religious disputes. In the end, however, Neostoicism could not provide a stable basis for political action in nations that were torn by sectarian strife between Catholics and Protestants. Even Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), whose Neostoic works were read avidly by learned men of all religious persuasions, finally had to choose a side.

The fervor of the devout continued to be criticized in France by those called *politiques* or *bons* français, and in the Netherlands by Arminians, but

they were religious moderates rather than secularists. The idea of restricting the influence of religion became more acceptable only amid the turmoil of the 1640s and 1650s, especially in England. The most radical thinker along these lines, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), would be vilified as a materialist. God played no part in the formation of his commonwealth, which rested on fear of a malevolent human nature. The later chapters of his Leviathan espoused a stripped-down version of Christianity, bereft of divine atonement. By contrast, the political ideas of John Locke (1632-1704) rested on the assumption of a benign God who created a cooperative human nature. As with Hobbes, however, Locke's deity takes no direct part in political affairs. Other radical English thinkers, from Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) to John Toland (1670–1722), espoused various degrees of political separation from religion. These Englishmen had counterparts in the Netherlands and Protestant Germany, notably Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694), who wanted to base political association on legal and ethical principles.

The Enlightenment intensified the trend toward secularized political thought. For many enlightened French thinkers, organized religion and even religious belief itself were seen as potential obstacles to political virtue. This was hinted at by Montesquieu (1689-1755), roared out by Voltaire (1694-1778), and accepted as a matter of fact by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1788). Few went so far as to reject religion altogether; Voltaire dreamed that Confucianism might infuse correct political principles, and Rousseau argued for a civic religion consisting of belief in a supreme being and tolerance for all faiths. The enlightened critique of religious influence in politics often boiled down to an assault on "priestcraft." Historical writing, however, struck out in more innovative directions. Voltaire and David Hume (1711–1776) wrote political histories that made no reference to divine Providence, and Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) turned the history of Rome into an argument against Christianity. The Neapolitan Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) envisioned a theory of politics based on secular history, in which religion was an aspect of social dominance.

By the late eighteenth century, many enlightened thinkers regarded the interference of religion in politics as acceptable only insofar as it served the interests of the state. In this respect, they were aligned with broader developments. At first, secularism in practical politics had been associated with republicanism, because in contrast to monarchies, republics were not seen as resting on divine appointment. The Italian republics were characterized by a political culture in which the safety of the civitas seemed to override all other considerations. The coherence of the republican state was often maintained by a shared enmity toward religious authority, whether a local bishop or the Inquisition or the pope himself. At the same time, political ceremony in Florence and Siena, Genoa and Venice, was steeped in religion, from saint's day processions and the public veneration of relics to the burial of civic officers in the splendor of Renaissance churches. God sanctioned republics just as he did kings.

No Italian republic acted against church property, particularly monastic estates, with the audacity of the German Protestant princes or the Protestant rulers of Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, and England. At the same time, the old liturgical texts, which proclaimed the subjection of earthly rulers to the church, were rejected by Protestants. The Catholic reaction was to broach even further the barriers that separated religious from mundane affairs, a trend that can be observed in the spread of the preaching orders and the didactic efforts of the Jesuits. Yet the simultaneous Catholic elevation of the sacred (especially the Eucharist) into a higher, untouchable sphere, may have left believers with the impression that the divine no longer occupied so wide a space in the world.

The religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were important catalysts in the emergence of secularized politics because they demonstrated the political damage that could be done when denominational zeal was allowed to get out of hand. The result was the subordination of religion to the state. This can be observed in the English republic of 1649 and the Dutch republic of 1651, both of which allowed broad religious toleration, but it soon became typical of monarchical governments as well. We can point to certain landmarks in that development—Tsar Alexis's (ruled 1645–1676) church reforms, the Gallican Articles of 1682 in France, the abandonment of clerical Convocation in England, the self-crowning of Charles XII (ruled

1697–1718) of Sweden or Frederick I (ruled 1701–1713) of Prussia, the anticlerical *Pedimento* of Melchor de Macanaz (1670–1760) (although the Spanish minister was duly haled before the Inquisition). Secularization in monarchist regimes was marked by ironies. The persecution of Old Believers in Russia became the hallmark of Peter I's otherwise tolerant rulership. The great struggle of Catholic reformers in the eighteenth century was against the Jesuits, those early pioneers of secularism, who were now perceived as interfering too much in affairs of state. The abolition of the order in 1773 was a triumph for enlightened politicians like the Spaniard Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723–1802).

Yet the rulers of Europe would have shuddered at the thought of a secular constitution. With a few exceptions, like the abandonment of the royal touch by the Hanoverian kings of Britain, they were careful not to discard their own sacred characteristics. Even the dissolute Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) touched against scrofula, and reverently bowed down in the street before the passing Eucharist. What historians have called "desacralization" seems to have been caused, in France at least, by disillusionment among members of the elite with a monarchy that held on to the sacred despite its pronounced secular fixations. In other realms, especially Spain and Austria, where rulers did not enjoy the same degree of divinity, secularization was less affected by such contradictions, and could advance under the auspices of a reformist Jansenism. In Russia under Catherine the Great (ruled 1762– 1796), there was a revival of religious ceremonies that enhanced the sacrality of the empress.

French historians have sometimes observed a process of "dechristianization" among the privileged classes of the eighteenth century. Certainly, the spread of social clubs, debating societies, and Masonic lodges throughout Europe tended to foster a political culture that was secular in tone. It may be doubted, however, whether the common people were ever enthusiastic supporters of secularism. While they were often anticlerical, many were equally hostile to the cooption of religion by the state. In defiance of official toleration, furious sectarian riots continued to break out throughout the eighteenth century, for example in Poland in 1724 or in England in 1780. Resentment at Joseph II's (ruled 1765–1790) dissolution of monasteries

helped to fuel conspiracies and uprisings against his policies in Hungary and Belgium.

The fledgling American republic, fraught with sectarian divisions, first established a constitutional separation between the state and any particular church. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy introduced by the French revolutionaries in 1791 adopted a different yet more familiar solution: namely, state control over religious life. Although it was a disaster in the short run, causing widespread popular resistance, it pointed in the direction that most European regimes would follow in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The acceptance of such a degree of subordination by religious bodies has preserved their organizational significance in European society, while at the same time it has hastened the decline of their political influence over believers.

See also Enlightenment; Gibbon, Edward; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Jesuits; Lipsius, Justus; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Montaigne, Michel de; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Reformation, Protestant.

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Paul Monod

POMPADOUR, JEANNE-ANTOI-NETTE POISSON (1721–1764), artistic and political patron and favorite of Louis XV from 1745 to 1764 at the court of Versailles. Pompadour was born Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson to François and Louise-Madeleine Poisson in Paris. She was groomed for court by her uncle and alleged father, Lenormant de Tournehem, and, educated by the Ursuline order, became proficient in literature, mathematics, religion, history, the arts, and music and as an amateur artist and actor. Tournehem's ties to Parisian society opened doors for Pompadour to the celebrated salons of Mesdames Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, Claudine-Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin, and Marie Vichy-Chamrond, marquise du Deffand. Pompadour's heritage connected her to the financial class of the farmers-general, and her background as a non-noble caused great resentment when she arrived at Versailles. Her portraits reveal her beauty and intellect; the iconography identifies her patronage of the arts and the Enlightenment.

Pompadour married Tournehem's nephew Charles-Guillaume d'Etoiles in 1741, and initially their stable union was founded on love. They had two children, a son, born in 1742, who died suddenly, and a daughter, Alexandrine, born in 1744. Alexandrine's death in 1754 from acute appendicitis and peritonitis shattered Pompadour. Marriage bound her forever to the tax farmers, and later questions about her financial ties advanced by her foes at court discredited her throughout her life. Tournehem, a prominent farmer-general, fashioned and educated Pompadour from her childhood for the intimate quarters of Louis XV, whose predilection for royal mistresses was legendary. What began initially between the king and Pompadour as flirtations on horseback and a tryst at a masked ball resulted in her marital separation and presentation at court in 1745. In that same year Louis XV conferred the marquisate de Pompadour on his new mistress, who shared the king's bed for nearly five years. In 1750 she began the transition from mistress to friend and remained at court for fifteen more years as the king's closest adviser and friend.

The extent of Pompadour's influence reaped high praise from her admirers as well as intense scorn from those who vilified her power during the period when France faced monumental challenges



Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, marquise de Pompadour. Portrait by Maurice Quentin de La Tour. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

in the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748, and the Seven Years' War, 1756–1763. The Children's Riots of 1750, the assassination attempt on Louis XV in 1757, and debates about moral reform dominated Pompadour's ascendancy from 1745 to 1764 and anticipated the French Revolution in 1789. Pompadour was part of these currents of intersecting artistic, political, intellectual, and moral change. Though she was initially dismissed as vain and frivolous by some historians, scholars have come to consider the discerning and influential nature of her impact on eighteenth-century culture. Pompadour played a key role in the arts and politics; to understand the sea changes of this period, one must consider her position within it.

As a political patron, Pompadour participated in the diplomacy surrounding the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, unprecedented for a king's mistress. Her connection to prominent generals demonstrated her keen input in military affairs. By 1756 she was a principal negotiator in the terms of the Diplomatic Revolution and

alliance between France and Austria. Pompadour's artistic patronage is seen through reform initiatives first instituted in 1745 at the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture under her appointees as director-generals of the royal buildings of the king, Tournehem, and her brother, the marquis de Marigny. From the rococo to the early stages of neoclassicism, Pompadour employed art as a force for change, patronizing artists and sculptors from François Boucher (1703-1770) to Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–1785). One of her lasting contributions included relocating the Manufacture Royale de Porcelaine from Vincennes to its new site in Sèvres in 1756. Her advisory role at Sèvres and in other factories, including Beauvais, Gobelins, and Aubusson, revived the strapped coffers of France, reinstating governmental protection and ownership by 1759.

Pompadour endorsed the embattled Encyclopédie throughout the censorship of the 1750s. She hosted intellectual gatherings at Versailles and in 1762 wrote on behalf of the philosophe Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), one of the Encyclopédie's authors. She was ideologically aligned with the Physiocrats, providing fuel against the critics of economic, intellectual, and cultural change. The association Pompadour discerned between aesthetics and philosophy inspired her to express basic tenets of natural law through the art she favored, particularly chinoiserie (the decorative arts). Remarkably Pompadour's influence was greatest after she left the king's bed. A virulent street discourse relentlessly indicted her as complicit in the monarchy's failings, yet she defied her critics. It was observed that Pompadour had not been afraid to joke that, if the irate mudslingers were right in their opposition to the Encyclopédie, burn it; if not, burn the mudslingers. Her achievements resulted from collaborative political negotiations and numerous artistic commissions and the state institutions she supported. Deffand sadly wrote to Voltaire of the misfortune of Pompadour's impending death from bronchial pneumonia. She left Versailles in a solemn nighttime procession, with Louis XV grieving in her wake. The time line of France from 1745 to 1764 bears Pompadour's unforgettable purpose to serve Louis XV with loyalty and love.

See also Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; Louis XV (France); Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Versailles.

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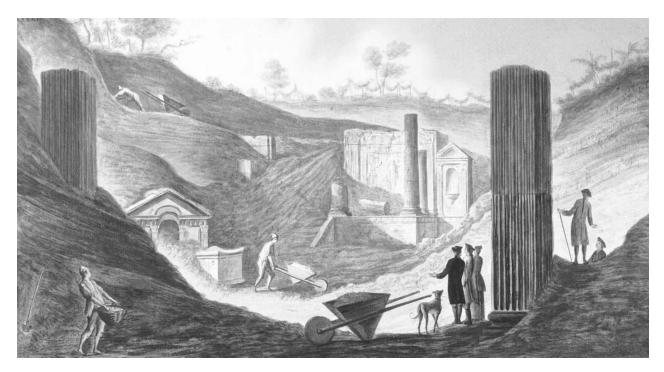
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ROSAMOND HOOPER-HAMERSLEY

# POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM.

Prosperous Roman towns in the Bay of Naples, Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 c.E. and rediscovered under ash and hardened lava in the eighteenth century. The initial motivation for excavation was a search for sculpture and architectural marble. The excavations yielded well-preserved public and domestic buildings complete with painted decoration and furnishings; while works of art were eagerly gathered, the full range of artifacts of daily life, from graffiti to carbonized food, provided unparalleled evidence for the reconstruction of Roman daily life. The astonishing finds, the direct link with ancient authors (the eruption of Vesuvius was witnessed by Pliny the Younger, as described in his *Letters*), the drama of catastrophically lost ancient cities, and the possibility of walking along well-preserved Roman streets and entering Roman houses caused a sensation in eighteenth-century Europe. Visitors on the grand tour, however, were displeased to witness careless and destructive procedures on the sites; they encountered extraordinary security and were forbidden to take notes or draw objects. Comte de Caylus, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Horace Walpole, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann published complaints. A new awareness of the potential of excavation for historical understanding led some to suggest that all finds be left in place as a complete museum.

Chance finds at Herculaneum were made by Domenico Fontana in 1594 while supervising an engineering project, but the site was not exploited until 1709. More determined tunneling started in 1738, when the Spanish engineer Rocque de Alcubierre was assigned by the Bourbon King



Pompeii and Herculaneum. The First Discovery of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, illustration from William Hamilton's Campi Phlegraei, 1776. The ART ARCHIVE

Charles III of Spain (ruled Naples as Charles VIII, 1734-1759) to search for cut marble and statuary for the king's new summer palace, under construction nearby at Portici. Using deep tunnels and existing wells, artifacts and wall paintings were removed for Charles's palace. In response to complaints about the jealous secrecy surrounding the digging, in 1755 Charles founded the Accademia Ercolanese, whose members were charged with publishing findings from all the royal excavations in Campania. In 1750 the Swiss engineer Karl Weber (1712-1764) was hired to direct the excavations, and he soon discovered the Villa of the Papyri, which included a library of nearly two thousand carbonized papyrus scrolls, most of them works on Epicurean philosophy, and a large collection of bronze statuary. Weber's work was as systematic as his employer's impatience allowed, and it anticipated modern archaeological methods. Excavations at Herculaneum, rendered difficult because of noxious gases, seeping water, and cementlike pyroclastic lava fill, continued for several decades; later, excavations at Pompeii were favored, and work at Herculaneum continued intermittently for over two centuries thereafter.

Digging at Pompeii began in 1748, and the city's identity was established in 1763. Under the supervision of Weber, the excavation proceeded more systematically and with greater ease. Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to Naples from 1764 and a notable collector and antiquarian, often conducted European visitors through the excavations and took an avid interest in the geology of Vesuvius, whose eruptions he documented. The finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum inspired neoclassical artists (including Antonio Canova, Jacques-Louis David, Anton Raphael Mengs, Angelica Kauffmann, Bertel Thorvaldsen, and Joseph-Marie Vien), architects (Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Robert Adam, John Soane), and ceramicists, and they directed fashionable taste for many decades. Pompeii and the eruptions of Vesuvius stimulated new objectives for the disciplines of archaeology and geology and a new concern for the conservation of antiquities.

See also Archaeology; Architecture; Classicism; Grand Tour; Neoclassicism.

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PONIATOWSKI, STANISŁAW II AU-**GUSTUS** (1732–1798; ruled 1764–1795), king of Poland. In his youth Poniatowski traveled across Holland, France, and England (1748–1754), learning much about the civilization and culture of these countries, which made him take a critical view of the situation in his own country. After his return, he became Poland's envoy in St. Petersburg (1757– 1758), where he had a love affair with the Grand Duchess Catherine (later Catherine II the Great), wife of the heir to the Russian throne. He deluded himself into thinking that this would help him gain Russia's support in Polish matters. After his return to Poland, he became fully dependent on the powerful Czartoryski family; his uncle, Prince Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski, was vice-chancellor of Lithuania and leader of a powerful political party called Familia, or 'the Family'. After the death of King Augustus III, the Czartoryskis, with the support of the Russian Empress Catherine II, put forward Poniatowski's candidacy for the Polish-Lithuanian throne, secured his election (7 September 1764), and had him crowned on 25 November.

Having assumed power, the king, in defiance of his protectors' intentions, tried to reform the political system of the country toward a constitutional monarchy on the English model, with a strengthened executive, an efficient parliament (abolition of the *liberum veto*), and a satisfactory fiscal system. In

his view, it was necessary to raise the intellectual level of the Poles and Lithuanians and strengthen their sense of community if the state was to be reformed. While some small reforms were carried out in 1764–1766, they met with broad opposition from the magnates, who were supported by Russia and Prussia. The king's adversaries set up the Confederation of Bar (1768-1772) and opened hostilities against him and against Russia. The king's attempts to come to an agreement with them failed, and after four years of fighting the confederates were routed by Russian forces and, in the last stage, also by Polish royal troops. The fighting gave Russia, Austria, and Prussia a pretext to declare Poland a country of rampant anarchy and to carry out the first partition of Poland (1772), despite the protests of the king.

Even though Catherine greatly restricted the king's powers and put him under the control of her ambassador, Stanisław succeeded in implementing some of his plans, especially in the field of culture and education. Thanks to him a Knight's School was opened as early as 1765; later he supported the Piarist order's educational reforms and the establishment of a Commission for National Education (1773). He deserves credit for promoting literature (his famous Thursday lunches assembled many writers), the theater, and the visual arts. He initiated town planning projects and architectural work in Warsaw (rebuilding of the Royal Castle and constructing the Łazienki palace complex) and supported painting and sculpture, and he planned to set up academies of art, science, and literature as well as a national museum. He also protected mining and supported the establishment of factories; on his initiative a mint was built in Warsaw.

Under the tutelage of Russia, however, political life in the country stagnated. The king was at first opposed by the political elite. In about 1775–1778 he managed to set up his own party, rallying noblemen who freed themselves of magnates' domination. During the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) the king established close cooperation with the patriotic party, which entrusted him with drafting a plan for a new political system. This plan became the basis for the Constitution of 3 May 1791. The adversaries of the constitution formed the Confederation of Targowica (1792); Catherine demanded that Stanisław join the confederates, and he did so, convinced that



Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski. Portrait by Marcello Bacciarelli. The ART ARCHIVE/GRIPSHOLM CASTLE SWEDEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

it was impossible to stand up to Russian military power. Despite some Polish military successes, the king ordered Polish forces to stop fighting. The constitution was rescinded, and Russia and Prussia carried out the second partition of Poland (1793).

After his capitulation to Catherine II's demands, Stanisław lost the popularity he had enjoyed during the work on the constitution. Though he joined the Kościuszko Insurrection (1794) against the partitioning powers, he was himself removed from power. After the fall of the insurrection, at Catherine's command, Stanisław went to Grodno (January 1795), where he abdicated on 25 November. After the death of the empress (1796) he left Grodno at Tsar Paul I's command, settling in St. Petersburg, where he died. He is one of the most controversial figures in Poland's history. His political activity still arouses emotions and conflicting

evaluations among historians, but the services he rendered to Polish culture are indisputable.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Poland, Partitions of; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; 3 May Constitution.

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MARCIN KAMLER

# POOR RELIEF. See Charity and Poor Relief.

**POPE, ALEXANDER** (1688–1744), English poet, translator, and critic. A celebrity not only in fact but also by profession, Alexander Pope was the unmatched superstar of English neoclassical literature and arguably the first author in England to make his living exclusively through literary talent. During a comparatively short life focused on literary and cultural activities, Pope alternately defined, improved, invented, satirized, critiqued, and reformed the genres and conventions of early-eighteenth-century British verse.

Born in 1688 amidst a "Glorious Revolution" that put an end to the absolutist claims of Stuart monarchs and set Britain on a course for a constitutional if not altogether secular government, Pope's life was characterized by the contradictions of new gentility and chastised affluence. Despite their urban origins and their mercantile vocation, Pope and his forebears drifted in Tory, royalist circles; despite physical deformity and entrenchment in the upper middle classes, Pope affected the stylish, rakish ways of high life; despite profiting handsomely from his publications and living like a conforming country squire on his suburban Twickenham estate, Pope persisted in Catholicism (enduring heavy economic and political sanctions) and enjoyed provoking persecution from an officialdom that was also his audience and customer. The story of Pope's meteoric rise—from the publication of his *Pastorals* (1709) at the age of twenty through the runaway success of his versified critical treatise, The Essay on Criticism (1711), at twenty-three through his best-selling translations of Homer (1715-1726) through his unlikely versified philosophical hit, An Essay on Man (1733-1734), and on through his snarling but astonishingly successful Dunciad (1743)—may read like the contrived biography of some twentieth-century movie idol, but it also points up Pope's lucky historical position at a moment when an enlarged readership and an expanding urban culture were transforming the "literary career" from a private preserve for gentlemen to an open public spectacle. So powerful and pervasive was this new idiom of the public writer that Pope could maintain influential friends across the political and cultural spectrum, from the conservative Jonathan Swift to the snappy Joseph Addison and from Richard Boyle, the Whiggish earl of Burlington, to Tory movers-and-shakers such as Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

Pope routinely presents himself as a conservative spokesman (and satirist) for sound common sense and as a sturdy pillar of English classicism. His works, however, are emphatically neoclassical. They stress what the period called "imitation," a speculative, psychological, and altogether modern attempt to write "as if" one were an ancient author who happened to be living and writing in Augustan London. "Wit," "genius," "grace," and other eighteenth-century literary values vie for hegemony with assorted classical "rules." Pope's works advocate experimentation and adaptation, applying putatively classical norms to eighteenth-century contexts, topics, and genres. Pope's early Pastorals (1709) apply Virgilian techniques to English landscapes to produce a modern Georgics. An Essay on Criticism (1711) borrows from Horace's Ars Poetica (Art of poetry) to characterize and to spoof Augustan rhetorical miscarriages. The Rape of the Lock (1714) fuses contemporary mockery (as practiced by John Dryden, John Philips, Samuel Garth, and John Gay) with Homeric heroism to produce a ridiculous mock-heroic "epic" about domestic adventures in the boudoir. Not unlike the Rape is Windsor Forest (1713), a more sober but no less historically mixed attempt to combine Elizabethan versified history with Augustan heroic couplets to produce an epic story of the British monarchy, an

epic that somewhat preposterously culminates in the coronation of Queen Anne.

Pope's later works preserve his commitment to this unabashedly transhistorical classicism while also negotiating between the differing demands of moral, satiric, and heroical writing, three strands that intertwine but never completely braid in Pope's increasingly tense later verse. The Essay on Man (1733-1734) flutters nervously if brilliantly between versified popularizations of philosophical optimism (as preached by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and others) and broad satiric indictments of human shortsightedness. Several verse essays and epistles in imitation of Horace, collectively known as the Moral Essays (1733–1738), along with the companion An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot (1735), tackle a range of philosophical topics, from architectural aesthetics to the character of women, in a sometimes theatrical, sometimes compassionate, sometimes deliberative, generally satiric voice. Pope's last large work, The Dunciad (1743), a re-issue and extension of his earlier Dunciad Variorum (1729), deploys crashingly gigantic heroic couplets to record, judge, and satirize a veritable encyclopedia of "dunces," poetasters, and seekers after literary fame who, in Pope's mind, have succeeded only in sucking the life out of neoclassicism.

In addition to his poetic offerings, Pope made substantial contributions to literary criticism (mostly through the seemingly simple but always subtle witticisms in An Essay on Criticism [1711]), to the rise of bibliography and textual studies (through his not always competent production of an edition of Shakespeare [1725] and through his relentless, ravaging attacks on other editors), and to the rise of the private epistle as a literary form (through his audacious publication of his own correspondence [1735]). Pope was a major figure in the history of the print culture and of the publishing industry through his lively interactions with eighteenth-century publishing magnates such as Jacob Tonson, Bernard Lintot, and the scandalous Edmund Curll. Pope's opinions on naturalistic landscape gardening are definitive for their period. These and many other contributions mark him as a quintessential if not always representative figure in early eighteenth-century English culture.

See also Addison, Joseph; English Literature and Language; Glorious Revolution; Steele, Richard; Swift, Jonathan.

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POPISH PLOT. See Exclusion Crisis.

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Mannerism. Minerva's Victory over Ignorance, c. 1591, by Bartholomaeus Spranger, an example of mannerism in its later form. @ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



BELOW: Anton Raphael Mengs. Portrait of Pope Clement XIII. Mengs was among the most renowned European artists of the eighteenth century and a principal exponent of neoclassicism. He spent much of his career in Rome and Naples, executing a number of important commissions, including this portrait of the pope. ©CAMERAPHOTO ARTE, VENICE/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

ABOVE RIGHT: Maria Sibylla Merian. Metamorphosis Insectorium Surinamensium, 1705, plate 54. From the British Library, London. ©ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW RIGHT: Michelangelo Buonarroti. Pietà, 1497-1499. Exemplifying the sculptor's mastery of the human form even in the early stages of his work, Michelangelo's version of this scene also represents a brilliant resolution of the compositional problems inherent in the subject matter. ©ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS

OPPOSITE PAGE: Michelangelo Buonarroti. The Last Judgment, fresco in the Sistine Chapel, 1534–1541. Painted relatively late in the artist's career and nearly thirty years after the renowned ceiling frescoes, this work represents the increasing uncertainty of Michelangelo's mature vision in its apocalyptic imagery. THE ART ARCHIVE/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN





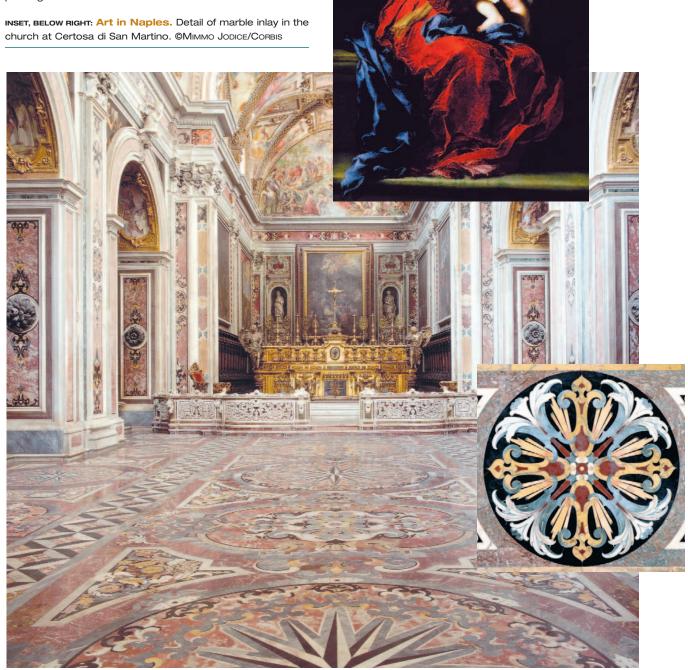






RIGHT: Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. The Virgin of the Rosary, 1650-1655, an example of Murillo's beautiful and idealized religious paintings. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

BELOW: Art in Naples. The church of the Certosa di San Martino. Originally constructed as a Carthusian monastery in the fourteenth century, the complex was renovated in the seventeenth century and features renowned decorative paintings and marble work. ©MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS





Art in the Netherlands. View of Delft, c. 1660-1661, by Jan Vermeer, considered one of the Dutch master's most accomplished works. The ART ARCHIVE/MAURITSHUIS HAGUE/ ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN





RIGHT: Opera. The first performance of an opera at the Teatro Regio in Turin, painted by Domenico Oliverio, eighteenth century. @SCALA/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Painting. The Sunbeam by Jacob van Ruisdael. Among the finest Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth century, Ruisdael is known in particular for his ability to capture contrasts of light and shade. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.







Palladio and Palladianism. The Villa Rotonda, c. 1550, the best-known but least typical of Palladio's villas, is distinguished by its four classical porticoes and domed roof, echoing sacred rather than domestic architectural models. ©YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS





Pastel. Portrait of Felicita Santori, c. 1730–1740, by Rosalba Carriera. Carriera is widely considered the most skilled creator of pastels. The ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI FLORENCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

