PREFACE

With its grounding in the "guiding pillars of Access, Equity, Equality, Affordability and Accountability," the New Education Policy (NEP 2020) envisions flexible curricular structures and creative combinations for studies across disciplines. Accordingly, the UGC has revised the CBCS with a new Curriculum and Credit Framework for Undergraduate Programmes (CCFUP) to further empower the flexible choice based credit system with a multidisciplinary approach and multiple/ lateral entry-exit options. It is held that this entire exercise shall leverage the potential of higher education in three-fold ways – learner's personal enlightenment; her/his constructive public engagement; productive social contribution. Cumulatively therefore, all academic endeavours taken up under the NEP 2020 framework are aimed at synergising individual attainments towards the enhancement of our national goals.

In this epochal moment of a paradigmatic transformation in the higher education scenario, the role of an Open University is crucial, not just in terms of improving the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) but also in upholding the qualitative parameters. It is time to acknowledge that the implementation of the National Higher Education Qualifications Framework (NHEQF) and its syncing with the National Skills Qualification Framework (NSQF) are best optimised in the arena of Open and Distance Learning that is truly seamless in its horizons. As one of the largest Open Universities in Eastern India that has been accredited with 'A' grade by NAAC in 2021, has ranked second among Open Universities in the NIRF in 2024, and attained the much required UGC 12B status, Netaji Subhas Open University is committed to both quantity and quality in its mission to spread higher education. It was therefore imperative upon us to embrace NEP 2020, bring in dynamic revisions to our Undergraduate syllabi, and formulate these Self Learning Materials anew. Our new offering is synchronised with the CCFUP in integrating domain specific knowledge with multidisciplinary fields, honing of skills that are relevant to each domain, enhancement of abilities, and of course deep-diving into Indian Knowledge Systems.

Self Learning Materials (SLM's) are the mainstay of Student Support Services (SSS) of an Open University. It is with a futuristic thought that we now offer our learners the choice of print or e-slm's. From our mandate of offering quality higher education in the mother tongue, and from the logistic viewpoint of balancing scholastic needs, we strive to bring out learning materials in Bengali and English. All our faculty members are constantly engaged in this academic exercise that combines subject specific academic research with educational pedagogy.We are privileged in that the expertise of academics across institutions on a national level also comes together to augment our own faculty strength in developing these learning materials. We look forward to proactive feedback from all stakeholders whose participatory zeal in the teaching-learning process based on these study materials will enable us to only get better. On the whole it has been a very challenging task, and I congratulate everyone in the preparation of these SLM's.

I wish the venture all success.

Professor Indrajit Lahiri
Authorised Vice-Chancellor
Netaji Subhas Open University

Netaji Subhas Open University

Four Year Undergraduate Degree Programme

Under National Higher Education Qualifications Framework (NHEQF) & Curriculum and Credit Framework for Undergraduate Programmes

Bachelor of Arts (Honours): History

Programme Code: NHI

Course Type: Discipline Specific Core (DSC)

Course Title: **RISE OF THE MODERN WEST – I**

Course Code: **6CC-HI-06**

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UG: History (NHI)

Course : Rise of the Modern West - I
Course Code: 6CC-HI-06

Block I: Transition from feudalism to capitalism

Unit-1 ❑ Problems and theories with special reference to the Historiography of the Transition Debates 9-32

Block II: Early colonial expansion

Unit-2(a) ❑ Motives, voyages and explorations 35-48

Unit-2(b) ❑ The conquests of the Americas: Beginning of the era of colonization; mining and plantation; the African slaves 49-64

Block III: Renaissance

Unit-3(a) ❑ Meaning of Renaissance 67-78

Unit-3(b) ❑ Its Social Roots 79-93

Unit-4(a) ❑ Spread of humanism in Europe 94-108

Unit-4(b) ❑ Art 109-122

Unit-5 ❑ The Historians in the Age of Renaissance 123-136

Block IV: Origins, course and results of the European Reformation in the 16th century

Unit-6 ❑ Origins 139-160

Unit-7(a) ❑ Course (I): Martin Luther and the German Reformation 161-174

Unit-7(b) ❑ Course (II): Reformation Movement Outside of Germany 175-198

Unit-7(c) ❑ The Radical Reformation 199-213

Unit-7(d) ❑ The Catholic Reformation 214-226

Unit-8 ❑ Results 227-234

Block V: Economic developments of the sixteenth century

Unit-9 ❑ The Economic Condition of 16th Century: General Aspects (Rural and Urban) 237-260

Unit-10 ❑ Shift of economic balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic 261-271

Unit-11 ❑ Commercial Revolution 272-284

Unit-12 ❑ Influx of American Silver and the Price Revolution 285-298

Block VI: Emergence of European state system

Unit-13 ❑ Spain 301-308

Unit-14 ❑ France 307-325

Unit-15 ❑ England 326-355

Unit-16 ❑ Russia 356-368

Block - I

Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism

Unit-1 □ Problems and theories with special reference to the Historiography of the Transition Debates

Structure

1.0 Objectives

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Identifying the problems of transition

1.2.1 The general economic condition

1.2.2 The new state system

1.2.3 Understanding the transition: theory and problem

1.2.3.1 The feudal crisis and the origins of capitalism

1.2.3.2 The long-distance trade, merchant capital and growth of capitalism

1.2.3.3 The agrarian roots of European capitalism

1.3 Conclusion

1.4 Model Questions

1.5 Suggested Readings

1.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the problems and theories with special reference to the historiography of the transition debates:

- Identification of the problems of the transition from feudalism to capitalism against the background of the general economic condition and new state system.
- Review of the theory and problem of the transition debates.
- Locating the origin of the capitalism: the feudal crisis, the long-distance trade, the merchant capital and the agrarian roots of capitalism.

1.1 Introduction

The evolution of history sometimes takes rapid momentum and unprecedented leap towards a completely new direction: the result of this sudden momentum is the complete transformation of the existing society, economy and politics. Such changes could even be felt in the system of thought or in the emotional-psychological domain of society. The history of Europe, especially the historical evolution of west Europe between 15th century and 18th century was able to achieve such massive changes, which were comparable in terms of scale or degree or magnitude only with 'The Great Transformation'- term aptly used by Karl Polanyi. Sometimes this period is also referred to as a '*transition period from feudalism to capitalism'*. *'The Rise of the Modern West'* is another convenient nomenclature for understanding the significance of the era. A large section of scholars, however, classifies this period of European history as 'Early Modern Europe'. The differences in using 'transition' or 'rise' or a specific timeframe like 'early modern' do not indicate much epistemological gulf in the general understanding of the era. The main thrust of the discussion and analysis is related to the quantum of magnificent changes in Europe influencing the course of development in its totality.

Let us make a quick overview of the changes that transformed Europe during the three hundred years starting from 15th century: the Renaissance, the Reformation, the geographical discovery, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment, the development of capitalist system of production etc. In fact, changes were deeply rooted in the fundamental social transformation of the European society. It would be, however, oversimplification if we state that the changes or rather motion of transformation was spontaneously accepted without any obstruction. Changes emerged in Europe through struggle against the old order or the traditional mode of analysis or existing belief system. These changes were confined not only in the economic or political realm, but it was a transformation of entire system of viewing and interpreting the world. These changes questioned all the existing as well as dominant mode of arguments, and provided new answers. What Karen L. Taylor and James B. Collins – the editors of *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations* – remark in the Introduction may provide a significant insight about the degree of changes taken place in the early modern Europe:

Early modern Europeans had to redefine themselves in every aspect of their humanity. Explorers proved to Europeans the existence of vast, heavily populated continents, hitherto unknown to them. Humanists undermined the accepted meaning

of fundamental texts and writers by subjecting the sources of classical times and of early Christianity to rigorous, scholarly analysis. Scientists would soon revise people's view of the heavens, and of Earth's place in the universe, to say nothing of the laws of motion and the understanding of the human body itself. Religious reformers destroyed the seemingly immemorial unity of the European Christian community. Virtually no important institution or fundamental belief of the European world of 1450 survived intact in 1650. (Taylor, Karen L. and James B. Collin (Eds.). Introduction. *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations*. UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. Print. pp. 1-2)

Moreover, it was for the first time in the human history a Eurocentric worldview and capitalist world economic system simultaneously started emerging and eventually dominating the entire globe. Therefore, finally the 'rise of the west' or the 'early modern Europe'—whatever the term we use - needs to be contextualized and interrogated in the perspectives of both Europe and the world. It raises the most fundamental question of the present area of discussion: what are the problems of the 'transition from feudalism to capitalism'? what kind of theory or theories do we have to interrogate the problems and what could be the possible answer(s)? what could be the theoretical abstraction to understand the complex origin of capitalism in west Europe or how do we explain the dissolution of feudalism? The present unit aims to understand all these questions with special reference to the transition debates.

1.2 Identifying the problems of transition

We have to understand first the problems of the very specific theme of discussion – that is –the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The best way to put the question is how the historians look at the problems of the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism. Before going into the discussion, it needs to be clear that the transition from feudalism to capitalism is primarily an economic affair though there are other extremely significant aspects too, which require analysis in detail. Therefore, we may discuss first the general condition of the European economy between 15th century and 18th century. It would help us to identify the problems of transition from one mode of production to a different one.

1.2.1 The general economic condition

Europe was primarily an agrarian one between 1500 and 1800 as half of the population was dependent on agriculture. Holland and Flanders were industrially active but

as population of these two areas were active in industry, trade, shipping, fishing as well as agriculture. However, it is a general impression, as there was no precise data about it. In Overijssel – a province of Netherland – 46 percent of population earned their livelihood from agriculture according to the census of 1795. The most important point is that a sizeable section of the preindustrial population was dependent on such economic activities like textile industry, which used flex and wool as raw materials, breweries, distilleries, oil mills, flourmills, bakeries, the processing of tobacco etc. All these activities were based on agriculture. The grain trade was extremely important in the European economy. For example, 50 percent of the Dutch ships carried grain in their journey towards west through the straits in general. Land in the rural Europe became an attractive area of investment to the rich urban bourgeoisie. This group of people invested surplus money earned from trade, commerce and official holdings in the agriculture. So it becomes now clear that the non-agricultural activities in preindustrial Europe were closely associated with the agrarian economy in general. Agriculture dominated the economic life of the early modern Europe to a significant extent.

Corn production was the most usual form of agricultural practice of the peasantry in Europe before the 18th century. The starting of cultivation of buckwheat in central and west Europe and rice and maize in southern Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries did not however bring about any change in the single corn production pattern. The primary reason is that it ensured subsistence to the peasantry. Productivity in early modern days was limited because of the lack of technological development; the firm size also influenced the productivity as smaller firms produced a smaller number of crops.

The fluctuations in yield and prices of agricultural products, specially the corn, influenced the peasant productions. The noteworthy point is that the sharp fluctuation in the prices of grain during the period under review influenced the consumption pattern of the European general family because corn and bread formed the staple diet of the Europeans. There were two kinds of fluctuations: short term and long term. The acreage was constant in short term but variable in long term, while the numbers of people and animals, and quantities and amount of money were variable in long run but appeared to be partly constant in short term. Population and prices were variable mostly in the long run; however, prices could fluctuate over a shorter period to a great extent, but the population did not.

The Black Death of 1346-49 had a disastrous effect on the demographic structure of early modern Europe. It continued for nearly a century until the mid of fifteen century.

During this hundred year, there was a symmetry between the proportion of birth and death in Europe. Koenigsberger points out that a slight increase in the birth rate in the countryside took place simultaneously with the higher death rates of the urban Europe caused by disease like plague. As far as population structure is concerned, Europe achieved some sort of stability in the middle of the 15th century, and after which it started acceleration. Like other instances of population growth, the early modern Europe's experience was self-perpetuating unless there was grave economic crisis or natural disaster that might hinder the population growth (Koenigsberger 1987, 28-29). By 1600, the population of Europe crossed the high point that it had achieved before the Black Death. The rise of population opened up opportunities as well as problems in the society. The first thing that hit the society was the price hike of commodities in general and of grain in particular. The grain price increased between four and sevenfold across the entire Europe during 1450 and 1620. The labouring poor were the hardest hit of the price hike. Even the abnormal price hike tended to erase the basic subsistence of the marginal sections of the society as the rise of wage did not always correspondence with the price hike. It was reflected in the occasional outbursts of the grievances of the socially downtrodden. For example, in a group of poor people in Florence attacked the public granary in 1497. Such violent incidence took place in other areas also. The major aspects of violence was not however the killing of the government officials but seizing grain, flour and bread through riot and plunder and selling these commodities in lower prices – what the violent crowd considered as 'just' (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 205). Though the labouring poor were in disadvantageous position in the era of general price increase, however, it was a lucrative period for those who had the capability to employ labour. It was because of the fact that this period witnessed three basic economic developments pushing the society towards capitalism: expansion of market, rise of commodity price and relative fall of wage. It would be more prudent if we say that price inflation was a part of the broader social ecology of emerging capitalism, that is, investment, risk and profit. This changing social ecology came to be reflected in the attempts made by the governments and agencies like guilds, trading concerns and even the church to impose regulations for controlling the movement of commodities and the rate of wages, tariffs and taxes and to impose monopolies if possible. Mercantilism was adopted as the best and ideal economic and financial policy by all the states in early modern Europe. Mercantile theorists believed in one-way trade system, that is, the export should be the prime concern of the states, and the import items or volume of imports should be nominal. It was because the gold was used as medium for exchanges,

and as the supply of gold in circulation was not unlimited. So every state was heavily concerned with it. The early modern state always tried to control the volume of import, and on the contrary, they all made tireless effort to increase export to obtain more gold. The imposition of heavy tariff on import was viewed as the most suitable way to minimise the drain of gold from the coffer of a state.

The growth of population was an opportunity to the property owner class. The growth of the number of tenants created competition for land. The rural landlords were now in an advantageous position in the new circumstances as they were able to increase not only rent, but also fees and fines. According to the estimate of Wiesner-Hanks, the rent on land was increased nine fold in England while grain prices went up four fold. The result was the growing peasant discontents and occasional violent outbursts. For example we can cite the incidence of the German Peasants' War (1524–5) or Kett's Rebellion in England (1549). These peasant resistance movements reflected blending of religious feelings with economic grievances in the rebel consciousness. The main demand was to reduce the high rate of rent or fees or other dues. The iconoclastic riots took place in the Netherlands to protest against the abnormal rise of grain price. As there was sufficient supply of labour – especially the semiskilled labour – in the labour market, the wage hike was logically controlled. It was in fact decline of real wage labour in early modern Europe. In eastern Europe, the landlords successfully enhanced rents during this period. The labour services were also increased. Eventually the eastern European landlords reintroduced serfdom, which was commonly known as 'second serfdom', in the agrarian sector. It had significant bearing on the divergent developmental patterns of early modern European economy and society.

Apart from the landowning class who made lucrative profits from changing socioeconomic relationships, the manufacturers who could be termed as 'early capitalists' heaped surplus from real decline of wage on the hand and rise of manufactured goods on the other hand. It was new form of economic organization – capitalist in nature –, which, was developed, in the manufacturing sector of early modern Europe. The chief features were that these new capitalist entrepreneurs retained their ownership on raw materials, tools of production and final finished commodities while the families of labour was hired for production. This emerging class of capitalist manufacturers also appropriated profit from the influx of silver and gold from the New World into the European economy. The east European landlords were also beneficiaries of the Price Revolution.

1.2.2 The new state system

All these changes described so far indicate the growing trends of expansion of the European economy both internally and externally in the early modern phase of its history. This expansion could be found in the agrarian economy, trading activities and manufacturing sector. A new class of people with entrepreneurial spirit and profit seeking mentality emerged in Europe and started dominating the socioeconomic lives. More importantly, there was critical symbiosis between the emerging capitalist orientation of the society and the state system of early modern Europe. Until the second half of the 15th century, the European monarchies were in crisis of authority. By the end of the 15th century, these monarchies were successful in establishing their control and authority over the rivals. The end of the different sorts of civil wars in the European continent opened up the possibility of new political and economic ventures and opportunities. The social changes taken place in the European society in the later middle ages – that is, the dissolution of the older, feudal relationships between lords and vassals on the one hand and the establishment of an economic order based on the emergent money and credit economy on the other hand - were actually an opportunity before the monarchies of expanding their power and authority over the subjects. The feudal lords had to accept this shift of power towards the monarchy and it resulted into the formation of absolutist state in the early modern Europe (Koenigsberger 1987, 40-44; Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 205-206). The rise of a new type of state system in Europe during the period under review was a major landmark of change and transformation towards capitalism and modernity. The absolutist state as a transitory one facilitated the growth of capitalist relations in economic sphere; however, for the same reason, it tried to maintain and upheld the power and authority of monarchy as an unconditional discourse.

1.2.3 Understanding the transition: theory and problem

The development of a new capitalist economic system was a complex historical process. It was an all-pervasive and *inescapable* transition, which incorporated entirely the major areas of economic activity in early modern Europe. It was a long-protracted process of approximate three hundred years. The transformation towards capitalism had begun in Middle Ages; it continued up to 1800. It transformed the mode of production, legal-political institutions and state system of Europe. Nevertheless, the process of transformation was neither linear nor uniform. It was uneven, multi-layered and multidimensional. However, around 1800 it became clear that capitalist system of production relations emerged as

dominant economic system in the European society, especially in the west European society. Therefore, it is now clear that understanding the transition towards capitalism requires tracing not the transition but the variety of transitions across time and space through an integrative approach. No single factor could explain the great transformation from the dissolution of feudal system to the emergence of capitalist one.

Let us locate the problems of understanding and interpreting the transition of Europe from feudalism to capitalism during 15th to 18th centuries. The first problematic area in contextualizing the transition is related to the crisis of feudalism: the point is that how feudal crisis gave birth to the development of capitalist production process. The causal origin of capitalism was supposed to be located in the growing internal crisis and instability of feudal mode of production in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. The second problematic aspect of Europe's transition is the role of trade, especially the long-distance trade, and merchant capital in accelerating the growth of capitalism. The economic historians pay considerable attention to the importance of trade in weakening the feudal shackles existed in Europe and promoted spirit of consumption, exchange and profit within the society. The third problematic aspect of this transition is the growth of population and demographic changes in early modern Europe which, provided impetus to the development of capitalism. The changes in the demographic structure were supposed to be a very critical element in accelerating the transition. The fourth area of problem in scholarly understanding of transition is related to the development of class structure and eventually class struggle in feudal agrarian society; the articulation of class struggle was a blow to the existing feudal social and economic structure. The older social classes started disappearing and new classes emerged because of this internal social process in early modern Europe. All these problematic areas of understanding and interpreting Europe's transition from feudalism to capitalism need to be integrated and analysed in totality of social formation. A careful balance is required here. What we need is to assess the role played by various factors like social or economic crisis or trade and merchant capital or population pattern or class struggle in a relative manner and in the wider historical conjuncture. In the following discussion, we will try to understand the question of transition from this specific viewpoint with special reference to the transition debates.

1.2.3.1 The feudal crisis and the origins of capitalism

Maurice Dobb is the most influential proponent of this specific idea that the origins of capitalism could be sought in the feudal crisis of late medieval Europe. As a follower of

Marx's methodology of understanding social change, Dobb views feudalism as specific social relations of production (Holton 1985, 79). The ownership of property or absence of it constitutes the core of the social relations in a given space and time. Dobb in the very perspectives of social relations of production focusses on the mechanism of surplus appropriation within the feudal economy. The law of motion in feudal economy was governed by, according to Dobb, the specific of production process, surplus appropriation and its use. These factors contributed to the articulation of internal dynamics of the feudal society. It implies that the generation, appropriation and use of surplus determined the parameters of potentialities and limits of feudal production process as well as its economic performance. Dobb notes that it was between 10th and 12th century the European feudal structure witnessed a general economic expansion. It was based on increased agricultural productivity and certain technical improvements. (Asok Sen 1984, PE 53). Dobb further points out that the trade was an integral aspect of the feudal economy. The trade, especially the international trade fulfilled the demands of luxury items of the feudal lords. The medieval towns were feudal in nature and in some cases 'feudal-commercial republics' and not at all centres of proto-industrial activities. The medieval merchants were organic parts of the feudal mode of production (Dobb 1947, p. 83; Holton 1985, 79). In such a system, as the ultimate power was enjoyed by the feudal landlords, the peasant producers were not in a position to raise the level of productivity. The peasants who produced for society did not have any right on the means of surplus extraction; the lords monopolized it. This very fact of the feudal society created contradictions and class conflict within the feudal society at the end. The continuous over-exploitation imposed on the peasantry finally made the feudal mode of production itself untenable in reality. The capacity of reproduction of the social-productive process tended to cease to exist in feudal Europe. In other words, Dobb considers the feudal relations of production as inefficient and incapable of meeting the changing needs of the society. Thus, Dobb is able to formulate his theory of transition based on the internal dynamics of the feudal society. It had two distinct aspects. First, Dobb pays attention to the rise of wage labour in the agrarian society; second, he never considers the feudal mode of production as something static or changeless. It is conceptualised in *Studie*s as production for use, and not at all production for exchange. It was not subject to change by external pressure of trade (Holton 1985, 80).

Dobb states that it was the internal contradiction of the feudal society prepared the way for the development of a new society. Now the question is what was the contradiction

of the European feudal society especially in the late medieval era? It was the contradiction, according to Dobb, between the increasing demand of rent of the landlords to finance war or to buy luxury goods and the incapability of the peasant producers to meet this demand. It is interesting to note that Dobb finds no pre-existent capitalist rationality to explain the results of this contradiction. Rather, he argues that the landlords tried to extract surplus from the serfs as much as possible as they were not in a position to cut the expenditure heads. It created long-term crisis in the feudal mode of production, and according to Dobb, there was no way but the class struggle was the only way to resolve the issue. Consequently, the serfs in some areas were able to free themselves from the shackles of feudalism and this social trend created complex rural structure composed of peasants and small commodity producers. Because of this polarisation in the feudal society, the difference between owners and non-owners of capital would be more sharply manifested in the coming days (Holton 1985, 81). Here Dobb actually ascribes significant importance to the 'growth of capitalist elements from the ranks of direct producers' and 'engaged in petty mode of production'. The capitalist transformation in English agriculture was started through the enclosure and the role-played by the yeoman farmers in the 14th and 15th century (Asok Sen 1984, PE 53). To Dobb, the final point in the history of transition or the most decisive moment of capitalist transformation in England was the Revolution of 1640. In it, the artisans and the yeomen made a bourgeois revolution against the landlords and the merchants (Asok Sen 1984, PE 53).

The resistance offered by the peasantry against the exorbitant exactions of the landlords is confirmed in the researches of Rodney Hilton. In fact, Hilton offers a comprehensive view of the emergence of capitalism in the broader context of peasant resistance movement. Hilton from the very beginning of his researches is extremely conscious about the danger of 'crude class determinism' on the one hand and 'crude market economic determinism' on the other. In order to avoid these two types of exclusivist approaches, he develops the notion of 'peasant family economy' in understanding the crisis of feudalism in late medieval era. To Hilton, the feudal society was much more than an exploitative system of economic relationship between lord and the peasants. Rather, it was a system within which the peasantry was bound by feudal obligations to aristocratic landed property on the one hand and the peasantry was a distinctive social class as it had its own means of production, it worked as family unit in agricultural fields and it was a part of larger peasant community on the other hand. The medieval peasantry enjoyed collective rights and communal property. More precisely speaking, two broad

notions about the feudal social structure of agricultural production are evident in the argument of Hilton. Firstly, the medieval peasantry had clear hereditary right over their family property. Secondly, the medieval peasantry enjoyed also the communal form of cooperation in concrete terms within the agrarian social structure. The common lands were the space of the peasant community within which the medieval peasants developed ties, dependence and association amongst themselves. Therefore, from Hilton's analysis it is clear that there were two types of distinct social-productive relationships in medieval Europe: (1) the relationships between the feudal lords and the peasantry, (2) the relationships evolved among the peasantry out of the community consciousness and mutual dependence.

It is now clearly seen from the Hilton's argument that the medieval peasantry had significant amount of autonomous space with agrarian social structure governed by the feudal rules and customs. It was because of the fact that the peasantry had control over the means of production. In this sense, Hilton argues that, the peasantry had no critical dependence on the lord for ensuring its subsistence. Therefore, the lords used military as well as political power to dominate the peasants and extract social surplus in the agrarian social structure of feudalism. In other words, the medieval peasantry though the owners of the means of production lacked any juridical power over land, and they were thus compelled to provide certain amount of surpluses and services to the lords. In the feudal system, the lords always had superior political-juridical rights over the peasantry. It means that both the lords and the peasants had rights, but the rights enjoyed by the lords seemed to be superior to that of the peasants. It was due to the community orientation of the peasant lifestyle, they had certain amount of rights vis-à-vis the lords. The most important point is that the feudal lords were neither absentee landlords nor mere tax collectors. They were associated with the village lifestyle organically. Consequently, they had to obey the customary rules of the village society enjoyed by the peasantry. It implies that the peasants' rights were contestable in feudal reality as they always tried to maintain their age-old customary privileges.

The class struggle in feudal social structure took two distinct but not completely separated forms from each other because of the economic aspects of feudal exploitation and political-juridical aspect of legal control. On the one hand, the lords were eager to appropriate the agricultural surplus produced by the peasantry. On the other hand, they also made effort to curb down the age-old customary rights enjoyed by the peasantry.

These twin processes formed the very core of the class struggle of the feudal society. Hilton argues that during the 12th and 13th centuries the lords made efforts to reduce the independence of the villeins (peasants who were not servile by birth) by trying to prove that these group of people was unfree. This group was unfree because they were customary tenants of the land held from the lords and not of the crown. It enabled the lords to augment the revenue demands and lower the status of the peasantry. This changing situation contributed to the growth of legal battles against the landlords. The peasants' common grievance was that the lords were trying to erode the ancient rights of the peasantry. Therefore, for Hilton, the class struggle in the feudal era was not simply an economic one; on the contrary, it was firmly rooted in the notion of customary rights enjoyed by the peasantry. The peasants wanted the restoration of status within the pre-existing social structure. However, only after the English rising of 1381, the peasants were involved in the complete destruction of the serfdom. Hilton argues that the market played a very important role in this transitional process.

The subsistence-based peasant household economy came to be reoriented into a market based petty commodity producer's economy in Europe since the 12th century. The peasants were ready to sell their products in the market to meet the cash requirement for rents, taxes, judicial fines, industrial products etc. By the 14th century, the small towns became an integral part of the feudal economy. The most significant aspect of the Hilton's argument is that he reminds us the significance of the small towns in the process of transition vis-à-vis the large towns and international trade. These small towns were not under the control of the feudal landlords. Hilton completely rejected the idea that the international trade facilitated the erosion of the feudal mode of production. He argues that it was the small towns, local trade and market orientation of the peasantry slowly contributed to the fragmentation of the feudal economy. To Hilton, the small towns were an integral part of the peasant economy. More critically, Hilton reminds us that despite the growth of small towns and trade, the majority of the peasants were eager to acquire the use value instead of exchange value during this period. The inherent logic was to secure the subsistence first at the age of uncertainty. In spite of the growth of markets of peasant production, of accumulation and of differentiation between 11th and 13th centuries, the European economy had still to wait for the development of capitalist relations of production and free unfettered commodity production. By the last quarter of 14th century, the commodity production process became widespread in many regions of England. However, despite the fact that the upper-class peasantry accumulated some amount of capital, they remained a subject group within the social structure. It was manifested in the maintenance of obligation of this

social group towards the feudal lords. The feudal social structure and the dominance of the lords came to be challenged by the peasantry in 1381. Undoubtedly, there was urban participation in the rising of 1381, but the most radical component of the unrest came from the rural society. The peasants who had developed intimate relationship with the market economy formed the most radical core of the rising. Hilton notes that the most feudalized and commercialized regions were the nerve centres of the rising. The primary demands of the rebel peasants were the abolition of serfdom, fixed rents of four pence an acre and freedom to buy or sell products in all towns, cities, markets, boroughs etc. The peasantry also raised the demand of written contract in serving lords or upper class. The most noteworthy point is that the rebels did not want the restoration of their ancient rights; however, they were in favour of end of all sorts of personal servitude to the feudal lords. Actually, these demands were too radical to be easily accomplished in 14th century. However, the subsequent periods since 1381 witnessed the gradual erosion of the feudal social controls exercised by the lords over the peasantry. Hilton observes that the peasants were able to achieve greater freedom in the form of copyhold apart from leasehold and freehold through the continuation of local revolts of the peasants and in the context of favourable land man ratio. Copyhold was the issue of a copy of entry to the customary tenants on the court rolls recording their tenure. The peasants saw it as a contract between the lords and the peasantry, and often as a mark of freedom. All these changes, according to Hilton, gave peasantry greater control over their lands and other means of production. Labour time and production process became more specialized and market friendly. The emerging upper stratum of peasantry was able to distinguish its economic interest from that of the lords. It implies the relaxation of the feudal control over the peasants, and the growth of capitalist production process in an unconstrained way. By 15th century, the rich peasants successfully converted their surplus capital into new plots of land, and started enclosing these plots at the expense of old communal regulation. It gave way to the rise of rich peasants or yeomen on the one hand and landless peasantry on the other hand as distinct social classes in 16th century. It created the stage for the development of peasant capitalism in England (Duchesne, 2003).

1.2.3.2 The long-distance trade, merchant capital and growth of capitalism

A number of scholars have challenged interpreting the development of capitalism because of the feudal crisis since the days of Maurice Dobb. Paul Sweezy is one of the

earliest critics who offers counter argument and alternative trade-based model of the so-called transition from feudalism to capitalism. Sweezy argues that the Dobb's interpretation – that capitalism emerged solely from the internal crisis of feudalism - suffers from serious flaw. It is not logically clear how a mode of production, which had been in existence for a long historical time span, was transformed into a new one without being influenced by any external pressure. Sweezy points out that it was the emergence of long-distance trade played critical role in the dissolution of the feudal system. The towns stimulated the demands for luxury commodities among the propertied class. To meet this demand, the urban propertied class imposed or tried to impose the exorbitant amount of rent on the rural peasantry. It created crisis within the feudal economy. The growth of towns and urban centres also attracted the rural peasantry by offering new avenues and opportunities of income. It deepened the feudal crisis largely. Sweezy also accuses Dobb of providing no explanation of the between the dissolution of feudalism in 14th century and the rise of capitalism around 1600.

Sweezy argues that the most important distinction between feudalism and capitalism lays in the fact that while feudalism was system of production for use, capitalism was connected the idea of production for exchange. He intends to understand the impact of trade, especially the long-distance trade, on the feudal system for production for use. The development of long-distance trade since 10th century introduced specialization of commodities as well as division of labour in the European economy. According to Sweezy, the long-distance trade was a creative force, which brought system of production for exchange alongside the old feudal system of production for use. Naturally, these two distinct systems started acting upon each other. The specialization of commodity production and division of labour – the essential part of the production for exchange – exposed the inefficiency of the manorial organization of production. Moreover, it brought the feudal system of production for use within the orbit of the production for exchange. The emergence of exchange value started transforming the very attitude of the producers initially. Eventually the members of the feudal society were also influenced by this newly emerging business-like mentality. New consumption patterns emerged within the feudal society because of the spread of trade. It provided impetus to increase the demand of the revenue on behalf of the lords. These changes were coincided with the growth of towns and cities. These urban spaces opened up the possibilities of acquiring new economic opportunities and liberties before the rural population.

Sweezy agrees with the Dobb's views that the rise of trade did not automatically lead to the dissolution of serfdom and feudalism. Even in some areas, as points out by Dobb, the feudal social relationships were reinforced with the growth of trade. Sweezy argues that the historians would have to pay attention to the uneven decline of feudalism in various parts of Europe. The reinforcement of feudalism was temporary in many cases. There was a steady replacement of demesne-farming using serf labour by tenant farming using either independent labour or hired labour. The proportion of hired labour was comparatively smaller in extent. Sweezy is of opinion that in this cases towns and cities – that is the urban space – played a vital role in providing new avenues of opportunities and improved standard of living before the rural folks. The migration of the poor masses towards the towns and cities started relaxing the social and economic controls over the serfs so far imposed by the lords. Sweezy argues that these types of changes were part of more freedom and the transformation of feudal dues into money rents. In the changing situation, the manor and serf based feudal production system appeared to be inefficient and unsuitable. In the western parts of Europe where towns emerged as an alternative space for living as well as work, the serfdom declined steadily. On the contrary, in the Eastern Europe, it was due to the lack of towns and cities, second serfdom emerged and reinforced feudalism. Sweezy also points out that according to Dobb, it was the overexploitation of the serfs by the lords was responsible for the decline of the feudalism. However, according to Sweezy, it was not such overexploitation but the inability of the lords to maintain control over and hence to exploit the labour power of the serfs – the producers of the feudal society.

These entire developments contributed to the erosion of feudalism in Europe by last part of the 14th century. However, it does not imply that the disappearance of serfdom and dissolution of feudalism was immediately coincided with the rise of capitalist order; Europe had to wait for the rise of capitalism until the second half of the sixteenth century. Dobb characterizes this period as largely feudal, which was not acceptable to Sweezy. Sweezy argues that it was neither feudal nor capitalist; this transitory phase may be at best described as phase of 'pre-capitalist commodity production'. He is of opinion that the growth of commodity production eroded the basic foundation of feudalism in Europe initially, and it further created conditions for the development of capitalist relations in subsequent phases. Therefore, according to Sweezy, the transition from feudalism to capitalism was not one or single uninterrupted process; it was, on the contrary, consisted of two distinct phases of historical evolution: the link between the two phases was the pre-capitalist commodity production (Sweezy 2006, 33 – 56).

The publication of the volume I of *The Modern World System* in 1974 by Immanuel Wallerstein apparently strengthened the arguments put forward by Paul Sweezy. However, it is argued that the similarities between the arguments of Sweezy and Wallerstein are limited. Maarten Prak points out that the apparent similarities of Sweezy's position with that of Wallerstein is superficial. Intellectually Wallerstein is less dependent on Marx in comparison with Sweezy's position. Moreover, while Sweezy is more concerned about Europe's transition towards capitalism, Wallerstein's viewpoint is truly global. Unlike the other scholars, Wallerstein is interested to present an integrated view of modern world system, - the constitutive elements of which were the rise of the dominance of Europe on the one hand and the growing growth of the rest of the world especially Asia, Africa and Latin America as periphery on the other. The growth of the European world-economy in the late 15th and 16th centuries created an integrated commercial network throughout the globe. Unlike the tributary empires of the previous eras, which were largely political units, the newly emerging European world economy functioned through economic ties of worldwide trade, commerce and commodity exchanges. Wallerstein equalled modern world system with capitalism. It had three major features: firstly, it was truly the first global system in the history of civilization. The most of the areas of all the continents came to be incorporated within the nexus of commercial exchanges and trading networks dominated by Europe. Secondly, it created new division of the world economy: core (north-western Europe), semi-periphery (southern Europe) and periphery (the non-European worlds). The labour control system also varied in these areas. Thirdly, strong state structure emerged in the core areas of this new world system. The basic reason of the decline of the feudalism, according to Wallerstein, was manifold: the potentiality of available technology ceased to exist, diminishing returns to feudal exploitation and decline of the agricultural productivity due to climatic change. The propertied class was forced to search for new avenues of income, and eventually it was the capitalist world economy that appeared to be the solution. Between 14th and 17th centuries, this new order became a viable alternative of feudal system. The interesting point is that it created contest among the European states for establishing dominance in the long-distance trade. However, the Dutch state had emerged as the most advanced power in the maritime trade, but finally it was the Great Britain, which became the game changer in the configuration of modern world system, thanks to the Industrial Revolution (Prak 2005, 4-5).

Wallerstein rejects two fundamental ideas related to the question of transition towards capitalism. Firstly, he does not want to see the 'early modern' as a specific era

of transition in history as it is a muddled thinking. Secondly, he does not find any significance of 'merchant capitalism' as the proponents of the theory of merchant capitalism sees opposition between merchant capitalists and industrial entrepreneurs. On the contrary, Wallerstein views the both as part of capitalist world economy. The appropriation of surplus value produced by the labour power by the owners of capital is not as important as the exploitation of peripheries' resources by the core areas to Wallerstein. To him, it was the market economy based on international trades, unequal exchanges and global division of unequal labour relationships that governed the modern world system. While in the core areas, the labour was free, the periphery, however, experienced the coercion and extra-economic exploitation as far as the labour control was concerned. So for Wallerstein, capitalism was not simply a market based economy governed by free labour relationships. The peripheries of capitalist world system developed crude extra-economic coercive measures of labour control in order to provide sustenance and support to the metropolitan capitalism of the core areas in a precise manner. Wage labour was visible only in the core areas; in the peripheries, one can find the use of slave labour (in America and the Caribbean regions) or Juncker serf labour estates (Eastern Europe) or various forms of bonded labour relationships in India or China or in the African states. According to the world system theory, all these areas had significant contribution in the development of capitalism through international trade and product specialization. In turn, it argues that the development of capitalism does not necessarily lead to the articulation of free wage labour everywhere. Rather it promotes unequal division of international exchanges and unfree labour relationships in periphery. Moreover, it was not the invisible hand of the market economy that promoted capitalist relations in Europe; rather, it was the institutions and its system in the core of the newly emerging world economy actually determined the mechanism of transfer of surplus from the periphery to the core and from the direct producers to owners of capital.

Wallerstein's thesis is not far from criticism. Holton reminds us that in Wallerstein's argument the pre-existence of capitalism as world system 'as a means of explaining the differential economic performance of various regions and nations' is assumed (Holton 1985, 76). Holton further notes that this differential is explained in Wallerstein's thesis in terms of mode of integration of these units of core and peripheries within the network of world system. According to Holton, it is tautological model of explanation as the world system itself explains its own emergence. It is a tautological model because Wallerstein's argument leads us to believe that it was not the international market forces that provided

impetus to the development of capitalist economy, but the emergence of a strong core in relation to weak periphery prepared the ground for the emergence of a capitalist world system. Therefore, the rise and articulation of strong core is the pre-condition of emergence of capitalism in Wallerstein's argument. However, in this argument if it is asked why the strong core emerged first, Wallerstein's reasoning needs the development of market forces and international trade as the key to the answer. Apart from this theoretical contradiction in Wallerstein's argument, it is also pointed out by the scholars that the world system theory is not at all based on empirical researches. For example, until the late 18th century, 4 percent of the Europe's gross national product was exported across national boundaries. Even the European capital formation was not dependent on core-periphery trade. The idea of world economy is contemporary and modern; it cannot be applied to the early modern period (Holton 1985, 77-79).

1.2.3.3 The agrarian roots of European capitalism

The c.1974 is a critical year for the transition debates. The American historian Robert Brenner in the annual convention of American Historical Association (December 1974) first presents his argument about the transition of Europe from feudalism to capitalism. He criticises the neo-Malthusian theoretical argument, which believes that the long-term trends (rise and fall) of population affects the social and economic development. Brenner also contradicts the trade-based theorization of capitalism's emergence as propounded by Sweezy and Wallerstein. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie – one of the proponents of demographic change – argues that in the feudal society there always existed a tension between the population growth and food resources. It created long cycles of upswings and downturns in the economy. The feudal economy due to its very essence of inner immobility expressed the inability to produce extra foods for growing population. It caused periodic starvation, famine and eventually shrinkages of population. The decline of prices and collapse of population in certain marginal areas again produced conditions for beginning of a new cycle. Brenner refutes this argument based on demographic model sharply. He argues that if the demographic changes were so crucial in determining social and economic changes in early modern Europe, then why there were differential developments between Eastern and Western Europe, and even between England and France despite the fact that these two areas experienced similar types of population growth. The weakness of the trade-based theory of transition, according to Brenner, is that it assumed the prior existence of market forces behind the development of capitalism, which is untenable (Prak 2005, 8-

9; Holton 1985, 83-84). Brenner also finds no logic to accept the interpretation that emphasizes the urban growth in Western Europe as a significant development for the end of serfdom – the basic marker of feudal social structure. The scholars like Blum or Anderson believe that the development of urban centres in Western Europe was an impetus to the serf resistance against feudalism. According to Brenner, this argument does not show the mechanism of how towns in early modern Europe acted as a free island of nascent capitalism and how towns successfully challenged the feudal forces of rural Europe. Even there was no appreciable record of offering support to the medieval peasantry on behalf of the towns. In some critical respects, Brenner finds Dobb's and Hilton's argument inadequate so far as the East/West divergence is concerned. Both Dobb and Hilton argue that due to different type of land/labour ratio in Eastern Europe, that is, the scarcity of labour, the feudal lords were bound to impose serfdom for second time forcefully. It was not a plausible solution in Western Europe as there was plenty of labour in the comparing with the Eastern Europe.

What is Brenner's proposition? Brenner develops an alternative of the existing theoretical paradigm of the transition debates. He observes two basic fundamental points: first, the comparative assessment of the degree and extent of serf resistance to the feudal social order in Eastern and Western Europe; second, the differential impact of the contrast of class struggle in both parts of Europe. According to Brenner, the village organization and communal traditions – essential components of the class struggle – were more organically present in the west rather than east. Landed estates and feudal aristocracy emerged in Eastern Europe as a result of widespread and firm colonization to a greater extent than Western Europe. It provided superior control of the lords over the serfs in the east. It means the decreasing capability of the serfs to offer resistance. Consequently, because of this divergence in the pattern of development of class struggle in two parts of Europe, while wage labour emerged as the basic form of labour in the west, second serfdom became the dominant social characteristic of the east.

This exceptionally fresh argument of Brenner however still has to offer a plausible solution of the divergence and contrast of capitalist development within Western Europe. Historically, while England experienced the advancement towards a capitalist society, France was successful in retaining the importance of peasant landholding structure during the same period. Even from the more theoretical ground, it is a question that confronts the social scientists in a critical way is that whether the dissolution of the feudal institutions like

serfdom would automatically lead to the development of capitalist relations of production. Dobb offers that there was no logical ground to argue that there was a straightforward linear progress in Western Europe towards capitalism. The dissolution of serfdom did not generate capitalist relations of production inevitably. Dobb identifies a transitory phase of petty commodity production, which existed between the decline of feudalism and rise of capitalism. Sweezy points out that there should be a link between the dynamics of crisis leading to the end of feudalism and the dynamics of factors leading to capitalism through the articulation of petty commodity production. According to Dobb, it was the internal contradiction of feudalism and eventual crisis eroded feudal control exercised over the small producers. This process liberated the production from the shackles of medieval economic organization, and gave birth to the phase of petty commodity production. Brenner however differs significantly from what Dobb proposes. He argues that it was not the liberation of production process directly from the feudal shackles but the stronger resistance of the French peasantry against the lords enabled them to retain their existence successfully unlike the English peasantry. In England, the landed property owners crushed the peasant resistance largely; in France, such attempts failed (Holton 1985, 84-87).

Perry Anderson sees the transition from feudalism to capitalism in a more complex way. He emphasizes the role of property relations in transforming the feudal social structure like Dobb or Brenner. However, at the same time, he also points out the critical importance of state, juridical institutions, political bodies, and legal forms etc. in the long-term evolution of European society towards capitalism. The primary difference between the capitalist process of surplus extraction and feudal system of exploitation is that while the former is purely economic in nature, the latter uses all sorts of extra-economic methods of coercion through political, religious and legal institutions. For example, fief (compulsory military service by lords to feudal superiors in return for landed tenures) and serfdom (labour services for the lord compelled by law in return for legal and military protection by the lord) played crucial role in maintaining the internal stability of the feudal mode of production. Therefore, the rise of capitalism, following Perry Anderson's theorization, could be seen as the development of economic form of surplus extraction out of a social structure, which was dominated by a combination of both economic and non-economic or extra-economic factors. Another very significant point is that like the other scholars, Anderson does not see the rise of capitalism as a natural corollary of the end of feudalism only; he also seeks the roots of capitalism's origin in the Greco-Roman civilization and Germanic tradition of Northern Europe. It was in fact the expansion of Marx's original but rather neglected idea

that feudalism could be considered as a synthesis of different social forms of pre-capitalist and even of pre-feudal Europe, that is, classical civilization. It enables Anderson to view the rise of capitalism not as a part of successive stages of linear social progress from one mode to another. He on the contrary interprets the capitalism's genesis as a fusion of two previous modes of production, namely, antiquity and feudalism. Anderson also views the parcellisation of sovereignty as a source of development of free urban civilization within the feudal economy. It reflected the Roman heritage of urban cultures. The revival of Roman law during the period of Renaissance started ensuring the sanctity of contract and right of private property. Anderson placed the genesis of capitalism in the fourteenth century crisis, but he does not follow Dobb's argument that it was from the Black Death the crisis of feudalism originated. Rather, he accepts the argument postulated by the Demographic School that there was a general structural dislocation of feudal social order even before the Black Death, the primary reason of which was the population pressure on the existing limits of food production. According to Anderson, the subdivision of agricultural holdings also took place as a part of this crisis. This structural dislocation contributed to the dissolution of feudalism even before the beginning of conflict between lords and serfs, according to this theorization. Anderson also contradicts Dobb's identification of the transitory phase between feudalism and capitalism as a phase of petty commodity production. He, however, argues that both feudalism and capitalism coexisted simultaneously during this transitory phase with a clear trend of the rise of capitalist relations and decline of the feudal ones. The feudal relations were manifested through the aristocratic agrarian property and absolutist state while capitalism was found in the expansive urban bourgeois activities and capitalist accumulation through international trade. This crosscurrent gradually opened up the road towards the triumph of capitalism in Europe (Holton 1985, 91-99). According to Richard Lachmann (Lachmann 1989), Anderson's presentation is an advancement of the Marxist theory of social formation and transition from one mode of production to another to a newer direction. Anderson clearly makes a distinction between the mode of production and social formation in his analysis. This distinction enables him to explain the mechanism by which the absolutist class undermined the interests of the aristocratic class – the class, which formed and settled the absolutist state itself. The logical extension of this argument of Anderson is that the bourgeois class formation was an intendent outcome of absolutism rather than the idea that the bourgeoisie through a conscious struggle eroded the power base of the aristocratic class and freed the absolutist state from the dominance of feudal elements (Lachmann 1989, 61-62).

1.3 Conclusion

It is clear from the analysis that no theory is adequate to explain the complex formation of the European society in the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism. All the theories discussed here have some advantages as well as disadvantages in the understanding of history of transition. Even the Marxist interpretations are far from unitary and coherent. It is not because of the fact that Marxist theory of transition is inherently underdeveloped or poor; rather, it is because of the fact that what Europe had experienced during this period was extremely vast, heterogeneous and truly unprecedented. It was both temporal and spatial, horizontal and vertical transformation of Europe. It was not simply a change from one mode of production to another mode of production. It was the beginning of a new civilization in Europe, which subsequently gave birth to a world system. However, Europe does not always represent a unique and unitary development during this period. The Eastern Europe differed considerably from the Western Europe in the path towards capitalism. Within Western Europe, the historical development of France had little similarity with that of England. Therefore, we need to understand the macro developmental pattern along with micro level changes for explaining the European transformations. The social scientists have to take the risk of uncovering the limits of any unitary theory in grasping local roots of uneven development of social formation in Europe in an unrepentant manner. In other words, the importance of enormous regional variations and local identities could not be ignored for the sake of a grand theory of transition.

We also need to understand that the transformation of Europe and its related theories could be well explicable if we pay adequate attention to the social, religious and cultural formations of Europe apart from the legal-political and economic one. Therefore, the historical process of transition needs to be contextualized beyond the boundary of economy. The incorporation of religion and culture in our understanding opens up new avenues and offers broader perspectives of societal changes of early modern Europe. In the subsequent sections, the learners will be offered discussion and analysis of the transformation of the European state and society in a more detail.

1.4 Model Questions

1. What were the features of the general economic conditions of Europe in early modern Europe?

2. How do you locate the origins of capitalism in the agrarian crisis of feudalism?
3. Write an essay on the Dobb-Sweezy debate on the transition from feudalism to capitalism.
4. How does the trade theory explain the rise of capitalism in Europe?
5. Evaluate the contribution of Robert Brenner in the transition debates.
6. Make an assessment of Perry Anderson's views on the transition from feudalism to capitalism in early modern Europe.

1.5 Suggested Readings

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Block - II

Early Colonial Expansion

Unit-2(a) □ Motives, Voyages and Explorations

Structure

2(a).0 Objectives

2(a).1 Introduction

2(a).2.1 The Initiative of Portugal

2(a).2.2 The Initiative of Spain

2(a).2.3 The Initiative of the Other Countries

2(a).2.4 The Structure of Trade and Financial Control

2(a).2.5 The Socio-Economic Basis of the Chartered Companies

2(a).5 Conclusion

2(a).6 Model Questions

2(a).7 Suggested Readings

2(a).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the early colonial expansion:

- The motives, voyages and explorations undertaken by the Europeans
- The initiative of Portugal, Spain and the other countries to explore new areas through sea voyages
- The trading structure and financial control along with the socio-economic basis of the chartered companies will be analysed.

2(a).1 Introduction

The expansion of Europe since 15th century in terms of military and economic-political is regarded as one of the most influential events in the early modern era. The expansion was initially for trade, but quickly turned into colonial one. It had long-term impact on the

European economy and society. Even this impact was not confined only in Europe; the Asian trade of Europe was also influenced by the colonial expansion of Europe in early modern period. Historically, Europe had not shown any programme of expansion of political and military interest beyond its geographical boundary apart from the failed attempts of crusades during the middle ages. During this period, the Europeans were dependent on the Arab traders chiefly for their trade with Asia; the existence of any landmass on the opposite side of Atlantic or direct sea route to India was unknown to the Europeans. The map of the world in the middle age was spectacularly different from that of the present day one.

A dramatic change started taking place at the end of the fifteenth century. Initially two decisive geographical discoveries reoriented Europe's approach to the non-European world: first, the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492; second the discovery of the direct sea route between Europe and India via the Cape of Good Hope in 1498. These two discoveries opened up the new age with fresh spirit of adventure, mentality of taking risk and a clear mindset of financial investment for long-distance naval voyages. The Europeans identified all these things with the possibility of new age of profit through maritime trade. Initially the five major European countries ventured for overseas colonial expansion between the fifteenth century and eighteenth century – Spain and Portugal followed by England, Holland and France. The methods and constitutions employed by England, Holland and France, the countries which started later, were remarkably different from that of Spain and Portugal. England, Holland and France created chartered companies for conducting and managing trade in the newly discovered maritime routes. These organizations were 'a necessary link in the chain of institutions which in turn gave birth to modern capitalism and to its network of international relationships; and by their monopolies they prepared the way for the states to take over the colonies and to merge them into empires' (Rich and Wilson 1967, 223-224). The most noteworthy point is that the initial period was though dominated by Spain and Portugal, however, it came to be soon replaced by the other three powers, namely Holland, France and England. After a fierce competition, England became the victorious in establishing a worldwide empire in true sense in late 18th century. The share of Holland or France was negligible in this regard in comparison with that of England.

In these units, we will study two aspects of the European expansion during the early modern era: firstly the objectives behinds the expansion; secondly the effects of the expansion. We must note that the transition of Europe towards a modern capitalist era was deeply rooted in the expansive trends of Europe since the late 15th century. However, we

also have to take care of the fact that it not only transformed Europe; it also had deep and immensely significant long-term impacts on the societies, which were colonized by the Europeans. The nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America still bore the colonial legacy in many respects. The importance of the study of these units lies here.

2(a).2 Motives, voyages and explorations

H.G. Koenigsberger points out that the later middle and early modern ages could be seen as eras of expansion and empire formation. The entire 15th and 16th centuries witnessed this trend in Asia and Europe. The Islamic religion and culture was expanded by the Arab traders from East Africa to Indonesia throughout the later Middle Ages. The Chinese expansion was reflected in annexation of Annam and seven naval expeditions west of India. Babur established the Mongal Empire in India 1526. The Ottoman empire had unprecedented territorial expansion in 15th and 16th centuries in Asia Minor, the Balkan peninsula, Syria, Egypt and domination over Black Sea and north African Coasts. The noticeable Russian imperial expansion took place in the latter half of 16th century in the whole valley of Volga, the areas up to Caspian Sea, and the Russians 'began their great push across Siberia to the Pacific Ocean' (Koenigsberger 1987, 85-86).

The fall of Constantinople on May 28, 1454 by the Ottoman Turks was a major blow and perceptible threat to the security of Europe. Then, there was a continuous decline of the European political and military position: in 1459, Europe lost Northern Siberia; Bosnia-Harzegovina in 1463-66; the Negroponte and Albania in 1470. The contemporary Pope Pius II wrote regrettably, "I see nothing good on the horizon" (Cipolla 1976, 208). However, suddenly dramatic changes brought rays of hope for the Europeans. By making all the other powers surprised, a number of European powers started sailing, and eventually ruling, the oceans. Within a little more than a century of discovery of the New World in 1492, the global dominance of Europe was founded by Portugal and Spain at the first phase, and then by Holland, France and England in the second phase. It is clear from the fact that the great geographical discoveries of 15th and 16th centuries occurred only when Europe was extremely cornered geo-politically by the Asian powers. Europe did not have anything but to look forward for the oceans as new sites of voyages and explorations. The existing landmass was under the control of the Asian powers. However, certain other factors made the task easier for organizing oceangoing voyages. As Koenigsberger points out that, the population in Europe showed signs of recovery since the 15th century. The fear of plague disappeared. The younger generations were eager to go beyond Europe for

securing fortunes, career, status and booty. This risk taking mentality came to be supported by the European monarchies, which consolidated their position, authority and resources in 15th century. These surplus resources were invested in financing the seagoing voyages. We have already mentioned that the Europeans had hardly any opportunity to invest in exploring new sea routes as existing known territories were under the control of the Asian powers. The Europeans also achieved naval superiority in terms of technology and skills. These positive factors created suitable preconditions for the adventurous Europeans to start sailing for the unknown routes. The initial success of two great discoveries – that is, the discovery of America and of the direct naval route to India – opened up the possibility of most lucrative long distance trade and empire building in the subsequent period. The Arabs could not match with this rapid and sudden progress of the Europe's new achievement. Koenigsberger further assumes that 'the post-feudal political structure of Europe allowed both the flexibility of autonomous responsibility, with the advantages in decision-making which this implied, and sufficient central control by the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies to prevent an immediate disintegration of the newly-won empires' (Koenigsberger 1987, 87-88).

The following tabular representation shows the European's voyages in far-flung corners of the globe:

1492	**Columbus lands in the Caribbean**
1494	**Treaty of Tordesillas divides the world**
1497	**John Cabot leads the first English expedition to the New World**
1498	**Vasco da Gama reaches India**
1515	**First sugar mill is built in the western hemisphere**
1521	**Magellan is killed in the islands that become the Philippines**
1521	**Cortés and his allies defeat the Aztecs**
1532	**Pizarro conquers the Inca Empire**
1540s	**Japanese lords allow the Portuguese to trade in Japan**
1557	**Archbishopric established in Portuguese Goa**
1560s	**Spanish silver fleet begins regular sailings to the Philippines**

(Source: Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. *Cambridge History of Europe: Early Modern Europe, 1450 – 1789*. UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 237)

Though Portugal and Spain took the first lead towards the great geographical discoveries, however, these two countries were not prepared for accomplishing such immense task. Both the governments of these two states were the sources of the initiative of early discoveries. Spain and Portugal exercised very tight control over the trade with the New World and India respectively. The Portuguese government managed the newly emerging trade routes through the customary procedure prevalent in Portugal during this period. It involved the state intervention in organizing the convoys of ships, granting domains and jurisdiction and finally providing Casa das Indias. The system of Casa da Contrataciün was developed in Spain indicating the same type of development.

2(a).2.1 The Initiative of Portugal

Actually, Portugal was a poor country in Europe in the middle or later middle ages. However, it was primarily because of the successful sea voyages in the 15th century, this country was able to achieve substantial amount of economic prosperity. The roots of the Portuguese naval expeditions could be traced back in the country's heritage of designing ships and developing navigational techniques. The royal family of Portugal had considerable interest in matters related to ship building, navigational techniques, cartography etc. Two members of the reigning family – Henry the Navigator (1393–1460) and King John II (1455 – 1495) – took the leading role in developing the skills related to sea voyages and, also in developing the culture of naval expedition. The Portuguese started their venturing in the northern coast of Africa in the first half of the 18th century. They captured Ceuta in 1415. It was a strategically important waypoint in the northern coast of Africa both from the point of view of trade and military significance. Henry the Navigator set up centre for studying critical aspects of sea navigation at Sagres – a small area located in the extreme south-west of Portugal (and also of the continental Europe). Henry assembled the geographers, cartographers, astronomers and navigators at Sagres between 1418 and 1460, he sent sea voyages to explore the seas. Henry tried to records all the available details of coastal lines, and updated regularly the Portuguese knowledge about the sea voyages. Because of this concerted effort, Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores were rediscovered and colonized. The Canary Islands came under the control of Portugal. However, it was ceded to Spain in 1479 by the treaty of Alcácovas. During this period, trading contacts were also established between Portugal and different indigenous chiefs of African coast. Though Henry did not live long for a complete realization of his dream, however, his concerted efforts laid the foundation of the future geographical exploration of Portugal.

After the initial setback in 1460-80, the Portuguese initiative to undertake sea voyages was revived with the coronation of John II as the king of Portugal in 1481. Bartholomew Diaz in 1488 reached the Cape of Good Hope. He named it as Cape of Storms. In the next year, Pedro de Covilhão first crossed Mediterranean and then he reached Red Sea by land. He went for the exploration of the west coast of India. Finally, Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on 1498 by sailing round Africa. When Vasco da Gama returned to Portugal, it was estimated that the profit was greater than the cost of the expedition. Within ten years of coming to India, the Portuguese power was successful in establishing their naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean. The Arabs were ousted from the Indian trade in facing the better navigational skills and military capability of the Portuguese power. The Portuguese ship reached Canton in China in 1513, and by the mid-16th century, they had established trade and diplomatic relations with Japan.

The Portugal was successful in the expansion and maintenance of its settlements in Asia in the first decade of the 16th century. The Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean completely transformed its trading orientation. It was for the first time any European power was able to dominate those sea routes, which were not adjacent to Europe. One remarkable feature of the Portuguese initiative was that it did not forward to the interior of any country. They were satisfied with controlling the sea routes (Vittorio 2006, 19-22).

2(a).2.2: The Initiative of Spain

Apart from the Portugal's attempt to expand in the oceans, another European country – namely Spain – undertook similar efforts during the same era. Columbus – a Genoese who served in Portuguese navy and married a Portuguese woman – submitted petition to the king for a westward journey in the Atlantic to reach India. This proposal was initially rejected as the Portuguese authority was interested more in sailing rounding Africa, as it seemed to be better realistic. Columbus was definitely frustrated during this period but he did not give up his effort. He approached Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; but they even did not think it was a feasible project. The French and English monarchies also disappointed Columbus. Finally, in 1492, the Spanish monarchy approved the proposal of Columbus on the occasion of their victory over the Moors at Granada. Columbus ultimately was able to reach the new land on the opposite side of Atlantic on 12 October 1492. He called the locals as Indians as he had the idea that it was India. The poverty of the local population disappointed him. He sailed back to Spain; Columbus after careful preparation and with more resources returned to the New World in 1492.

The simultaneous development of maritime power in Iberian peninsula immediately brought conflict in Europe. Ferdinand and Isabella approached the then Pope Alexander VI for drawing a line of demarcation in order to ensure the Spanish domination over the newly discovered areas. They proposed to divide the non-Christian World in to two halves for the purpose of future expedition, the western part being reserved for the Spaniards, and the eastern part for the Portuguese. The ideal line would require to be drawn 'between the two poles, at a longitude of 100 leagues (about 330 miles) west of the Azores and Cape Verde'. However when the Treaty of Tordillas (June 7, 1494) was signed between Spain and Portugal, 'the King of Portugal persuaded the Spaniards to mark out a new line that was to lie about 210 miles farther west of the 1493 line. This seems to point to the fact that the Portuguese already knew of the existence of the New World, since the area of South America bulging eastwards, which would form the bridgehead, and later become Brazil, was in the Portuguese hemisphere in the second treaty'. Pedro de Cabral in 1500 made an expedition in this area and claimed it for Portugal (Vittorio 2006, 23-24).

2(a).2.3 The Initiative of the Other Countries

The initial attempts of the Spaniards and the Portuguese and their success encouraged the French and the English people. In 16th century, a number of voyages were organized in France and England. In 1496, Henry VII sent John Cabot to England. But, surprisingly, no official sponsored English expedition was sent to America or Asia until the reign of Elizabeth. England started again the sea voyages in the period of Elizabeth. However, a new element was introduced in the high seas during this time: it was the steady growth of piracy. It became a common feature of maritime expeditions in accumulating wealth through plundering. Both the English and the French adventurers in support of the citizens, merchants and the states targeted the Spanish galleons. These piratical activities did not have any link with the relationships – good or bad – between the two countries. Even many merchant companies were formed in England or France to plunder wealth in the sea. Apart from the involvement of the merchants or citizens in organizing sea voyages, the monarchies of all the states were heavily tied up with expeditions. The heads of the states were eager to tap the resources generated from the overseas expeditions. Manoel, and then Jean III, of Portugal and Isabella of Castile took active interest in resource accumulation from these voyages. Isabella invested not less than seventh-eights of the capital required for the first two voyages of Columbus and ensured the return in same proportion. In England, Elizabeth also provided financial support to the piratical expeditions of Drake and the formation of Africa Company in 1588 from her own purse. She used to get a third of the profits from

such investment. Both James I (1624) and Charles I (1628) tried not only to tap the profit of the East India Company, but they also encouraged the setting up of rival companies. In lieu of this tacit encouragement, these new companies were bound to support them financially. The scholars also point out another very interesting aspect regarding the involvement of heads of the states in sea voyages. The 15th and 16th centuries' rulers were interested in securing the profit generated from trade of spices, gold, silver or other precious metals only. During this period, the establishment of colonial empires seemed to be a distant idea, which would subsequently be a realistic project not before the 18th century.

Obviously, the Portuguese and the Spaniards dominated the international trade throughout the 16th century. They also controlled the overseas territorial occupations significantly in this century. The Portuguese successfully penetrated in much of the central Africa and in Brazil also. From Goa, they controlled the vast area of the Indian Ocean. Spain, on the other hand, controlled almost all the lands of South America except Brazil. Philippines came under their domination. The initial English and French attempts were comparatively weak. Before 1897, England did not have any colonial setup in America. It had some presence in the mainland of Virginia. The French failed to maintain their post in Brazil, in the north coast of South America and in Florida. It was only in Canada France had some consistence presence (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 223-229).

2(a).2.4 The Structure of Trade and Financial Control

It is not surprising that both Portugal and Spain first developed the mechanisms of control to exploit the maximum profit out of it, as they were the pioneers in organizing the overseas voyages. The Portuguese authority granted away monopoly of the African coast to certain private parties under various titles. The right of monopoly could include both areas and commodities. The titles created by the Portuguese authority were as follows: first a Casa de Ceuta, then a Casa da Guinea, and then a Casa da Mina were created at Lisbon. All these titles were created under the authority of the Vedores da Fazenda: these were the officials who controlled and regulated the entire economic life of Portugal as well as the general national life. The Portuguese authority eventually united the Casa da Guinea and Casa da Mina in a single body or institution. The regulation of trade in the African coast was entrusted on this body. Casa das Indias, or da India was created when contracts with the Indies were established. In 1517, the Portuguese established treasury in India. They also quickly developed administrative system for their Indian trade and Indian settlement. The year 1506 was crucial so far as the regulation of trade was concerned.

Prior to it, the merchants were free to trade, and state was satisfied with the stipulated custom duties. In 1506, the monopoly of state on precious metals and spices, especially pepper, cloves, mace and civet was established. All the expeditions were going to be organized under Casa, and in most cases, royal ships directly took part in the trade. The normal rate of import duty was twenty percent. The *feitor* or the administrator was created to control the trade. It was a single authority system as it controlled two different Casas (Casa das Indias on the one hand and da Mina and da Guinea on the other hand) under its establishment. The Portuguese government also set up three treasurers under the *feitor*. These treasurers were given three distinct responsibilities: one was for the control of spices; second treasurer for the goods bought from the sale of spices and the responsibility of the third one was related to Casa da Mina and da Guinea. There was also appointment of five *escrivaes* or secretaries three for the first and two for the second of the two casas. All these developments indicate that the Portuguese royal authority always maintained a close supervision on the maritime trade as much as possible. It worked well in the till the end of the 16th century. However, since the mid of the 17th century the state monopoly of Portugal faced erosion. Following the Dutch success, the Portuguese formed companies under the supervision of Casas in 17th century; but this experiment also failed. In the 18th century, the state lost its monopoly on maritime trade, and the free merchants started dominating the trading relations between Portugal and her colonies (Rich and Wilson 1967, 229-231). Spain also followed almost same strategy in organizing and controlling trade with the New World. The Spanish government reserved one-tenth of the total tonnage of the ships of the private merchants. Casa de Aduana 'in the Indies' was set up by the Spanish authority. It initiated the process of establishment of direct state regulation of trade. For example, the Spanish state reserved one-fifth of the precious metals (which might be found in the colonies) for itself. The monopoly of trade was granted to Seville, the greatest city of Castile. Like the Portuguese *feitor,* the Spanish state created the office of Real Audiencia y Casa de Contratacion for regulation of trade. This office was managed by a treasurer, a controller, a secretary and a 'factor'. The duty of the 'factor' was to control and regulate all the shipments of merchandise. The Casa de Aduana was a multi-purpose institution: it was a court of justice, trade administration and academy of hydrography. It carefully kept all the records relating to Spanish overseas voyages and trade. Eventually it started organizing naval convoys in high seas. All the details of voyages came to be regulated strictly. It included the selection of captain and clerks, arrangement of composition of fleets and fixing the time of sailing and routes. The more stringent control came with the establishment of similar regulating body at Hispaniola. A group of royal factors were

created to establish complete control on trade, to maintain regular correspondences with Seville, to bring all the Spanish possessions under its control and to ensure king's monopoly over trade's profit. In 1510, the Spanish government issued an ordinance and fixed the nature of casa for next two centuries. It was followed by the creation of a Council in 1524 within this institution: it was an appellate jurisdiction. This step completed the entire process of regulation and control. The casa was truly entrusted to organize the sea-going fleets and to protect the trade from pirates. The casa in Spain made its best efforts to organize trade in all possible manners under a single institution: the arrangement of fleets, the fixing of time and route of voyages and the protection of ships from pirate attack. In 1542, a new organization was set up in Spain to regulate the maritime trade. It was Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias. It was a higher body than casa as casa was placed under it immediately after its formation. It was a complete ministry responsible for overseas trade, and an important element in the Spanish colonial economy.

The mechanisms developed by both Portugal and Spain to control the newly emerging maritime trade shared a similar pattern of development. It distinguished these two states form England, Holland and France. Both Portugal and Spain exercised a tight control on the entire trading network evolved under their domination. The institution of casas was developed as a direct part of the state administration, and its authority was never delegated. The states reserved share of trade and precious metals in a monopolistic way. The absence of the idea of free trade and complete control of the state on the matters of trade indicate the mercantilist nature of the state power. The pertinent question raised by the economic historians in this regard is that whether this strict control of casa as institution provided any impetus to the capital formation or not. The fact is that this specific institution had nothing to do with the expansion of economy in capitalist line. It catered only the feudal and mercantilist interest of the monarchy. Both in Portugal and Spain, casas invested money in the sea-going voyages. However, this money was procured either from taxes collected from within the country or from voluntary investment. The point is that it does not represent any capitalist nature as the prime motive was to appropriate surplus for the monarchies only. Therefore, the casas and their investment never encouraged the formation of colonies or development of group of producers. What the casas achieved in 16th century was the organization of long-distance trade with Africa, Asia and America in a significant way and at a global scale (Rich and Wilson 1967, 231-234).

The most remarkable and marked change occurred in the beginning of the 17th century. It witnessed the formation of modern form of chartered companies – established normally by the private merchants and occasionally inspired by the states. In this

developmental pattern, the states were not the leaders in the sea voyages or explorations. The initiative of the private merchants and investors shaped the new direction of trade and colonization in 17th century global economic perspectives. The first such chartered company established was the East India Company in c.1600 in England. the merchants behind the formation of this company urged for monopoly right on their trade to the English state. In Holland, ten previously formed companies united with each other, and because of this unification, The Vereenigde Oost Indie Compagnie (the V.O.I.C.) was founded in 1602. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was established to conduct trade in South America. Throughout the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company enjoyed high status in the international trading world. The English and the Dutch initiative encouraged the French to undertake similar ventures. However, the French government took a leading role in establishing East India Company initially. Henry IV could be credited for the formation of this company. He set up other companies also. Henry IV also took interest in colonizing Canada. Initially the economic and commercial interest provided the necessary impetus to go for colony. However, in the period of Richelieu and Colbert the political ambition was also incorporated along with economic plan in the expansion of colony as well as trade. The end of the 17th century saw the formation of a clear and cohesive structure of overseas trade and territorial possessions. For example, the loss of Portugal's domination in Asian sphere (loss of Ormuz and Malacca) was soon compensated her increasing influence in Brazil. Angola and Mozambique also came under Portuguese control. Spain was able to retain her possession in South America and the Philippines. The English presence was felt in the Atlantic coast of North America. The Dutch people successfully established series of protectorates between the Persian Gulf and Singapore, and Indonesia was under its domination. In Canada, the French had tight control; apart from American continent, in Senegal and India they were trying to expand their influence. In 18th century, England emerged as the most successful in establishing a colonial set up especially for her success in India. On the other hand, France lost possession in Canada and India.

The economic theory that played the dominant role in the European expansion between 15th and 18th century was mercantilism. It only believed in the increase of wealth of nations through export only; the idea of import and free trade was alien in this theory. All the monarchies having a belief in this theory uninterruptedly exercised a very tight control on all sorts of economic activities in general and foreign trade in particular. The second interesting point is that both the New World and Africa was less populous. It was possible for the Europeans to settle down their comparatively easily. However, the Asian

countries like India, which was densely populated and had a strong age-old culture, offered a different type of experiences to the Europeans. (Rich and Wilson 1967, 234-239).The European powers had to face both active and passive resistance during the period of expansion in India. However, the Europeans were able to achieve considerable technological advances in comparing with the Asian level of development, and with the help of technological superiority and improved political and military management, Europe started conquering the vast areas of countries like India or of parts of Southeast Asia (Koenigsberger 1987, 90).

2(a).2.5 The Socio-Economic Basis of the Chartered Companies

As far as the organizations of overseas voyages of Europe were concerned, one of the greatest achievements of the 17th century Europeans was the formation of chartered companies to expand the trading activities. It was definitively a new shift from the method of organization of maritime trade that was practiced by the Portuguese or the Spanish. The structure of trade and of financial control has already been discussed in the earlier section. We have seen that while the states of Portugal and Spain directly participated in the organization of maritime voyages, however, in Holland, England and France the chartered companies played the prime role in overseas trading activities. In this section, we will discuss the socio-economic basis of the chartered companies originated in England, Holland and France briefly.

In England, the individual merchants took the leading role in forming the chartered companies for organizing overseas trade. The efforts to form the company for trade with India took place between 1579 and 1600. Between 1594 and 1602, the Dutch merchants established several companies to accelerate the pace of maritime trade. In France, the merchants raised the demand of forming companies in 1663. In all these states, the merchants and traders were the source of the primary capital required for the formation of companies. Another very interesting point is that in the early phase of overseas voyages of 16th and 17th century there was a difference between the merchants who provided the fund for the expeditions and the people who actually sailed in the sea. The merchants could be considered as the financiers and organizers of the voyages as they owned the capital. The sea-going people were adventurous and in most cases nomads in true sense of the term. These hardy people were accustomed in protecting their lives and properties with arms and violence. However, the presence of merchants in the overseas voyages in some cases was found.

The Portuguese as well as the Spanish were accustomed in direct state control. Their trading activities were thus evolved around the authority of casas. The English people formed guilds and preferred chartered, mutual benefits and collective privileges. Religious ties also played important role in forming group-organizations in England's overseas voyages and settlements. The Dutch merchants were free from state control because of the existence of civic liberty and local autonomy. While in England and Holland, the merchants played the most crucial role in forming chartered companies and overseas expeditions, the French were however divided in to maritime trade and territorial ambitions in their overseas voyages. The French state had a bigger role in the expansion of the national territorial interest in abroad. Apart from the merchants, another influential social group took active interest in overseas voyages: they were the members of the royal families. They invested money in such voyages and appropriated shares of profits accordingly. The nobles also invested money besides the members of the royal families. Even the nobles of the highest ranks provided the leadership to form company. In France, the dukes of Damville and of Montmorency and the maréchal de la Meilleraye, lieutenant-general of Brittany took the leading role in establishing maritime companies. In the second half of the 17th century France, Prince Rupert became the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The nobles were also became the shareholders of these trading companies. For example, in the English Royal African Company, out of thirty-eight members, five were genuine merchants. The Dutch bourgeoisie formed a narrow oligarchy. The members of the Parliament and lawyers were also shareholders of such companies. The establishment of stock exchanges and opening up of buying and selling shares provided an opportunity to those who wanted to accrue profit from the new dynamism evolving around the naval companies.

2(a).5 Conclusion

This study indicates that the emergence of capitalist spirit of taking risk and appropriating profit became one of the prime movers in Europe in early modern period. The overseas voyages and exploration made not only new trends but also a complete reorientation was visibly manifested in the economy and society. New men profited; new areas came under the control of Europe; people migrated primarily for trade though the other causes like religion also played a role in it; new institutions emerged for the regulation of trade; scientific and technological progresses were unprecedented and it included the development of cartography as well as shipbuilding. Above all, the European mind was changed towards a new direction: it was ready to give up safe lifestyle and complacent mentality for knowledge, power and eventually empire.

2(a).6 Model Questions

1. What were the motives behind the Europe's overseas voyages and exploration?
2. Discuss the Spanish initiatives in the geographical discovery and Europe's expansion.
3. What was the role of Portugal in the overseas exploration and expansion?
4. Analyse the structure of trade and financial control in the context of the Europe's overseas expansion.
5. Write a short note on the socio-economic basis of the chartered companies.

2(a).7 Suggested Readings

Cameron, Euan (Ed). *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

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Unit-2(b) □ The conquests of the Americas: Beginning of the era of colonization; mining and plantation; the African slaves

Structure

2(b).0 Objectives

2(b).1 Introduction

2(b).2 The Conquest and Colonization of America

2(b).3 Mining and plantation; the African slaves

2(b).4 Conclusion

2(b).5 Model Questions

2(b).6 Suggested Readings

2(b).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the conquest of America:

- How America was occupied and colonized.
- The beginning and expansion of mining and plantation in America.
- The widespread use of the African slaves.

2(b).1 Introduction

The conquest of America by Europe was probably one of the biggest events in the history of early modern world. The European expansion in the American continent was instrumental in creating a new balance of power equation in the global perspectives. The contemporary great oriental powers like the Mughals or the Safavids or the Ottomans did not have such vision of conquering new territory using long distance oceanic routes. These giant Asian powers were engaged in searching revenues and resources in the land based

empire during this period. Europe, on the contrary, began to search resources not in new lands beyond oceans. It was a big leap as well as a new era for Europe as the European states turned towards oceans for political and economic expansion. The conquest of America was the most significant step in this regard. In this unit, we will discuss the conquest and colonization of America and its impact in detail.

2(b).2 The Conquest and Colonization of America

According to the earlier estimate, the population of America was 10 million just before 1492. This estimate has now been changed: it is calculated that 10 million people lived in present day Canada and the United States of America. For Mexico, it was 20 to 30 million people. The total figure for Latin America ranges from a low of 65 million to a high of more than 100 million, according to present estimate. Therefore, the continent of America was indeed an adequately populated area. The European colonizers conquered this vast land. It needs to be noted the flow of wind between Europe and America had long-term effect on the pattern of migration from Europe to America. Around the Tropic of Cancer, steady wind flow from Europe to America. This wind helped Columbus to reach America. A different set of wind flows from America to Europe in the north of Tropic. It prevented the sailors of England, France and the Netherlands to reach to America easily. They reached further north of America with greater effort. This pattern of invisible air currents had a dramatic differential effect on the fates of these two parts of the American continent, north and south. The circle of latitude that runs through the present day cities like Dallas or Texas (32 1/2° north), more or less follows the great divide created by the ocean winds. Below that line, Spain invaded and conquered America (except for Brazil, which fell to the Portuguese). In the early years, these people were a mixed group of soldiers, fortune seekers, clergies and penniless hidalgos. These last people did not like to do manual labour. The primary motive of these people was to collect mainly gold through plunder. The vast part of North America came to be colonized and eventually settled by the north Europeans. These men were mainly merchants and farmers in the early period of colonization. There was a marked difference between the Spanish attitude and English approach towards the indigenous people. The Spanish people simply considered the native Americans as slaves; the Englishmen on the contrary mostly considered the same group of people as devil worshippers and savages who were beyond salvation by the church. It was the basis of future policy of extermination towards the indigenous people in North America. (Koning 1993, 11-15).

The conquest and subsequent colonization of America – both north and south – was the territorial and ideological expansion of Europe in early modern era. It initiated the European type of urbanization as well as imposition of rules and regulations on the indigenous people in the interest of the colonizers. The entire process was ruthlessly organized. The first stage of the process was the establishment of territorial control over land while the second stage was the plunder of valuable metals like gold or silver. The conquest and colonization of Latin America by Spain reflected both the Spanish aspiration for aggression in particular and the contemporary European temperament of expansion in general. (Bethell 1984, 149-152). There were certain fundamental factors, which were responsible for the defeat of the so-called Indian tribes. First, these tribes lacked unity among themselves. It was a big advantage to the Europeans. Secondly, these indigenous communities did not have the immunity to resist the disease brought by the Europeans. The European aggression made these people vulnerable to small pox, tuberculosis and other diseases. It was a major threat to the question of survival of the so-called 'Red Indian' communities in America. Smallpox, for instance, played a major role in the final defeat of the Aztecs by Hernando Cortés. However, the most fundamental factor behind the defeat of the indigenous people of America was lack of technological development. The European technology, especially the war technology, was far superior to that of the Native Americans. These people did not possess iron or steel armour, gunpowder and horse. The defeat of the Native Americans were inevitable in the hands of the Europeans. (Koning 1993, 15).

The first exploitative expansion of Spain in America took place under the leadership of Columbus. He was the Governor of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) from 1493 and 1500. Columbus first tried to collect gold; however, this project was not very successful. The only result was that this venture of Columbus was responsible for the death of at least half million indigenous population. After the failure of the gold extraction adequately, Columbus turned towards slave trade. Nevertheless, it was not also very successful due to the quick death of the slaves. For the indigenous population, the governorship of Columbus was a period of massacre. The native population of the island committed mass suicide during this period. During the entire period Columbus was governor of the island, not one Native American was converted to the Catholic faith. By 1515, the entire territory from Cuba and Hispaniola in the west and Trinidad in the southeast, including the nearby coasts of South America and Central America went under the Spanish control. This territory – the Spanish possession in America – was commonly known as the Spanish Main. The entire gold of this region was transported to Spain by 1550. The indigenous population was nearly exterminated. At first most of the loot came

from Hispaniola. After that, Puerto Rico and Cuba headed the list. Every grain of gold, and later of silver, had to go to Spain-a Spaniard selling gold elsewhere could receive the death penalty. In Spain, the gold was weighed, registered by the clerks in the Casa de la Contratación in Seville, and locked in the famous Green Chest. Three keys were needed to open the chest; each was held by a different government official. Between 1503 and 1510, 4,965 kilos and 180 grams of gold were shipped from the islands to Seville. The impact of this shipment of huge amount of gold was not entirely favourable to the Spanish economy. It created price inflation first in the economy of Spain and then in entire Europe. The Spanish peasantry was the hardest hit of the Price Revolution. Spain invested a large chunk of this gold in war with the other European powers. Nevertheless, it did not bring expected profit to Spain. In 18th century, Spain was the most backward region of Europe. (Koning 1993, 15-24).

It needs to be pointed out that Spain built its American empire between 1519 and 1540 on the ruins of two native empires: the Aztec and the Inca. Hermán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro played the most important role in establishing the Spanish empire. While Cortés destroyed the Aztec empire, Pizarro took the responsibility of subduing the Incas. The conquerors fanned out over South America in the pursuit of El Dorado after capturing the vast land of South America. By 1540, the greatest era of the *conquista* was over. With the exception of Brazil, which went to the control of Portugal, almost entire South America became a Spanish possession. (Elliott 1963, 62-63). This vast expansion was theoretically justified by a special document known as *Requerimiento*, or "Requirement". It was document expounding the Spanish intention clearly before the indigenous people of America before any aggression. This document made the Spain's position completely unassailable from the legal point of view. It was drawn up by Spain's master jurist, Palacios Rubios, and after 1516 every Spanish expedition was required to carry a copy of it. The *Requerimiento* begins by stating that Christ gave St. Peter the task of governing the world, a task since handed down to the Popes, and that the present Pope had given all the islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea (that is, the Atlantic) to Spain. The *Requerimiento* then calls upon the Indians to acknowledge the Church, the Pope, and the king of Spain, and goes on, "If you do so, His Majesty will greet you with all love …, and leave your wives and children free .... He will not compel you to turn Christian unless you ... wish to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith. But if you do not, or if you maliciously delay in doing so, by the help of God, I will enter into your lands ... and I will take your wives and children and make slaves of them, and will sell them as such, and will take all your goods and do you all the mischief I can." This was the declaration of Spain before the indigenous population of America justifying its aggressive policies of exploitation and

colonization. Every Spanish captain was required to read this document to any Indians he planned to attack or enslave; he then had to give them time to ponder it. This was the legal basis for the Spanish Conquest in the New World. (Koning 1993, 27-28).

What was the social origin of the Spanish conquerors in the New World? These people mainly belonged to the gentry's class of the contemporary Spanish society. The upper strata of the aristocratic class did not however participate in the colonial conquest. The overseas expansion of Spain was highly profitable to the impoverished noble families. Cortés himself belonged to such family. These people was known as *Hidalgo* in Spain. The conquest was an opportunity to the impoverished nobles of the Spanish society to recover their economic prosperity from plunder in America. The predominance of these people created special characteristics in these expeditions as well as in the pattern of conquest. From Castile, these people carried ambitions, prejudices, habits and values in the New World. These Spanish men were professional soldiers: they loved adventure, war and plunder. They were ready to face any kind of hardship. Everything including the individual responsibilities of all expeditions were carefully and meticulously documented in legal language. These men also knew that if they survived in the expedition, they would collect huge amount of wealth. Moreover, the Spanish power enjoyed superior technological support over the indigenous people of America in absolute terms. It was because of this technological superiority of the European powers, the indigenous forces were destined to be destroyed. For example, Cortés landed on Cozumel (Cozumel is an island in the Caribbean Sea off the eastern coast of Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula, opposite Playa del Carmen) on March 4, 1519 with eleven ships and five hundred men. Thirteen of them had muskets and thirty-two carried crossbows. They had four small cannon, some bronze guns, and plenty of gunpowder and cannon balls. On the contrary, the indigenous powers of America did not have any idea of gunpowder. It created the most important difference between the Europeans and the Native Americans. To the Indians, the Spanish weapons were overwhelming. (Elliott 1963, 63-66; Koning 1993, 31-32). Therefore, the defeat of the indigenous forces before the Europeans was inevitable. Apart from the technological superiority, the *conquistadores* possessed high degree of self-confidence. The contemporary European civilization was the source of this self-confidence among the *conquistadores*. The Spanish conquerors faced the Inca Empire and the Aztec Empire: during the period of Spanish aggression, the Inca Empire was declining while the Aztec Empire was comparatively younger and undergoing evolution. These civilizations could not compared with the European civilizations in terms of risk taking mentality, adventure and self-confidence. Both the Aztec and the Inca Empires were in a position of offering least amount of resistance to the Europeans. These pre-modern American civilizations were bound to surrender before the *conquistadores* who were hungry for fame and wealth. (Elliott 1963, 66).

The Spanish adventurer devastated the Aztec Empire under the leadership of Cortés. The treasure collected from the Aztecs took three days to count. The Aztec king Montezuma failed to offer any leadership to his people for resistance. The fall of the Aztec power opened up the vast land of the New World for colonization. The Spanish conquerors then turned towards the Mayans. However, the Mayan people resisted the Spanish aggression strongly. The Mayans lived in the Yucatán peninsula. They were subjected to the rule of two Franciscos de Montejo as governors, first the father, then the son. Both were immensely cruel. Parts of the interior of the Yucatan nonetheless defended their freedom until the late 1600s. Finally, they were crushed by overwhelming military might, but they never surrendered their spiritual independence and never accepted Spanish as a language they had to learn. For the next four hundred years, Mexico was part of the Spanish empire. Nevertheless, the Native Americans did not vanish from the face of the earth, as they did in the Caribbean. They survived as peoples, desperately poor and with no human rights, but not as imitation Spaniards or assimilated Spaniards. (Koning 1993, 31-38).

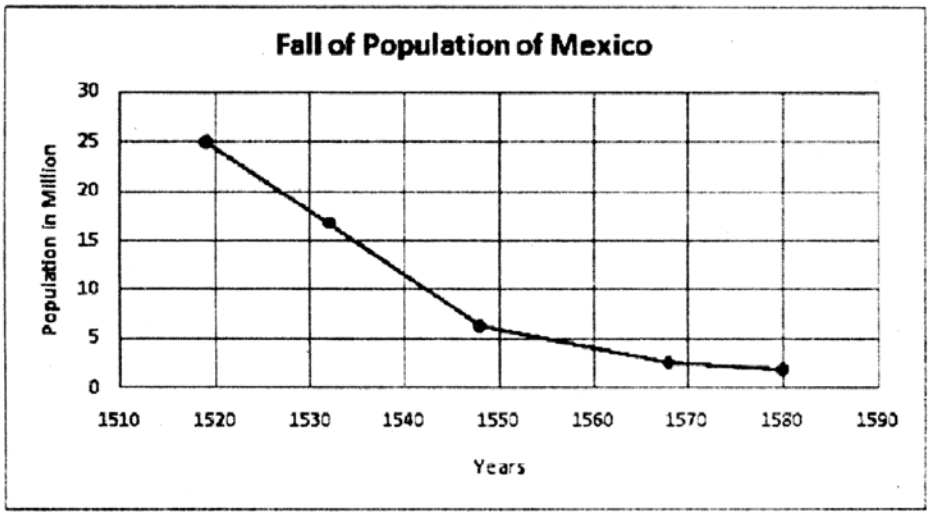
After conquering the vast land of Mexico, the Spanish power paid attention to the south of the New World. It covered the modern days Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador. It was ruled by the people called Incas. The Incas built a highly organized society over the years. The fundamental requirement of this society was the water regulation. Agriculture in the Inca society demanded that each field receive its proper share of water and no more, and that its slopes be terraced and maintained through communal effort. The Incas ruled the hierarchical society of this vast region. They called themselves as shepherds. Everybody of this society had to perform certain duties, and in lieu of it, the subjects enjoyed a number of privileges. It was class divided society; however, it was without hunger and poverty. The Inca society did not have any currency system; therefore, they preferred possibly the barter system. The Inca civilization possessed huge amount of gold and silver. These were used for the decoration of buildings and for very fine artefacts. These gold and silver brought the Spanish to the Inca territory. The leader of the Spanish invasion in the Inca Empire was Pizarro. The Incas like their Aztec counterpart had never seen the canons or horse. Pizarro invited the Inca king Atahualpa to his camp, killed all his companions and captured the Inca king. Atahualpa was told to provide ransom for himself, and he did. (Even the chronicles of deeds destroying whole nations become monotonous.) Gold and jewellery were brought from the entire country, rooms were filled with gold at his command. He was not freed, however. He was charged with treason in a mock trial and condemned to death. Baptized before his execution, he was given the Christian name Juan-for this took place on August 29, 1 533, the day of St. John the Baptist (Juan in Spanish). Then the executioner strangled

him. The entire Inca Empire except certain remote areas was now under the Spanish control. There was occurrence of sporadic resistance against the Spanish rule; nevertheless, it failed. The Spanish force plundered the vast region of South America. The ancient irrigation system was collapsed. Famine and small pox depopulated the Inca country. With the farmers gone, the vast fields of corn, beans, and sweet potatoes died. Coca leaves, which had only been used in religious ceremonies, were now distributed widely by the conquerors: opium for the people. The fundamental factors behind the defeat of the Incas were the superior European technology, European disease and treacherous activities of the *conquistadores.* (Koning 1993, 38-43).

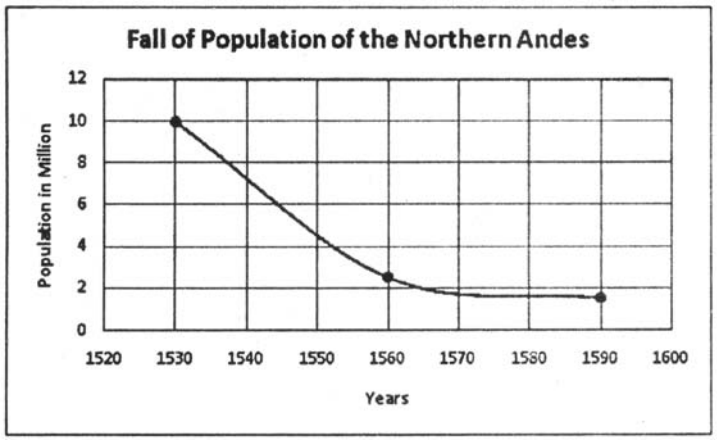
The reaction of the indigenous population of South America towards the Spanish conquest and the eventual colonization was varied and mixed. Nevertheless, there was growing deep trauma among the Inca and Aztec people regarding the Spanish invasion. The Spanish invasion in fact completely disrupted the existing course of development of the indigenous societies in the New World. It is difficult to ignore the fact that the Spanish conquerors defeated the indigenous people of South America psychologically. Therefore, the trauma of these defeated people was so deep and intense. The arrival and brutal aggression of the European powers in America were totally unexpected and unprecedented to the Aztec or Inca civilization. The Spanish victory was certainly helped by the political and ethnic divisions of the Indian world: the Aztec and Inca empires had themselves been built up by successive conquests. Certain groups saw the arrival of the invaders as an opportunity to free themselves of oppressive domination: thus it was the Indians themselves who provided Cortes and Pizarro with the bulk of their conquering armies, which were as large as the Aztec and Inka armies against which they fought. In Mexico the recently conquered Totonacs revolted against Moctezuma and allied themselves with the Spaniards, who subsequently received decisive support from the Tlaxcalans. In Peru, the Huascar faction rallied to Pizarro, and he also secured the assistance of groups such as the Carlaris or the Huancas who refused to accept the rule of the Incas. The outcome of the conflict did not depend only on the strength of the opposing forces: from the perspective of the defeated, the European invasion also contained a religious, even cosmic, dimension. Looting, massacres, fires: the Indians were living through the end of a world; defeat meant that the traditional gods had lost their supernatural power. The Aztecs believed themselves to be the chosen people of Huitzilopochtli, the Sun god of war; their mission was to bring under his rule the peoples surrounding Tenochtitlan on all four sides. Thus, the fall of the city meant infinitely more than just a military rout. It also ended the reign of the Sun god. Earthly life had henceforth lost all meaning, and since the gods were dead, it remained only for the Indians to die. (Bethell 1984, 210-211).

There was drastic fall of population in the entire South America due to the intrusion of the Europeans. It was indeed an unprecedented demographic collapse. The table below shows the fall of the population in South America during the Spanish conquest and colonization.

Population of Mexico	
Year	**Total Population**
1519	25.0 million
1532	16.8 million
1548	6.3 million
1568	2.65 million
1580	1.9 million



Population of The Northern Andes	
Year	**Total Population**
1530	10.0 million
1560	2.5 million
1590	1.5 million



The most important factor behind this drastic collapse of the indigenous population was the arrival of the European diseases like small pox, influenza, measles and plague with the European colonizers. These diseases almost destroyed the people of America. The small pox epidemic attacked the Aztec people in 1519. It weakened considerably the Aztec resistance to the Spanish force. The epidemic then spread throughout Central America and perhaps even as far as the Andes: in 15 24, even before Pizarro's first expedition, a strange disease, characterized as a sort of smallpox or measles, caused thousands of deaths (including that of the Inca Huayna Capac) in the Inca empire. In the years, 1529-34 measles again affected first the Caribbean, then Mexico and Central America. The notorious matlazahuatl devastated New Spain in 1545 and New Granada and Peru during the following year. In 1557 an ' influenza' epidemic, which came directly from Europe, hit Central America; in 1558-9 smallpox again spread to Peru. Matlazahuatl re-emerged in 1576 in Mexico. In addition, during the years 15 86-9 a triple epidemic of smallpox, plague and' influenza', emanating from Quito, Cuzco and Potosi, ravaged the whole of the Andes. This catastrophic period was coincided with the murderous oppression and the harsh tribute extraction. (Bethell 1984, 212-215). It is also assumed that the burden of Spanish tribute exaction was higher than that of the Incas. Moreover, there was complete erosion of the minimum redistributive mechanism of the pre-colonial era. Spanish rule resulted in a one-way transfer without reciprocity. While the system of payments (whether real or symbolic) in the Inca empire functioned within a balanced and circular structure, the Spanish tribute was unbalanced and unilateral. (Bethell 1984, 220-221).

2(b).3 Mining and plantation; the African slaves

The exploitative mechanism in Peru and Mexico under the Spanish colonial rule was based on the extraction of valuable minerals like gold and silver. Mining industry was

developed at fast pace in these regions using the cheap local labour. For over a century, the legendary Spanish *Flotas de Indias* brought huge amount of rich minerals to Europe: such force extraction in terms of quantity was truly unparalleled in the history of civilization. The share of the Spanish crown of these metals was more than twenty percent. It was directly transferred to the king's vault in Spain. The conquistadores shipped the remaining eighty percent of gold and silver to European market and it was invested in the trade of textiles, wine, weapons, furniture, jewels and so forth. (Cipolla 1976. P. 210-211).

The table below shows the import of gold and silver from America to Spain between 1503-10 and 1641-50.

Kilograms of Gold and Silver Allegedly Imported into Spain from the Americas, 1503 - 1650

Period	Silver	Gold
1503-10	—	4965
1511-20	—	9153
1521-30	149	4889
1531-40	86194	14466
1541-50	177573	24957
1551-60	303121	42620
1561-70	942859	11531
1571-80	1118592	9429
1581-90	2103028	12102
1591-1600	2707627	19451
1601-10	2213631	11764
1611-20	2192256	8856
1621-30	2145339	3890
1631-40	1396760	1240
1641-50	1056431	1549

(Source: Cipolla, Carlo M. *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976. P. 210)

Gold deposits were first mined in 1522 in the south-west region of Mexican City. Silver was discovered in Zumpango del Rio (1530), Sultepec (1531), and Taxco (1532). These mines were located in the south of Mexican City. The *conquistadors* paid special attention to the silver mines of Sultepec and Taxco because these areas were near to the city. The indigenous population had to provide labour power for extracting silver from the mines. Two distinct forms of arrangement of labour supply emerged in colonial Mexico. Firstly, the slavery was the first means to ensure labour supply to the mines. Possibly much of the slave labour was transferred from the gold mines. Some slaves had been taken in the wars of conquest, whereas others had been bought from *caciques* or other Spaniards. The important mines at Taxco and Sultepec eventually employed 100 to 150 slaves. Secondly, *encomienda* was the second form of institutional arrangement for supplying labour to the silver mines. It was grant of indigenous groups as *encomiendas* to individual conquistadors. It was considered as some kind of reward to the early colonizers. As early as the 1530s, the Taxco mine relied on compulsory labour from a wide geographic area. As part of their tributary obligations to their *encomenderos*, many indigenous people worked thirty-day shifts, during which time they had to supply their own sustenance. Others were rented by their *encomenderos* to other miners who did not have their own encomienda labourers. *Encomienda* labourers generally lacked training and therefore performed supplementary tasks such as hauling food and firewood to make charcoal. (Bulmer-Thomas, Coatsworth and Conde 2006, 315).

The Spanish state did not encourage the use of encomienda labour for personal services. In 1542 and 1549, the Spanish government officially prohibited it. Despite the government rules, the mining industry in south and central regions of New Spain continued to rely on the forced indigenous labour service. In the second half of the sixteenth century, they turned to a new method of recruitment, the *repartimiento*, whereby a percentage of indigenous males subject to the tribute rotated among mining entrepreneurs. Thus, the colonial state broadened access to indigenous work force to benefit those who had not received *encomiendas*. The indigenous people in the northern mining regions, however, strongly resisted the Spanish activities. It was because of this resistance movement the forms of labour were differently evolved in these areas. The local resistance was expressed in the form of revolt also: in 1540-42, the War of the Mixton spread in the northern regions. Nevertheless, the Spanish authorities were successful in developing gold mine at Xaltepec and silver mines at Espiritu Santo, Guachinango, Xocotl´an, and Etzatl´an. With the discovery of precious metals at Zacatecas in 1546 changed new features in the mining operations. The mine relied at first on indigenous slave labor. Its establishment set off the

prolonged War of the Chichimecas in which the region was embroiled from 1550 to 1600. Despite the occasional interruptions it caused, the war in general had two positive consequences for the mining industry. First, indigenous persons captured in combat could legally be made slaves, and could be put to work in the mines. Second, the war attracted southern indigenous groups such as the Tlaxcaltecas, Otomies, and Tarascos, who came to fight the Chichimecas but stayed as voluntary laborers, or *naborías*. (Bulmer-Thomas, Coatsworth and Conde 2006, 315-317). In the following table, the distribution of labour force in the mining industry is given:

Distribution of the types of manpower in the mining industry of New Spain, c. 1590

District	Black Slaves		Free Indian Wage Workers (*naborías*) (*repartimiento*)		Draft Indian Labour		Total
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	
Nueva España	892	14.6	3582	58.8	1619	26.6	6093
Zacatecas	200	9.3	1956	90.7	0	0	2156
Guadalajara	110	16.4	559	83.6	0	0	669
Guadiana	61	27.1	164	72.9	0	0	225
Total	1263	13.8	6261	68.5	1619	17.7	9143

(Source: Peter Bakewell, "Notes on the Mexican Silver Mining Industry in the 1590s," in Peter Bakewell, ed., *Mines of Silver and Gold in the Americas* (London, 1997), 184.

Taken from Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, John H. Coatsworth and Roberto Cort´es Conde (Eds.). *The Cambridge economic history of Latin America. Volume I. The Colonial Era and the Short Nineteenth Century.* Cambridge: CUP, 2006. P. 318)

The above table demonstrates that by the end of the 16th century there was a clear contrast in the composition of labour in the central south region – New Spain proper – where forced indigenous workers were key, and the mines of the north, which relied heavily on *naborías* and African slaves. African slaves were especially prized for their status as permanent labourers and were principally used in refining *haciendas.* We must remember that the development of mining industry in South America was entirely based on the use of indigenous labour while the Spaniards appropriated the profit. (Bulmer-Thomas, Coatsworth and Conde 2006, 322)

Another important aspect of the colonial economy of Latin America was the growth of plantation economy, especially in Brazil. The Portuguese focused, initially, on growing sugar cane and manufacturing sugar for export from the region. At the initial stage, they used local labours. Nevertheless, this practice was stopped due to a number of reasons: the resistance of the local people or the pestilence caused by the contagious diseases. It compelled the Portuguese to import slaves from Africa. The principal commodity in the plantation economy under the Portuguese power was sugar cane. From sugar cane, the sugar was manufactured and eventually exported to the outer world. The development of plantation economy in colonial Brazil was fundamentally associated with the process of colonization of the entire region. It was part of the establishment of Portuguese royal supremacy in Brazil, the elimination and enslavement of the indigenous population and the transformation of the principal economy from dyewood cutting to sugar-cane agriculture. In fact, it was within the critical hundred years between 1580 and 1680, Brazil became the world's largest producer and exporter of sugar. The colonial society in Brazil under the Portuguese occupation was formed – the very foundation of which was the plantation economy and sugar. The colonial society was formed with the three distinct classes: the white Europeans (supposed to be the absolutely superior in all sense of the term) at the top, the tan-coloured mixed people at the middle tire of the society and the black slaves at the lowest strata of the society (supposed to be the most inferior people). By 1580 Brazil, with a population of some 60,000 of whom 30,000 were Europeans, had become a colony of settlement, but of a peculiar kind. It was a tropical plantation colony capitalized from Europe, supplying European demand for a tropical crop and characterized by a labour system based on the enslavement first of American Indians and then of imported African workers. (Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, John H. Coatsworth and Roberto Cort´es Conde 2006, p. 122; Bethell 1987, 67-68)

The factors – climatic, geographical and economic – required for the production of sugar cane were readily available in the Pernambuco and Bahia. These two areas became the primary centres of sugar cane production in colonial Brazil. Brazilian planters favoured the thick black and dark red massapé soils whose fertility obviated the need for fertilizer. The required rainfall of 1,000-2,000 mm was found in the coastal region of Brazil. The growth of sugar industry was striking in colonial Brazil. For example, there was 60 engenhos (engenhos is a colonial-era Portuguese term for a sugar cane mill) in 1570. Out of 60 engenhos, Pernambuco and Bahia had 23 and 18 respectively. According to the available reports between 1583 and 1585, during the next fifteen years the number of mills appears to have almost doubled. The rate of growth in Pernambuco, 8.4 per cent per annum, was considerably more than in Bahia, but the industry's growth in both captaincies was striking.

The rapid expansion of the sugar industry in colonial Brazil was due to the low production cost of sugar cane, the steady rise of price of sugar in the European market and the availability of capital investment. The plantation lobby was also extremely powerful in Brazil. For example, the first legislation against Indian slavery appeared in 1570. Nevertheless, it seems to have been successfully circumvented by the planters so that large numbers of Indians were still available as ' cheap' labour. It was also during this period that a regular slave trade from Angola and Guinea to Brazil was established. (Bethell 1987, 69).

The engenho – the central aspect of the sugar production in colonial Brazil – was a complex combination of land, technical skills, coerced labour, management, and capital. Sugar production was a peculiar activity because it combined an intensive agriculture with a highly technical, semi-industrial mechanical process. The need to process sugar cane in the field meant that each engenho was both a factory and a farm demanding not only a large agricultural labour force for the planting and harvesting of the cane but also an army of skilled blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and technicians who understood the intricacies and mysteries of the sugar-making process. In the initial period, the Portuguese planters used the indigenous labour. However, the series of epidemics devastated the population structure of Brazil in the decades of 1560s. The indigenous people also showed aversion to the sugar plantation in many ways including stiff resistance. The royal authority in Spain was not in favour of using the indigenous people as slaves in the sugar plantation system due to the pressure created by the Jesuits. The first prohibition was issued in 1570 and after the Iberian union further laws were promulgated in 1595 and 1609. All these factors contributed to the use of the African slaves in the Brazilian plantation economy. The transition from Indian to African labour, although under way from the 1570s on, was slow and not fully achieved in the plantation economic system until the third decade of the 17th century. Despite the paucity of statistical data, it can be estimated that about 4,000 slaves a year were imported between 1570 and 1630 and that there was a total African slave population of 13,000—15,000 in the colony by 1600. The level of imports rose to 7,000—8,000 a year until 1680, when the total slave population was about 150,000. In the first half of the 18th century Bahia took some 5,000—8,000 slaves a year. Rio de Janeiro received 156,638 from Luanda alone between 1734 and 1769. By the 18th century, slaves composed about half of the population in the north-eastern captaincies, but in sugar-growing regions, they often constituted between 65 and 70 per cent of the inhabitants. Throughout the first half of the 17th century a slave could produce enough sugar to recover his original cost in between thirteen and sixteen months, and, even after the steep rise of slave prices after 1700, replacement value could be earned in 30 months. Thus, there was little incentive to ameliorate the conditions of labour or to change the existing

manner of slave management. The engenhos consumed slaves and the slave trade replaced them. Finally, the pattern of the slave trade had two other effects: one demographic and the other cultural. Because mortality seems to have been particularly high among the newly-arrived *(bocal*) slaves, high levels of importation, together with the sexual imbalance, tended to create a self-perpetuating cycle of importation and mortality throughout most of the period under discussion. Moreover, the constant arrival of newly enslaved blacks tended to reinforce African culture in Brazil. There was creation of distinct cultural pattern in the changing social structure of colonial Brazil because of the process of sugar plantation and introduction of the African people as slaves. (Bethell 1987, 76-87).

2(b).4 Conclusion

The establishment of the European colonial hegemony in the New World, that is, America, completely changed the indigenous socio-economic and political structure and cultural practices dramatically. It is difficult to deny that it was devastating to the existing civilization of America. The Spanish aggression created widespread panic and horror among the native people of the newly conquered regions of America. The indigenous people suffered not only from economic disasters, but also from epidemics and diseases. The old social fabric was almost entirely destroyed. Both mining and plantation brought new exploitative features in the societies of Spanish America and Portuguese Brazil. Gold and silver sent to Spain created the so-called Price Revolution in Europe. Brazil became the centre of world sugar production. The arrival of the African people added new social and cultural dimensions in the Brazilian society. This part of the globe was first colonized in the history of civilization. It was a period when the Indian subcontinent witnessed the rise of the Mughal power, Iran saw the rise of the Safavid empire and Turkey got the Ottoman rule. This broad comparison shows how early these regions were colonized. We may conclude by saying that many of the features of underdevelopment and dependency originated in Latin America during this period.

2(b).5 Model Questions

1. Write briefly on the process of conquest of America.
2. What were the effects of colonization on America?
3. Describe the various aspects of the mining activities in America under the Spanish rule.

4. Briefly analyse the development of plantation economy in Brazil under Portugal.
5. Write a short note on the African slaves in Brazil.

2(b).6 Suggested Readings

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, John H. Coatsworth and Roberto Cort´es Conde (Eds.). *The Cambridge economic history of Latin America. Volume I. The Colonial Era and the Short Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: CUP, 2006.

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Block - III

Renaissance

Unit-3(a) □ Meaning of Renaissance

Structure

3(a).0 Objectives

3(a).1 Introduction

3(a).2 The Interpretation of Jacob Burckhardt

3(a).3 The Recent Interpretations of the Renaissance

3(a).4 Conclusion

3(a).5 Model Questions

3(a).6 Suggested Readings

3(a).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the Renaissance:

- The general meaning of the term Renaissance
- The interpretation of Jacob Burckhardt
- The recent historical arguments and fresh interpretation about the Renaissance

3(a).1 Introduction

The study of early modern Europe is intimately associated with the analysis of a number of themes, of which the Renaissance occupies the central position. Even the Renaissance is seen to be a major break in the medieval continuity of the European civilization. It is supposed to be associated with regeneration and reassessment of the self and the society with a new outlook that accompanied the passage of Europe from the middle ages to the modern era. In other words, it initiated the process of break with the medieval past of Europe. The formulation of the modern concept of the Renaissance owes much to Rationalist and Romantic intellectual movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, a period during which historical studies became more systematized. The 18th century Enlightenment scholars discovers progressive evolution in history: the Renaissance is a part of this developmental process of history. This line of argument is evident in the writings of Voltaire. In his *Essay on the Manners and the Spirit of Nations* (1756), Voltaire compares the cultural formation in ancient Greece and growth of the Renaissance culture in the 15th century Italy (Caferro 2011, 2). Thus, Voltaire develops comparative historical sociology in assessing the changes taken place in 15th century Italy. The 19th century European scholars views the intense cultural changes in the 15th century Italy as the so-called Renaissance. In the 20th century, the historians make effort to understand the meaning of the Renaissance from new perspectives, which produces different interpretations. In this unit, we will try to analyse the changing meaning of Renaissance over the years.

The 16th century Italians were unaware of the term Renaissance. The Italian word *rinascita* ('rebirth') was used in the 16th century to refer to the revival of classical culture. The word renaissance was not used in France before the mid-19th century. Jules Michelet first used this word in 1855 in his *La Renaissance.* To him the Renaissance represented a progressive, democratic condition that celebrated the great virtues he valued – Reason, Truth, Art, and Beauty. According to Michelet, the Renaissance 'recognized itself as identical at heart with the modern age'. He was the first who characterized the Renaissance as a specific period in history. More interestingly, he placed the Renaissance in 16th century, and not in the 14th-15th centuries Italy. As a French nationalist, he wanted to see the Renaissance as a French phenomenon presenting a progressive value and outlook. As a republican he also rejected the 14th century Italy's admiration for church and political tyranny as deeply undemocratic. It could not be a part of the spirit of the Renaissance. Michelet was in fact in search of the ideal values of the French Revolution – spirit of freedom and dignity of human being – in the Renaissance. The values he searched was not accomplished in the French Revolution. This failure provoked him to study the Renaissance from a particular point of view (Brotton 2005, 9-11).

3(a).2: The Interpretation of Jacob Burckhardt

Jacob Burckhardt is the pioneer in the study of Renaissance. In 1860, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* came out offering a systematic study of the theme for the first time. Burckhardt was highly original in his methodology breaking the stereotypes of

conventional political narrative. Ferguson shows that Burckhardt preferred to treat the entire civilization as a unit. He tried to understand the totality of civilization and its central problem from different angles through parallel discussions. This philosophical understanding of Burckhardt produces a coherent picture about the civilization of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, this picture could also be static as he considered the spirit of civilization as epistemologically constant. Burckhardt believed neither in chronological narrative nor in philosophical construction. What he presented description with intuitive interpretation in his analysis. It was a description of the different layers of history in given point of time as something constant. Therefore, his analysis is brilliant, but it lacks consciousness of history: the Burckhardtian approach does not take into account the evolution of history against the backdrop of the time. And all of Burckhardt's thought was based on the tacit assumption that there was a peculiar mentality, character or spirit, common to the whole nation in a given age. Significantly, he was interested not about the accuracy of sources but about the point of view expressed in the sources. Ferguson reminds us that Burckhardt's perception of the inner spirit of a civilization, which was at once the chief aim of his research and his sole guide to the selection and evaluation of sources, was based on nothing more than his own intuition and his undoubted familiarity with the literature of his chosen fields. In *The Civilization of Renaissance in Italy*, Burckhardt tried to discover the inner spirit of Italy during the period of Renaissance. It is also noted that the subtitle of his classic work '*An Essay*' was not merely the product of his accustomed ironical modesty. It reflects the fact that he did not have any plan to write a comprehensive history of the Renaissance in Italy or a reference book on the Italian Renaissance; rather, it was the exploration of a very distinct idea, that is, the very spirit of a new culture and civilization in Italy, which came to be termed as the Renaissance. According to Burckhardt, the new spirit of civilization in Italy during the period under review was fundamentally based on the idea of Renaissance individualism: it was the central hypothesis of his argument. Burckhardt believed that the Renaissance individual had a conscious dependence on his own power and capability for achieving certain aims. It wanted to break the shackles of inherited values on the one hand and made effort to acquire moral autonomy that would ensure emancipation of the spirited liberty of self of an individual (Ferguson 1943, 273-283).

Apart from considering the development of 'Renaissance individual' as one of the fundamental traits of the Renaissance civilization in Italy, Burkhardt also placed adequate importance on the revival of antiquity and its profound impact on the formation of the

Renaissance civilization. However, he also reminded us that the revival of antiquity was not the solo factor behind the development of the Renaissance culture. It was the union of the classical antiquity with the ingenious spirit of the Italian people that created the very essence of the Renaissance. Both Ferguson (Ferguson 1943, 283-284) and Peter Burke (Burke 1998, 2) point out that it was not the revival antiquity alone but its combination with the Italian 'spirit', which underlay the Renaissance. Burckhardt argued that the emerging civic life in Italy during 14th – 15th centuries required a new culture of culture, outlook and way of life along with sense of beauty. The antiquity provided all these elements to the Renaissance Italy. The Humanists were the protagonists of the new cultural pattern in the 14th-15th century Italy. They were a new class and propagated the traits of individualism and secularism. The culture and civilization of the Italian Renaissance were based on these two key aspects: individualism and modernity, according to Burckhardt (Ferguson January, 1943). In other words, the inauguration of a new type of society which appreciated the individual's rights, responsibilities and achievements and which recognized culture as a marker in Italy was the prime concern of Burckhardt.

The modern researches point out a number of limitations in Burckhardt's analysis. One of the basic weaknesses in his analysis is that it is static and devoid of the dynamics of societal developmental process against the background of time. Burckhardt put emphasis only on the 'spirit' of the Renaissance culture and analysed it from different angels. He in fact discovered the existence of spirit of new culture in the idea of individualism and modernity on the one hand and assimilation of antiquity in the Italian urban culture on the other hand. This argument seems to be more sociological and less historical. Burckhardt also placed the modern against the medieval as a sharp contrast and complete departure. It also appears to be unhistorical in the light of modern researches. There were vivid evidences of continuities in the historical tradition of the so-called 'Renaissance Italy'. Burckhardt actually imposed his own notion of modernity, individualism and secularism on the civilization of the Renaissance.

The seven-volume work entitled *The Renaissance in Italy* (1875–86) by John Addington Symonds could be regarded as another major contribution in understanding the Renaissance. Like Burckhardt, Symonds equated the Renaissance with the emergence of modernity, whose salient characteristics were the birth of "liberty" and "political freedom," the power of "self-determination," recognition of the beauty of the outer world and of the

body through art, the liberation of "reason" in science and "conscience" in religion and the restoration of the "culture to intelligence" (Caferro 2011, 5-6).

Two scholars raise serious questions about the validity of the Burckhardt's assessment on the Renaissance. They were the Dutch historian Johann Huizinga and his American counterpart Charles Homer Haskins. Huizinga in his *Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919) argues that some of the features of the Renaissance culture in Italy were operative in the Burgundian Netherlands in the 14th and 15th centuries. The artistic expressions, evolution of new domain of knowledge and desire for fame and honour were all present in the Netherlands during the period under review. But Huizinga considers it not as the dawn of a new Renaissance culture but as the autumn of middle ages: these cultural expressions were related to the medieval ethic of chivalry and response to the devastating effects of the Black Death in 1348. The American historian Charles Homer Haskins advances the theory of 12th century Renaissance. He points out that there were ample evidences of the advent of new artistic culture, the rise of vernacular literature, revival in the interest in classics, recovery of Greek science and the beginning of universities and new legal systems. Moreover, the scope of the 12th century Renaissance was not limited to Italy: it had an international character (Caferro 2011, 8-9). Colin Morris discovers the growth of individualism in Europe during the 10th and 12th centuries. He in his *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* argues that the advent of individualism in the 12th century was a transformative event. It was a completely western phenomenon generating unconventional cultural formations (Caferro 2011, 10).

3(a).3: The Recent Interpretations of the Renaissance

The 20th century witness the fresh interpretations of the Renaissance offering critique of the Burckhardt's position and incorporating new outlook. These new interpretations question the degree and extent of the Renaissance's contribution in creating the break between the medieval and modern periods. The new understanding is also more or less sceptical about the profound importance of humanism, individualism and modernity as it was appreciated by Burckhardt in the 19th century. More emphasis is put on the question of transition from medieval to modern era and the role of the Renaissance in it. The first proponent of this interpretation is Wallace K. Ferguson in the decades of 1940s and 1950s. Ferguson argues that the Renaissance grew out of the Middle Ages unfolding the

process of transition towards a modern, urban and secular culture in Europe. According to Ferguson, the Renaissance was neither a method nor an outlook: it was a specific time or phase in history of Europe. It was very distinctly different from the medieval culture heading towards modern one. It was between 1300 and 1600 Europe witnessed the transition from a civilization that was predominantly feudal, ecclesiastical, and agrarian to one that was predominantly national, urban, and secular, with its economic centre of gravity shifted from agriculture to commerce and industry. The period of the Renaissance was essentially a transitional period from medieval to modern with its own distinctive features. Professor Denys Hay extends this interpretation of Ferguson further. He admits that it was a period of transition from medieval to modern with certain discrete features. Politically it was the age of alliance of dynastic monarchy and the urban propertied class with the emerging bourgeois political values. The previous age was dominated by the feudal landed magnets. As far as the economic system was concerned, the Renaissance period stood between the medieval feudal mode of production and the modern industrial capitalism. In the realm of culture, the age of Renaissance was a mixed formation of antiquity and new urbanity. Hay reminds us that the Renaissance was not a prototype of the modern era; rather it was a continuation of the Middle Ages.

In 1953, Hans Baron offers a fresh interpretation of the Renaissance. He argues that the Florence and Venice forged alliance against Milan in search of freedom, and it prepared the way for the formation of a new type of civic liberty. The independent city-states also emerged in Italy out of this struggle. These city-states were the fertile ground of the Renaissance culture and thought. Renaissance. It was the coexistence of republican and monarchical states side by side in a working balance of power, says Baron, which provided the basis of Renaissance culture, and in a sense made Italy of the fifteenth century the prototype of the modern world. As far as the economic condition of the period of the Renaissance was concerned, the scholars like Michael Postan and Robert Lopez point out that the period of Renaissance could be characterized not by the economic prosperity but by the economic crisis. Postan shows that -through the use of wage data, land values, rents, and production rates - that population, trade, silver mining, grain production, and cloth production all declined markedly in 14th and 15th centuries England. Several other historians similarly come to the same conclusion. Robert Lopez makes a detailed review of the question of economy and the development of Renaissance civilization. He points out that there was a sharp population fall in the 14th century, especially in the cities. There were

disruptions of older trade routes. War and diseases contributed to the occurrence of famine and unrest. All these contributed to the shrinkage of market, fall of land prices and decline of urban industries. The 14th century Italy was the hardest hit of this economic crisis. According to Lopez, it was the hard times for Italy. The Italian aristocrats and the ruling classes invested their capital in culture during the period of economic crisis as there was no option for investment in trade. Thus, economic stagnation contributed positively the Renaissance cultural formation in 14th century Italy. Carlo M. Cipolla points out that the economic recovery took place in Italy in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. E.A. Kosminsky completely refutes the theory of economic crisis in 14th century Italy by saying that this period witnessed economic progress.

Apart from the debate between 'crisis' and 'prosperity' in 14th century Italy, the nature of humanism was another central aspect related to the meaning of the Renaissance. A number of scholars considers humanism as the most crucial element in the Renaissance culture which liberated it from the bondage of religious ideology and introduced modernity and secularism in it. The recent scholarship however does not view humanism as something free from the Christianity. The Renaissance humanism had definitive religious connotation but it was not medieval in nature. Eugenio Garin is one of the advocates of this new interpretation. The Renaissance humanism believed, according to Garin, in the ideological and literary criticism with anti-scholastic mentality and attitude. Hans Baron argues that the Florentine civic humanism was the most crucial factor behind the birth of the Renaissance culture. Paul Oskar Kristeller interprets humanism as an educational curriculum rather than a guide to active life. He emphasizes on the humanism's attention to the grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy. So humanism was more related to the study of different streams of knowledge rather than a religious ideology. Hiram Haydn develops a completely new understanding of the Renaissance civilization based on new kind of periodization. He finds three distinct intellectual-artistic movements in the evolution of the culture of Renaissance: the classical Renaissance in the 15th century, the Counter-Renaissance in the 16th century and the Scientific Reformation in the 17th century. The classical Renaissance exalted ethical and moral teachings and held learning and reason in high regard. The 16th century, Haydn argues, was not a continuation of these Renaissance traits but a rejection of them. The "Counter-Renaissance," with its anti-intellectualism, anti-moralism, anti-authoritarianism "repudiated reason as the 'devil's Harlot.' Finally, reason

and empiricism were once more united in a sort of Hegelian synthesis in the 17th century "Scientific Reformation" (Jensen 1964).

All these critical appreciations of the Renaissance culture and civilization certainly tone down the degree and extent of the break from the European medieval history due to Renaissance. It was rather a significant reorientation and matured expression of an advanced civilization already two or three centuries old. Even humanism was not, as many historians argue, a rival philosophy which displaced scholasticism during the Renaissance. The humanist culture did not produce a new philosophy to replace scholasticism, which continued not only to exist but also to develop along the lines that were intellectually sound and philosophically fruitful (Nauert 1995, 3-4). It is also important to note that the humanists were not a homogenous group: they could speak with several voices (Hay 1975, 15).

The recent scholarships make effort to broaden the perspectives of the term Renaissance. The dominant historiography generally considers the Renaissance as an Italian affair or more precisely an affair of the Italian city states. This limited arena is now being expanded in order to incorporate the formation of the Renaissance culture in other parts of Europe: northern Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, the Islamic world, south-east Asia, and Africa. Therefore, the period since the early modern era had been witnessing series of Renaissances with specific and separate characteristics. These other Renaissances often overlapped and exchanged influences with the more classical and traditionally understood Renaissance centred on Italy. The Renaissance was a remarkably international, fluid, and mobile phenomenon, according to the latest researches. The most general consensus among the historians is that the Renaissance was a profound transformation in culture, politics, art, and society in Europe between the years 1400 and 1600. The term comes from the French for 'rebirth'. Since the 19th century it has been used to describe the period in European history when the rebirth of intellectual and artistic appreciation of Graeco-Roman culture gave rise to the individualism on the one hand and the social and cultural institutions of the modern western world on the other hand. The art historians, the literary scholars and the historians sharply differ from each other over the issue of exact periodization of the Renaissance. The art historians prefer to present the Renaissance between the 13th century and the 16th century, that is, the art of Giotto and Cimabue as the starting point and the work of Michelangelo and Venetian painters like Titian as the ending point. The Anglo-American literary scholars search the period of the Renaissance

in the rise of vernacular English literature in the 16th and 17th centuries in the poetry and drama of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. The historians take a very different position in this question. They categorize the period between 1500 and 1700 not as a period of the Renaissance but as early modern era (Brotton 2005, 8-9).

The early modern era witnessed profound exchanges between the Islamic civilization of the east and the Christian civilization of the west. So far as the Renaissance was concerned, the boundary between these two great civilizations was fuzzy. Regular exchanges not only of goods but also of ideas and thought between the east and the west enriched both in spite of political rivalry. Their shared cultural heritage of a contested classical past led to new achievements that we now recognize as typically Renaissance. Gerald MacLean (MacLean 2005) reminds us that a shift in the understanding of the nature of the Renaissance is necessary – it should be a shift from highlighting only the western origin of the Renaissance to considering the contribution of the east in it. The most important point is that there were continuous cultural exchanges between the east and the west in the early modern era, which played a significant role in the formation of the Renaissance culture. The traditional historiographical approach equates Renaissance with the revival of antiquity, development of an urban culture in the Italian city-states and the spread of this new cultural formation in the northern and western Europe. As a result of the progress of the new culture in different parts of Europe, the social attitudes, values and mentalities were transformed. The Renaissance was a great advancement in the field of art, literature, science and technology during the early modern period. It also contributed to the development of self-knowing and self-actualizing individual in Europe during this period. It was for the first time in history, the dignity and honour of individual came to be recognized with appreciation. This is the dominant meaning of the Renaissance in the conventional historiography. The scholars like Gerald MacLean makes effort to reorient the causal origin of the Renaissance and its meaning towards the exchanges and communications of Europe with the eastern civilizations chiefly dominated by the Islam. What MacLean opines is nothing but orientalising the very concept of Renaissance, which is a western construct. The list of eastern contributions in the progress of early modern Europe was highly impressive: gunpowder, paper and woodblock printing, the Arabic numerals and the decimal system, the Arabic works of astrology, mathematics, medicine, philosophy and logic etc. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 and the fall of Granada to Catholic Spain in 1492 accelerated the process of exchanges of both commodities and ideas between the

east and the west. Moreover, Europe experienced the revival of classical antiquity during this period specifically. Therefore, the eastern influences got assimilated with the western antiquity and vernacular cultures in Italy first and in the rest of Europe thereafter. The meaning of Renaissance could not be found in the single homogenous stream of the European civilization alone. The roots of Renaissance are therefore multiple and heterogenous representing many voices.

3(a).4 Conclusion

The Renaissance and its meaning have undergone many changes over the years. The historians and the social scientists differ sharply over the questions of periodization, popular participation, role of the elites, artistic expression, role of the Christianity, the theory of investment in culture, the gender perspectives etc. With the changing time and space, the Renaissance acquires new meanings and interpretations. Some historians emphasize on the question of break between the middle age and the modern era while some others draw our attention to the importance of the 12th century cultural formations. The previous generation historians point out the revival of the classical antiquity and its impact on the Renaissance culture. The new group of social scientists make effort to highlight the exchanges of not only of commodities but also of ideas between the east and west and its contributory role in the formation of a specific type of culture commonly known as the Renaissance. Now there is a clearly noticeable shift in the interpretation of the Renaissance. The scholar like Joan Kelly in the influential paper, “Did Women Have a Renaissance?” raises critical issues on the Renaissance from the perspective of gender question. From this brief summary, it is clear that there are expansive new as well as contested frontiers of the meaning of the Renaissance in the world of academia. Our responsibility is to interrogate these contested meaning of the very term ‘Renaissance’.

3(a).5 Model Questions

1. How have the historians interpreted the Renaissance?
2. Write an essay on the meaning and nature of the Renaissance.
3. What is the argument of Jacob Burckhardt on the Renaissance?
4. Make an assessment of the Burckhardt’s interpretation of the Renaissance.

5. Write a short note on the argument of Johann Huizinga and Charles Homer Haskins regarding the Renaissance.
6. What are the basic propositions of the recent historiographical critique of the Renaissance?

3(a).6 Suggested Readings

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Unit-3(b) □ Its Social Roots

Structure

3(b).0 Objectives

3(b).1 Introduction

3(b).2 The Italian City-States and the Urban Environment

3(b).2 The City-States, Classes and Culture

3(b).3 Conclusion

3(b).4 Model Questions

3(b).5 Suggested Readings

3(b).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present units are to understand the social roots of the Italian Renaissance. This unit will explore the following points to explain the social roots of the Italian Renaissance:

- The urban environment of the Italian city states and its relationship with the Renaissance
- The class structure of the city states of Italy
- The cultural configuration of the Italian city states

3(b).1 Introduction

In the earlier unit, we have discussed the meaning of the Renaissance with an emphasis on the shifts and changes that it encounters. It is now clear to us that the very word 'Renaissance' could be interpreted from various angels. In other words, there could be multiple interpretations of the Renaissance indicating both the rich and complex formation and content of it. Despite the fact that the historians discovered multiple meanings within the Renaissance, however, there was a common dominant trait in the evolving Renaissance identity: this common dominant trait was the rise of individual in such a society which was

still dominated by the notion of community. This individual as socially recognizable identity emerged in the urban milieu of 14th – 15th century Italy. In other words, the development of urban environment was the precondition of the birth of Renaissance individual. The roots of the Renaissance must be traced in the changing urban milieu of the Italian city-states of the 14th-15th centuries. It provided the required environment suitable for development of art and culture.

The history of Italy between 1300 and 1550 could be characterized as the history of the Renaissance Italy. However, the modern researches show that the Italian history encompasses more than the cultural Renaissance on the one hand; the Renaissance was also not confined within Italy on the other hand. therefore, the it is necessary to understand the history of Italy for a proper assessment of the perspectives or contexts of the Renaissance. The period between 1300 and 1550 was a period of relative autonomy and liberty in the history of Italy: before 1300 Germany and France tried to dominate the peninsula, after 1530, Spain made well-planned inroads in Italy. The Holy Roman Empire controlled north-central Italy and the emperor Fredric I (Barbarossa) and his grandson Fredric II imposed war on Italy to subdue the cities of north and north-west Italy between 1150s to 1250s. This century long conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the Italian city-states finally came to an end in the decade of 1260s. Nevertheless, this prolonged war gave birth to the sharp division of the Italian elites into two warring camps: pro-imperial Ghibellines and anti-imperial, pro-papal Guelfs. The opposition was led by the papacy, which forged a coalition of Guelf parties in central and northern Italy with Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France. Charles assembled an army, crushed the Hohenstaufen at Benevento in 1266, and created the Angevin kingdom of Sicily and Naples. The financial support in the form of loan for organizing the army was provided by the Florentine Guelf bankers. Charles's power extended to the centre and north through the network of Guelf parties, and the for the Angevin-French influence became the dominant one in the subsequent phases of Italian politics and culture. The revolt in Sicily (1282) forced Charles to Naples, and under Robert (r. 1309-43) Angevin rule gradually ceased to be a foreign implant. France was forced to leave Italy as she was getting involved in war with England between 1310-13. Clement V, who was by origin a French, left Italy in 1309. He transferred the papacy from Rome to Avignon in south of France. For the next seventy years, Catholicism was directed from outside of Rome and Italy. All these developments

freed Italy from external influences, provided autonomy and set the conditions for the future political, social and cultural changes (Najemy 2004, 1-2).

3(b).2 The Italian City-States and the Urban Environment

It is generally agreed that city-states and the urban environment in Italy in the 14th and 15th centuries played a significant role in the cultural transformations that the Italian experienced and is commonly known as the Renaissance in the historical discourse. The cities and towns in Italy were directly associated with the thriving commercial economy and expansion of trade and commerce along with the rise of the merchant class. The growing trade gave birth to a rich elite class from which the sponsorships of art and culture came. From the 10th century to the 14th century, the Italian city-states prospered from the growing trading activities in the Mediterranean regions and Western Europe. Some historians call it the commercial revolution. Though there are others who express doubts about the casting this trading activities as commercial revolution, nevertheless the growth of trade and its resultant prosperity in the Italian city-states could not be ignored or underestimated. By 1100, the trade in and around Italy, had become transcontinental and trans-Mediterranean indicating the gradual incorporation of the agrarian sectors of Europe within its domain. Genoa, Pisa and Venice started enjoying the leading role in the commercial revolution of the later middle ages. The Roman towns were never completely disappeared or destroyed in the medieval era, and now with the growth of trade-based economy and of prosperity, the cities and towns attracted the rural population. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the towns or cities were forced to enlarged their walls. The walls of Florence begun at the end of the thirteenth century, in expectation of a continuing high rate of growth, enclosed an area almost fifteen times the area enclosed two centuries earlier. This rapid urbanization indicates the growth of industrial production and spurt of regional trading activities in Italy in the beginning of the early modern era. The Italian traders were benefitted from its connection with the agrarian economy of Europe, which was slowly evolving on the one hand and the imperial economy of the eastern world on the other hand. the economy of the eastern world dominated by the Byzantium empire and the Islamic civilization had already developed administrative and judicial system for conducting trade in a smooth way. The urban trading economy of early modern Italy was benefitted from the agrarian recovery of northern and western Europe and also from the imperial economy of the eastern world. The eastern merchants exported silks, paper, metalwork, ceramics, and rugs, spices,

perfumes, incense, medicines, sugar, and precious and semiprecious stones to Europe, and the Italian merchants played a significant role in it. The European traders exported furs, timber, metals, wool, cloth and slaves to the eastern world. The most significant point is that in the early years of this trade in 10th or 11th centuries, the balance of payment of foreign trade was not in favour of Europe. However, with the gradual development of the Europe's economy in the 12th and 13th centuries, the manufacturing sector was improving considerably. For example, the Italian silk industry was developed substantially during this period. Sicily, Venice and Florence were the major centres of the silk production. The silk industry in late medieval era saw a two-stage development. In the first stage, the raw silk was imported to Italy from the Levant; in the second stage, the raw silk was produced in Italy and Spain as a result of the diffusion of sericulture. Finally, in the 14th century, the Italian merchants started exporting silk to the foreign markets including the Levant. This development pattern of industry was also manifested in the other areas of production like paper, soap, cotton etc. All these products—silk, paper, ceramics, soap, glass, sugar, skins, alum—which had been the staples of the Italian import trade from the Levant at the beginning of the commercial revolution, by the fifteenth century were being produced by the Italians themselves or imported from elsewhere. (Goldthwaite 2009, 3-7).

All these economic activities made Italy the pioneer in the trading sector of Europe. Sometimes, it is ascribed as the commercial revolution. The implication of this term is that the Italians traders achieved high level of sophistications so far as transaction of the commodities as well as the methods of accounting were concerned. In other words, it was not simply increase in the volume of trade; rather, it was attainment of precision and efficiency in the trading activities in order to reduce cost as well as risk. The Italians achieved it in between 12th and 13th centuries. Moreover, they developed a culture, which may be termed as bourgeois culture, within the very structure of feudalism. It was the genesis of a new culture in the Italian city-states: the calculated investment for making profit, the sense of citizenship of a city and the knowledge about the international condition. All these features indicated the birth and subsequent growth of nascent capitalism in Italy during the period under review (Goldthwaite 2009, 7-8). There were other developments too, which brought prosperity to Italy: these were the Crusades, the establishment of papal authority over the European church and the political adventures of the rulers of northern Europe in Italy. These three developments brought wealth in Itlay.

One of the results of the development of trade and commerce along with a nascent capitalist environment produced comparatively faster pace of urbanization in Italy. Italy, especially the northern and the central Italy, experienced process of urbanization in the early modern period though its pace was not even or uniform. In 1300 Italian urbanisation, particularly in the Centre and North, was considerably higher than elsewhere in Europe. In the South, together with the islands (Sicily and Sardinia), the level was lower in 1300 and 1400, although still high from a European perspective. The trend of urbanisation suggests a decline during the 15th century, a recovery in between 1450 and 1550, and another decline thereafter, at least in the Centre and North. Urbanisation apparently grew in the South of Italy and the islands. It was a result of the increase of large centres inhabited by peasant families. These new settlements could be defined as "agro-towns", rather than true cities. The onslaught of Black Death in 1348 was a major cause of the decline in the relative rate of urbanization in Italy in the 15th century. The fall of population was responsible for the sluggish rate of consumption of luxury goods. These apparent hard times created conditions for the investment in culture (Malanima 2008). In 1500, between 7 and 8 percent of people (about 3-4 million) in western Europe lived in 145 urban centres of more than 10,000 inhabitants. The majority of them belonged to Italy, France and the Low Countries. By 1650, this figure rose to about 10 percent (about 602 million) in 197 places. In 1500, most of the urban people of Europe lived in Mediterranean countries. By 1650, the largest number still lived in Italy, but now France made an impressive advancement. The following tables present a comparative picture of the urbanization in Europe in the early modern era.

Number of towns with a population of over 10,000 inhabitants		
	1500	1650
England and Wales	5	8
France	32	44
Germany	23	23
Italy	44	50
Low Countries	23	33
Spain	20	24

(Source: Bonney, Richard. *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660*. Oxford: OUP, 1991, p. 398)

Total urban population in towns of over 10,000 inhabitants (in thousands)

	1500	1650
England and Wales	80	495
France	688	1438
Germany	385	528
Italy	1302	1577
Low Countries	445	1018
Spain	414	672

(Source: Bonney, Richard. *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660*. Oxford: OUP, 1991, p. 398)

The Italian city states and its urban environment prepared the primary conditions for the birth of the Renaissance thought, culture and civilization. The gradual decline of the foreign dominance over Italy played an important role in the social and cultural formations of Italy in 14th and 15th centuries. However, the more important point is that the Italian city-states were able to retain and uphold their autonomy during this period. There were two conflicting opinions regarding the absence of a sovereign ruler and assertion of autonomy of the city-states. For example, Dante did not find any praising word for the self-declared autonomy of the sates in 1300. He was possibly in favour of an empire. The Florentine humanists in 1400 were strongly demanded the autonomy of Florence against the tyrannical aggression of Milan. Even despite the fact of the expansion of some of the larger territorial states, the local autonomies, institutions, laws, jurisdictions, religious observances, civic rituals, and a strong feeling of local pride and dignity continued to exist in Italy. The theorists who believes in the role of strong nation states in the progress of a country find the local or regional autonomous states as obstacles before it. However, these autonomous city-states of Italy were the breeding ground of new ideas regarding art and culture in the 14th and 15th centuries. Indeed, the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Italian city-states was the most important precondition for the genesis of the Renaissance culture. There was no centralized dynastic control, no censor, no court to control the creation and appreciation of artistic expressions. There was no discouragement towards the cultural nonconformity. The Italian city-states were free to experiment with art and cultural productions. The civic pride stimulated these cultural expressions of the Renaissance. It generated intense political

and cultural rivalry among the city-states. It resulted to the spurt of rich and diverse cultural expressions and artistic creativities with an independent mind unequalled in the rest of Europe. (Maland 1982, 38-39; Najemy 2004, 2) The sense of autonomy and liberty also promoted a distinct type of appreciation of the newly evolved art forms. Without a proper appreciation, the Renaissance would not have been possible in Italy. Therefore, the very unique urban environment of the northern and central Italy made the Renaissance possible and contributed its chief characteristic features.

Another major area of development took place in Italy during the early modern era: unlike the other European states, the Italian city-states by 1300 had started experiments with new type of government and politics on the one hand and innovative cultural practices. The north and central Italy possessed at least four big European cities with a population of more than 100,000 before the invasion of Black Death in 1348. These big autonomous cities were bound to be political battleground. The ruling authority made all sorts of attempts to control the government, economy and the hinterland of the city. The distinct civic identity, historical memory and customs of the cities were heavily preserved and jealously safeguarded. It was a kind of collective consciousness that all the cities – whether large or small – in Italy proudly possessed. The citizens of the Italian city-states identified themselves with the very existence of the cities. The most significant point is that the political freedom of the city-states in Italy during the 14th and 15th centuries made these social-cultural identities more robust and explicit. No single ruler was able to monopolize the cultural creations of the Renaissance civilization. These urban identities became an integral part of the Italy's dominant cultural traits. It was a part of the civil life and civility of the urban Italians. No other parts of Europe had experienced such flavour of urbanity and civic culture since antiquity. In short, the Italian Renaissance was a result of a century of civic liberty (Najemy 2004, 2-5; Maland 1982, 39).

Humanists always admired the free cities and civic liberty as the most important factors for the development of human personality and creativity. They believed that the free cities could perfect the virtues. For example, in 1377, Coluccio Salutati – the Florentine chancellor – urged the people to reject the papal rule and opt for a republican form of government. He believed that the peace, justice, liberty and equality could be ensured only under a Republic. In his Florentine Histories of the 1520s, Machiavelli made the physical city itself a repository of memory and an agent in the preservation of liberty (Najemy 2004, 6). Among the Italian city-states, Florence is considered to be the forerunner in producing an advanced urban Renaissance culture and civilization. In fact, Florence fulfilled all the

necessary preconditions for the development of a distinct culture under an urban setting. In the last half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th centuries, Florence was a populace as well as prosperous city: before the Black Death in 1348, its population is estimated to have been 100,000. The plague drastically reduced the population to approximately 20,000. Both the manufacturing sector and trade and commerce were well developed in the city of Florence. The most promising enterprising sector was textile while the metal works were also developed significantly. The city traders were involved in trade with the hinterlands, the regions beyond Alpes and in the sea. The Florence also had a flourishing banking sector; even the papal revenue was deposited in the Florentine banks because Rome was considered to be unsafe. In the countryside of Tuscany, the urban riches of Florence owned landed estates. But unlike the European feudal lords, they invested the profit accrued from land into the development of art and culture, and not in the feudal property. The patronization of art and culture became the symbol of power and status in the elite society of Florence. The political system of governance for which the citizens of Florence were proud had resemblance with that of the ancient Greece. In early modern Europe a combination of king, church and nobility ruled the country. The Florence was however ruled by the citizens themselves. It was a remarkable difference as far as the nature of governance was considered. The government saw everyone equal. No one was above the law and all the measures or activities were meant for the well-being of the community. This way of life was a valued thing to the citizens of Florence. It came to be threatened twice: first, by the aggression of Milan and secondly when the Medici family took over the control of the city. In the second half of the 15th century the Medici family started patronizing the artists and other creators. It renewed the interest in the artistic productions. This patronization enhanced the prestige of not only of the Medici family but also the city of Florence was truly admired. It must be mentioned that the special place of Florence in the emerging urban environment of Italy during the 14th and 15th centuries did not necessarily mean that the other city-states did not have any role in the development of the Renaissance culture. For example, Rome was the centre of revival of classical learning. Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Naples – all the cities experienced the patronization of art and culture by the cities' elites. However, the initial change and incomparable cultural expressions first took place in Florence. This particular city changed the course of history of Italy during the period under review. It successfully combined wealth with art on the one hand and citizens' pride with republican values on the other hand. All these transformations put the city of Florence in a special place in Italy (Hunt 2005, 8-10).

3(b).2 The City-States, Classes and Culture

The picture so far presented is one of idealization of the cities and towns ignoring the inner conflict and contradictions of the urban space of early modern Italy. The social perspectives of the Renaissance culture could not be understood fully without grasping the underlying tension of the society and policy of the Italian city-states. In other words, the class perspective is equally important in understanding the socio-cultural transformations of Italy in the early modern era. The urban middle class or 'popolo' of the city-states had grievances against the power and wealth enjoyed by the elites, the bankers and the nobles. The popolo was a newly formed class having aspirations for social, economic and cultural recognition. During the 13th century, the expanding economy of the city-states attracted immigration from the countryside. A large number of people crowded the cities. They were teachers, lawyers, shopkeepers, retailers, notaries etc. A new category of professionals was gradually formed in the Italy's city-states: it was the urban middle class. The rapid commercial growth, the economic expansion, prosperity in banking and manufacturing and above all, the creation of an urban culture gave birth to this middle class in the 13th century Italy in an unprecedented way. This urban middle class grew in number and strength in such a way which was quite unparallel in Europe. They formed associations or guilds according to their own needs and in order to protect their class interest. These associations had their own written statutes, rules and regulations reflecting the republican values of the communes. There were elected consuls and legislative councils of these guilds or associations. The republican constitution was replicated in the associations' constitution in most of the cases. These merchants, shopkeepers, notaries, and artisans, were highly organized through their guilds. They were educated, sometimes wealthy and politically engaged in a very vibrant way. They embraced the civic ethos of the newly emerged urban space and a political ideology representing their vision of communal society (Najemy 2004, 7).

The popolo or the middle class first challenged politically the power and status enjoyed by the elites. The self-governing, powerful and wealthy cities of Renaissance Italy saw the continuous tension between the influential elite families and the emerging guilds of the professional groups. The Italian elites faced a problem, which was truly uncommon. Unlike the other states of Europe, the Italy did not have any centralized monarchy. The absence of the monarchy deprived the elite from the protection of the state. In the other parts of Europe, the elites were given protection by the feudal state. It made the position of the Italian elites quite vulnerable. Until the late 13th century, the great elite families were

able to retain their position. However, since the late 13th century, the conflict between the elites and the popolo became a tensed affair. This confrontation produced variety of results in different cities according to the relative class power of both the elites and the popolo. In some cities, the popolo were definitely successful in curbing the power of the elites, but in not all cases. There were many cities in Italy where the elites retained their power and status despite the movement of the popolo. In many cases, both the elites and the popolo came into compromised. However, it is historically true that the elite class of Italy faced increasing political and military competition offered by the popolo between about 1250 and 1400. Undoubtedly, a section of the popolo acquired substantial amount of wealth. But it does not imply that the these wealthy popolo were socially or culturally equal of the elites. The popolo did not have extensive clan type rural linkage. They could not possess private army like the elites. Even the popolo had no legal power. All these factors made the popolo agitated against the elites over the years. They organized themselves through guilds within the city, and through federation of guilds they made an inter-cities organization. They also simultaneously developed militia forces. All these developments led to the gradual expansion of the power of the popolo not only in the cities but also in the countryside. It also curbed down the armed power of the elites and established an alternative form of government to some extent. It does not, however, mean that there was no elite resistance or the elite classes were completely eliminated. In most cases, the elites were successful in retaining their power. The point is that the 13th and 14th centuries witnessed the incessant conflict between the elites and the popolo, and though the popolo's effort could not dispossess the elites completely, the elites nevertheless were forced to make certain compromises with the change of time. There was an emerging dialogue of power in the Italian city-states between the elites and the popolo in the late medieval era (Najemy 2004, 7-10). It significantly shaped the civil, cultural and intellectual environment of the Italian city-states during this period. This elite-popolo conflict was the vary basis of the most enduring long-term social and cultural dynamics of the Italian society.

Both republicanism and humanism were the products of this conflict between the elites and the popolo. More precisely speaking, humanism first emerged from the ideological orientation of the popolo. The urban middle class defined and promoted the culture of humanism, even its religious aspects in the Italian society. The civic and urban values of humanism was very distinct from the existing elite culture, and it opposed the inherited privileges of elites: the humanist ideology argued that the elite culture was rested on lineage and blood. The humanism defined by the popolo looked towards ancient republican Rome as political and cultural model. It provided ideological support and

legitimacy to the cause of the humanists. The professional classes like the notaries, chroniclers, lawyers found civility and republican form of law in the history of Rome and it helped them to develop a critique of the approach and method of governance of the elites. It was the dominant trend of the urban culture of the early Renaissance Italy at least until the 15th century. A new social and political arrangement emerged, however, around 1400: the elites and the popolo came to an understanding with each other. The oligarchic republicanism gradually became the dominant form of government in Italy as a result of the compromise between the elites and the popolo. The principal factor behind the change in the socio-political equation was the fear of the popolo about the rise of the artisans and the other labouring poor. During this period, the radical outbreak of the labouring poor took place in Italy. In Tuscany, the artisans and the workers sought to replace the government. It made the popolo afraid about the possibility of radical insurrection in the city-states of Italy. The popolo thought that it could affect their social status or power. It was the historic weakness of the popolo that they did not have any belief in the radical ideology of the artisans. The fear was so great that the popolo had no hesitation to make a compromise with the elites. There was another factor which created pressure on the popolo to come to terms with the elites. Historically, between 1370s and 1450s, the Italian city-states fell into long-term mutual war and conflict. The final settlement came into reality in 1494. This long phase of war completely transformed the internal conditions of the cities. Two major concerns emerged: first, the finance for war, and second patriotism required for binding the citizens in a common tune. The popolo had no option but to go with the broader interests of the cities from the point of view of patriotism (Najemy 2004, 10-12).

A new socio-political arrangement was evolved in the republics of Italy. Under the new situation, the terms and condition were that the elites would provide the leadership and the popolo would get the share of the office. However, the popolo was still deprived of the representation of their interests in the power structure. The new arrangement did not even ensure the systematic representation of the popolo in the structure of the government. Nevertheless, the numbers of representations of the popolo in the city councils was increased. For example, in Florence there was increase of the numbers of office holders; the size of the Great Council of Venice was increased. The popolo were guaranteed a share of seats in legislative and consultative assemblies. In some cases, there was unprecedented dominance of a single family over the citizens. For example, the city of Florence witnessed the unquestionable role played by the Medici family between 1434 to 1494. Their enormous wealth and the extensive network at local and international level

made it possible to control the city election, the finance and the foreign policy of Florence. The elites however also underwent profound changes during this period: they adopted civic ethos and culture of the popolo especially in Venice and Florence. The elites in general embraced the educational and cultural programme of humanism in Renaissance Italy. The continuous pressure of the popolo on the elites brought this fundamental change in the class consciousness, attitudes and psychology of the Italian elites between 1300 and 1550. Possibly, it is for the first time in the Europe's history when the elites' social, political and cultural dominance was challenged in such a sustained way and changed the cultural ethos and practices came to be changed. This change in the class relationships between the Italian elites and the popolo had profound influence on culture. The elites started patronising the humanist culture what the intellectual leaders of the popolo had been doing since the past two centuries. The transformed elites became consumers and patrons of art and literature; they built palatial buildings and sponsored the artists. It promoted the production of the Renaissance art, painting, sculpture and other artistic expressions of the 15th century. It created the demand of the artistic productions. Indeed, the interest in art and culture was one of the signifiers of the newly formulated civic culture in 15th century Italy. The elites adopted this new cultural pattern. It may be considered as one of the deep changes in the long history of the Italian Renaissance. The patronization of the culture by the elites also contributed to the development of new type of social connection between the elites and the artists: for example, the Florentine humanist chancellors (Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Bartolomeo Scala), the Medicean court poet Angelo Poliziano, the Platonist Marsilio Ficino, Venetian humanists Pier Paolo Vergerio and Giovanni Caldiera, the Neapolitan humanist Giovanni Pontano, and the irreverent poet and playwright Pietro Aretino all came from modest backgrounds but worked for princes and elites. The social elites gradually became the cultural elites. In Florence, the humanist and architect Leon Battista Alberti, the humanist Alamanno Rinuccini, and the historian Francesco Guicciardini; in Venice, the humanists Francesco and Ermolao Barbaro, Bernardo Giustiniani, Gasparo Contarini, chief fashioner of the myth of Venice, and the poet Pietro Bembo; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the humanist pope from Siena; the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola; Baldassare Castiglione, the author of The Courtier, and the poet Vittoria Colonna—all were from distinguished patrician or noble families (Najemy 2004, 12-15). It is clear from this analysis that the social position and cultural practices of the elites and the popolo were essentially dynamic. There were deep seated changes in the cultural orientation of these two social groups, which finally characterized the urban flavour of the Renaissance culture in 15th century.

3(b).3 Conclusion

Peter Burke has raised two important questions in interpreting the nature of the urban cultural practices of the Italian Renaissance: the first question is was Italian society open? The second question is that was it bourgeois? (Burke 1986, 219). These two questions may help us to understand the nature of the Renaissance culture in the urban milieu of 15th century Italy. Peter Burke is of opinion that the openness of the urban social structure of Renaissance Italy is reflected from the evidences of social mobility of this particular society. The contemporary literature conclusively proves that the Italy's urban society was highly mobile as far as the occupational structure was concerned. The dominant values of Tuscany appreciated social mobility. However, it is difficult to measure the degree and extent of social mobility in Renaissance Italy because of the lack of reliable quantitative data. Burke is of opinion that there are good reasons for asserting that social mobility was relatively high in the cities of 15th century Italy. Florence was pioneer in this regard. The new men coming from the countryside (*gente nuova)* became the citizens and occupied offices. It created envy among the patricians of the cities. The second question regarding the class nature of the urban society of Italy reveals the fact that there developed a distinct professional class in the emerging urban economy of Italy. These professional men could be classified under the broad head of bourgeoisie (Burke 1986, 219-222). This professional group challenged the power and authority of the feudal elites, and this tussle formed the long-term dynamics of the urban social structure and its mobility of Renaissance Italy. These social and cultural relations made the culture of the Renaissance possible. It was distinctly urban: in other words, the urban men with their ingenuity in 15th century Italy created the Renaissance.

3(b).4 Model Questions

1. Write an essay on the social roots of the Renaissance.
2. How did the urban environment of early modern Italy provide the necessary impetus to the Renaissance creativity?
3. Define the relationships between the 'culture' and 'classes' in the urban social structure of Renaissance Italy.
4. How did class conflict influence the cultural development of Renaissance Italy?

3(b).5 Suggested Readings

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Unit-4(a) □ Spread of Humanism in Europe

Structure

4(a).0 Objectives

4(a).1 Introduction

4(a).2 The Historiography of Humanism

4(a).3 The Humanism: Genesis and Development

4(a).4 The Triumph of Humanist Education

4(a).5 Humanism beyond Italy

4(a).6 Conclusion

4(a).7 Model Questions

4(a).8 Suggested Readings

4(a).0 Objectives

The chief objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the birth and spread of humanism in Europe in early modern period:

- A historiographical critique of humanism.
- How the humanism evolved in early modern Europe.
- The establishment of humanist education in Italy and other parts of Europe.
- How humanism spread beyond Italy.

4(a).1 Introduction

The word humanism was first used in the 14th century as a description of the university curriculum in Bologna to identify the differences between those students who studied the humane subjects like rhetoric from those who were students of law or theology. The word humanist therefore defined those scholars who were reviving the classics, who found

manuscripts, and translated them, or had them translated. The scholars came to be identified as humanists who gave value to the properly written Greek or Latin and to the importance of education. Of all the key personalities of the Renaissance, it was the humanist scholars who preferred most to see their work as a rebirth of the lost golden age of the classics. Humanism aimed to study the classical Roman and Greek literature in a concerted manner. However, it also wanted to study the wide range of subjects from poetry to geography and also natural sciences. It incorporated whole field of knowledge within its area of study as much as possible. Humanism's prime philosophical focus was on man in society. The humanists continually emphasized on the idea of rebirth and revival of classical knowledge in the Renaissance city-states of Italy after a long period of decay. It is also important to note that the scope of humanism was limited to the writers adopting a classicizing Latin style only. But it was equally interested in the study of wider rhetorical, philological and literary studies concerned with classical antiquity. The term 'humanism', as defined by the 19th century scholars, was an outlook, which emphasized on the dignity of man and his privileged position in world. The 20th century social scientists are however sceptical about this generalization of humanism. The scholar like P. O. Kristeller shows that the early humanists did not have any such coherent philosophical understanding of the society and world. The unity of the humanist scholars' outlook could be found in their profound interest in the study of Latin and Greek classics and in the application of the diverse values they found in them to literature and morals. They emphasized elegance of writing and speech as well as a morality which stressed the uniqueness of man, his feeling and his potential. (Hunt 2005, 17-; Martines 1988, 191; Bloom 2004, 117; Mazzocco 2006, 39; Koenigsberger et al 1989, 145). The aim of the present unit is to understand the genesis of humanism in Italy, its general features, the spread of humanism in the other parts of Europe and its role in the history of early modern Europe.

4(a).2 The Historiography of Humanism

The historians and social scientists have been interpreting humanism since the publication of Georg Voigt's (1827–1891) classic work titled *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* in 1859. This book was published even before Jacob Burkhardt's seminal work on Renaissance. Since the publication of Voigt's work, two opposing interpretations have emerged in understanding the humanism. The primary question centres around the very nature of humanism, that is,

whether it was a continuation of the medieval culture or a break with it. According to Voigt, there was rediscovery of the classical texts and cultural heritage in Italy in late medieval era, and it created a sharp break with the medieval past. Humanism was a part of this critical change. It was the humanist emphasis on the reading of the texts of classical Greece and Rome symbolizing the dawn of the Italy's transformation towards a new culture. Voigt saw a sharp break between the medieval civilization and humanist culture. Florence played a vital role in developing the humanist culture. From Italy, humanism spread to France, Germany, Spain and England. Voigt's work is the first analysis of the history of humanism. The subsequent scholars more or less accepted this interpretation of Voigt that it was rise of humanist thought contributed to the break with the medieval past. In 1986, first major departure came in the understanding of role of humanism. Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine have argued in *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* that humanist education – whether Italian or northern European – was grammatical drill and monotonous imitation. It was impossible for this system of education to inculcate any moral value or eloquence in the minds of the students. The main purpose of the humanist education was only to provide teaching suitable for the future servants of state, and not at all to encourage free thinking and original creativity. Grafton and Jardin also lament the disappearance of Scholasticism. Paul F. Grendler points out that the research of Grafton and Jardin is concerned only with the humanist education, and not the humanism in a broader sense. Therefore, their argument does not take into account the originality of humanist scholars like Lorenzo Valla, Angelo Poliziano, Desiderius Erasmus and many others. Robert Black also denies the opinion that humanist culture was radically different from the medieval one. He assertively argues that the originality of the humanist scholars exists only in the minds of the historians (Mazzocco 2006, 73-76). Black even did not find any change in the Latin pre-university education between 1200 and 1500 (Mazzocco 2006, 77).

A different argument is offered by Riccardo Fubini in his *Humanism and Secularization from Petrarch to Valla* (2003). He argues that humanism was a new culture, and completely different from the medieval Scholasticism. His argument is based on the textual analysis of the writings of Francesco Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, and Lorenzo Valla written between 1350 and 1450. Fubini also shows the development of secular ideas in the Italian city-states as a result of humanism. He criticizes the argument of those scholars who only selectively emphasizes the humanist programme of school education. To him, the school education was an aspect of the humanist thought.

He clearly points out that the school education of humanism was not the factor behind the development of humanism in Italy; rather, it was the result of the strong criticism against the medieval educational pattern by the humanist scholars. It was accompanied by the rediscovery of the classical texts of ancient Rome and Greece, which was previously unavailable. In this sense, humanism was an articulate programme of broad cultural change in late medieval Italy (Mazzocco 2006, 77-78).

4(a).3 The Humanism: Genesis and Development

The humanism first grew up in the urban milieu of Italy. The urban society of Italy underwent gradual shift in the 13th and 14th centuries: literacy expanded, trade and commerce flourished, different types of profession emerged, urban culture evolved. These socio-economic and cultural changes first took place in Italy, but it also spread to the other parts of Europe. Humanism was an important component of these new urban cultural formation. It influenced the pattern of the evolving European culture significantly though in diverse ways. What distinguished the 15th century Italians from their European contemporaries was not their discovery of antiquity but their enthusiasm for the entire body of classical literature and for the moral, social and aesthetic standards it contained. It was definitely a shift in the broader understanding of society and culture. Humanism faced the ideological contradiction between two conflicting thought process. On the one hand, there was a growing emphasis on the position and dignity of man in the society and world; on the other hand, medieval religious legacy still persisted on the other hand. Theologically, it did not approve the existence of man in the centre of world. This social and cultural contradiction created tension in the late medieval Italian society, and the humanists were affected by it. Humanism attempted to provide a solution of this crisis (Koenigsberger et al 1989, 145; Maland 1982, 40-41).

John Najemy points out that both republicanism and humanism were the products of the class competition. Humanism was far more a result of the ideological orientation of the popolo rather than the elites. This culture was defined and promoted by the laity, even in its religious dimensions, characterized by civic and urban values, hostile to the inherited privileges of elites and to the notion that 'nobility' resided in blood, and sufficiently secular to appropriate republican (indeed pagan) Rome as a political and cultural model. Early humanism and the turn to antiquity provided the popolo with the ideological justification and

historical legitimacy it needed to mount its challenge against Italy's elite classes. At the initial phase of its development, the humanists accumulated the classical texts. Some of the texts of the Latin writers like Plato, Ovid, Seneca were read in the Middle Ages. During the period of Crusades in the 12th century, a number of Greek texts were recovered. It is interesting to note that after the fall of the Roman empire, these Greek texts were disappeared and manuscripts were lost. The Europeans forgot to read the ancient Greek language even. But it was the Arabs who studied the Greek texts and these texts became available in Latin in Europe in the 12th century. During the 13th and 14th centuries, the manuscript hunting became a passion, and it contributed to the phenomenal increase in the recovery of manuscripts. One of the most notable examples of the search for manuscript was the initiative of Petrarch (1304-1374). He rescued and publicised Livy's *Decades*. He also introduced Homer to the modern Europe. The first chair of Greek in Europe was established in Florence in 1396. Coluccio Salutati, Chancellor of Florence at the end of the fourteenth century, owned as many as 600 books. The expansion of education was also important in spreading the humanist values. For example, the students were taught Latin and Greek languages, astronomy, geography and even physical education. These humanist schools were different from the abacus schools. In the abacus schools, the merchants' sons were sent for education. In the abacus schools, the students learned the skills required for trade and commerce. A few of them progressed to the grammar schools (Najemy 2004, 10; Hunt 2005, 18-19).

The general population or popolo in the Italian cities played the most important role in the spread of education and culture of humanism. Literacy spread among the popolo more or less fairly. The huge numbers of notaries, trained in legal Latin and Roman law and self-taught in ancient literature, brought Roman history and letters into the chanceries of government and into their own households. The popolo always possessed an idealized vision of communal politics and society, where power was more or less equally shared. They found it in the ancient Roman legal procedure. It provided impetus to the search for classical texts on the one hand and establishment of educational institutions in order to impart humanist values. Humanism visualized a course of study and certain kind of citizens. It was an educational ideal looking for a practical life in society and it was meant for those destined to hold leading social position. In the humanist thinking, Latin grammar was the fundamental discipline on which all learning and correct doctrine depended. The study of classical Greek was encouraged, but it was studied through Latin. Latin in fact remained the grammatical framework for educated men. The knowledge of Latin grammar became

the most powerful tool for those who wanted to study the ancient classical texts. In fact, in its highest form, that is, philology, Latin grammar was the alternative source of texts and knowledge for those who questioned the existing knowledge and educational institutions. The foremost humanist teachers composed their own Greek and Latin grammars, and these carried the day in all advanced pedagogic circles. The advancement of humanist education took place in the late 12th and in the 13th centuries. In the 13th centuries, the there was a slow rising of classicism and simultaneous decline of the traditional secondary education system. (Martines 1988, 192; Mazzocco 2006, 46). In late medieval and Renaissance Italy, there were three types of schools other than universities and schools conducted by religious orders exclusively for their own members. As Italian society became urbanized in the 12th and 13th centuries, the society required new institutions and new curriculum other the church. During this period, the humanities and other liberal arts were studied. Nevertheless, these could be considered as preparatory for the study of law and medicine. Before coming to university, boys had to learn Latin, which was the universal language of instructions in all universities. It must be remembered that no girl student went beyond the elementary stage of education. The first type of school taught elementary vernacular reading, and virtually nothing else, to young children. The next level was under *maestro d'abbaco*, who taught commercial arithmetic. The learning of geometry and bookkeeping was also included in the second stage. Such education was strictly practical and vocational. The third level of pre-university education was the Latin grammar school, which prepared boys for higher education by teaching them Latin. In the 13th century, communal schools began to appear especially in the comparatively smaller towns. The main initiative came from the well-to-do families. The local well-to-do families were aspirants and aimed to learn the Latin for better opportunities in the job market. However, despite the growth of humanism, the curriculum in the 14th century remained same what it had been in the two preceding centuries. The continuation of the old medieval contents in the teaching-learning of the school education created discontent among the humanists. They objected to the existing curriculum of the school because of three primary reasons: (1) it imparted inferior writing habits which were the reason why contemporary Latin was a jumble of awkward, unclear sentences and incomprehensible pseudo-scientific jargon; (2) most of the intellectual contents was simple-minded trash; and (3) its moral indoctrination, based largely on memorizing vacuous jingles expressing vague truism, was utterly inadequate as a guide for people facing the problems encountered by citizens of Italian cities. The humanists started demanding the abandonment of these stereotypes from the school education. They

proposed a fresh curriculum inspired by the oratorical training and indoctrination in civic duty that had once characterized the education of the Roman ruling class in the late republic and early empire. (Nauert Jr 1995, 42-44). It brought profound changes in the school education in Italy in the 15th century. A landmark in the humanist educational revolution was the publication of Pier Paolo Vergerio's (1368-1444) *On Noble Customs and Liberal Studies* in 1402. In this book, a plan of education was designed for a prince. It was not at all a problematic because humanist education was typically evolved to meet the needs of the elite class, which lived under the despotic authority and participated in the governance of a republic as citizens. Vergerio wanted to educate leaders, who would serve the prince or republic. One important point is that all the creators of model schools – Vergerio, Gasparino Barzizza, Guarino Guarini da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre – non-Florentines. According to Vergerio, education must also develop eloquence – the skill of oral expression and proficiency in writing. The humanists also emphasized the moral philosophy. It argued that it would prepare a man to face the course of life. According to humanism, history should be considered as concrete example of the effects of virtues and vices. It also provided models to youths to emulate and rhetoric to enable the educated man to bring his knowledge to bear in political discourse. This emphasis on education as necessary for political service is especially important because it demonstrates that humanistic education is practical. Leonardo Bruni wrote *On Studies and Letters*. It addressed the education of women. The humanists established schools from about the quarter of the 15th century. It taught eloquence, moral philosophy, classical texts. The medieval textbooks were largely abandoned. Gasparino Barzizza (1360-1430) combined university lecturing on grammar, rhetoric and moral philosophy with the private institutions of boys who boarded in his home. Guarino Guarini da Verona (1374-1460) taught descriptive grammar based on close study of classical Latin authors, for which Guarino wrote an influential manual of Latin grammar. He also gave language a place in the curriculum. In 1436, the city of Ferrara created a *studium* to give formal standing to his school; in 1444, the *studium* was recognized as a university. It was the first European to consist solely of a faculty of arts, without any professional faculties. Vittorino Rambaldoni da Feltre (1378-1446) established a boarding school at Mantua for the local princes and aristocrats. At its peak, the school enrolled about seventy students. It included about forty students of poor families supported by Vittorino himself. It gave no degrees, only a first-class humanist education. The reputation of the school continued to grow. Its alumni included Federigo II, duke of Urbino, and two other Italian rulers; four bishops; and the humanist Lorenzo Valla and

Nicolò Perotti. Like the schools of Barzizza and Guarino, the Mantuan school emphasized building of moral character and mastery of eloquence through close study of classics. However, the Christian morality was also included in his curriculum. Vittorino believed that the Christian belief was fully compatible with the teachings of the classical pagan thinkers. (Nauert Jr 1995, 42-47).

These humanist teachers were able to create immense impact on European education. Their talent as teachers were aptly combined with the new theories of education. The men like Barzizza, Guarino and Vittorino were astute manipulators of their rich and influential patrons. Their success in attracting the sons of the Italian ruling families assured the necessary financial support. It became also clear that the mastery over classical, rhetorical, linguistic and moral knowledge were essential for success. The old curriculum of the medieval Latin schools was obsolete in the new age. Nevertheless, this humanist education was meant only for the elites. The poorer sections of the Italian society had little scope in getting admission in such schools. Despite the elitist class character of the humanist schools, it is difficult to deny the fact that it created a new culture of imparting education was developed in 15th century Italy. it is sometimes called a curricular revolution in the traditional education system. By 1500, Boethius, Theodulus and probably even the Doctrinale were replaced by Cicero, Terence and Caesar. The most important aspect of this humanist educational revolution was that the nerve centre of this profound change was the grammar schools, and the universities. It was a major difference between Italy and northern Europe as far as the transformation of the education in early modern era was concerned. The fundamental factor behind this difference was the very nature of the university system in Italy and northern Europe. In case of the former, the universities were essentially professional institutions of law and medicine, and the students entered as young men in their late teens or early twenties. They were supposed to have completed their pre-professional study of liberal arts. In case of the latter, boys got admission in the universities at a younger age of fourteen. At this age, they had yet to complete their pre-professional courses in the universities. The university authority was not in favour of such change from medieval outlook to humanist approach in northern Europe. The right of autonomy of the universities was used to prevent any change in the curriculum. In case of the Italian schools, there was no question of autonomy. The Italian schools were either communal schools directly controlled by the local elites or proprietary private schools under the direct control of the masters. (Nauert Jr 1995, 47-49). These schools fulfilled the need of the ruling elite classes in a transitional period of history of Italy.

4(a).4 The Triumph of Humanist Education

The historians generally come to the consensus that the *studia humanitatis* – the study of classical language and literature at an elevated level – was an elitist pursuit during the early modern period in the city-states of Italy. Nevertheless, it is also true that the rise of the humanist education prevented the common decline of the Latinity since 1300 in Italy in general and in Florence in particular. There is no debate that the new educational outlook emphasized the study of grammar at the school level. However, by the end of the 15th century, the Renaissance had changed the character of the education system in the leading city like Florence. The status of Latin was particularly changed particularly among the elites of Florence. By 1500, humanism became a peninsula-wide phenomenon. The Italian upper classes fully embraced Latin. Moreover, apart from the growing importance of Latin in the Italian upper-class society, there was widespread expansion of vernacular literacy in Italy during the period under review. This expansion of vernacular literacy was evident in the different layers of society. It was evident in the abacus schools, in the writing of business accounts and letters and popular devotional writings, and finally in the vernacular literature. Nevertheless, during the same period in the history of Italy, there was sharp manifestation of class inequality as far as the education system was concerned. The private schools were given higher recognition and honour. In fact, the private schools, expensive private teachers and the humanist education became the hallmark of the new social elites of 15th century Italy. In Florence, private classical education was the symbol of aristocracy. This type of narrow, conservative and elitist outlook made the Florentine aristocrats socially and culturally different and distinct from the non-elite social classes. This type of education provided upper-class Florentines with a particularly effective means of distinguishing themselves and their children from the middle and artisan classes whose education was limited to basic reading, writing, and commercial arithmetic. In the smaller towns like Arezzo, however, the study of Latin was comparatively wider. It was diffused through public school education and since the middle of the 15th century, the pace of expansion was higher because of the fact that the school education became free (Najemy 2004, 33-36).

The study of past, that is, historical analysis was a major area of the educational programme of the humanist scholars. History became a field of knowledge by which the humanist values were clearly expressed. The focused areas of the humanist outlook of

history were telling: it was classical Rome and Greece. The study of Rome and Greece was followed by the discovery of the history the city-states of Florence, Venice, Milan etc. They clearly omitted all the other histories as irrelevant: the aim was to perceive history as a reflection of their own experiences. It was only the search of relevance of the past in the context of the social and political privileges of the elites of the city-states of Italy through the study of history. They believed in the utility of the study of history, - that is, value or importance of history in understanding of the political events. In other words, they associated history with the practice of politics and government. The study of history was therefore essential for rulers and citizens. If the study of rhetoric and ethics taught polished eloquence and principles of morality respectively, then it was history which would specify examples virtue and vice and provide the outlines of political science. To the Renaissance thinkers, the study of history and study of statecraft were same. It led to the belief that the history that was required for study was the history of Rome and classical Greece as it was the city-based civilization. The study of any other period of history was not essential because it was not part of cities and therefore not of civilization. This period of history without cities and civilization was considered as dark age in the humanist historical thought. What they preferred was the glory of the urban lifestyle of ancient Greece and Rome, politics and morality of urban life, oratory of the statesmen. They considered ancient Roman and Greek urban civilization as their own civilization. The ancient city-based civilization became associated with their own cities of late medieval and early modern Italy. The study of history as presented in the humanist thought was a projection of self-imagination about the past. The humanists found their ideals in the personalities like Demosthenes, Lysias, Alexander the Great, Aristotle, Alcibiades, Plato, Lycurgus, Pericles and so on. Such figures of the Roman civilization were also praised by the Humanists. Petrarch held imaginary conversation with Cicero. The humanists time and again reminded that Aristotle was the tutor of Alexander and Plato was a teacher for the king of Sicily. The humanists discovered all these events and rhetoric of classical Rome and Greece within them in the 14th and 15th centuries. They established imaginary relationship with a period of history, which was according to them, was ideal. In fact, it was a praise for power and glory on the one hand and also a discovery of similar power structure within the ruling authority of the city-states of Italy. The humanist understanding of history was indeed elitist, self-congratulatory, blinkered and one-sided. It praised only the worldly success. The humanists actually shared the power structure of the city which was also shared by the powerful ruling classes. It was in fact an alliance of power between the humanist ideologues

and ruling classes through the imaginary relationships between the classical era and late medieval Italy. Bernardo Giustiniani (1408-1489) – one of the most famous humanists in the 15th century – reminded that without power and empire, culture could not be grown. Power and prosperity could provide only patronage required for artistic creation. On the contrary, powerlessness led to barbarianism. So, expansion of power and authority of the ruling classes was essential for development of culture and civilization. In this way, the humanist project equated power with culture and vice-versa. The triumph of humanism was made possible for this apt alliance between the intellectuals and authority in late medieval and early modern Italy. (Martines 1988, 195-201).

Hans Baron points out that struggle of Florence against Milan stimulated the full-fledged emergence of humanism around 1400 in Italy. He insists upon the break with the thought, approach and world outlook nurtured in the medieval era. J.G.A. Pocock finds a similar disjunction between medieval and Renaissance thought with regard to the concept of the citizen. The new ideology, that is humanism as a guidance to the duties and responsibilities of the citizens, ensured a departure from the concept of timeless hierarchic universe to particular moments. (Hankins 2003, 32-33).

4(a).5 Humanism beyond Italy

Humanism spread beyond Italy, especially in northern Europe, gradually during the period under review. It is true that there were many differences between Italy and the states of northern Europe. however, it is also true that there were close contacts between Italy and the transalpine Europe by religion, politics and economy. In fact, there were many types of contacts between Italy and northern Europe. In the 14th century, the foreign mercenaries (primarily French and English) were present in Italy. A large number of Italian merchants was settled in different towns like London, Paris, Lyons, Flanders and Brabant. The clergy were important carriers of cultural influences. Europe always welcomed the Italian faculties of law and medicine. Through all these channels, the cultural exchanges between Italy and northern Europe took place. However, it does not mean that northern Europe was fully ready for appreciation and absorption of humanist ideology. The principal reason is that unlike Italy, the northern European societies were less urbanized and less commercialized. It comparatively lacked prosperous cities and wealthy merchants than that of Italy. The taste of the ruling class was mostly rural. The educated clergy still had a

preference of scholastic theology. Therefore, in comparison with Italy, the reception of the humanist culture would be difficult in northern Europe. Nevertheless, there were certain elements in the northern society that encouraged the growth of humanism. For example, the wealthy merchants though tiny in size were in favour of literacy. Despite the dominance of the study of theology, the universities started paying attention to Latin and grammar in their courses. The royal officials felt the need of the study of the Roman law. In these ways, the north European societies created favourable conditions eventually for the development of humanism (Nauert Jr 1995, 95-97).

We have to acknowledge the fact that though the northern societies accepted the Italian influences, however, there were local changes and modifications also as far as the growth of humanism was concerned. The northern humanism was not a copy of the Italian one; rather, it was refashioned and reoriented in many cases. The most prominent example of the local roots of humanist culture was the activities of Geert Groote (1340-84). Groote was a Dutch Roman Catholic who preached to the impoverished and spiritually restless people of the Dutch towns. He was able to attract a group of devoted followers who spread his messages among the common people. They lived a common life; they supported themselves by coping books and doing manual labour. Groote's religious movement came to be known as Modern Devotion or *Devotio Moderna*. After the death of Groote, his followers continued their life as a religious commune of lay people. They founded the Brethren of the Common Life and the Sisters of the Common Life. It was the community of the followers of Groote. Groote repudiated the intellectualism of scholastic theology and also discouraged his followers from seeking university degrees. Groote and his followers acted as a source of nascent humanist thought in transalpine Europe. however, the historian like Charles G Nauert, Jr contradicts this opinion by arguing that the followers of Groote did not have any such mission. R. R. Post points out that the schools of Brethren of the Common Life were a myth. Their main goal was not to impart education. The origin of the humanist culture in the northern societies was much more complex. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the universities in northern Europe taught primarily the scholastic theology. In the 14th and 15th centuries, there was a beginning of the classical studies not independently but as a part of the study of medieval culture. (Nauert Jr 1995, 97-100). However, the study of classical languages emerged in different states of Europe though slowly. For example, in England, Greek was taught before 1500 even in a limited scale. Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII, founded two Cambridge schools – Christ and St. John's – where Latin, Greek and Hebrew were taught. Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, tried to redress the

balance at Oxford in 1517 by founding Corpus Christi College. In both cases, the purpose was to have better biblical scholarship. Nevertheless, certain academic initiative was taken outside the university circle. John Colet (1467-1519), who was not a humanist but an ascetic in medieval theological term, took initiation to study classics. He adopted humanist techniques of scholarship in order' to study more closely the Epistles of St Paul and demonstrated a humanist enthusiasm for education by founding St Paul's School in London to produce learned Christians. The similar progress of humanist ideas was seen in Germany. The most notable and exceptional example of German experiment with humanism was Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522). He studied classics in Italy. but what made him exceptional was the fact that he learnt Hebrew Cabbala from Pico Della Mirandola (1463-1494). After his return to Germany, Reuchlin was the first Christian who composed the Hebrew grammar. It became a notable example of New Learning. A particular type of Christian humanism was developed in the Netherlands by the Brethren of the Common Life. They represented what was termed the Devotio Moderna, a movement which reacted against the formalism and theological subtlety of scholasticism by emphasising the importance of spiritual communion with God. They absorbed all the tools and technics of the Italian humanists to produce a version of scripture free from scholasticism. Their school at Deventer was founded in the middle of the fifteenth century by Rudolf Agricola, a musician and poet who had studied for many years in Italy and Germany. Among his pupils was Alexander Hegius who eventually became headmaster, and whose proficiency at Greek and Latin was so great that Deventer, by 1500, had become the most advanced centre of classical scholarship in northern Europe. It was this environment which produced Desiderius Erasmus (1460-1536). Undoubtedly, he was the most outstanding figure of northern humanism. He challenged the exclusive right of theologians to read and interpret the scriptures since he believed that Christ's teaching was intelligible to all, provided that it was divorced from the glosses, the commentaries and the errors which had been accumulated over the centuries. Therefore, he took philology and not dialectic as the most convenient tool to understand the message of God, and his intention was to make it available to the people. In 1503 he wrote the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (The Handbook of the Christian Knight) - a northern counterweight to Castiglione's Il Cortegiano - which emphasised the primacy of faith above reason but mocked the errors of blind credulity. He advanced his thought more with the publication of *Encomium Moriae* (The Praise of Folly) in 1509. He also emphasized the classical scholarship to the service of church, and in this way, Erasmus belonged to the same genre of ideology of Reuchlin, Lefèvre and Cisneros. (Maland 1982, 66-70).

4(a).6 Conclusion

The growth of humanism and humanist culture undoubtedly made the Renaissance distinct. It contributed to the development of a new area of study or academic learning. The study of classics became a general convention among the educated citizens of Renaissance Italy. The old lost Greek and Latin texts were rediscovered, read and reinterpreted. The students were encouraged to develop their skills in reading and writing of Latin and also in eloquence. It was believed that all these qualities were required for those who wanted to be a good citizen as well as state bureaucrats. So, finally the service to the state was important. In northern Europe, however, the humanist culture was more associated with the Christianity. Within the overall framework of Christian theology, the transalpine humanism encouraged the study of classics. Religion played a much important role in the less urbanized environment of northern Europe. Therefore, there were differences between the Italian humanism and northern humanism as far as their role in society was concerned. The similarity is that both encouraged the study of classics.

4(a).7 Model Questions

1. What is humanism?
2. Discuss the historiography of humanism.
3. Analyse the origin and development of humanist culture in Italy.
4. How would you like to explain the growth of humanism in northern Europe?
5. What was the contribution of humanism in the European civilization?

4(a).8 Suggested Readings

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Unit-4(b) □ Art

Structure

4(b).0 Objectives

4(b).1 Introduction

4(b).2 Renaissance Art in Italy

4(b).3 The Patrons

4(b).4 Conclusion

4(b).5 Model Questions

4(b).6 Suggested Readings

4(b).0 Objectives

The primary objectives of the present unit are to understand the evolution of Renaissance art in early modern Italy. Three major aspects will be highlighted in the course of discussion:

- The genesis of the Renaissance art in Italy.
- The features of the Renaissance art.
- The role of the patrons in the development of the Renaissance art.

4(b).1 Introduction

There is no disagreement among the historians about the significance of art in the history of Renaissance. The Renaissance art was outstanding; it belongs to the highest level of expression of the art form. It can be stated without any hesitation that what the Renaissance artists produced stood above any particular age. These creations crossed the limits of the age. The Italian city states were the breeding ground of the artistic expressions in the 15th and 16th century. They were provided with the required patronage by the urban elites for production of art. The prior existence of an urban culture and prosperous trade

and commerce prepared the material ground for the development of art and culture. There was competitive attitude among the elites, and it promoted the production of artistic creations at higher pace. So, it was wealth, mentality and taste produced the Renaissance art in collaboration with each other.

The Italian artist, architect, and author Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) in his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, a series of biographies of artists published in 1550 coined a new term in order to describe the new type of art form, that is, the Renaissance. The personality like Petrarch (1304–74) or Lorenzo Valla (1405–47) were already aware of the cultural changes that was taking place in Italy. They also noted the classical influence on these changes. Vasari was however of opinion that the Renaissance as a creative activity transcended the classics in terms of originality and creativity. The outstanding originality and creativity of the Renaissance art were felt especially in three fields – painting, sculpture and architecture. These three were major art forms. Other types of art, such as needlework, porcelain manufacture, goldsmithing, and furniture-making, were "minor arts," "decorative arts," or "crafts," and the names of those who made them were not so important. It saw actually a cleavage between the high culture and the popular culture. High culture and advanced intellectual accomplishments were urban, supported by wealthy elites, and done by individuals – predominantly men – who had been formally trained or educated. However, it is also true that though the educated individuals formed a community of their own, but there was also sharing of thoughts within the society. The appreciation of art was not confined only within the cage of elitism in Italy during the period under review. (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 128-129).

4(b).2 Renaissance Art in Italy

Historically, the Renaissance art had its first appearance in the early 15th century Florence. The most prominent artists were Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Tomaso di Giovanni, known as Masaccio (1401-28), Donato di Niccolo de Bardi, known as Donatello (1386-1466) and Leon Battista Alberti. In 1419 Filippo Brunelleschi created a colonnade of delicate semi-circular arches along the ground floor of the Foundling Hospital in Florence. Each arch was balanced on the floor above by a small rectangular window under a shallow pediment, and the long, low

line of the building was set off by a flight of steps across the entire façade. The motifs were clearly derived from classical Rome. The humanists had recovered Vitruvius's treatise on Roman architecture which provided Renaissance architects with an abundant repertory of classical forms and designs, and Brunelleschi had visited Rome to measure the dimensions of the many ruins which still survived in the fifteenth century. He was influenced moreover by the Tuscan Romanesque vaulting of the eleventh century, which he mistakenly assumed to be a direct survival of Roman style. What was notable however was not the derivation of the forms, although this in itself indicated a rejection of Gothic architecture, but Brunelleschi's original treatment of them. The total effect of the building is to establish a mood of balance, order and serenity which acknowledges its classical inspiration without being slavishly imitative. Brunelleschi developed an outstanding mathematical coherence in his architectural form. At San Lorenzo for example he established an entirely novel pattern of mathematical relationships between the sections of the church. Unlike the Gothic builders, who tried to impress man with his insignificant status and lead him in humility towards the altar, Brunelleschi established a calmer, more rational mood of dignity and stability. Apart from his interest in architecture, Brunelleschi was also a painter. He discovered the specific formula by which one could get an appropriate idea of how an object would take a proportionately reduced shape in the background. In artistic technique, it is called perspective. Brunelleschi's study of perspective was of vital importance in subsequent development of the Renaissance painting. (Maland 1982, 52-53).

Masaccio could be considered as one of the rarest figures in the history of the Renaissance art. He died at the age of twenty-eight only. However, his *The Holy Trinity, the Virgin, St John and Donors* is the one of the iconic works of the Renaissance art. Brunelleschi's influence was clearly felt in this work of art. But it does not lower down the originality of Masaccio's work. Masaccio's work features solid, muscular figures. The light illuminating his paintings gives them a feeling of depth and makes figures and objects appear three-dimensional. The artist's use of perspective also clearly defines the spaces within his paintings. Masaccio's famous works are *San Giovenale Triptych* and *Pisa Altarpiece.* His most celebrated work is the series of frescos for a chapel in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence. Begun in the 1420s but left unfinished, the series was completed by the painter Filippino Lippi in the early 1480s. The frescoes focus on the life and ministry of St. Peter but also feature biblical scenes of Adam and Eve. In a scene entitled *Expulsion from Paradise,* Masaccio used body language and facial expression to show

the profound sadness and anguish of Adam and Eve as they left the Garden of Eden. This scene, along with others by Masaccio, reveals great psychological complexity (Grendler 2004, 54). In the 15th century, the Renaissance artists like Piero della Francesca (c. 1412–92), Andrea Mantegna (1430/1–1506), and Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) paid much attention to the idea of perspective. They gradually developed systems of perspective with a single vanishing point and achieved excellence in foreshortening (the portrayal of three-dimensional figures on a two-dimensional surface in proportions that match those seen by the eye) in their artistic creations. The Renaissance artists created illusion within the reality: it implies that they borrowed from nature but nature was not imitated in their creations fully. Nature was idealized and recreated according to the sense of beauty of the artists in the Renaissance form of art. Sandro Botticelli (1444/5–1510), for example, worked on *contraposto* (the shape of the body when the weight is mostly on one foot) and the way that fabrics draped. Leonardo da Vinci both theorized about and, in his actual paintings, statues, and buildings, experimented with the effects of light on different sorts of surfaces, systems of proportion based on the human body, and compositional structures based on geometric forms (especially the triangle) (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 152).

Donatello (1386-1466) – the sculptor - carefully studied the classical art form at Rome. He was also influenced by the new formula for determining perspective and demonstrated, both in a marble relief of St George and the Dragon and a gilt bronze relief of The Feast of Herod that, like Masaccio, he could create naturalistic figures in a dramatic scene. Donatello's creativity was expressed in terms of realism and vigour of the free-standing statues. These qualities were found in marble relief of *St George and the Dragon* and the *Condottiere Gattemalata*. Donatello recovered nudity from the time since antiquity in his *David*. It expresses the moment of triumph. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) was another renowned architect of this time. In his *Della Pittura* (On Painting), Alberti acknowledged the importance of Brunelleschi and Masaccio in the development of new art form in Renaissance Italy. He also shared with Donatello the joy of the ancients in the beauty of the body and encouraged the study of anatomy. Alberti emphasized on the significance of the arranging figures in dramatic clusters: the aim of this method or outlook was to present art form as a sense of proportion and measurement. Alberti vigorously used Corinthian columns, pilaster strips, semi-circular arches, round medallions and a triangular pediment in the design of a church. He derived the idea from the Roman triumphal arch to build the façade of the church. As he failed to complete the work, it is difficult to assess

the significance of the work. Later, however, he used the same device of a triumphal arch with great success and sophistication in the impressive west front of San Andrea at Mantua. Alberti was remembered for his immense contribution in the field of planning of town house as there was no surviving Roman example in full scale. What he did in the case Giovanni Rucellai's house in Florence was to apply a structure of pilasters and rounded windows to an ordinary three-storey building and designed it as a cube. This approach influenced the generations of the European architects to a great extent. Alberti's scheme embodied certain important innovations in the field of architecture: these were harmonious proportion between whole and part, the rediscovery and use of three great classical orders – that is, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian – in the structure, the lines of pilasters and the crowning cornice. All these features ensured stability and harmony in Alberti's architectural design with profound sense of beauty (Maland 1982, 54-55).

Piero della Francesca (1416-97) was another leading artist who was attracted to the problems of relationship between form and composition on the one hand and between beauty and mathematical proportion on the other hand. He believed that painting could be considered as an expression of planes and solids, the size of which would depend on the distance from the viewer. The paintings of Francesca were logically constructed. Sometimes it is felt that these creativities lack emotions. However, it is not a correct understanding about Francesca's contribution. His paintings are fully latent with emotions, but not in a very exposed manner. Sandro Botticelli (1444— 1510) was an exceptional painter in his age. He unlike the other Renaissance artists found little attraction in the mathematical proportion of anatomy, perspectives and form. His creations were full of flowing lines and graceful rhythms. Sometimes, he is considered as the profound bearer of medieval lineage. However, it is far from true. Botticelli was firmly a Renaissance artist. *The Birth of Venus* was his most famous painting. The direct influence of Masaccio was most strongly felt in the works of Andrea Mantegna (1431 - 1501). The heroic mood, impressive naturalism and elegant poses are the features of Mantegna's works. He carefully studied the classical armour and architecture to provide realism to the scenes from Biblical and Roman history. Giovanni Bellini (1430- 1516) was heavily influenced by the idea of mathematical proportion and perspectives of Mantegna. However, in the later period, he moved to Venice where he learnt the importance of not only of line but also of colour. He learnt to use colour itself as the primary means of establishing the form of an object. In the Florentine

genre of painting proportion and perspective were more important while the Venetian School of Painting put emphasis on the use of colour (Maland 1982, 56-57).

The 15th century, especially the end of the 15th century, witnessed the highest level of the achievement in the field of artistic creativity. During this period, three extraordinarily geniuses appeared: Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Michelangelo Buonarotti (1475-1564) and Raphael Santi (1483-1520). As far as Leonardo is concerned, it is extremely difficult to assess his contribution from a single point of view. First of all, he was a painter. However, he was an expert on geology, botany, anatomy, hydraulics and even aeronautics. He was also an architect and engineer. He was truly a Renaissance man, and even in his own age, he was an exception as far as creativity and search for new knowledge were concerned. Leonardo shared little with the urban based classically inspired humanism produced by the earlier scholars and artists. Rather, he drew his inspiration from scientific curiosity and mystical romantism. These two were the basic components of his creative understanding and experiment. Leonardo learned the crafts of making colours and casting metals in the *bottega* of Verrochio. Verrochio was considered to be one of the most important artists in the late 15th century Italy. Nevertheless, Leonardo was more intuitive and distinct than Verrochio. Leonardo made a major contribution in the figure of the second angel in Verrochio's *Baptism of Christ*. It was truly exceptional from the rest of the creation sharply. It prompted the jealous master to expel the learner from his *bottega*. Leonardo found however no difficulty in getting independent commissions. He worked for Lodovico Sforza at Milan. In the *Virgin of the Rocks* (1483-1486), Leonardo developed a specific rule or technique of composition, which was first used by Jan Gossaert (1478-1532) in his *The Adoration of the Kings* (1510-1515). In this technique, the central figure was given prominence by arranging it in the form of pyramid. Leonardo also painted his *Last Supper* in Milan. After the French invasion in 1499, he returned to Florence. By this time, it was clear that Leonardo developed his own skill, technique and sense of beauty to such an extent which made him completely distinct from his contemporaries. He softened the sharp outline and blended light with shed. He perfectly used the Sfumato technique in his creations. Sfumato is a use of shading to blend areas of light and dark together in oil painting to provide a transition between objects such as a figure and the sky. It uses gentle shading rather than sharp outline to define forms. In Sfumato technique, colours or tones melt with each other so gently that no outline or edges could be found in the painting. Apart from the Sfumato technique, he also achieved remarkable success in practicing *chiaroscuro*

in his creations. *Chiaroscuro* is a style marked by deep shadows and high contrast between dark and light colours. Because of using this technique, in Leonardo's painting, light never falls directly on the face or hands of the principal figures. It glows from inside in a miraculous way. Finally, in the Mona Lisa, which not only demonstrates the pyramidal principle of construction and the mysterious effect of *sfumato* and *chiaroscuro* to perfection, he invented the technique of what he called aerial perspective in painting in the blue mountains of the background. (Maland 1982, 57-59; Grendler 2004, 17, 19).

Michelangelo was primarily a sculptor though his creative excellence was noticed also in the field of poetry, architecture and painting. He was truly unconventional and made certain pathbreaking works, which could not be confined within the limit of time and space. He started his carrier in the city of Florence as a sculptor. Bertoldo di Giovanni, curator of the Medician collection of sculptures at Florence, taught him the technique of *contrapposto*. In the visual arts, it is a pose in which one part of the body twists away from another part, the weight of the body being balanced on one leg rather than two. First achieved in Greek sculpture of the 6th century BC, contrapposto was revived in the free-standing statues of the Renaissance, notably Donatello's David (1430s; Bargello, Florence) and Michelangelo's David (1504; Accademia, Florence). In his *Battle of the Centaurs* (1492), Michelangelo demonstrated his skill in handling a tightly-knit mass of struggling nude figures. His *Pieta* (1498-1499) found a perfect solution to the technical problem of placing a fully-grown man's body across a woman's lap, and the triumphal pose of his *David* (1501-1504) represented the ideal to which all 15th century sculptors had been working. The life of Michelangelo fall in turmoil with the decline of the Medici family in Florence. Eventually he was summoned by the Pope Julius II at Rome in 1502 to construct a tomb which would uphold his fame for ever. Michelangelo gave his consent to the Pope for this work. But Julius II abandoned this plan subsequently which made Michelangelo angry, and he left Rome. Julius immediately pursued him with a commission to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. After initial vacillation, he undertook the work with a condition that he would get complete freedom in doing this job. Julius agreed to the terms given by Michelangelo. He set out to illustrate the Book of Genesis, along with figures of the Old Testament prophets. It is a remarkable work of art in the history of mankind. Michelangelo completed the ceiling in an astonishingly short space of time, working largely without assistants. The work confirmed his status as one of the leading artists of his day. Michelangelo divided first the enormous barrel vault of the Sistine Chapel into panels and

individual scene was painted on each panel. At each intersection there were figures of nude athletics and the prophets and Sybils were disposed along the edges of the vaults. It was also necessary to work out a most elaborate system of perspective so that the individual studies and scenes from the Book of Genesis should carry conviction when seen from the chapel floor. Michelangelo expressed his sculptor's interest in the human form in treating the nude figures here. He in fact depicted the special dignity of human being as a creature of God in his painting. Raphael was another greatest artist of not only of the Renaissance but also of the human civilization. He started his carrier with a series of representations of Virgin and Child. Raphael like all his contemporary artists selected religious themes for expressing their creativities. However, it also true that though they choose religious themes, the expression was imbued religious subjects with a humane and idealised quality, a sublime vision of God become Man, which is truly exceptional. Raphael achieved this excellence in most perfect form, especially in his mature paintings. Raphael did not possess the intellectual quality of Leonardo; the emotion of Michelangelo was also absent in Raphael's personality and creativity. He was however able to appropriate and adapt the best available techniques in his creations without a slight trace of plagiarism. Whatever was borrowed from other sources, it was perfectly transmuted, and evolved as a completely new creation in Raphael's work. He began in Umbria as a student of Perugino (1445-1523). Perugino was one of the finest artists of the last decades of the fifteenth century. Raphael moved to Florence in 1504 where he was influenced by the work accomplished by Leonardo and Michelangelo. In particular he made himself a master of the pyramidal design as the most accomplished painter of Madonnas. *Madonna del Granduca* (1505) of Raphael was a perfect example of this balance. Another major contribution of him was the decoration of the *Stanze* – the suits of room for the Pope's office at Rome. It was the first major work of Raphael at a very impressive grand scale. He depicted divine intervention in the history of the Church, the establishment of the Church, the history of Constantine and the miracles performed by the popes in this work. The most famous room, the Stanza de la Segnatura illustrated the theme of human intellect inspired by God. Raphael was passionately interested in historical detail, an interest indicated by his appointment as surveyor of Roman antiquities, and the iconography of his frescos revealed a profound intellectual understanding of the past. The composition of the decoration of the Stanze is outstandingly organized, balanced and harmonious. He maintained the quality of his works,

as evidenced in the *Galatea*, a brilliant study of pagan beauty, and the *Sistine Madonna* also (Maland 1982, 59-63; Hay 1975, 137).

The Renaissance produced wide range of religious paintings. The elites, the clergy and the public bodies commissioned the artists to produce painting, sculpture and other art forms in a competitive mood. The amount of such smaller production of art form was remarkably vast. Theological advisors were often deputed to provide proper guidance for developing religious content of the art form. It must also be noted that within the overall gamut of religious flavour in the Renaissance painting, other themes also emerged from the very core of the painting. For example, in the choir of S. Maria Novella, Florence, Domenico Ghirlandaio turned the scenes from the lives of the Virgin and St John, painted 1486-90 for the rich banker Giovanni Tornabuoni, into a colourful chronicle of contemporary Florentine life. It must also be noted that the teaching of Savonarola – especially it's aesthetic and mystical aspects - had formative influences on the Renaissance painting. The profound influence of Savonarola could be seen in Botticelli's (1444-1510) *Nativity* in an expressed way. The new religious enthusiasm was of a different and less esoteric kind; it spread after 1510 from the centre of Catholicism, the papal court, and was intimately connected with a reforming zeal which found expression in the Lateran Council. (Hay 1975, 137-138).

A major area of the Renaissance art was the portraiture. In the 15th century, this genre of art form was considered as relatively less important or significant than the mythological or historical expression in painting. Despite this fact, the drawing of portrait became one of the principal modes of art form in Italy during the period under review. The greatest artists during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Leonardo, Raphael, Giorgione, Titian, Lotto - with the one memorable exception of Michelangelo – produced portraits in considerable numbers. It was these High Renaissance artists who solved the contradiction between a theoretical refusal and the actual practice of portrait painting. Leonardo's Mona Lisa (1502) is the first great example of a veritable revolution in portraiture. The Renaissance portrait painting bears all the general elements like half-figure, three-quarter view, eyes meeting the beholder, distant landscape. In addition, inscrutable physical and spiritual perfection of the sitter was manifested in the Renaissance portrait painting. Both Raphael and Leonardo's portraitures expressed spiritual ideal of refined humanity. Titan was also an extremely perfect artist in the field of portrait painting. The

heads embody the ideal of the well-groomed, controlled and perfectly balanced personality. Often, he replaced the traditional half-length by the three-quarter length. It facilitated the elegant posture of the figure. He used warm colours, which established a kind of human contact between the sitter and the spectator (Hay 1975, 139-149).

It is a very pertinent question that whether the Renaissance produced any theory of art or not. The artist like Alberti or Leonardo propounded that the practice must follow a theory. It implies that the status of the artists, the relationships between the artists and the patrons and the urge of creativity would be changed significantly. It was theory that equipped the individual artist for his struggle with reality. The Renaissance theory of art was concerned with two fundamental things. First, it required correctness in representation; the second was the sense of beauty. These two were the main components of the Renaissance theory of art. The Renaissance artists always made an uninterrupted effort to represent the human body correctly and proportionately. It required lot of study and practices that they made. The result was that the Renaissance art produced successfully a very correct, precise and proportionate representation of human body in their painting or sculptor. It created the most major difference between the pre-Renaissance art and the Renaissance art. As far as the sense of beauty is concerned, the Renaissance artists desired to express the spirituality and mysticism in their art form. They considered beauty as a reflection or echo of divine order. The Renaissance artists believed that it could be achieved only through the proportionate representation of harmony on which the universe is based. A theory of expression and propriety had to be allied to that of proportion to guarantee beauty in a work of art. Leonardo, in particular, on the basis of Alberti's findings, demanded that the artist must convincingly express the passions and emotions, and that these must be precisely related to the dramatic content of the story. His *Last Supper* provides an object-lesson in the application of his theory (Hay 1975, 150-151).

The Renaissance artists generally came from the lower middle class. Throughout the 15th century, this specific social background of the artists remained almost unchanged. They did not normally belong to the intellectual class or aristocracy or civil servants. It must also be noted that the honour of painter was higher than the sculptor because painters belonged to the guild of the apothecaries, whereas sculptors ranked as stonemasons with the bricklayers (Hay 1975, 151-152). Therefore, there were internal divisions even within the broad spectrum of artistic creativity in Renaissance Italy.

4(b).3 The Patrons

The Renaissance artists were able to produce enormous amount of art forms largely because they were provided with patrons. It was definitely the extraordinary creativity of the Renaissance artists was the source of ageless creations of innumerable art forms; however, it is also true that the patrons provided the material base and financial security as well as taste that ensured the transformation of the Renaissance imagination into the Renaissance reality. Both artists and their patrons were indispensable for the accomplishment of the Renaissance culture, and mutually dependent on each other.

Peter Burke reminds us that the account of the arts begins with patrons because they chose, in general, the subjects, sometimes the style of building, painting or statue. (Burke 1998, 79). It is also important to note that It was at this period that the medieval craftsman-employee developed into the modern artist and the employer into the patron. (Hay 1975, 152). It was undoubtedly a remarkable change in the history of art and culture, - a change that inaugurated the dawn of age of modernity. It brought the end of the medieval cultural pattern, which provided little scope to the fulfilment of the creativity of the artists. It was during the period of the Renaissance the liberty of artists came to be realized to a great extent because of the changing outlook of the patrons. For example, we can refer to the activities of Isabella d'Este. She was Marchioness of Mantua and one of the most well-known patrons of this period. She always made her best efforts to collect the masterpieces of the most eminent artists like Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Perugino, Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini. She encouraged the artists, the scholars, the humanists and the men of letters for creative works. The elites of the cities like Venice and Florence patronized the work of art. Even the merchants started patronizing the artists. In this context, we must note that this patronization could easily considered as bourgeois patronage. It was indeed a distinct kind of urban culture- the culture of patronization - that evolved in the 15th century Italy. The patronization also came from outside of Italy. In the early 16th century, the non-Italian patrons commissioned substantial work to the Italian artists. These new patrons belonged to the high-status group of the European society: the aristocrats, the churchmen, rulers. There was a growing 'aristocratization' of the process of patronization in outside Italy. It marked the basic difference between Italy and outside Italy as far as the question of patronization was concerned (Burke 1998, 79).

Some illustrations may be useful in understanding the culture of patronization. Cardinal Tamás Bakócz was the primate of Hungary. His chapel in the cathedral at Esztergom was made in the local red marble but in a pure Florentine style. Cardinal Georges d'Amboise was a connoisseur of art. He had specific admiration for work of Mantegna. His château at Gaillon – constructed by an Italian architect – included a loggia (a gallery or room with one or more open sides, especially one that forms part of a house and has one side open to the garden), a study, a chapel (a small building or room used for Christian worship in a school, prison, hospital, or large private house) decorated by an Italian artist and a fountain made in Genoa. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey was also a remarkable figure as far as patronage was concerned. His Hampton Court was grander than the king's court. Wolsey also commissioned a tomb with costly materials (gilt bronze and marble) and an Italian sculptor. The impact of the French invasion on Italy was remarkable in the realm of culture. The artist Guido Mazzoni returned to France as early as 1495 together with the paintings, statues and tapestries, which had been looted from Italy. Florimond Robertet – a French official in the Charles VIII's expedition – acquired a statue by Michelangelo and a painting of Leonardo. The Italian superiority in the realm of culture was widely acknowledged throughout Europe in the 16th century. The French king Francois I discovered the majestic presence of the Italian art, and he invited Leonardo to France. Francois was also interested in sculptor and architecture. He asked the pope to give him the Lacöon, though he was provided with a copy. The royal castle of Chambord was designed by the Italian artists Domenico da Cortona. A new wing was added to the Château at Blois, with loggias imitating those designed by Bramante at the Vatican. The Italian painter Rosso decorated the gallery of the palace of Fontainebleau. The spirit of the Renaissance was manifested in the fresco like *The Expulsion of Ignorance* in this palace. The Renaissance architectural influence was equally manifested in the Spanish king Charles V's new palace at Granada. Margareta of Austria was a patron of painters, sculptors and architect. The Italian artists Jacopo de' Barbari and Pietro Torrigiano spent some time her court. Maria of Hungary commissioned some twenty paintings from Titan. The Italian artist, architects and sculptors were respected in England also. For example, Torrigiano made the tombs of Lady Margaret Beaufort (1511) and King Henry VII (1512); Giovanni da Maiano and Benedetto da Rovezzano worked for Woolsey. Francesco the Florentine made a prime contribution in the rebuilding of the royal palace on the Wawel hill in Cracow (Burke 1998, 79-82).

It is clear from this discussion that the Italian artists, sculptors and architects were able to draw the attention not only of the Italy's elites but also of the European aristocrats. The patronization provided the creators a wider scope of new experiments and made them free from needs of the daily life. New experiments gave birth to the new and innovative creations in every sphere of art and culture. It was a recognition of the superiority of the Italian art form. Both the artists and the patrons were mutually dependent on each other.

4(b).4 Conclusion

No word is enough for the Renaissance art and the artists. It made the most significant differences between the medieval world and the early modern era. The most of the art forms was ageless. These artistic productions opened up new horizons in the realm of painting, sculpture and architecture. They incorporated many old elements of the classical world but these were transformed and provided a new from. The use of colour and the idea of perspective were introduced by the Renaissance painters. It was a new departure in the history of art. The medieval art form came to an end as a result of these changes and introduction of new elements by the Renaissance artists. It initiated the process of transition towards modernity in the realm of culture and art.

4(b).5 Model Questions

1. What are the basic features of the Renaissance art?
2. Write an essay on the development of the Renaissance art in Italy.
3. Discuss about the patrons of art and their role.
4. Make an assessment of the contribution of the Renaissance art?

4(b).6 Suggested Readings

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Unit-5 □ The Historians in the Age of Renaissance

Structure

5.0 Objectives

5.1 Introduction

5.2 The Renaissance Historiography: Origins and Development

5.3 The Perception of History in the Medieval Period

5.4 The Humanist Understanding of History

5.4 The Humanist Legacy

5.5 The New Framework of the Renaissance Historiography: Machiavelli and Guicciardini

5.6 Conclusion

5.7 Model Questions

5.8 Suggested Readings

5.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the development of historiography in the age of the Renaissance:

- The origins and development of the Renaissance Historiography.
- The medieval perception of history in Europe
- The influence of humanism on the perception of history-writing.
- The role of Machiavelli and Guicciardini in the development of a new framework of the Renaissance historiography.

5.1 Introduction

The age of Renaissance is remarkable for fundamental changes in the form and content of art and culture. During the period of the Renaissance, the painters, sculptors and artists

developed new way of viewing or perceiving the beauty in the production of art forms. There was another area where the Renaissance thought had achieved impressive progress. It was the area of production of knowledge in different branches in general and interpreting the past in particular. During the period of the Renaissance history emerged as a distinctly specialized branch of knowledge with a very articulate purpose of understanding the past. The understanding of past using the historical method would be helpful for understanding the present and future. The historians – unlike other writers - had to fulfil certain obligations and to state truth. The historians' truth must reflect paradigms of moral and political behaviour. It implies that the truth produced by the historians should be exemplary in nature. The past experiences would bear great value for understanding of similar context of the present. Here due to this usefulness of history, the historical truth would differ from that of the expression of literature (Baker 1967, 15-16). It was definitely a critical thinking in the perspectives of early modern era. The leading figures in critical enquiry of the past during the period of Renaissance were Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), Biondo Flavio (1392–1463) and Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457) among others.

The modern historical quest of past is relied on systematic critical appreciation of evidences collated against the contextual perspectives of time and space. It is a conscious and rational understanding of the past, - an understanding which would not take anything automatically or without scrutiny. Only variable data could be examined and assessed in the modern analysis of history in a chronological manner. The study of history therefore potentially involves objectivity within its very limit. These modern features of history writing originated from the historical understanding of the past in the early period of the Renaissance though in a rudimentary form. In this unit, we will try to understand the basic aspects of the Renaissance historical thought, its origins and development and its contribution.

5.2 The Renaissance Historiography: Origins and Development

It would not be very wise inference if we consider the Renaissance historiography was a sharp discontinuity from the medieval understanding of history. Epistemologically it carries both continuity and break in many forms. The Renaissance historians drew consciously or unconsciously their ideas from the immediate medieval past. Even the criticism against medieval heritage sometimes played an important role in contextualizing the origin and development of the Renaissance thought. For example, Petrarch's characterization of the medieval era as dark age of ignorance and barbarity could not be separated from some

congenial and suggestive strand of the medieval European thought. The medieval legacy played a significant role in forming the Renaissance historiography. For example, the notion of individualism was an integral part of the historical assessment of any given society and its individual members. The 15th century Italy saw the growth of the idea of individualism and the assessment of the past on the basis of this idea. The Renaissance thinkers discovered the value of individuals in the long-term evolution of history, society and culture. It is an obvious prerequisite for appreciation of the significance of human life in the world with all its particularity. It must be noted that the idea of individualism first originated in 12th century, and it was the challenge of social change that precipitated an upsurge of individual self-consciousness. The individual self-consciousness was expressed in the biographies and autobiographies written in the 11th and 12th centuries. In these writings, individuals' personal experiences were manifested as a new type of understanding of life. This trend became gradually more pronounced in the 14th and 15th centuries. The idea of secularism was also evolved in a rudimentary form during this period. The idea of secularism in late medieval and early modern Europe was not an anti-Christian idea: it was anti-scholastic and it fundamentally opposed to the hierarchal character of medieval sacral society. It recognized the natural, the human and this-worldly. This early modern secularism never denied the existence of god as the supreme creator of the universe. The immanence of god was always expressed in the late medieval political thought very distinctly. It is also important to note that the classical political thought like Platonism and Aristotelianism proposed a worldview, which was static in nature. However, this idea of changeless world in the thought of Plato of Aristotle was a relative concept. Neither Plato nor Aristotle denied the importance of the elements of change in society or history. Both these two classical thinkers proposed the active participation of the members of the community in determining their destiny. This idea definitely involves the recognition of change in both relative and comparative terms. In the late middle era, the Europeans gradually became conscious about the differential developmental patterns of societies. It became possible because of the fact that the European travellers, traders and missionaries started writing descriptive accounts about the eastern civilization and culture. It provided an opportunity to the Europeans to know about the culture, habits, customs etc. of the non-European people and to compare it with that of Europe. Therefore, the early Renaissance scholars contextualized the classical past according to the requirement of their own age on the one hand. They also showed interest about the condition of people of the other countries. Both these factors contributed to the formation of a new sense of time and space, which were relative, comparative and analytical, and also based on evidences (Avis 1986, 2-6).

5.3 The Perception of History in the Medieval Period

The sense of history was largely absent in Europe during the medieval period. In general, people did not understand their world or surroundings historically. The medieval world of Europe was hierarchical and not temporal. In the popular consciousness, there was a common acceptance of the relatively changeless idea of society. Society was accepted as static. People was less concerned about change and comparative assessment. They were satisfied about their present existence. The medieval account of history believed in the reality of an ordered cosmos, and the chroniclers or historians found all the political institutions and religious traditions as rational and harmonious expressions of the cosmos. This medieval philosophical understanding of the world – originated from the Christian theology – did not consider three fundamental elements required for interpreting historical continuity/change. These are critical examination of evidence, sensitivity to anachronism and a sense of causation in history. The medieval historians did not make any distinction between myth and reality or between authentic and forged document. They accepted what they though appropriate to accept. They also lacked the idea of historical perspectives and sense of time. In most cases, their notion of time was mythical. As the medieval understanding of history was devoid of analysis of fact and sense of time, it failed to develop any causative analysis of events. Therefore, the medieval understanding of history was able to offer a descriptive account of past, which was generally void of sense of time and analysis of facts. The first breakthrough came with the intervention of the humanists. (Avis 1986, 6-9).

5.4 The Humanist Understanding of History

Like the medieval conception of writing history, the humanist understanding remained a branch of rhetoric. However, humanism was the first of its kind, which introduced the secular perception in interpreting the past. It broke away with the providential conception of understanding of history. The alternative secular perception offered a new periodization of the European history starting from the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the city-states. It gave up the practice of using biblical chronology in understanding the past. The urban literate class of the Italian city-states in the late medieval and early modern era was less interested in any supernatural explanation of past. They figured out a rational understanding of continuity between the classical age and their own age. As early as in the 12th century, the search for antiquity began in Italy. It generated not only a new sense of

the past but also a new feeling about the aesthetic quality. The desire to admire the aesthetic beauty of the past opened up the possibility of studying past in a comparative historical mode. The search for beauty in antiquity was not possible without studying it properly. This requirement formalized the writing of history in early modern Italy. The deepening political and social change in Italy during the 13th and 14th century also necessitated the development of a discipline like history, which brought political and moral education to the society. The humanist thinkers postulated the idea that the history would actually reflect precedence, which could be used for understanding of the present. Salutati - the humanist political leader of fifteenth-century Florence – argued that the knowledge about the past helped a person to become a good citizen. Therefore, the study of history was considered from a practical point of view – that is, for the sake of present – in the humanist thinking. (Avis 1986, 9-12).

The major contribution in developing the idea of humanist approach towards the past was made by Petrarch, who was supposed to be the first modern man. He had a startling originality. He was probably the first who introduced the idea of introspective self-analysis a art from Augustine. Petrarch's *Letter to Posterity* could be considered as one of the first autobiographies, properly speaking, that offered self-examination and autographical confession. He was a dedicated antiquarian. He was a pioneer in the exploration of ancient ruins and he had clear idea about the real significance and value of the antique relics. According to Burckhardt, Petrarch was the living representative of antiquity. Lorenzo Valla – apart from Petrarch – was another leading Renaissance thinker who made a major contribution in making a difference between the medieval understanding of history and new approach. His work marks a transition from mere critical study of ancient texts to a mature historical understanding. Valla articulated in his historical understanding what happened in reality instead of what should have been or would have been done. For Valla, events have their value in themselves, not in so far as they instantiate moral or other universal truths. Valla's perception of philosophy made his historical understanding critical, as philosophy was more than a way of criticism to him. Philosophy opened up the possibility of understanding of particular culture and ethos of an age. This philosophical understanding enriched Valla's conception of history significantly. He hypothesized the idea of diversity, relativism and sense of progress in his historical understanding. It could be considered as a break with the medieval interpretation of history. Valla's historical method was always depended on strong empirical foundation. He tried to understand the distinctiveness of different cultural achievements, the irreversibility of the historical process and importance of classical sources in interpreting history. Precisely speaking, Valla truly introduced the

comparative understanding of history based on empirical data. His mode of analysis and use of sources intimated the coming of modernity in interpreting the past (Avis 1986, 14-15).

The humanist understanding of history fused enthusiasm for ancient models with pride in contemporary patria, the city-state. The spirit of civic humanism was imbued in Leonardo Bruni's *History of the Florentine People*. It is also clearly noted that the historiography of Bruni and his contemporaries embraced a much broader agenda. The principal feature of the new historiographical agenda was the challenge towards the conventional account about the past. As a part of the ruling class, the humanist historians like Bruni were supposed to write an account of the past and to develop a model of historical understanding, which would satisfy the requirements of the dominant classes of Renaissance Italy. The humanist historians as a part of the inner circle of the ruling class of Italian society took the task of elaborating the past that would also fulfil the need and taste of the readership. It implied a break with the past, that is, the break with the outdated account of the medieval chroniclers. In this perspective, the historian like Bruni felt the necessity of upgrading the presentation of past to a new height. The upgrading of the presentation implied the requirement of new style. The humanist historians gradually replaced straightforward vernacular or the unadorned Latin of the chronicles with the high-sounding classical phrases. A new stylized presentation of history emerged in Renaissance Italy. The decorated Latin was extensively used in this presentation. Nevertheless, style was not the only aspect of new venture of the humanist historians. Bruni and other humanist historians developed a secularized version of history largely devoid of the supernatural elements. In the Renaissance historiography, politics was placed over economic and social features. All the historians of the Renaissance period wanted to discover the causation of historical evolution. The causal interconnection of events was *rationally constructed* in the historical narratives. Though Bruni did not emerge from void, he was however significantly different from not only of his predecessors but also from his contemporaries. The contemporary historians' starting point of writing history was generally the Roman Empire. Bruni, however, selected Italy as his starting point. The Italian territorial state was the focus area of Brunis analysis. The ancient Greek historians like Thucydides and Polybius played an important role in the historical understanding of Bruni. His writings were reflection of causal explanation, sophisticated mode of presentation and analytical use of sources despite the fact that the historian like Bruni had to work in an environment, which was dominated by intense political tension. Bruni wrote history within the very paradigm of politics of city-states of Renaissance Italy. (Breisach 2007, 154; Ianziti 2012, 4-6).

Leonardo Bruni wrote *History of the Florentine People* after the victory of Florence in 1402. It was the most decisive victory of the Florentine people against Duke Giangaleazzo Visconti of Milan. It was the life-and-death struggle of Florence. Bruni's project of writing the history of the Florentine people was based on two specific component: the Florentine people was the hero of his projected history. It was the collective will of the people of the city was expressed in Bruni's writings. The second component was the story of the rise of Florence. The underlying implication of Bruni's logic is that the collective will of the people of Florence made the rise of Florence possible. The Florentine people was the hero in the Bruni's history. Bruni ascribed the success of Florence in the ascendency of republican virtue and ideology of liberty during this period. It is also clear from Bruni's analysis that the decline of republican liberty in the Roman period contributed to the birth of a dark age in Italy and Europe. The rebirth of the ideology of liberty created open space for the citizens of republican Florence, which according to Bruni, was the sole cause of her success. A composite culture of discussion, sharing of opinion and sense of rights and responsibilities was developed in Renaissance Florence, which was the subject matter of Bruni's analysis. Bruin's account was based on the links between the republican city-state, the moral strength of the citizenry and prosperity of Florence. Placing the people in the central position of his work, he emphasized the role of politics in the history of the Florence. He asserted that the individual psyche produced true cause of the change in history. Bruni made his best effort to ascertain the degree of accuracy and to check the validity of data and evidences he used. According to Bruni, history teaches prudence and political wisdom. If history was to be useful, Bruni argued, it had above all to be true, and the chief obligation of a historian was to discover the truth. History to Bruni was monographic. He organized his work around a single theme, - that is, the rise of Florence from an insignificant Roman colony to a great power. To achieve this aim, he rigorously excluded the events not necessarily associated with the rise of Florence. He thus began with the foundation of the city; and he ended with the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1402—an event which, in his opinion, radically altered the relation of Florence to the other Italian states and made possible the outburst of its cultural creativity in the following decades. This theoretical proposition of Bruni contributed to the development of a specific type of history. His analysis failed to include, for example, the aspiration of individuals in history, the role of guilds and the very corporate nature of the Florentine constitution in his historical narrative. Bruni artificially divided the Florentine society into three classes: the nobility of feudal origin, the artisans, shopkeepers and other labouring population, especially the day labourers, and, in between them a middle class of

big merchants and bankers. He consistently judged the so-called middle class unfavourably. (Breisach 2007, 154-155; Cochrane 1981, 5-6). The project of writing history undertaken by Bruni propagated the idea of collective identity, that is, the 'Florentine People' or the 'Florentines'. By using this term, he actually wanted to mean the composite body of urban magistracies, which was constitutionally responsible for making of laws or for executing them in Florence. Bruni's writing upheld the existence of unanimity in making laws among the urban magistrates or within the ruling authority. It is far from true. He indeed completely ignored the internal rivalry persisted within the ruling authority at Florence. His intention was to show a picture of coherence and harmony, which could not always be supported by the available documents. Bruni in fact overlooked abundant materials available to him in this regard. That is why he could not satisfactorily argue why there was a shift in the foreign policy of Florence in the decade of 1370s. Before 1370s, Florence was pro-papacy. After 1370s, she followed ant-papal foreign policy. As far as the internal political structure of Florence was concerned, Bruni consistently defined the Florentine government as a government of people, which was difficult to be conceived as true. It was not a government of the general mass of the city of Florence; rather, it was an oligarchy, which ruled the city in the name of the people. Bruni was possibly aware of the fact that the city-state of Florence was gradually transforming towards oligarchy. However, he did not have any answer of it as a beneficiary of the established system. (Cochrane 1981, 6-7).

The strength of Bruni's analysis of past is that he saw history as evolution of distinct epochs in a sequential manner. Each epoch could be described in terms of its origin, evolution and decline in historical perspective. Each historical epoch was related to a particular political community. Two basic things were important to him for evaluating the achievement of a political community: these were the internal tranquillity and individual creativity. The establishment of justice, law and public order were essential to ensure the spontaneous growth of societal creativity. Historically, the Roman Republic before the conspiracy of Catiline was able to achieve it. In Bruni's era, the Florentine Republic had the capability to achieve it as it possessed these qualities. The Florentine state was a cross between the medieval commune and the Greek polis. It invested power into large number of responsible citizens. All the citizens were subject to law, and law was impersonal. Moreover, the Florentine citizens accepted only the republican form of government as the only form of government. They rejected the imperial form, the medieval political structure and the tyrannical form. The acceptance of the republican from was the primary factor behind the success of Florence as a seat of new genre of culture and civilization. (Cochrane 1981, 7-9).

The Renaissance sense of past and humanist historiographical development was much less evident in the city like Genoa or Venice. The idea of medieval chronicle rather than modern notion of history was still prevalent in these Italian cities. In Florence, the ruling oligarchy felt the necessity to rewrite the past of Florence as a historical account. Such type of requirement was absent in Venice on behalf of the ruling class. The city-state of Milan, however, became a comfortable seat of humanist understanding of history. The representatives of the Milan's riling class – Visconti or the Sforza rulers – realized quickly the importance of viewing past from the humanist point of view. They noted that it would eventually protect their interest. Andrea Biglia – a contemporary of Bruni – wrote a history of Milan from the humanist point of view. Giorgio Merula (1430-1494) and Tristano Calco (1455 ? -) made substantial contribution in writing the history of Milan devoid of the mediaeval features. The humanist historiography of Naples and Rome was relatively poor. Bartolomeo Sacchi (1421-1481) wrote *Lives of the Popes,* which was well informed and critical in understanding. This work was immensely popular because of two reasons. The first reason is that it was a reliable source book for the lives of the popes. Secondly, the Protestants often used it because it contained the description about the corruption of the medieval church. Flavio Biondo (1392-1463) loved the grandeur of ancient Rome. However, he also put much emphasis on the study of ancient ruins. He realized that these were the only trustworthy source for getting knowledge about the past. To be precise, Biondo's writings enhanced the scope of historiography, elaborated the importance of primary sources and evoked the necessity to understand the wholeness of the past. (Breisach 2007, 155-157).

5.4 The Humanist Legacy

The legacy of humanism, especially the influence of Bruni, was felt in the growth of historical writings in Italy during the period under review. Though the initial reception of the humanist historiography in general and Bruni's perception in particular was not very impressive, nevertheless a group of historians started writing historical account following the humanist methodology practiced by Bruni. Giannozzo Manetti (1390-1459) first applied the Bruni's methodology: he wrote not a single episode of the history of Florence but the total history of Pistoia. He selected the period when the city of Pistoia under Florentine dominion. Benedetto Accolti (1415-1464) applied the Bruni's humanistic understanding of history in a completely different field: it was Crusades. He discovered the medieval

chronicles of Crusades, which attracted him to its history. Accolti was interested to know about the Florence response to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and to Pius II's call for a crusade against the Ottoman Turks. He consistently referred to the Muslims as barbarians. It dramatized the speech put into the mouth of Peter the Hermit. The Bruni's principle was also followed by Abdrea Domenco Fiocchi (1400-1452) and Bernardo Rucellai (1448-1514). Fiocchi in his work titled *De Magistratibus Sacerdotisque Romanorum Libellus* sought to explain the names and functions of a great number of Roman public officers. Rucellai also composed a De Magistratibus on the model of Fiocchi's. He was also interested in the ancient archaeology following the footsteps of his father Giovanni. Rucellai's *De Urbe Roma* is an example of his interest in the Roman archaeology. It is true that these humanist scholars expanded the field of investigation about past to a significant extent. Nevertheless, it is equally true that they contributed little in understanding the history of political community, which was the main concern of Bruni. Only exception was Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), who wrote the biographies of several popes. However, in his *Historiae Florentini Populi* (the title is the same as Bruni's), Bracciolini wrote the history of Florence. But, it must be noted that he failed to follow the critical accomplishment achieved in Bruni's writings. Bracciolini generally avoided references to anything that might still be polemical, including the Ciompi revolt. Bartolomeo Scala (1430-1497) also tried to follow the Bruni's example of writing history. However, his *Historia Florentinorum* was an unfinished project. Scala used many information, the quality of which was never sought or validated. The main reason of this inherent weakness of the humanist historiography was that the humanist scholars did make little attempt to understand the nature and purpose of history as a discipline. The writing of history became a tool of the ruling oligarchy for legitimizing their rule, power and authority largely. The rigour of history became subservient to the interest of an oligopoly. Consequently, the humanist scholarships developed a particular type of writing history often devoid of precision in data handling and interpretation of evidences. (Cochrane 1981, 26-33). History became a tool of the powerful in the politics and society. For example, the domestic history in Venice was a state monopoly, and the demand of the state was to legitimize the myths in the past of Venice. In Lucca, domestic history was a matter of delicacy and no one dared to publish even the writings of medieval chroniclers. However, it should be noted that the critical development of the humanist historiography did not take place not simply because of the censorship of the Italian city-states. The precision in use of data and crosschecking of evidences were absent in many respects in these writings. It weakened the very foundation of the history as a discipline. There was no even external

vantage point from which the humanist historians could assess the merits and demerits of their writings and standardize these writings critically accordingly. (Cochrane 1981, 479-487). All these factors led to the demise of the humanist historiography quickly.

5.5 The New Framework of the Renaissance Historiography: Machiavelli and Guicciardini

Machiavelli (1469-1527) is an extremely important figure in the development of modern historiography in the period of the Renaissance. It is not because of the fact that he was considered to be an extraordinary historian; rather, he was not at all outstanding as a historian. Therefore, his understanding is still highly relevant because of the fact that his writings provided impetus to the crystallization of secularism, empiricism and indirectly relativism – all these are the basic requirements of the modern historiographical quest. Machiavelli's historiographical thought definitely evolved within the framework of humanist ideology, and he undoubtedly considered the literary and rhetorical expression of the dominant historiographical traits as most acceptable. However, he was able to develop an understanding about past, which was theoretically more critical. Firstly, Machiavelli did not attach any importance to faith in understanding history; he put emphasis on experience instead of faith. The human existence was objective and real to him, and not at all metaphysical in nature. In historical understanding, moral or religious perspective was unimportant to Machiavelli. To be precise, method to understand history was descriptive instead of prescriptive in the Machiavellian world. In this way, Machiavelli liberated the study of past from the shackles of moral and religious beliefs and provided the impetus to the growth of a scientific history.. Secondly, he interpreted the societal changes in the context of expansive power structure in a given time period. To him, power tends to expand its sphere and embrace everything as an autonomous process unless and until it faces a superior power. Thirdly, Machiavelli always made effort to penetrate the surface of a given reality to understand the truth. He used the term *necessità*. It implies the deep human passion behind any historical action. (Avis 1986, 30-31). The most essential point is that Machiavelli did not have any illusion or romanticism about past. It was in his writings and approach, the notion of power was first crystallized in concrete form. Machiavelli as well as Guicciardini (1483-1540) were always interested in making amalgamation of history with political theory. (Bod et al 2010, 352).

The political context of new framework of the Renaissance historiography was the invasion of France in Italy in 1494, the event, which was popularly known as 'Calamità d'Italia'. The tragedy began in the Italian political context with the invitation sent by the Ludovico Sforza of Milan to Charles VIII of France to forge an alliance against Republic of Venice. The invasion of the French king initiated long-term war in the Italian city-states and destabilized Italy's political structure. There was a change of the regime in Florence because of the ensuing war. The Medici was deposed. A republican form of government assumed the power in the city until the return of the Medici in 1512. The French invasion of 1494 was the beginning of several decades of war between changing alliances of Italian states and foreign powers. In 1526 Pope Clement VII, born Giulio de' Medici, formed the League of Cognac with France, Venice, Florence and Milan to drive the Habsburg powers – the Holy Roman Empire and Spain – from Italy. The war between the League of Cognac and Emperor Charles V brought about one of the most disastrous events in Italian history: the sack of Rome by German troops in 1527. This crisis affected the life and career of Machiavelli. In 1498, Machiavelli became the secretary to the Second Chancery in Republican Florence. However, with the return of the Medici to power in Florence in 1512, he lost his official position. In 1520, the pope Clement VII commissioned him to write a history of Florence. He finished *Istorie fiorentine* in 1525, and it was published in 1532. Machiavelli argued that the chief problem of Florence was his internal strife between the various factions. Machiavelli's *Istorie fiorentine* is consisted of eight books starting with the foundation of the city and ending with the death of Lorenzo il Magnifico in 1492. The death of Lorenzo de' Medici inaugurates a disastrous period in Italian history, according to Machiavelli. Therefore, from Machiavelli's analysis, it is clear that the Italians were themselves responsible for their tragic fate. No external factor could be counted for the calamity in 1494. In fact, Ludovico Sforza's ambition is a central factor in Machiavelli's explanation of the 'Calamità d'Italia', and perhaps even more important is the inability of others to stop the sequence of disastrous events. It is not unthinkable that Machiavelli also includes himself in this group because of his role in Florentine politics in the decades before and after 1500. (Bod et al 2010, 353-356). Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), was born into one of the grand aristocratic families of Florence and educated as a lawyer. He wrote the history of Italy between 1490 and 1534. His understanding of historical past of Italy was also pessimistic like Machiavelli. According to Guicciardini, the erroneous decisions of the key personalities of Italy were responsible for decline of Italy. (Bod et al 2010, 356).

A critical understanding of the writings of Machiavelli and Guicciardini shows that the early stage of modern historical consciousness was manifested in their argument as well as in the presentation. Both Machiavelli and Guicciardini were able to create distance from the past, which is essential for developing an 'objective' view of history. The predecessors of Machiavelli and Guicciardini – the 15th century humanist historians – assumed the past and present as a continuous space. It was because of the fact that the past was considered a source of moral lesson to the humanist historians. In other words, moral issues influenced the historical consciousness of the 15th century humanist historians. The philosophical foundation of the Machiavellian historical consciousness, on the contrary, was centred on the primacy of politics.

5.6 Conclusion

The development of historical consciousness was a crucial aspect of the Renaissance humanist ideology. It is undeniable fact that the humanist historians initially prepared the ground of writing about past on the one hand and liberated it from the theological understanding of medieval Europe. The humanist historians first introduced the notion of collection and study of facts or data from various sources and arranged the facts about past in sequential order. The secularization of history was made possible because of the humanist historians despite the fact that they were confined within the dominant power structure of the Italian city-states. As far as the question of power politics is concerned, the Machiavellian framework was more rigorous and objective. It created a real distance with the past, thereby introduced the element of modernity in understanding and interpreting the past through the discipline of history.

5.7 Model Questions

1. Discuss the origin and development of humanist historiography in Italy.
2. What was the perception of history in the medieval period?
3. What were the basic features of the humanist historiography?
4. What was the contribution of the humanist historiography? Write briefly about the weakness of the humanist understanding of history.
5. What was the contribution of Machiavelli and Guicciardini in writing history?

5.8 Suggested Readings

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Block IV:

Origins, Course and Results of the European Reformation in the 16th century

Unit-6 □ Origins

Structure

6.0 Objectives

6.1 Introduction

6.2 The Structure of Christianity in Medieval Europe

6.3 The Development of Heresy and Heretical Doctrine

6.3.1 The Waldensian Movement

6.3.2 John Wycliffe and the Lollard Movement in England

6.3.3 John Huss and the Heretical Movement in Bohemia

6.4 Conclusion

6.5 Model Questions

6.6 Suggested Readings

6.0 Objectives

The fundamental objectives of the present unit are to understand the following aspects of the origins, course and results of the European Reformation in the 16th century:

- Both the structure of Christianity in medieval Europe and growth of heresy and heretical doctrine.
- The Waldensian Movement, John Wycliffe and the Lollard movement.
- The role of John Huss in the Reformation movement and heretical movement in Bohemia.

6.1 Introduction

The Reformation movement is the major religious and intellectual movement in the early modern European society, which gave a new direction in the world of faith and organizational structure of Christianity. It tried to reorient the lives of Christian people to

a supposedly pure form of belief and faith. It was assumed to be a journey towards more originality in the domain of religion and theology than what was practiced in reality. Therefore, the Reformation movement did not intend – at least initially – to build an alternative church against the established one. The best possible way to judge it is that it needs to be considered as neither a single homogenous movement nor a movement under the leadership of any single leader. The Reformation movement was, on the contrary, far from a unified, cohesive and structured movement. The leaders of the movement did not always have control over the expectations of the masses; the expectations of the masses were not always fully fulfilled in the movement. The meaning of the movement was not a determined phenomenon. It was multiple and indeterminate. The Reformation movement had different shades and layers, and with the change of time and space, it underwent critical transformations. It was not a single movement. It needs also to be remembered that it was a movement of early modern period. It implies that the Reformation movement was an integral part of the Europe's transition from medieval era to the modern one. It contributed to the efflorescence of religious understanding and theological propositions undermining the medieval notion of a single hierarchical religious order sponsored by the Catholic Christian church.

6.2 The Structure of Christianity in Medieval Europe

The Catholic Christianity was the dominant religion in medieval Europe. The Pope was the institutional head of the majority of the European Christians. There were few areas in Europe, which were not under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. For example, the Balkan territories of southeast Europe – the areas under the Byzantine Empire – followed the Greek Orthodox Church. In Eastern Europe, Muscovite Russia was also under the influence of Orthodox Church. Finally, in southern Spain, Granada formed the last remnant of the once great Moslem emirate of al-Andalus. The Christian people of Europe in general accepted the Roman Christianity as their religious faith. Precisely speaking, all baptized Christian followed the Pope as their supreme religious head. It was more than acknowledging the Catholic Church and the Pope as the supreme religious organizational structure and divine head respectively. It believed that the saving power of God could be found only in the work and rites of an authoritative Church descended by a reliable and continuous tradition from the time of the Apostles. The continuity and

permanence of ministry were the two basic sources of the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church. This spiritual authority of the Church was not transient or volatile: it was permanently embedded in the medieval European society. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council proclaimed that 'there is indeed one universal Church of the faithful, outside of which nobody at all is saved'. This was the most authoritative and defining statement of the power, authority and hegemony of the late medieval Catholic Church in Europe. (Cameron 1999, 81-82). To the Catholic Christians, the most essential and sacred components of Christianity were baptism and salvation. Through the ritual of baptism, one individual soul is truly incorporated within the belief system and organizational structure of Catholic order. In other words, without baptism, one cannot be Catholic Christian. It essentially a manifestation of the most profound transformation of a human condition, according to Catholic theology, by accomplishing both death and a rebirth sacramentally. Infants are baptized not because of the fact that they are born sinful but because they are given the gifts of sanctification, righteousness and filial adoption. It expresses the initiation and washing away of the sins. (Patte 2010, 93-94; Cooper 1996, 19-20). Salvation in Christian theology suggests salvation from those elements in human life, which separates human being from God. These elements are sin and evil. (Patte 2010, 1125-1126). The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) resolved that after reaching spiritual adulthood, at least an annual confession of sins to a priest, followed by reception of the Eucharist – bread, consecrated through rituals performed by a priest should be an obligatory religious duty of a Christian. It was the requirement of the Canon Law. Baptism and confession – the two fundamental sacraments – sustained the Christians in grace; it allowed a Christian full communion with God after death. Most Christians received the crucial sacraments as members of a parish community, from their parish curate (Wallace 2004, 32).

During the Carolingian period, the parish (*parochia*) system was gradually evolved within the organizational structure of the Catholic Church. At the core of the parish system, there was a mother church enjoying the full power of baptism. Since the 5th century, parish became a geographic subdivision of a diocese having at least one priest for providing religious services. It had to accomplish multiple functions in the religious structure of the Catholic Church. The parish was the centre of community life in medieval Europe. It was the repository of records of baptism, marriages and funerals. It also had a role in the local civil government and assumed pastoral role for all the persons living in the area. (Patte 2010, 925). The demographic growth of the medieval period resulted into the widespread

formation of parish churches but not at all in a systematic manner. It contributed to the development of tension between the parish church and the mother church over the issues of rights and resources. The parish priests often charged fees for their services on the parishioners. One of the reasons of these additional fees was that the parish clergies tried to cover the amount of revenue extracted from them by the mother churches. The tithe was also extracted from the masses in lieu of different types of religious services provided by the church. The exploitative nature of the tithe system also created tension in the late medieval society of Europe. The people also had to provide additional gifts to support the parochial activities. While there was lack of religious service in the rural areas, the urban areas were infested with clergy. There were churches, monasteries and convents in the cities and towns. The urban educational institutions from grammar schools to universities were ecclesiastical bodies, whose administrators, teachers, and students claimed clerical status. (Wallace 2004, 32-35). The general masses of medieval Europe wanted spiritual assurance from a reliable source, and the church was this source. This assurance was extremely important in the life of medieval people because of the fact that everything was insecure during this period. The sources of insecurity were multiple: high rate of infant death, epidemic, famine, war, natural calamities and so on and so forth. People were afraid not only of everyday struggle for survival but also of fate of human being after death. The Death, Judgement, Hell and Heaven were the 'Four Last Things' in the dominant Christian theology. The Art of Dying (*Ars moriendi*) – a Latin text composed in between 1415 and 1450 – proposed the best procedure and protocol regarding dying. It stressed that all the sins must be confessed before death. It was a world dominated by fear of losing everything both individually and collectively. Only a total submission to the Church could rescue one from falling into disgrace in the trajectory of life and death. (Cameron 1999, 82). Therefore, the Christian church was the principal dominant force in the medieval world of Europe having an absolute control over the everyday life of the common masses. No rational and practical wisdom could function under this closed atmosphere dominated by religion and belief system. It was reinforced since 1215 when the annual confession of sins to a priest became almost obligatory. The late medieval people in Europe participated in this collective and shared religious culture enthusiastically in order to be safe and secure even after death.

During the late medieval period, with the confession of sins, penance became an inevitable part of the religious life of the common masses in Europe. It had to be performed

by the penitent. Otherwise, it was commuted into some good works or 'indulged' remitted to the church. In the end of the middle ages, the church aggressively started remitting the penances. The extraction of remittance became widespread. Even from the 1470s, the church surprisingly imposed fee even for the dead people. This claim marked the high water mark of 'Catholic' assumptions of the visible Church's ties to the celestial hierarchy. In 1500 bogus papal bulls circulated among the pilgrims dying of the plague in the north Italian plain, in which the Pope apparently commanded the angels in heaven to transport the souls of dead pilgrims straight to paradise. It shows the absolute expansion of the power of church in the way of life of the Christian people. (Cameron 1999, 86-87).

6.3 The Development of Heresy and Heretical Doctrine

This expansion of the power and dominance of church was not however unquestionable. There were traces of dissentions, criticisms and heresy in late medieval Europe, which prepared the ideological ground of the Reformation movement. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that it was not a pan-European movement offering an open challenge to the existing dominant structure of Christianity. It was chiefly localized, diverse and uncoordinated. It did not possess any single leader or organizational structure. Therefore, based on substantive data, it is difficult to argue that late medieval religious dissention seemed to be a serious threat to overall domination of the Catholic Church. However, at the same time, we must not underestimate the significance of the heretic traditions in the history of early modern Europe. In the late 14th and 15th centuries, there was a renewed interest in the Aristotelian thought especially in Oxford and Prague. It believed in the existence of the universals as real entity rather than semantic abstraction. It implies that there must have been a universal church. One of the basic aspects of the growth of dissention in Western Europe and to some extent in Bohemia was that it was intellectually proletarianized. Consequently, the understanding of late medieval heresy became a problematic. As the development of heresy was localized and diverse, it manifests different facets and not always connected with each other in any way. The sources of understanding heresy are the juridical records, which contain the statement of the accused in heretical activities. The accused had to admit their heretic activities and sins in the judicial record. These records lack internal consistency and do not express the underlying beliefs of the accused always as these were the discourses of the interrogators and not of the person who was

interrogated. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the historians to read carefully the available documents on the heretic activities in order to find out the belief, passion and argument of those who first challenged the authority and dominance of the established church system. (Po-chia Hsia 2004, 3-4).

6.3.1 The Waldensian Movement

The 'Waldensian' was the first heretical movement, started by Valdesius of Lyon in as early as 1170s, about which the documentary evidences are available. The fundamental features of the movement were self-abnegation, voluntary poverty and preaching in vernacular. The followers of Valdesius insisted to preach publicly whether the authority approved it or not. Though the beginning was very humble, nevertheless it gradually started spreading and acquiring strength. It became clear from the fact that the organized inquisition was instituted against the Waldensian movement between 1230 and 1250. The inquisition was however not able to completely crash this heretic movement. Between 1260 and 1300, the followers of the movement were entrenched in some specific geographical regions like Quercy and the west-central Pyrenean regions of present-day France. They were, however, wiped out by the authority within the mid-14th century from this region. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the movement was completely petered out. A successor heretic movement emerged in western Alps. The areas like Piedmont-Savoy and the Dauphiné became the centres of Waldenses. The local authority tried their best to subdue the dissents. Nevertheless, the solidarity of the community and the difficult terrain created formidable defence before the social and religious authority. It proved to be an alarm to the established church as well as to the secular authority. Finally, in the winter of 1487-88, joint armed forces of the ecclesiastical and secular officials attacked the Waldensian lay followers of the Dauphiné after a crusade bull from Pope Innocent III. A total of 160 people were killed; perhaps ten times that number were dragged through the humiliation of ritual penance. Yet even this did not subdue them. They made full (and surprising) use of all legal means to seek redress: after a 20-year legal process they obtained from a special ad hoc royal-cum-papal tribunal at Paris the cancellation of the acts of the inquisition and the crusade made against them. It was a surprising victory of the religious rebels and an example of the internal solidarity and confidence of the nonconformists. The links were established between the Alpine Waldenses and the similar groups in northern France. They also migrated beyond the Alpine regions. For example, a large

number of the members of this heretic community migrated to Luberon, east of Avignon in Provence during the 15th century. The Waldensian community was also active in Lombardy, central northern Italy and possibly some areas of further south. There was sharp conflict between the orthodox preachers and the dissenters in Italy during this period. Despite the ecclesiastical oppression, the heretic movement began to spread in Austria and Germany in the early 13th century. The Waldensians were settled in the different parts of Danube valley as small communities between 1260 and 1400. The German cities like Mainz, Augsburg, and Strasbourg witnessed the growth of Waldensian protest around 1400. The urban centres like Bern and Fribourg also came under the influence of the heretic protest. The Swiss Confederation was also an area of heretic movement during the same period. (Po-chia Hsia 2004, 5-6).

6.3.2 John Wycliffe and the Lollard Movement in England

Similar heretic movement emerged in England in the late medieval era. It came to be known as the Lollard movement. It was an indigenous heretical movement expressing non-conformism and challenging the established religious authority. The theological origin of the Lollard movement was the thought of John Wycliffe (1330-1384). He taught in the University of Oxford. Wycliffe earned reputation as a learned academician of religious thought. His reputation was not confined only to England. In the continental Europe in general and Bohemia in particular. Wycliffe had profound influence on John Huss. He challenged the much of the traditional theology and ecclesiology of the Church. It undermined Catholic doctrine on the sacraments, on the institutional Church and on priesthood. Wycliffe drew a distinction between the invisible Church of true Christians and the visible and fallible historical institution. Only true Christians were righteous with God; and if bishops and priests ceased to be in a state of grace, Wycliffe argued that they should be deprived of their offices. He made a convergence of two different ideas: the reality of universals with a strict predestinarianism and a conviction that only those who were in a state of grace could validly bear dominion and exercise ministry in the church. This specific theory was applied in the everyday religious life by his followers. They avoided the established religious order through a ministry of traveling ‘poor preachers’. They brought vernacular scriptures to the lay people and circulated a morally earnest Gospel, which (if realized in practice) would radically have simplified the ritual and cultic life of late medieval Christianity. This movement produced large volumes of sermons and scriptural exegesis in

vernacular. As a most renowned authority on religious and theological thought – unlike the medieval heretic preachers – Wycliffe contributed to the growth of the Lollard movement in late medieval England. This movement lasted until the 16th century when it merged with the Protestant movement. The significance of the teaching of Wycliffe is evident from the fact the he has been viewed as the forerunner of Martin Luther and other Protestant reformers of the 16th century. He promulgated the doctrine of the Eucharist, which emphasized the spiritual over physical. In fact, Wycliffe was possibly the first who offered an alternative of the Catholic Church and its hegemony. His reinterpretation of the Christian theology actually inspired a people who wanted to get rid of the dogmatic religious structure of Catholicism. (Po-chia Hsia 2004, 5-6; Frassetto 2007, 151-152; Wallace 2004, 58).

It is true that the context of the movement intellectually and theologically inspired by Wycliffe was specifically England. Nevertheless, the fundamental issue around which the Lollard movement emerged had certain general characteristics. The most pertinent issue was the relationship between the scripture and ecclesiastical hierarchy. Wycliffe and his followers persuasively embraced the scripture and simultaneously rejected certain core tenets and practices of the institutional church. It was the nucleus of the Lollard movement. The followers of Wycliffe though came from diverse social background; however, they in principle questioned the top-heavy church's interference in the individual Christian's contact with scripture and the Word of God. Wycliffe rejected the idea of transubstantiation, refuting the Church's explanation that although the appearance of bread and wine remain the reality is Christ's body and blood, and rejecting orthodox doctrine that Christ's presence in the consecrated wafer and wine is the same bodily Christ born to Mary. The long-standing principles of the Christian theology and religious practices suddenly faced a very serious challenge from the teaching of Wycliffe. He was forced to retire from the university and spent the rest of his life in Leicestershire. The followers of Wycliffe were generally known as 'Wycliffites' or 'Lollards'. The term Lollards originated from the Muddle Dutch verb *lollen*, which means mumble. The hostile members of the established church preferred to call them Lollards. It was applied to those who mumbled and muttered prayers under their breath. On the Continent, it served as a general designator for wandering men of suspicious piety. The term Lollard was already being specifically applied to Wycliffites in episcopal registers and other ecclesiastical documents in England. It is clear from this multiplicity and overlapping usages of terms that the followers of Wycliffe were

fully constituted in a single cohesive organized body. On the contrary, they represented a shared view on religion, theology and world. They have a very distinct outlook to the contemporary Church and key texts. They perceived themselves as embodying the true original Church set in signal opposition to the corrupted institutional authority of pope and clergy. This community of the Lollards may be considered as a constitution of family (or families) having gradations and variations. It was not a neat organization with uniform and static set of theological principles. In many cases, local heretic ideas were infused in the original tenets of Wycliffe. Thus, a multi-coloured array of ideas and practices evolved in England in the field of religion and society. (Deane 2011, 225-226).

The teaching of Wycliffe spread beyond Oxford and attracted a considerable number of followers. The reaction of the Church against the followers of Wycliffe help us to understand the extent of the heretic teaching. Bishop Wykeham of Winchester reprimanded four of Wycliffe's most ardent supporters including Nicholas Hereford and John Aston for teaching Wycliffe's faulty understanding in north Hampshire. William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, took a leading role in subjugating the heretic activities of the followers of Wycliffe. Despite, the teaching of Wycliffe continued to grow in England. The interesting point is that a sizable section of the lower clergy, often unemployed, embraced the Wycliffe's theological interpretation. These economically poorer sections found the teaching of Wycliffe suitable for themselves. For example, men like William Swinderby of Leicester played important role in spreading the teaching of Wycliffe in the decades of 1380s and 1390s. A large number of people was influenced by William Swinderby. Although he disappears from the historical record in 1392, his influence extended far beyond through the message he spread and the members he converted. In 1395, the followers of Wycliffe published a declaration known as Twelve Conclusions, which highlighted the issues like the sorry state of church in general. It questioned the different religious claims of Christian church like transubstantiation. The idea of exorcisms, ritualistic blessings, prayers for the dead, and pilgrimage was also rejected. The Twelve Conclusions also insisted upon the separation of religious and secular. This declaration was presented before the Parliament. Though the Parliament did not respond to it, the Twelve Conclusions became an integral part of the heretic doctrine of the followers of Wycliffe. The influence of the teaching of Wycliffe was evident in Oxford even after the twenty years of his death. In 1407, Thomas Arundel – the successor of William Courtenay – opined that the undergraduate students be interrogated monthly by hall wardens about their theological

opinions. A section of the elites also extended their support to Wycliffe as his doctrine proposed the separation between the religious power and secular power. In this respect, the ideas proposed by Wyclif and circulated by his followers provided ammunition to the side of secularism in the centuries-old struggle between pope and king. Influential knights contributed in turn to the movement, providing not only protection from Church authorities but also the financial backing necessary for the writing and distribution of Wycliffite texts. The Bible was translated in English by the year 1397. It was an opportunity before the lay people to understand the gap between the teaching of Bible and the actual function of the church. Despite the inquisitorial bonfires, two-fifty copies of Bible survived. A compilation of Wycliffe's writings was also available during this period. All these texts helped to diffuse the movement. (Deane 2011, 226-230).

The growing popular discontent against the established church was finally took a shape in 1414 with the revolt of Oldcastle. Sir John Oldcastle - a secular leader of the movement - raised rebellion in 1414 after his conviction for heresy. However, the authority successfully crashed the revolt. Many of the followers of Oldcastle were fined, forced to recant their heresy or executed. Oldcastle himself managed to avoid arrest for years until he was finally captured and burned at the end of 1417. (Frassetto 2007, 172-173; Deane 2011, 233-234). The defeat of the revolt of Oldcastle however does not mean the end of heretic ideas in England. There were growing interests among the lay communities regarding the role of church. The small groups of true men and true women flourished within the local orthodox population in England between the early 14th century and mid-16th century. The heretic religious ideas and sometimes the family structure played an important role in consolidating the integrity of these groups. It is difficult to understand the growth of heretic religious ideas in early modern England, especially the belief, outlook and consciousness, as this belief system was diverse and not controlled by any centralized command structure. The heretic belief system was shared but not identical. In most cases, the members were self-identified. Therefore, the study of conventional records of church cannot provide adequate data on this type of movement. Another interesting point is that there were shifts in the heretic belief system in the 15th and 16th centuries. The followers of Wycliffe in many cases went beyond the doctrine of their master. The sporadic development of heretic ideas took place in Europe also. For example, some insisted upon the priesthood of all believers; some called for the radical disendowment of the Church and the establishment of communal property. The heretic preachers - possibly part of the lower order of the society -

developed these diverse ideas. Both the material and intellectual conditions played an important role in the development of these diverse communitarian ideas offering a radical reorganization of the existing church. It was the social and economic inequality that prepared the ground of the popular discontent; the social-psychological and intellectual content of the movement was supplied by the people like Wycliffe. In the early years of the heretic movement, especially up to 1430, the individual wandering preachers played a critical role in spreading the heretic thought in different localities of England. By the late 15th century, the lay people instead of clergy began to play a very important role in preaching the heretic ideas. Domestic space evolved in sharing religious ideas within the hereticized communities. House and church were always mutually exclusive in the subversive interpretation. East Anglian groups, for example, met not in a chapel or traditionally sacral space, but in the humble "chesehous chambr" of a Friend's home. One major consequence of this fusion of sacred and secular space was that it enabled each group to conduct its own affairs with minimal interference or risk of discovery; a second was that a community's deep local roots allowed it to survive even if individual members were accused of or condemned for heresy. One interesting point is that in many cases the believers in heretic thought consciously suppressed their mentality, outlook and consciousness in the daily life. They attended mass, received the Eucharist, confessed orally, and generally blended into parish life in order to evade detection. Therefore, it is another reason why the historians find little data about them. The apparent peace and harmony prompted the ecclesiastical officials to conclude that the danger had passed. Meanwhile, however, believers continued to read books among their groups, to share them with one another, memorizing scripture, studying Wycliffite texts, and listening to sermons infused with their own truths. It was never an organized movement. But, the man like William White of Norwich or Robert Silkby of Coventry travelled from one region to other region and spread the religious teaching containing the elements of heresy. It created contact among the people having belief in so-called true Christianity and true church. It was an informal network, which was not always distinctly visible socially. (Deane 2011, 234-240). The development of an informal network was one of the reasons for the success of the heretic groups like Lollard's survival. Their existence continued until 1520s-1530s when the heretic ideas were gradually submerged with the emerging Protestant movement. This merger process was so smooth that the contemporary investigations failed to distinguish between the Lollards and the Lutherans. It indicates that the long-term evolution of the heretical thought in England in the early modern era.

6.3.3 John Huss and the Heretical Movement in Bohemia

The impact of the thought of Wycliffe was more felt in Bohemia in comparing with other parts of Europe. Indeed many scholars believe that Jan Hus (1369–1415) and the Hussite movement as derivatives of Wycliffe and the Lollards. Though it is not an altogether wrong assumption, nevertheless the specific context of Bohemia also played an extremely important role in the development of the heretic ideology. It is now an almost accepted view that the Hussite movement was not essentially a duplicate of the English Lollard movement. The factors, which made the Hussite movement distinct, were the complex political condition of Bohemia, flexibility of the Hussite movement and the radical outlook of the followers of Huss. Two things are important regarding the Hussite movement: firstly, the death of Jan Huss on July 6, 1415, which created unprecedented tension in Bohemia leading to the establishment of independent national church; secondly, the unique role played by the subaltern masses of Bohemia – both men and women – in establishing the national church. The Hussite movement was not only a reformation movement but it also possessed revolutionary character. It was a revolution of the late medieval period. It was the most critical turning point in the history of heretical movement: it marked the end of both the dissenting efforts of the rebel Christian groups and the existence of unified Roman Church. The next stage of historical evolution of the crosscurrents within the Christianity was the development of the Protestant Movement under the leadership of Martin Luther. Therefore, the Hussite movement prepared the ground for this quantum leap in the history of the Roman Christian theology. The heretical movement of Bohemia was not originated from the killing of Jan Huss in 1415: it had its own pre-history. The Bohemian reform movement of Jan Huss was specifically rooted in the milieu of local politics and the reform movement of Prague in the mid-14th century. The kingdom of Bohemia was a frontier province of the Holy Roman Empire in the 10th and 11th centuries. The slow assimilation with the Empire took place in 12th and 13th centuries. There were other developments in Bohemia also: the rise of population, the growth of trade and commerce and the development of a literate culture. Urban culture gradually prospered in Bohemia. The capital city Prague was a lucrative trading centre for the traders. It stood in the intersection between Italy and Germany. During the period of Charles IV, certain developments tool place in Bohemia. Firstly, he established Charles University in Prague. It was the first university in the Holy Roman Empire, and soon became the centre-point of cultural and intellectual life of Bohemia. There was spurt of a thriving cultural ethos around the

University. Secondly, he fostered a close relationship with the pope in France and opened the Bohemian Church to broader papal influence than desired by many local citizens. Thirdly, he invited a famous Austrian cleric, Conrad Waldhauser, to preach reform in his lands. Waldhauser made an attack against the deviation of the clergy from the true Christian practices. Though he became unpopular among the clergies, a group of followers emerged around his thinking after his death in 1369. His teaching provided impetus to sow the first seed of reform in Bohemia. During the same period, the German domination on Bohemia and on the University of Prague alienated the Czechs. The literate Czechs felt the blooming of a new culture in the 14th centuries. It came to be coincided with the critique of established religious practices. The corruption and abuse of the church became visible. The Church was regarded as worldly and too concerned with land and wealth, a problem exacerbated in Bohemia by the fact that the Church was the greatest

land owner in the kingdom – greater than the King himself. The wealthy Church and the corrupt clergy stood in stark contrast to the simple, poor Czech clergy. It resulted to the creation of demands for reform within church and for the rejection of the German clergy. Another interesting development took place in Europe during the same period, especially since 1378. It is known as the Great Schism: it divided the European nations into two major camps. One group supported the Pope in Rome and other group stood for the Pope in Avignon. It was an extreme hostility. Both popes excommunicated each other. This rivalry exposed the inherent weakness of the church in late medieval Europe, and it was increasingly felt that the reform of the church was necessary. The crisis in Bohemia was deeper when the Great Schism broke out. With the death of Charles IV the golden age of Bohemia came to an end. His son Wenceslas IV (1378–1419), who succeeded Charles IV, was relatively a weak king. He failed to secure imperial coronation for him. Both the royal family and the nobility exerted pressure on him. (Deane 2011, 247-250; Wallace 2004, 60-61; Frassetto 2007, 175-177). Because of his weak position, Wenceslas was not able to take any firm position in the religious issues.

Two important factors played role in articulating the heretic ideas in Bohemia during this period. Firstly, the marriage of Wenceslas to an English princess nurtured an interchange of scholars and manuscripts between Oxford and the Charles University at Prague. These exchanges brought Wycliffe's ideas in Bohemia. Wycliffe's criticism against the deviation of the institutional church from the true path attracted the Czech teachers and students. His views on the Eucharist also found adherents. Secondly, the disciples of

Waldhauser – especially Jan Miliè of Kromìøíž (c.1325–74) – were active in circulating the heretical ideology. Miliè was the founder of the Czech reform movement. He was an imperial notary. He underwent theological conversion after witnessing the corruption of the clergy and hearing Waldhauser preach. He took up the life of poverty, and started preaching in Latin, German and most significantly Czech. Miliè inspired a number of followers, who advanced the cause of the reform in Bohemia. The most famous disciple of Miliè was Matthew, or Matthias (c.1355–93). He studied in the University of Paris, and from there he brought the new ideas of reforming church. He accepted the true Christian life style. He always lived within poverty and answered all the questions from the common masses. He opposed too much devotion to images, ritualism and ceremonialism, and excessive concern with pilgrimage, indulgences and the miraculous. He demanded the return to the simple purity of the Bible and of the apostolic Church, which he praised over the elaborate and worldly Church of his day. The Czech attempt of reforming the church continued to grow and expand. It was a result of twin processes: firstly, the indigenous development of the heretical theology; and secondly, the arrival of the teaching of Wycliffe at Bohemia. Both consolidated the articulation of heresy in early modern Bohemia in a cohesive manner. (Frassetto 2007, 178-179). The teaching of Wycliffe was also important for other reason also. It was related to the conflict between the Germans and the Czechs. In the University of Prague, the Germans were dominant in the field of theology. The Czechs considered it as a humiliation to them for a long period. However, they did not have any intellectual tool to counter the German nominalism prior to the arrival of the Wycliffe's thought in Prague. The theological standpoint of Wycliffe became a weapon of the Czechs to fight against the German domination in the University of Prague in the theological domain. Wycliffe argued that every Christian had the right of salvation. It was the fundamental basis of the true church. To Wycliffe, the Christian society Christian society was not the true body of Christ, nor was the hierarchical institution that administered to this motley assortment of human souls. He reminded that the tainted church, the sinful priests, the corrupt officials could not be the representatives of the true principles of Christianity. In Bohemia, such criticism of Church abuses - and the challenge to its institutional authority - harmonized perfectly with the rising currents of anticlericalism and apocalypticism. Wycliffe's ideas thus became simultaneously a reformist tool for criticizing and condemning the wealthy and formalist Church, an intellectual weapon to combat the influence of Germans at the University, and a political club with which to drive home the message of Czech identity. (Deane 2011, 256-258).

The fundamental feature of the heretical theology of the Czech reformers was that they tried to restore the centrality of Bible in the domain of Christianity – both in ideology and in practice. The academic community of the University of Prague wholeheartedly supported Wycliffe's theological interpretation of Christianity. The spread of heretical theology in Bohemia, in turn, accelerated the social and political tension of the kingdom also. Amidst this complex environment – that is the failure of the political leadership, the growth of religious reform movement, the manifestation of nationalistic hostilities and the birth of Czech nationalism, the arrival of the teaching of Wycliffe – Jan Huss emerged as the leader of new movement. It was movement, which aimed to reform the church and all its ritualistic practices on the one hand and to establish a true church in real world on the other hand. Jan Huss was born in a peasant family either in 1371 or in 1372in the small village of Husinec on the River Blanice in southern Bohemia. In his school in Prachatice he studied Latin. At the age of around 18, he took admission in the University of Prague under the name Jan of Husinec, which later on was shortened to Hus (the Czech word for 'goose'). Apart from studying Latin, he also learned German. During this period, Huss also studied Aristotle. He was awarded his bachelor's degree in 1393 after successful completion of three-year course. During this period, Huss came to know the ideas of St Bonaventure, John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham and last but not the least Wycliffe. The theological standpoint of Wycliffe widely influenced Huss. After the completion of his student life, he started his career as a teacher. Huss quickly became popular among the students. He lectured not only on Aristotle but also on Wycliffe's teaching. In 1401, he was named Dean of the Faculty of Arts and served in that position until the following year, when he became rector and preacher of Bethlehem Chapel, having been ordained a priest in June 1400. Possibly, during this period, Huss was becoming more and more interested in different aspects of theology deeply. It brought profound changes in his life. For twelve years following his appointment on 14 March 1402, Hus continued to hold his position as rector and as preacher of Bethlehem Chapel. Under his influence, the Chapel became the centre of Czech reformist movement. During his tenure as rector, he delivered some three thousand sermons; many of them were originally composed or preserved in Latin. These sermons attracted large number of crowds including many noble women and even the Queen. Huss always lectured in Czech, and not in Czech and German. It was manifestation of nascent Czech nationalism on the one hand; on the other hand, Huss also tried to express that Bohemia had an important role in God's plan. This religious nationalism in its

embryonic from became the focal point of the Czech reform movement and influenced the common masses enormously. The popular emotion of the Czechs was an integral part of this new movement. It was a blended form of religion and language in a frontier region of Christian Europe. The preaching of Huss was the most essential stimulus in the rapid expansion of the Czech reform movement. Quickly it went beyond the circle of academics. What was the class basis of the reform movement initiated by Huss? It was the middle class and the artisans who formed the foundation of the movement. Because of the cumulative support provided by the intellectual class and the labouring people, the reform movement initiated by Huss achieved national status, and Huss consequently became national religious leader of Bohemia. (Frassetto 2007, 180-183). By 1412, the reform movement achieved this class character. It was no longer a movement of the University community. The driving force of the movement was now the more radical leaders like Jerome of Prague and Jakoubek of Støíbro. They fiercely criticized the church, and went far beyond the theological position taken by Huss. However, Huss never made distance from them though Huss and the radical leaders did not belong to the same genre. Huss always put emphasis on the righteous position of a man. Consequently, the conservative leaders identified Huss as the chief ideologue of the reform movement and its radical reorientation, which was not historically correct. (Deane 2011, 263-264).

The situation took a new turn when the Pope Pope John XXIII issued a bull of indulgences on behalf of his crusade against King Ladislas of Naples, a supporter of Gregory XII, who had been deposed at the Council of Pisa. Ladislas had aided Gregory to take control of Rome and to force John to flee from the papal city; in response, John sought to raise a crusade. The King of Bohemia supported the papal bulls; the Czech reformers refused to accept the king's position in this regard. The sequence of events triggered violent protest in the city of Prague. Among the loudest opponents to John XXIII's actions were some reformers who had recently arrived in Prague. One of them, most likely, was Nicholas of Dresden, who published a highly critical treatise on the Church and papacy later on. He and other newcomers were associated with public demonstrations and provocations against the Church. The protesters included members of the university and even the more conservative masters. The more reform-minded masters and students also rejected the indulgence bull, even though the authorities of the university would not allow protests against it. Despite this restriction, reformers came out against the bull and stimulated popular protest against it. This stoked the King's anger and led to a reaction

against the protest. In July, three opponents were beheaded at the order of the magistrates of Prague. Buried at Bethlehem Chapel, they were the first martyrs of the Hussite reform. Huss also made a sharp criticism against the strep taken by the Pope. He argued that it was not the Pope's duty to wage war – nor the duty of any cleric for that matter – because that responsibility was held by the secular power: the temporal sword held by the King was to enter battle, but not the spiritual sword held by the Pope. Huss also vehemently raised question about the justification of sale of spiritual gifts. It was because forgiveness comes only from God. In other words, Hus maintained that God alone could offer an indulgence, through an act of grace to a sinner who repents and confesses his or her sins. This position of Huss could be compared with that of Martin Luther's argument on indulgences. Hus also asked why the Pope would not save all Christians. This radical position of Huss made him nearly alienated from the powerful blocs of the contemporary society at Bohemia, including the king. The king Wenceslas was a beneficiary of the sale of indulgence. He also wanted to maintain a good relationship with the Pope John XXIII. In July, Hus faced further problems when one of the cardinals in Rome excommunicated him; this was the result of an examination of his case by a commission established by the Pope in April. Moreover, the ban of excommunication forbade anyone to offer him food, drink, hospitality, or indeed any contact of any kind whatsoever. The town of Prague itself was threatened by an interdict for harbouring Hus, once the verdict against him was announced in October 1412. Having lost the support of King, university, and now Pope, Hus had little recourse but to appeal to Christ himself, and, while awaiting that verdict, he left Prague, to spare the city and its people of the penalty of the interdict. His departure, possibly orchestrated by the King himself, took place at the same time that the peace treaty concluded between John XXIII and Ladislas was announced in Prague. (Frassetto 2007, 188-191).

The changing situation made the case of Huss even more complicated. He refused to denounce his arguments regarding the church. However, he had the hope that it would be possible for him to convince the King and the other powerful people of the church. Hoping to overturn the decision rendered against him at Rome, Hus appealed to the royal couple, who accepted his petition and ordered the new Archbishop, Conrad of Vechta, to hold a Council at Èeský Brod in January 1413 to eliminate heresy in the kingdom. The King also invited members of the faculty of the University of Prague to attend, which only served to undermine any chance of success the meeting might have had. Although some of Hus' university colleagues spoke on his behalf at the meeting and defended his teachings,

the members of the faculty of theology worked toward a very different outcome. They drew up a Consilium, which outlined the essential terms for resolving the conflict. The document asserted that all good Christians must believe in the Roman Church, obey the clergy and recognise the legitimate authority of the Pope and cardinals. The masters of theology also declared that Wycliffe's forty-five articles must be acknowledged as either heretical or erroneous. When presented with this Consilium, Hus replied with a strongly worded letter denouncing its terms. Hus declared that he would rather die than accept the terms of the document; it would be 'better to die well than to live evilly'. The breakdown of the Council revealed the complete failure of a negotiated settlement, even though one further attempt was made. During the following two years, Huss tried to defend his theological position in writing from exile. Huss believed that the true church must be composed of all the predestined: the living, the dead and those who yet to born. Moreover, it is not visible. This invisible true church is consisted of the mystical body of Christ, and the Christ is the sole head of the church. All the predestined are bound together in the one true Church and bound to Christ. The most radical argument of Huss was that the members of the clergy and laity of the Catholic Church are surely among the predestined. However, it does not imply that the Catholic Church itself is true Church of Christ. As far as the status and prestigious of the Pope was concerned, there were similarities and dissimilarities between Huss and Wycliffe. Both Wycliffe and Huss shared the view that the Pope did not possess any supreme power over all the Christians. However, unlike Wycliffe, Huss accepted that the Pope and the cardinals were the most esteemed in the church. At the same time, he was of opinion that the Pope was not the direct successor to the Peter; that the papacy was human and not the divine; and the Pope was fallible and could sin. To be precise, Huss considered only the scripture as the ultimate authority in the church because it was the infallible word of God and not the opinion of flawed humans. Furthermore, like Wycliffe, Hus denied that any cleric has the power to bind and loose, to excommunicate or to grant indulgences, because only God may do so and only the sinner can separate himself or herself from God. The priest is responsible for administering the sacraments, but their efficacy is the result of God's grace rather than any kind of spiritual power possessed by the priest. (Frassetto 2007, 191-193).

The next phase in the life of Huss took a new turn when Emperor Sigismund summoned Hus to the Council of Constance to plead his case in 1414. Huss was also given assurance about the safe conduct by the Emperor. He was also allowed to be accompanied

with a group of Czech nobles for his protection. Huss welcomed this invitation with hope that his position regarding Christianity and the Czech reform movement would get conciliar recognition. However, the sequence of events went against him. The most interesting point is that the heresy was the primary focus area of the Council; rather, it was essentially concerned with the growth of alternative authority within the very structure of Christendom. The conservative sections of the church apprehended that it would finally lead to the division and fragmentation of the church in to two or more separate entities. They felt that it was to be a catastrophic event for the spiritual structure of Christianity. The case of Huss was an excellent opportunity to the privileged upper clergy for demonstrating and regaining their power and strength. Therefore, it was not heresy but the authoritarian attitude and power hungry mentality of the upper clergy determined the course of action in the Council of Constance. It is clear from the description that the situation was increasingly critical as well as dangerous to Huss. His arch-enemies like Parisians Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly imprisoned him in the first occasion as a dangerous Wycliffite. Huss was thoroughly and rigorously interrogated. He remained firm in his belief, understanding and expression as far as the concept of true church was concerned. Finally, on July 6, 1415, Hus was formally condemned as a heretic guilty of having propagated the doctrines of John Wyclif, stripped of his ecclesiastical vestments, and burned. The event took place at the stake in a field outside the city before an assembled group of officials and onlookers. Witnesses reported that he died with serene confidence in his innocence, and possibly in the strength that his suffering and martyrdom would provide impetus to the Bohemian reform. (Frassetto 2007, 193-196; Deane 2011, 264-268).

The martyrdom of Huss rapidly accelerated the pace of reform movement in Bohemia. It evolved at two distinct levels. At the higher level of the Bohemian society, the nobility of the Hussite League rejected the verdict against Huss vehemently. At the very different level, the radical reformers emerged in Bohemia. These reformers established explicitly anti-Roman congregations and communities throughout Bohemia. The intervention of church and state failed to subdue the movement in the subsequent period. The next generation reformers like Jan želivský and Jan žižka emerged. The reform movement gradually accumulated strength, and expanded steadily. Reformers continued his programme and introduced new demands, such as for receiving both the chalice and the bread at communion (Utraquism), and the radicals became more outspoken. In 1419, Wenceslas sought to suppress the Hussites. This led to open warfare and the Pope himself, at

Sigismund's suggestion, called what was to be the first of five crusades against the Hussites and their radical wing, the Taborites. The long struggle finally ended with the defeat of the Taborites in 1436, but concessions were made to the Utraquists that laid the foundation for the emergence of an independent church in Bohemia, foreshadowing events of the next century. (Deane 2011, 275-276; Frassetto 2007, 196-198).

6.4 Conclusion

Huss was possibly the last representative of the heretical tradition in medieval Europe. Both Wycliffe and Huss were able to create long-term impact on the religious structure and theological propositions of Christianity. The reform process initiated by these two heretic leaders made the structure of the church unstable by attracting the common masses to them. It was an open space for those who were bound to live within the suffocating environment of orthodox Christianity. The corruption of the clergy made the people annoyed: they wanted a pure or true church. They got it in the theological standpoint of Wycliffe and Huss. The sufferings of the followers of Huss or Wycliffe in the hands of church authority geared up the movement instead of its contraction. All the repressive steps taken by the church failed to control and crash the rebel consciousness of the people. It prepared the ground for the development of the 16th century Reformation movement. The uninterrupted theological commitment of the reformist leaders of medieval Europe for the establishment of a true church and a corruption free religious structure made the task of Martin Luther easier. The common people slowly developed the idea of a new church in Europe, which came to be finally true in 16th century because of the Protestant Reformation movement.

6.5 Model Questions

1. Discuss the structure and theology of Catholic Christianity of medieval Europe.
2. Write briefly on the birth and development of heresy and heretical movement in medieval Europe.
3. Discuss the growth of heretical movement in England.
4. Write a short note on the contribution of John Wycliffe in the development of heresy in England.

5. What was the contribution of John Huss in the reform movement of Bohemia?
6. Analyse the features of the heretical movement in medieval Europe. How did the heretical theology prepare the ground for the Protestant Reformation movement?

6.6 Suggested Readings

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Unit-7 □ Course (a): Martin Luther and the German Reformation

Structure

7(a).0 Objectives

7(a).1 Introduction

7(a).2 State, Society and Church in Europe on the Eve of Reformation

7(a).3 The Theological Foundation of Luther's Thought

7(a).4 Conclusion: The Impact and Nature of the Lutheran Reformation

7(a).5 Model Questions

7(a).6 Suggested Readings

7(a).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the historical role of Martin Luther in the German Reformation Movement in the broader context of the three fundamental aspects. These are:

- Condition of state, society and church on the eve of the Reformation movement.
- The theological foundation of Martin Luther.
- The long-term impact of the Lutheran Reformation.

7(a).1 Introduction

In the earlier unit, we have elaborately discussed the pre-Reformation attempt for religious reform in Europe. From this analysis, it is clear that there was a growing anti-clerical consciousness in late medieval Europe. The idea of questioning the different practices of church became popular and widespread among the masses, though not always

in an organized manner. In most cases, the followers of heretical thought deliberately masked their beliefs and practices in order to avoid the possible retributive actions of the church authority. The church authority, however, always kept a strict vigilance over the common masses and took all sorts of repressive steps to curb down the growth of any alternative theological platform. No criticism even against the corrupt practices of the clergies was also entertained, let alone the theological doctrine. The Christian church was interested to maintain its privilege, status and position at any cost. It naturally created conflict and contradiction between the church authority, who believed that no change was required, and the pro-changers, who wanted to introduce theological reforms within the domain of Christianity to counter the corrupt practices of the clergies and to establish a true church in the world. It was the initiation of a broad and long-term social change in Europe in 15th centuries, which finally contributed to the split of the church in two separate entities: Catholic and Protestant. It was one of the major changes in the religious structure and social order that early modern Europe witnessed. The name of Martin Luther became an integral part of the socio-religious transformation – that is, the split of the Christendom and the birth of Protestantism. Therefore, it is necessary to understand both the ideological and material conditions of the Reformation movement on the one hand and the role of Martin Luther in the process of Reformation on the other hand.

7(a).2 State, Society and Church in Europe on the Eve of Reformation

The European state, society and church underwent critical transformations in late 15th and early 16th centuries. The 15th century European states made efforts to increase its power and authority over the society. The rulers tried to invent new instruments for revenue augmentation. It was associated with the increasing coercive power of the state. The enhanced power of the state started affecting not only the society but also the religious institution like church. The notion of secular control over ecclesiastical affairs was gradually crystalized in Europe during this period. The papal universality had begun to fade out. The Holy Roman Empire's claim of imperial suzerainty was also no more as important as it had been in the medieval period. The new state formation in Europe was associated with the rulers and the state was the property of the sovereign rulers. It needs to be pointed out that these European states of 15th century were not the nation-states: theses states were

linguistically mixed conglomerate of territorial fragments with different laws and separate governments. The rulers also made attempt to introduce cohesiveness in the diverse and often factious ecclesiastical bodies. For example, in England, the state had control over the church as far as the appointment of Bishops, taxation on clergies and implementation of parliamentary legislation in the ecclesiastical matters. Through the Statute of Provisors of 1351, the state controlled the appointment of the Bishops while Statutes of Praemunire of 1353, 1365 and 1393 sharply limited the cases that could be taken from English ecclesiastical courts to Rome on appeal. The royal authority in France had tried to establish effective control over the ecclesiastical bodies since the time of Philip IV (1268-1314). Due to the Hundred Years' War, this process became slow to some extent. During this period, the king had to depend on the nobility and the church for their support. In order to raise income and rally support for their cause, the Valois kings had offered concessions to the clerical "First Estate" at assemblies (the Estates General) that brought together the kingdom's elite to discuss issues of governance. During the Great Schism, moreover, the leading French churchmen had met in synods, with royal approval, to plot collective strategy. Thus, the 15th century French upper clergy had established traditions and institutions for a "national" Gallican Church, which could negotiate in its own interests with pope or king. This process of enhancement of the power of the French church reached the highest peak in 1438. In 1438, the church in France secured its relatively independent position through Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. It curtailed both royal and papal power over the French church. The church was able to retain its superior position until 1516. In 1516, through the Concordat of Bologna, the French king Francis I recovered the royal command over the religious life in France. Now the king became able to select 114 bishops and archbishops as well as over 880 abbots according to his own preference. It was definitely a turning point in the history of France in early modern era. In 16th century Spain, Catholicism operated independently of the papal authority. It combined devout piety, a rigid sense of purity, and Castilian militancy into a dynamic force that would animate ongoing Catholic reform efforts and the militant counter-reform against Protestantism. In some regions like Hungary, the Netherlands and Poland the upper clergy and the nobility collaborated with each other and tried to retained their combined autonomy from both the state and the Pope. In Italy, the Pope was deeply involved in the political conflict and foreign intrusion, which debarred him from paying attention to the socio-religious condition of Germany and the questions raised by Martin Luther. (Wallace 2004, 71-75).

The main question is why the late medieval Catholicism collapsed in Europe in 16th century. What is the contribution of Martin Luther and his ideology in undermining the dominance of the Catholic Church? It would be an oversimplification if we state that it was the movement of the nascent bourgeoisie and a kind of class struggle in the disguise of religion and theology. It is also not true that all the church officials were corrupt. The level and degree of corruption within the church was varied and multi-layered. Two things are important in this regard: firstly, the changing perception about the role of the church and a new kind of expectations of the common masses in late medieval Europe; secondly, the rise of Lutheran criticism and birth of an alternative theology in the same period. The urban citizens in Europe positively responded to the various questions raised by reformers like Luther. There was a steady articulation of new thought regarding both the doctrine and the practices of the Catholic Church. One the questions were started, it became difficult for Catholicism to maintain the existing domination. The people, in general the urban dwellers, refused to accept the inherited authoritarian structure of the Catholic order. This refusal was the most critical turning point in the history of Christianity. (Cameron 1999, 87-88).

The distinctive condition of Germany in the late 15th and early 16th centuries played a significant role in birth of Reformation movement especially in Germany. One important precondition was the existing political structures in Germany. Fragmented political structure and absence of a strong central core were the key aspects of the late medieval and early modern Germany. The emperors were weak: they lacked the capability of developing strong institutional mechanism, and centralized administration. The German Emperors did not possess any significant imperial institution by which they could exert their power and influence. Therefore, polycentricism and factionalism determined the political development of Germany unlike France or England. During this complex period of history, one major feature of the German politics was – though seems to be apparently contradictory – that the German people had a strong sense of empire and nation. Often it was expressed in the term like ‘Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation’. Evolved and embodied historically, this particular concept appeared to be as a providential mission to the German people. What was needed for the fulfilment of this dream was specific context and a leader. The Emperor Maximillian I tried to make it a reality. Nevertheless, his attempt failed to achieve it. The symbiotic formation of empire and nation in Germany as a political entity did not come true. The German church was not so powerful that it could offer an alternative platform for religious and cultural unification. Moreover, the German nobles had strong

influences on the church. It created a general impulse for reform of the church. The common masses had a general apathy regarding this elite domination on the church. The distinct urban life of the pre-Reformation Germany provided the cultural milieu for developing the mentality of questioning the existing religious practices. The German towns enjoyed greater degree of political liberty than the cities of the other European countries, which also contribute to the articulation of heretic thought. A major goal of German politics at all levels well before the Reformation was to submit the church and its agencies to secular control. The ruling authorities of the German cities made efforts to compel the clergies to bring under the secular law and court. In the wake of the 15th century, the countries like England, France and Bohemia achieved significant national and secular control over the church. Both England and France achieved it through the exploitation of papal weakness. Through the Concordat of Bologna (1516), the French King appointed all the bishoprics, abbacies and major benefices in the kingdom. Bohemia did it through rebellion. On the contrary, the foreign influence was still greater in the German lands. The citizens of Germany wanted to have a national church free from the papal influence. Therefore, the German people of the late 15th and early 16th centuries imagined a reformed national church for Germany. The relative absence of a centralized power structure in Germany made possible such type of reform initiative. The very weakness of the central power allowed the development of a polycentric Reformation movement instead of a centralized one as it happened in England or Bohemia. The cultural and educational life of Germany was another vibrant area from where stimulation of change emerged. The German universities provided an open space of learning, denatures and discussions. The necessity of religious reforms was felt among the university community and intelligentsia. The corruption, favouritism and foreign (Roman) control in the religious domain were the sources of discontent among the German intelligentsia. It should be kept in mind that this intellectual development in Germany was not identical with the humanist movement of Italy entirely. The German humanism was more a product of the emerging German cultural nationalism rather than an Italian one: it was very special to Germany. The particular history of the German social development made possible the rise of a distinct type of cultural nationalism in Germany. The spread of urban life, the growth of universities, the birth of an intellectual community, the urge for a national church, the quest for a national power and weakness of the central imperial power – all these factors contributed to the development of the German cultural nationalism, which was precondition of the German Reformation movement. (Scribner et 1994, 4-15). The German Reformation movement emerged as an

urban intellectual ideological force. Martin Luther (1483-1546) as a reformer emerged in this context.

Luther played the prime role in this transformation. Luther was born in village of Eisleben in Mansfeld County on November 10, 1483. After a normal course of schooling in Mansfeld, Magdeburg, and Eisenach, he matriculated at the University of Erfurt in 1501, completing bachelor and master's degrees in the arts in 1502 and 1505. In July 1505, Luther started his career in legal profession. Nevertheless, his conscience compelled him to go into Erfurt's Augustinian monastery especially regarding God's wrath, death, and hell. Luther was in the midst of doubt, panic, despair, desolation and fear. The idea of sin was engulfed in his mind. The idea of sin was immensely important in the late medieval Christian theology because God was considered as a stern judge. One cannot escape His final judgement. Against this social and psychological background, young Martin Luther was frequently disheartened by what he saw all around him and by his own spiritual doubts about whether or not he was able to satisfy such a fierce and demanding God. Subsequently, he conformed to the strictest monastic regulations to commend his soul to God, but his spiritual anxieties only deepened as his feelings of guilt and unworthiness mounted. On October 18, 1512, he received the degree Doctor of Bible, pledging to devote his life to searching Scripture and defending its truth at all costs. However, his spiritual enquiry was increasing during this period. He also found no meaning in the sale of indulgence. When Albrecht von Hohenzollern, brother of the elector of Brandenburg, employed the sale of indulgences Luther protested against it with a view that it would be harmful for laypeople's consciences. This protest, posted October 31, 1517, took the form of academic theses – proposals for public debate. They provoked discussion and debates, and finally pushed Luther into the role of reformer. Although the first of his Ninety-Five Theses on Indulgences, "the whole life of the Christian is a life of repentance," summarized a lifelong concern, the document's theological content was not of critical importance. Its significance lies in the fact that enterprising printers published it, without realizing that they were instituting a communications revolution. For this publication became the first modern media event, the first public relations happening, as Johannes Gutenberg's technology was placed at the service of Luther's thinking. By 1520, some 30 publications had appeared from Luther's pen, with estimated sales of 600,000 copies. Twenty percent of the pamphlets published in Germany between 1500 and 1530 bore his name. It is clear from the statistics that it was a changing world. Luther was quite acquainted with the oral way

of communication; however, the printing technology spread his thoughts and arguments in a faster way to the multitude. (Linder 2008, 17-18; Po-chia Hsia 2004, 40-42).

The publication of the Ninety-Five Theses made the Roman Catholic officials conscious about the potential threat implicit in the statement of Martin Luther. They asked the German Augustinians to discipline Luther. Staupitz invited him to address the order's Reform Congregation in Heidelberg in April 1518. Instead of treating the ecclesiastical-political issues at hand, Luther advanced his "theology of the Cross." Luther's 'theology of cross' believed in the grace of God, and not in the human reason and good works. The medieval Christian theology believed in the 'theologies of glories', which essentially highlighted the works as a way of salvation. Luther also made a distinction between the hidden God (God beyond human ability to grasp or as he is shaped by human imagination) and the 'God revealed' through Christ and Scripture in his *Heidelberg Theses*. The main question is how the believers would get access to the God. According to Luther, it was only trust in God's Word and not through any knowledge, logic and signs of proof. The complete trust in God's Words, Luther was of opinion, would restore humanity by pronouncing the forgiveness of sins and new life. Forgiveness and new life rest upon God's act of atonement through Christ's death and resurrection. The Word brings upon sinners the judgment of God's law (his plan and standard for evaluating life) and gives them the Gospel (the good news of his mercy delivered through Christ). Finally, Luther's understanding of daily Christian living also followed Jesus's command to take up the cross to follow him, in a life of self-sacrificial love. Therefore, to Luther everything was rested upon God's mercy and ultimate will. Only complete submission to God would determine the fate of a human being. However, the effort to discipline Luther according to the Roman Catholic principles did not work. In this context, dominican curial theologians in Rome, led by the Master of the Sacred Palace Silvester Mazzolini Prierias, charged Luther with heresy and pressed for citing him to Rome for trial. Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony – the prince of Luther – intervened in the crisis. At the imperial diet in Augsburg in autumn 1518 Luther was summoned before papal legate Thomas de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan, who refused to hear his argument for reform but simply demanded his recantation and submission to the pope. Luther fled to Augsburg to avoid the fate that was occurred to John Huss. There was a futile negotiation between papal diplomat Karl von Miltitz and Frederick over Luther's fate. The uninterrupted retributive activities of the Catholic Church finally convinced Luther that

existing church had already become Antichrist. Luther developed this notion between 1517 and 1522. (Po-chia Hsia 2004, 42-43).

7(a).3 The Theological Foundation of Luther's Thought

The writings – for example, Ninety Five Thesis - of Martin Luther are the most reliable and authentic sources for a proper understanding of his theological perception. It is noted that Luther's thesis stood in sharp contrast to the other medieval and late medieval religious writings in terms of language, style and pattern of argument. These documents were written in such a way that these were not understandable to the common people. The circulation and readership of these documents were limited to the small body of higher clergy or academicians. Luther's arguments had intrinsic appeal to the common masses. The core of Luther's concern was that it was about the abuses of the Christian church. He actually expressed the grievances of the masses in a cohesive form. In other words, the accumulated popular discontent was expressed in Luther's theses. The spread and dissemination of Luther's thought were made easily possible in a faster pace because of the invention of printing press. It was the first mass-media event in the history of civilization. It is clear from the analysis that the time and context of the Lutheran Reformation movement played a critical role in its formulation and expansion. (Linder 2008, 23-24).

The notion of God's wrath against sin played a significant role in Luther's theology. He found righteousness defined in Bible as a way of liberation from sins. Luther explored God's righteousness in His mercy and love. It makes God as God. As far as human righteousness was concerned, he found it in humanity. He further argued that God's love or favour alone would determine human righteousness. Those who love and take care of the neighbours are righteous and get the mercy of God. It is almighty God, which would alone decide who would be righteous or not. The duty of the human beings is only to submit before the almighty God. Those who show no obedience to God's law, they would be deprived of his grace, love and mercy. Thus, he held that trust or faith in God, the response to the promise made in Christ, constitutes the essential humanity of the human creature. Luther also recognized the continuation of sin even in the life of the believer. To Luther, it was not a mystery. To him, the human beings are righteous and sinful at the same time; they continue to repent, repeating the death to sin and resurrection to new life in Christ given them in their baptism. In baptism, Luther found the foundation for his doctrine of justification, the restoration of the fullness of humanity to sinners. God bestows

righteousness through his act of justification, accomplished through his Word of Gospel, which comes in oral, written, and sacramental forms. Luther categorized these things as "the means of grace". He moreover described faith as the agent of mystical marriage between Christ and soul. It is a sharp contrast between Luther and the medieval theological thinkers. In the medieval theology, it was only love that could ensure salvation. Luther added faith to the existing Christian theology. He also believed that recognition and confession of sin actually brought God and man together. In this sense "unlikeness" was the unitive principle in religion: to be conformed with God meant to agree with his judgment that all men are sinful and still believe his promise to save them nonetheless. For Luther, the key religious problem came to be one of trust and belief – transformation from a state of doubt and uncertainty to confidence in words and promises that lacked immediate verification. The basic question was not whether one was inwardly and outwardly righteous, but whether God was truthful in his judgment of human nature and destiny. (Po-chia Hsia 2004, 43-45; Ozment 1980, 241-244). Luther – at the level of theology – indeed continuously battled with the ecclesiastical superiors was over one of the most controversial questions, indeed abiding tension, of Christian thought: the tension between faith and good works. Faith is a fundamental inward quality; good works on the other hand is the external expression of the belief. (Winks and Wandel 2003, 135). Therefore, it is a contradiction between core inner quality and outward expression of certain beliefs in the human life.

Luther's challenge to the authority of the Pope was based on these theological propositions. He did not simply challenge the authority of the Pope to provide leadership to the Christians. He placed the authority of Scripture over the authority of Pope. In the broader perspectives of late medieval and early modern age, it was a revolutionary thought. He completely rejected the Pope's authority over him. He burned the papal bull, by which the Pope condemned his teaching. In January 1521, Luther was excommunicated. In April 1521, he rejected the authority of the Emperor over spiritual affairs at the Imperial Diet convened at Worms. Charles V – the Holy Roman Emperor – imposed ban on Luther. By September 1521, Martin Luther was both an excommunicate and an outlaw. However, all these punitive measures failed to stop the spread of Luther's popularity. Frederick the Wise of Saxony extended his support to Luther; soon, the other German princes also supported him. (Winks and Wandel 2003, 131-137). It consolidated Luther's position in the German society. He also translated the Latin Bible in to German language. The technology of printing press made this German Bible widely available among the masses.

Until the invention of the printing press, the copy of the Bible was obviously limited in number. However, the technological innovation produced unlimited copies of any book – in this case, Bible – which brought revolutionary change in early modern Europe. Due to the non-availability of copy (written in Latin) of Bible, it was impossible for the common masses, who did not know Latin, to know exactly what Christ said. Now the printed Bible written in German language provided a scope to the common masses to compare Christ's sayings and the activities of the clergy: it was a comparative study of ideal situation and real perspectives. Martin Luther was the man behind this change.

There were several factors working in favour of Luther. The Emperor Maximilian I died on January 11, 1519. It was a moment when the Luther's opposition accumulated forces against him. Nevertheless, the death of Maximilian I completely caused the shift of attention of all to a more central question – the successor of the dead Emperor. Charles V was elected as the new Emperor in spite of the fact that both France and the papacy opposed him. It was out of the apprehension that the already powerful Hapsburg Empire would soon become more powerful and a threat to the French and the papal interest. Charles V's control over Naples and Milan was a direct threat to the papacy. As a medieval Emperor, he also considered himself as the guardian of both secular life and religious domain of Christendom. It was a matter of discomfort to the Pope. The growth of Ottoman Empire's power also threatened Charles V's possession in the eastern Hapsburg lands. It even prevented Charles from setting foot within the empire between 1521 and 1530, which was the most critical formative years of the Reformation. The emperor's total preoccupation with his enemies made Luther's survival possible; it was the major political factor in the Reformation's success. The military arm of the Protestant power was the League of Schmalkalden (named for the town where it was founded in 1531). The leader of the League was Philip landgrave of Hesse (1504-1567). In 1547, Charles achieved a short-term victory over the League. The German princes – both Catholic and the Protestants – were opposed to it. The papacy was also anxious about the increasing power of Charles V. However, in 1555, Charles V was finally compelled to accept the Peace of Augsburg – a religious settlement negotiated by the German Diet. The Peace of Augsburg recognized the Lutherans in the German states where they already held power. A simple rule was followed in this regard: *cuius regio, eius rekigio* – he who rules, his religion). It implies that since the elector of Saxony was Lutheran, all the subjects were supposed to be, too; and since the Duke of Bavaria was Catholic, all Bavarians were to be Catholic. The emperor and the Catholic estates pledged to respect those who

governed their religious lives by the Augsburg Confession, and Lutherans in turn agreed to respect those who chose to remain Catholic. Two important aspects pf the Peace need to mentioned here. Firstly, the status of the Catholic minority in the Lutheran dominant regions was not mentioned. Secondly, amongst the Protestant groups, only Lutherans came to be recognized. The other Protestants like Calvinists had no legal status. However, the Peace of Augsburg marked the beginning of the Protestant Church in Europe formally. The process of division and split in the Christendom took a formal official shape. Protestantism was recognized, but it was the Lutheran Protestantism. (Ozment 1980, 249-253, 259; Winks and Wandel 2003, 137-141).

We need to mention here that propaganda played significant role behind the success of the Protestantism. The primary tools were the religious tract and the woodcut cartoon. It was the first mass-media campaign in the West. The Protestant campaigners enormously published pamphlets in the early years of the Reformation during 1518–1525. It is estimated that a little over 6 million printed pamphlets appeared in Germany during Luther's lifetime, mostly by Protestants in favor of their cause. This means that there was approximately one exemplar for every two people in the empire. Luther was the most productive Protestant publicist of them all. He published innumerable books and tracts: these publications encouraged his New Testament theology and attacked his opponents, especially the Roman Catholic Church, Anabaptist radicals, and Jews who refused the Gospel. The German Protestants had quickly sensed the value of the new printing technology in the spread of their ideas and turned it to good use to further their interests. (Linder 2008, 29).

7(a).4 Conclusion: The Impact and Nature of the Lutheran Reformation

Martin Luther was a religious reformer in the domain of Christianity. He was nor a revolutionary. However, the impact of the Lutheran reform movement on the 16th century European society and religion was revolutionary and far-reaching. It certainly opened up new vistas of understanding as far as the religious reforms were concerned. Luther was the first who was successful in breaking the silence of the Christian masses. However, he was not in favour of the dismantling the church. He was in favour of a church of its own. It was even not an alternative church of the Roman Catholic Order. The Lutheran Church was

supposed to be the only Church in the Christendom. Where a Lutheran church was founded, a Catholic church ceased to be. The followers of Luther took the control of the church building and converted it to a Protestant one. Therefore, the Lutheran ideology did not allow or want to allow the spread of any radical thought, which could undermine Luther and his institution. The development of the Lutheran Church first took place in Germany; subsequently, it spread to other areas of Europe. The Lutheran ideology was strong in the urban areas, the cities and the towns. The merchants and the rising bourgeoisie found the Protestant ideology suitable for them. In the newly established Protestant churches, religious conduct was changed. The Protestantism abolished many old religious practices and customs. Religious worship was radically reshaped: the Mass became the celebration of the Lord's Supper, conducted in the vernacular by a minister in a plain black gown who faced the congregation over a table, using bread instead of a wafer, and who offered the cup to the laity. The sermon became more central to religious worship, and in some places, a daily sermon replaced daily Mass. The Christian clergies lost many of their privileges – both legal and financial. The new system made the clergies responsible to the secular authorities. The Protestantism also allowed marriage of the clergies: it was a completely new feature. As far as the question of charity was concerned, it came to be controlled under the Protestant theology. Charity was considered to be matter regulated by financial stringency, public hygiene, public security and social stability. Protestantism removed the status of begging as a work pleasing to God. It did not also approve any personal nexus in the charity. Charity became an impersonal responsibility of the Christian community instead of any individual. Luther evolved the idea of Poor Chest in 1522. The proceeds from church property was used for providing relief to the poor institutionally. (Winks and Wandel 2003, 141; Scribner 1986, 55-58).

The Lutheran ideology did not bring any revolutionary change in the contemporary European society as it was once assumed. Luther's position on the social and religious issues was conservative. He favoured changes only when it was compatible with the interests of the ruling authorities of the cities. Luther preferred a disciplined and ordered society because it could only ensure the search for God. To him, God was against anarchy. In this way, Luther's ideology stabilized the society and tried to prevent any radical upheaval. The revolutionary potentiality of the Bible was never appropriated in Luther's theological interpretation. The result was that the artisans and the peasantry made themselves distant from Lutheran activities: what Luther achieved was confined only in the urban areas. The social bases of the Lutheran theology and principles remained narrow.

The dissatisfied sections of the society began search for new interpretations of Bible, which could possibly meet the requirements of the urban artisans and the rural peasantry. The subsequent history of Reformation was, therefore, the story of expanding social bases of radical Reformation movement. Martin Luther was the beginning of the Reformation and not the end.

7(a).5 Model Questions

1. What was the condition of the Roman Catholic Church before Reformation movement?
2. Briefly write on the different aspects of the state, society and church in Europe on the eve of the Reformation.
3. Discuss the theological foundation of the Luther's idea.
4. What were the characteristic features of the Luther's Reformation movement?
5. Assess the Lutheran Reformation movement.

7(a).6 Suggested Readings

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Unit-7 □ Course (b): Reformation Movement Outside of Germany

Structure

7(b).0 Objectives

7(b).1 Introduction

7(b).2 Switzerland

7(b).2.1 Zurich

7(b).2.2 Strassburg

7(b).2.3 Geneva

7(b).3 The English Reformation 1525–47

7(b).4 Resistance against the Henrician Reformation

7(b).5 The Character of the Henrician Reformation

7(b).6 Conclusion

7(b).7 Model Questions

7(b).8 Suggested Readings

7(b).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the development of the Reformation movement outside Germany with special emphasis on the following aspects:

- Reformation movement in Switzerland
- Zurich
- Strassburg
- Geneva
- The English Reformation Movement between 1525 and 1547

7(b).1 Introduction

Though the Reformation movement emerged first in Germany, however it was not confined to it solely. The challenge to the Roman Catholic Church spread in many areas of Europe. It gave birth to the new leaders, new ways of popular participation and new religious interpretations. The steady spread of the Protestant thought indicates that there was widespread discontent against the Catholic Church in many areas of Europe. It must also be noted that these movements were not always identical with the Lutheran movement. There were regional specifications and requirements, according to which these movements were shaped and articulated. In this unit we will study the development and growth of the Reformation movement outside Germany. The most notable area in this regard was Switzerland, Bohemia, England, France, the Low Countries and Scandinavia.

7(b).2 Switzerland

The Swiss Reformation was first originated in the cities of the Swiss Confederation. Zurich took the leading role; subsequently, it spread to Berne, Basel and Schaffhausen. A coalition of artisans, priests having evangelical minds and individual councillors favouring reforms was key to the success of the Reformation movement. Nevertheless, it needs to be remembered that in the cities like Lucerne, Fribourg and Solothurn Reformation failed to achieve any significant development. Zurich played the leading role in the Reformation movement in Switzerland. The cities like Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Zug had developed strong Catholic ties by 1524; Fribourg and Solothurn soon joined this Catholic power base. Zurich took the pioneering role in creating resistance against the Catholic party of confederation. Berne was the next city, which advanced against the Catholic power bloc and joined with Zurich. This alliance between Zurich and Berne provided necessary impetus to the spread of Reformation movement in Switerzland. (Scribner 1994, 30). In this context, we must remember that the internal power relations of the Swiss cities were heterogeneous. The balance of internal forces varied from city to city. The aristocracy was predominant in Berne. In Strassburg, cathedral chapter and collegiate churches played significant role in the daily life. Craft guild took a leading role in the development of Reformation movement in Basel. In Switzerland military prowess, prosperity, independence gave stimulus to alertness and self-confidence. ‘My lords of the council’ in Zurich were

accustomed to regulate important affairs and to control events after a different manner from the small town politicians of the Saxon cities. The Swiss cities were able to establish links between humanism and reform also. The reformers of Switzerland were attracted to the concept of the Christian Commonwealth. While Luther developed the notion of Word and Sacrament, the Swiss reformists added a new dimension to it with developing the concept of 'the discipline of Christ'. A whole set of new ideas relating to the reform of the church was emerged in the Swiss cities.

7(b).2.1 Zurich

The Reformation movement in Zurich was associated with the name of Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). In 1506, he earned his MA degree from the University of Basel. He also joined a circle of humanists during this period. The thought of Erasmus greatly influenced him. The conventional historiographical approach has stressed much on the humanist elements of Zwingli; this view has also paid much attention on his practical concern about the abuses of superficial religious activities. There is no doubt that Zwingli's debt to Erasmus was unquestionable. However, unlike Erasmus, he valued the Old Testament highly. To be precisely speaking, Zwingli's religion was centred on the Bible, to which the key was not philology alone, but faith (Elton 2004, 94-97). The Reformation movement in Zurich was started with the city council's increasing invasion of monastic and ecclesiastical privileges. The aim of this policy was to incorporate the church within the civic administration gradually. The Swiss cantons also expanded their control over the church in rural areas with an exceptional degree and extent during the same period. These two were the preconditions of the Reformation movement in Switzerland. The chief representative of the Reformation movement, especially in Zurich, was Zwingli.

It is argued that the simultaneous discovery of St Augustine's theology, knowledge about Martin Luther's quest for reform, and experience of the plague of 1519, turned Zwingli into a reformer. He was eager to combine ecclesiastical with the social reforms. He liked to link inner reform with the outer reform, that is, the soul and faith with church and practice. Zwingli's advocacy of religious and social reform as an interdependent affair created ardent followers of him in Zurich. He was also able to overcome his opponents. On 29 January 1523, a disputation was held under the auspices of the city council of Zurich. It brought Zwingli a decisive victory over his opponents and ensured the continuation of reform, which, on Easter 1525, ended with the official introduction of the Reformation symbolised by the abolition of the mass and the official removal of images.

Additional reforms of those years encompassed, inter alia, the abolition of pilgrimages and of saints' days, the reform of communal poor relief, as well as the city's refusal to renew a treaty with the King of France covering mercenary service. The first Zurich disputation of 29 January 1523 has rightly been claimed to have been a decisive event in the Protestant Reformation in that it laid the ground for the further creation of Reformed communal churches in Switzerland as well as abroad. From 1523, the Reformation in Zurich was accompanied by considerable socio-religious turmoil in and outside the city. It was exploded in acts of popular iconoclasm and which, in 1524, merged with the beginnings of the Peasants' War. Together with a series of disputations held between September 1523 and June 1524 it led the city authorities to order the removal of all images from the churches under their control. In accordance with Zwingli's stern opposition against all forms of what he considered idolatry this ultimately even led to the destruction of all organs in 1527. It needs to be remembered that these advancements in the reforms of the socio-religious structure created more radical expectations in the Swiss countryside: a section of rural population hoped that the tithe would be abolished. (Scribner 2004, 32-33).

Zwingli developed a new order of baptism. He instituted a preaching service with prayers, which some have thought to be the descendant of the medieval service of prône. More original was the office of 'prophesying', which replaced the early morning choir service. Zwingli began this in 1525 when the Anabaptist movement was afoot. In the 'prophesyings' the Old Testament was expounded; there was a New Testament exposition in the afternoon. The great Zurich Bible was in part the result of these services, the fruit of the collaboration of a group of distinguished scholars who seconded Zwingli. They were Leo Jüd, Pellicanus, Bibliander. In May 1525 a court was set up to regularise and control marriage, and in 1526 regulations were issued for the general overseeing of public morals, these being extended in 1530. Zwingli also believed in the function of godly magistrate. To him, a church without the magistrate is mutilated and incomplete. Zwingli also stressed that the kingdom of God has to do with external things, and called upon the senators there to do their duty of reform. It must be noted that the Anabaptists contradicted his idea of the function of the godly magistrate. Zwingli's own theology was deeply spiritualist, imbued with the dichotomy between letter and spirit. He abhorred the notion that sensible things could convey spiritual grace. Thus for him the sacraments are not the means whereby the invisible God meets fallen man, but rather pledges and symbols, marks of the covenant between God and the elect. Once convinced of a symbolical explanation of the Words of Institution in the eucharist, he stressed more and more that Christ's body is in heaven, and

that he is present in the eucharist only in the unity of the Godhead. The most striking of his eucharistic tracts is his *Arnica Exegesis* (1527). (Elton 2004, 99-101).

Zwingli dreamed the city of Zurich as the centre of great evangelical confederation. In 1528, he was able to build the Christian Civic League. The other cities like Bern, Basel, Constance, Biel, Muhlhausen, Schaffhausen and St Gall joined the League in 1529. In 1530, Strassburg also became a member of the League. Zwingli also wanted to make an alliance with the League of Torgau. It was a league of the German princes. He further desired to establish relationship with France and Venice through alliance. He became more and more tempted to the thought of a spoiling and preventive war. By 1529, he had created a formidable military force. But the situation did not lead to the war, and the result was the first Peace of Cappel. Zwingli thought it as appeasement. In 1531, he desperately engineered economic sanctions against the Catholic cantons. It provoked a fatal military retort in October. Zwingli joined the war. Nevertheless, his broken body was found in the battleground. (Elton 2004, 101). The death of Zwingli was definitely the end of an era as far as the Swiss Reformation movement was concerned. It is difficult to devalue Zwingli's dream in spite of his death in battle. He visualized the establishment of an evangelical Swiss Confederation with Zurich at the head. The military disaster of Zwingli's strategy should not be taken as a proof of fragility of his dream. He thought of a commonwealth in which God might speak freely through his servants the prophets in every part of the public and private life of a Christian community. (Elton 2004, 101). The death of Johannes Oecolampadius (1484-1531) - the reformer in Basel – immediately after the death of Zwingli was another blow to the Swiss Reformation movement. The next leader of the Swiss Reformation movement was Henry Bullinger. His vast correspondence with all the leading reformers of Europe made him into a figure of eirenical importance. It is Bullinger's Zurich, which made the Swiss contribution to the English Reformation in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Bullinger's sermons and polemical chronicles, while lacking the stamp of profundity or originality, made possible the transition of reformed Christianity from the work of Zwingli to the achievement of John Calvin. (Elton 2004, 101- 105).

7(b).2.2 Strassburg

Strassburg was an imperial free city, which occupied a special place in the history of Swiss Reformation. The city was located within the orbit of the imperial authority. The constitution of Strassburg was based on an intricate balance between oligarchy and democracy. The frequent election also ventilated the grievances of the craft guilds of the

city. The flourishing book trade helped to circulate the ideas of Luther and Melanchthon. The reformation process was initiated by Matthew Zell (b. 1477), who in 1521 as priest and penitentiary began to preach in a side chapel in the cathedral. His eloquence and his attacks on abuses swelled the congregation, and when the authorities forbade him the use of the stone pulpit in the great nave, which had been built for Geiler of Keyserberg, the guild of carpenters made him a wooden pulpit from which he preached to congregations, which numbered over 3,000. Apart from Matthew Zell, two other important persons played significant role in in the development of reforms at Strassburg: they were Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541) and Martin Bucer (1491-1551). Capito was an acclaimed personality with recognized academic and ecclesiastical reputation. Bucer, on the contrary, was a poor, unemployed and unknown individual. However, Bucer gradually became the soul of the church in the Strassburg. Both Erasmus and Luther had lasting impact on his religious thought. Bucer was able to impress Matthew Zell. The guild of gardeners asked Bucer to be their priest in the church of St Aurelia. Caspar Hedio and Lambert of Avignon – two other reformers joined Bucer and Capito. There developed an excellent cooperation among these likeminded people as far as the reform initiatives were concerned. For example, Capito lectured on the Old Testament and Bucer on the New. Hedio lectured on Greek, then turned to church history and to the Latin Fathers, and began a German translation of Augustine. Commentary followed commentary, and in them, an exact philological exegesis became the basis of theological exposition. (Elton 2004, 105-106).

Strassburg gradually became the centre of reformist activities. The people like Lefevre, Farel, Lambert, Calvin; Carlstadt, the Zwickau prophets, Denck, Hetzer; Sattler, Kautz, Rothmann, Hiibmaier, Hoffmann, Joris, Servetus, Schwenckfeld, Franck etc. all came to this city. There were many groups of humbler sectaries (members of religious sect), who found refuge. Many of these visitors especially impressed Zell and Capito. They agreed with them about the inwardness of true religion, the importance of a godly life. The most important point of the Reformation movement is that the proponents emphasized on the primacy of Word in preaching and exposition of the Scripture. Bucer even tried to avoid Roman and Zwinglian extremes as far as order of baptism is concerned. To him, the church was a communion of saints. He also believed in predestination that is, chosen by God. However, he also affirmed that it was the charity the believers could achieve the status of elect. Both Capito and Bucer pointed out that the Christians had the right to disagree. It was a revolutionary development in the Strassburg Reformation. In 1546, Bucer was bound to leave Strassburg after the military disaster of the Schmalkaldic war. The Emperor

Charles V forced Strassburg to sing on the Interim. Bucer was not in a position to accept it, and he left for England. At England, King Edward VI offered him shelter. He was appointed as Regius Professor of Divinity in the Cambridge University. The absence of Bucer weakened the Strassnurg Refromation movement. (Elton 2004, 106-111).

7(b).2.3 Geneva

The rapid development of the Reformation movement in Swiss cities, especially in Bern, greatly influenced the Reformation movement in Geneva. Bern's aggressive standpoint against Catholic powers like Duke of Savoy and Catholic Bishop of Geneva was an inspiration to those who wanted to establish a true church. The city abolished the mass on February 7, 1528. The city of Geneva was not outside this fast development. Nevertheless, Geneva was a stronghold of the Catholics, and there were violent conflicts between the Catholics and the Protestants. William Farel (1489-1565) – one of the leaders of the reformers – came to Geneva on 4 October 1532. However, he was bound to leave the city immediately because of the Catholic resistance and unwelcome situation. Farel re-entered the city on 20 December 1533. In January 1534, a disputation took place and it moved the citizens towards reform. In March, Farel was allowed the use of a Franciscan chapel. The bishop of Geneva tried to subdue the reformers violently. It enhanced the solidarity of the reformers. The idea of Reformation was intertwined with the notion of civic freedom. It sustained the Reformation movement in Geneva largely. In May and June 1535, the Catholics made a lamentable showing at a public disputation. In August, the councils of the city ordered the mass to be suspended. In the following February ordinances were passed regulating public morals and church attendance. On 21 May 1536, the general council met in the cathedral and swore solemnly, with uplifted hands, to live according to the Word of God. Though it was a remarkable progress, the Reformation movement was still in a rudimentary stage at Geneva. In this context, Calvin appeared in the city. (Elton 2004, 111-112).

John Calvin (1509-64) was born at Noyon on 10 July 1509. In 1523, he went to the University of Paris and learned Latin. He then studied theology, perhaps under John Major, who was famous for his modern outlook. He took his M.A. degree in 1528 and went next to Orleans where he studied law. However, he soon moved to Bourges, where he became associated with a group of humanists, and started studying collectively. Nevertheless, his father died in May 1531, and, it made Calvin free to go his own road. He returned to Paris and obtained his doctor's degree in law at Orleans. During the same period, Calvin

underwent change of his mind, which was more than the intellectual transition from good to sacred letters. He now became an associate of dangerous friends. One of them, Nicholas Cop, the rector of the University of Paris, delivered an official address on 1 November 1533, which created tension. The situation was suddenly changed and Calvin was forced to hide. After vising many places like Basel, Italy and Paris, he finally arrived in Geneva. It may be noted that in 1536 he published his famous most famous work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a sprawling summary of his theological views that he regularly enlarged to reflect his deepening understanding of faith and life. Geneva was a border town near France with 10,000 inhabitants. Its resident bishop and the neighbouring duke of Savoy politically dominated the city. At Geneva, religious reform was a vehicle for the civic regime's independence from episcopal rule. From the outset, the neighbouring Swiss canton of Berne had supported Geneva's rebellion militarily and had aided its religious reform movement by sending Farel in 1533 to mould the civic Church along Zwinglian lines. Farel coaxed Calvin into settling in Geneva as a preacher and teacher to assist in organizing the civic Church. Immediately, Calvin and Farel pushed for a new Church ordinance designed by Calvin that granted legal authority to the clergy to excommunicate sinners. On October 1536, Calvin first participated in disputation at Lausanne. Like Oecolampadius and Bucer, he also believed in pastoral discipline of the church. In January 1537, he submitted articles for the reorganisation of the church, and a confession of faith in which explicit mention was made of discipline. However, the city council did not endorse the reformist idea of Calvin and both Calvin and Farer were expelled from the city of Geneva. From 1538 to 1541, Calvin stayed at Strassburg. He went there a younger theologian and returned an ecclesiastical statesman. He learned much from practical collaboration and theological discussion with the Alsatian reformers and above all from Bucer. Bucer's emphasis on the doctrine of the church and upon pastoral care found congenial echo in his own mind. Bucer had stressed the doctrine of predestination and as early as 1536 had treated this in a Christocentric setting. Bucer it was who insisted on a scriptural ministry, and thought of it in terms of pastors, teachers, elders and deacons. The Strassburg liturgy was a model for Calvin's simpler rite, while both agreed on the value and importance of congregational psalm singing. However, Calvin did not imitate Bucer; he rather transmuted Bucer's idea into his own. (Elton 2004, 113-114; Wallace 2004, 103-105).

After the overthrow of the Calvin's enemies from the power at Geneva, he returned to the Geneva though reluctantly. Nevertheless, he prepared new ecclesiastical ordinances

for the city of Geneva. The magistrates accepted these ordinances with certain amendments. The next fourteen years saw Calvin's relentless endeavour for the implementation of his unadulterated model of religious governance. During this period, he had to navigate through the factional crosscurrents of civic affairs in the city of Geneva. During the same period, there was marked change in the social topography of the Geneva: it was due to the arrival of the French merchants, nobles and printers in the city. This migration brought economic prosperity and a broader cultural perspective. However, it also created polarization in the city's civic life. By 1555, growing French predominance at Geneva led to the electoral defeat of Calvin's principal opponents among the magistrates. The triumphant Calvin purchased Genevan citizenship in 1559 and directed its church until his death in 1564. (Wallace 2004, 105).

As a reformer, Calvin always placed scriptures over tradition. He also saw true church as a spiritual communion of saints, chosen by God. The true church stands against the corrupt visible church. Calvin also denied Catholic transubstantiation and Lutheran consubstantiation, arguing for the sacramentarian spiritual presence at communion. Theologically, Calvin's Institutes emphasized God's absolute power and humankind's irremediable sinfulness. He believed that the human being did not have free will to achieve salvation. It would depend on continuous struggle in two distinct but interrelated domains. It was internal struggle against human weakness; it was also a struggle against Satan's conspiracies in the world. Calvin drew no comfort from God's mercy, for election was always in doubt. Therefore, he believed that life became endless spiritual combat both internally and externally until God's final judgement. Calvinism demanded righteous living in ways that Lutheranism did not, and it regulated social life in ways that late medieval pluralistic Catholicism had not. To win the war against Satan in the world, Calvin sought to instil godly public discipline by placing tremendous legal authority in the hands of a consistory comprised of ministers and Church elders. This purely ecclesiastical body assumed disciplinary responsibilities independent of the state. Every citizen, godly and damned, must obey the laws of the Old Testament and law of Christ. To ensure discipline, Calvinism fashioned a political culture, which granted the "righteous" authority over others. Calvin fashioned the Genevan Church as a shelter for spiritual refugees, an incubator for training missionaries, and the nerve centre for a far-flung network of religious cells. Refugees of conscience flocked to Geneva, which became a European centre for printing and the spiritual model of a righteous "city on a hill". As French Protestantism grew in

strength, the Gallican Church and the king increased the pressure against religious dissidents. Under the shadow of the stake, lawyers, notaries, doctors, and petty local officials who sympathized with "Reformed" Protestant views attempted to hide their faith by outwardly conforming to Catholic practice. Calvin chastised them as "Nicodemites" and advocated open commitment to the Reformed faith by the elect, under the direction of Genevan-trained ministers. By the early 1550s, French Reformed congregations, sheltered by local notables, began to establish consistories. These seeds, scattered in Paris and the provincial towns of France and nurtured from Geneva, would sprout after 1559, producing a religious and political crisis for the kingdom. (Wallace 2004, 105-106).

In the last years of his life, Calvin dominated the city, an honoured and respected leader, one whose shy nature hid an attractive friendliness, which the multitude never saw. Geneva had become the great city of refuge and a centre of evangelical instruction and propaganda. If it seemed to be to some, as to John Knox, 'the most perfect school of Christ', its catechumenate, like that of Origen, never forgot the horizon of martyrdom. From Geneva there went out a ministry, trained, disciplined, committed, the nearest Protestant counterpart to the Society of Jesus. Within a few years, 161 pastors went into the Reformed Church in France, already a 'church under the cross'. Calvin's Institutes have been called the Protestant *Summa Theologica*.

Nevertheless, it was much more than a theological compendium for the learned. This exposition of the economy of redemption was also a prospectus of the church militant on earth, a handbook for Christian warriors. In 1543, the new Latin edition had grown to twenty-one chapters. In 1550, the work was divided into sections and paragraphs, now of thirty-three chapters. Finally, in 1559 came the great definitive edition, enlarged by more than a fourth, in eighty chapters. Some of it is ephemeral, and the controversies with Osiander, Westphal and Servetus spoil the shape. However, here, at last fully deployed, are all Calvin's majestic intellectual resources, the full stretch of biblical and patristic knowledge. Calvin was one of the greatest patristic scholars of the age, and the greatest biblical theologian of his generation. Calvin, as has been often said, is the reformer of the second generation, the giant among the epigoni. Protestantism had been slowing down, its initial impetus spent, divided, tired, disheartened. After Calvin it is once more on the move, singing on the march, ready to strike new blows for liberty. He restored the exhilaration of Christian comradeship. He renewed the brave vision of the Word going forth conquering and to conquer. (Elton 2004, 116-117).

7(b).3 The English Reformation 1525–47

The English Reformation movement was a unique one. It was deeply associated with the personal life of Henry VIII – the king of Tudor England. Henry presided over the reformation of the English church during the period between 1530 and 1547. Neither the process nor the nature of the English Reformation could not be neatly fit in any of the historically determined categories like the Lutheran Reformation or the Calvinist Reformation. In the continental Reformation movement, the state could not appear as a direct part of it. However, the Tudor State under the leadership of Henry VIII initiated the process of Reformation. Two opposite views or interpretations emerge subsequently in the understanding of the course of English Reformation. The noted historian G.R. Elton argues that the English Reformation was an official state-led initiative imposed on the masses from the above. The evangelical reformism of the religious liberators was insignificant in the English Reformation. It depended on the strength of statutes passed in the Parliament. Therefore, it was not very important what the subjects of the king believed; the important thing is that how the state imposed its will on the masses. In other words, the enforcement of laws passed in the Parliament at the local levels of society was the most crucial thing in the course of English Reformation. Some areas readily accepted while the others not. For example, the people of north England strongly refused to accept the changes brought in the realm of religious belief. The key point in Elton's argument is that the English Reformation was enacted in the Parliament and enforced by the state. Therefore, it was a state sponsored affair unlike the continental Reformation movement. A. G. Dickens in his *The English Reformation* offers a completely opposite interpretation regarding the character of the English Revolution. He points out that there was considerable amount of heterodoxy present in the English society on the eve of the so-called state sponsored Reformation movement. Dickens and his followers point to anticlerical and anti-Catholic belief at the lower orders of the society. He also notes the growing Lollard influences among merchants and artisans and the manifestation of heterodoxy at local echelons of the English society. This pre-existence of radical ideology in religious belief accelerated the pace of the Reformation. It proves that the initiative of reforming the church and religious practices came from below, and in no way imposed from above. The English Reformation was finally an enterprise of the common people (Newcombe 2001, 4-5). However, according to the modern researches, neither of these two views is satisfactory. While Elton emphasizes only on the administrative initiative behind the Reformation movement in England ignoring the peoples' participation in it,

Dickens however highlights the popular involvement in it overlooking the other factors. Nevertheless, one point is common in both arguments. Both to Elton and Dickens, the process of Reformation was fast and quick. Recently, Patrick Collinson points out that though the official Reformation took place at a fast pace, the popular conversion to the new ideas at the grassroot level of the English society however did not achieve momentum before the reign of Elizabeth I. Christopher Haigh argues that it was a single Reformation taking place in England. there were multiple reformations in the 16th century England, one of which was evangelical and the rest being purely political. However, the point is that religious issues and political issues in English Reformation were linked with each other, and it is difficult to separate these two from each other (Newcombe 2001, 5-6; Marshall 2012, 29; Morris 2003, 170).

The English Reformation originated from two distinct sources: first, Henry VIII's royal problem relating to his proposed divorce; second, the growth of anti-Catholic reforming mentality among some sections of the English society. Between 1525 and 1529, Henry drifted into the decision to divorce his queen. This marriage failed to provide Henry VIII a male heir. The lack of a legitimate successor implies the end of Tudor rule in England. The problem of royal succession became a complex one when Henry VIII fell into love of Anne Boleyn. It motivated Henry VIII to divorce his wife Catherine. However, by 1528, it became clear that the Christian theologists would not approve Henry VIII's plan to divorce the queen. The situation further went against Henry VIII plan to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn with the changing international situation. The fall of Rome to Charles V in 1527 was a serious blow to the Henry's plan. On the one hand, the papal assistance would not be possible in the new situation; on the other hand, the emperor, Charles V, was not in favour of divorce. In 1529, the Pope Clement VII finally ordered that the case of divorce of the English king be refereed back to Rome; it clearly indicated the end of the Henry VIII's hope for a new marriage. Within England, it initiated the fall of Wolsey as he was now deprived of the king's confidence. By September, 1529 the decline of Wolsey was evident. He was charged with treason. However, on November 1530 he died of natural causes on his way to London to face trial. (Morris 2003, 166).

The fall of Wolsey indicates the beginning of the Henrician Reformation movement in England. In this perspective, it must be remembered that the pivotal point in the Henrician Reformation was the relationship between the Tudor State and the Church. Richard Rex points out that the single determining factor of the Henrician Reformation movement was

the establishment of royal supremacy over the Church of England. Without the initiative of the state, the Reformation movement in England would have possibly taken a very different and distinct route. The very distinctive feature of the English state under the Tudor dynasty was its expanding character. The reigns of the first two Tudors witnessed a significant increase in the scope and effectiveness of royal government on the one hand and decrease of the power of the nobility in the countryside on the other hand. The Tudor power forcibly reduced the political and institutional power of the feudal lords. Consequently, a new type of balance of power obviously in favour of the early modern state was developed during the period under review in England. More significantly, it was not the nobility alone whose power was curbed, but the church also faced similar fate. Henry VIII reduced the power of the Church of England and the church gave up what it had achieved in the middle ages. What England saw in the 1530s was the constitutional revolution and act of state to establish control over the church. The new supremacy was justified in terms of divine law as revealed in the word of God. The 'word of God' became the basis not only for the supremacy itself, but also for the paramount duty of obedience towards the king from the subjects. In this sense, it was clearly an extension of the royal dominance in the religious realm of England. Henry VIII was attracted to such a scheme of royal legislative control on the Church of England for two fundamental reasons: first, it made the divorce and marriage of Henry VIII to Catherine and Anne Boleyn possible respectively; second, he thought that it would make him the most powerful king of England had ever seen (Rex 1993, 1-2). Peter Marshall reminds us that it is true that without the king, the course as well as nature of the English Reformation would have been directed to a completely different line. However, it is equally true that 'the imposition of the Reformation was the pyrrhic victory of the English state. It was achieved at the cost of eroding the government's power to command, and of empowering ordinary English people to think and reflect – and sometimes to refuse and resist. Not the least among the ironies of the process was that, in raising the monarch to an unprecedentedly elevated official status – supreme head, under Christ, of the Church within England – the Reformation fatally undermined the monarchy's majesty and mystique among significant numbers of its subjects' (Marshall 2017, XII).

Let us review the condition of church in 16th century England. The English Church in 1530 was an influential and rich organization. Recent estimates of its wealth range from £270,000 per year to £400,000. Church possibly possessed one-third of the country's landed wealth and it had an annual income about three times that of the crown. The church was guided by the canon law. It implies that the state laws or acts were not applicable to

the church. In this sense, church was almost independent having a distinct identity within the very structure of the English state. It was parallel to the law of the system. It must also be remembered that 'in an age when the death penalty dominated the penal code, no death penalty existed within canon law, and no cleric could be handed over to secular punishment without ecclesiastical permission. This so-called 'benefit of clergy' was a privilege jealously preserved by the Church, and widely resented elsewhere' (Morris 2003, 170). Therefore, the Catholic church was a privileged institution or body in the feudal structure of England enjoying much of the socio-economic advantages. It is needless to point out that the privileged position of the Catholic church in English society would generate radical interpretation of the Christian theology questioning the deviation of the Catholic church from the path of truth. The privileges and abuses of the Catholic clergy, it is argued, produced widespread anticlericalism among the laity. It created the conditions for the acceptance of Reformation in England. This idea about the active presence of an anticlerical mentality among the common people is of late being considered as illusion. According to Christopher Haigh and J. J. Scarisbrick, there was no deep-rooted dissatisfaction existed in the English society during this period against the church and the clergies. Even the term anticlericalism was not formulated in this period. The English Reformation could not be explained as a direct result of the anticlerical emotion of the common masses. Peter Marshall however reminds us that it would not be a correct position to completely ignore the significance of the criticism against the clergy (Marshall 2012, 15-16). It was actually interplay of multiple factors of society, religion and politics that gave birth to the English Reformation. It implies that the meaning of the Reformation was not a homogenous to the early modern English society; it carried different meaning and implications to different layers of society. In other word, the English Reformation was heterogenous in nature.

The origin of the multiple meanings of the Reformation in the English society was rooted in the development of radical interpretation of the Christian theology before the starting of the Henrician Reformation. The principal carrier of the religious heterodoxy was the Lollards. The Lollards were the followers of John Wyclif - the late fourteenth-century heretical Oxford theologian. Wyclif argued that the church should not possess any property or secular power. To him, the Bible was the main source of religious authority and the behaviour of the popes and the priests should be in conformity with the true principles laid down in it. Wyclif also condemned the doctrine of transubstantiation, and he also attacked aspects of popular religion like pilgrimage and the veneration of images. How did the church encounter this threat to the established notion of Christianity? The simple answer is

persecution. In 1401, the death penalty was introduced for heresy. In 1407, the Wycliffite Bible – the English translation of the scriptures undertaken by Wyclif's followers – was banned. Initially, the Lollards were able to attract the support of not only of the lower orders of the society but also of the high-ranking lawyers. However, in 1414, the Lollardy became associated with the revolt against Henry V, and it caused to the dissociation of the upper sections of the society from this radical ideology. In the subsequent period, there was a decline of the Lollardy apart from some isolated pockets. Both from the point of view of organization and ideology, the Lollardy lost coherence as well as strength. However, despite the decline of the Lollard activities, there was growing persecution of the followers of the radical ideology after the accession of Henry VII in the throne of England. The trials of the Lollards continued in the decades of 1480s and 1490s, and it reached a peak in 1511-12. The affected areas were London, Kent, the Chilterns area of Buckinghamshire, and Coventry. The northern England did not have the growth of such radical ideology. The recent historiographical development raises question even about the articulation of the Lollard ideology and organizational activities during the period mentioned above. The historian like Richard Rex or Robert Swanson points out that during the Tudor period, there was a growth of concerted heresy hunting in England and the church tried to show their importance persecuting the followers of the radical theology. It must be remembered that the Lollardy was not an organized religious sect challenging openly the very structure of the Catholic church. It was rather communion of believers who shared some fundamental ideas within the organization of Catholicism. They were critics of the existing theology of church; they could not be ascribed as an alternative of Catholicism (Marshall 2012, 16-17). However, it is also true that the Lollards were able to develop a critique of the Catholic church and its practices.

Besides the Lollards, the English society also witnessed questioning of the existing system of religious beliefs and practices. First, the Humanists like John Colet (1467-1519), Erasmus and Thomas More raised a number of questions about the religious practices of the Catholic church. In the Canterbury Convocation of 1512 Colet first raised the issue of reforming the Catholic church. He attacked religious abuses and wanted a reform of the church from within. He even negligent priests to the heretics. Desiderius Erasmus Roterodamus (1466-1536) also known as Erasmus combined the classical element of Renaissance and Christianity in his understanding of religion. He embellished his evangelism with criticism of priests and monks, superstition and empty ritual practices but avoided dangerous statement. The famous works of Erasmus are 'Handbook of a Christian Knight'

(1503), Praise of Folly (1511) and Education of a Christian Prince' (1516). Sir Thomas More (1478 –1535) did not support the Henry VIII's proposal of divorce from Catherine of Aragon as it would threaten the independence of church. His is however widely acclaimed for his *Utopia,* Humorous and ironic, Utopia explores basic questions about the purpose and structure of human society, the nature of political power, the problem of injustice, and the question of whether a human community can be organized solely for the common good (Guy 1988, 118-119; Wagner and Schmid 2012, 1128-1129). John Guy argues that humanism suffers from certain inherent weaknesses. It tried to combine faith with reason. According to More, faith was superior power and the Catholic beliefs must be defended because God commanded them. Erasmus, on the other hand, had trust in human rationality. Even Luther regarded Erasmus as an enemy because of his emphasis on reason. These differences certainly weakened the humanist movement in England. A new group of people more radical in its orientation emerged during the same period. These people were Barnes, Bilney, Coverdale, Cranmer, Frith, Latimer, Ridley, Tyndale and others. All these radical reformers were executed during the Mary's reign. The focal point of the English Protestantism was the Cambridge University. It is difficult to assess how far the influence of the Protestant ideology spread beyond the boundary of the Cambridge University. There is evidence that Tyndale's New Testament circulated widely in London, the home counties and East Anglia. It is also clear that in those rural areas near the capital the influence of 'Lollardy', the reformist teachings of the theologian John Wyclif (1320–84), survived significantly (Guy 1988, 118-119; Morris 2003, 171). This analysis shows that England underwent a slow but gradual transformation, the direction of which was not very clear even to the contemporaries. It was a complex process conditioned by multiple factors. These factors were the consolidation of the power of the state under the Tudor dynasty, the spread of humanism though fragile to some extent, the articulation of radical theology, and the last but not the least was the personal problem of Henry VIII.

The state intervention in the field of religion came into reality when the Pope Clement VII revoked Henry VIII's divorce suit to Rome. It was a clear message that the appeal of the English king for divorce would not be easily accomplished. Henry VIII had no option but to summon the Parliament in August 1529 as he had become convinced in his conscience that marriage to Catherine was sinful in the eyes of God. Under this circumstance, there was no other way but to divorce Katherine of Aragon. The Parliament met at Westminster on November 4, 1529. It initiated the making of the statues essential for a transformation of the Catholic church. Until 1536, it was not completed. The debates

and discussions were going through eight sessions of the Parliament during this period. Eustace Chapuys – the ambassador of Charles V in England – thought that Henry VIII used Parliament for obtaining his personal divorce. Despite Henry VIII's attempt to develop a coherent foundation of reforming the church, no settled policy was achieved in the period of crisis, that is, 1529-1530. Henry tried to unite the council under the chancellorship of Thomas More, but competing ideas of different factions emerged in the Parliament. The primary question was whether the church had independence or not in respect of the king's power and authority. The theological and historical evidences were collected in an institutional manner to supplement the legal arguments against the jurisdictional independence of the church. It shows that elaborate measures as far as possible were taken to drive out the complexities relating to the king's divorce. On the one hand, for example, university theologians and canonists were consulted for their opinions on divorce. On the other hand, a royal 'policy-unit' was established to examine what bearing scripture, history and the church fathers had on the settlement of the King's divorce. Cranmer, Edward Foxe and Edward Lee (all soon to be bishops), along with the Italian friar Nicholas de Burgo, produced in September 1530 a document known as the *Collectanea satis copiosa* (the 'sufficiently big collection'). It aimed to show that the English kings since the Anglo-Saxon time had been enjoying spiritual supremacy in their dominions. It was a kind of theocratic kingship (sacred or priestly) once enjoyed by the later Roman emperor. Therefore, Henry VIII as a protector of this age-old right had every legitimate right to call on any English bishop to announce his divorce. (Guy 1988, 124; Marshall 2012, 39-41). It is clear from this analysis that Henry VIII's strategy was centred around the development of theoretical justification in order to break relationship with the papacy and to assert ecclesiastical independence, and by 1530 he had achieved it. However, it took another three years to establish royal supremacy over the church. Three competing factions emerged in the English royal court between 1530 and 1534. During this period the Catherine's supporters were clearly defensive while the supporters of Anne Boleyn demanded a radical unilateral solution. The third group was a conservative one, led by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, helped the king to destroy Wolsey but they rejected radical ideas until Henry VIII adopted the Cromwell's route to divorce (Guy 1988, 126; Marshall 2012, 41). In 1531 the entire English clergy were charged with praemunire for illegally exercising jurisdiction through the church courts. A 'Pardon of the Clergy' was offered in return for a fine of £100,000 and recognition of Henry as 'Supreme Head of the Church'. It is clear from Peter Marshall's (2012) researches that there was a very important shift in the relationship between the church and the state. In 1532 the House of Commons issued a 'Supplication against the

Ordinaries', a compendium of grievances – many of them objectively unfair – against the practices and procedures of the church courts. Miscalculating the extent to which the Supplication reflected official thinking, the bishops produced a defensive reply which infuriated Henry. The King now demanded a 'Submission of the Clergy', under which the bishops surrendered their independent right to make canon law. It transformed the balance of power between Church and State. The Act in Restraint of Appeals passed in March 1533 was the first official rejection of the papal authority. The subsequent events occurred very fast. In May 1533, the first marriage of Henry VIII was annulled; it was followed by the coronation of Anne Boleyn as the Queen of England. The anti-papal revolution was completed in 1534 by an act declaring that denial of Pope's power would no longer be treated as an act of heresy. Apart from that a Supremacy Act and a Succession Act confirmed the King's new title and the Boleyn marriage respectively and vested succession in its offspring (Marshall 2012, 42). In 1536, the Act of Extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of Rome was passed prohibiting the exercise or defence of papal authority in any form under the penalty called *praemunire* (Guy 1988, 136). It is needed to point out that the Henrician Reformation was an extensive exercise in Erastianism, in a political philosophy which advocated the complete separation of spiritual and temporal authority within the state, and which urged that the monarch should control all legal and political functions (Morris 2003, 172-173). The Catholic church in England came under the royal control under the initiative of the Tudor State following a protracted process of enactments of laws and statutes.

After the procedural steps were completed in England, it was felt that the reformation was to be brought to the masses in the regions and localities. Cromwell – the newly appointed viceregent (deputy) in spiritual affairs – introduced two techniques to expand the king's authority in the socio-religious life of the English people. First, all adult males were to swear an oath to the terms of the Succession act. The church had to accept the supremacy of the royal authority. The exercise of papal authority came to an end. Second, Cromwell launched countrywide propaganda and campaign to spread the message of unity, conformity and obedience to the royal and parliamentary authority (Guy 1988, 136-137). All these steps were taken to legitimize the Reformation Movement initiated by Henry VIII in the eyes of common masses. The royal authority was established in England.

Cromwell's next and immediate plan was to strengthen the financial condition of the Tudor State. He tried to make the English king independent financially. The easiest way before Cromwell was to confiscate the property of the monastery. In 1534, he elaborated

his plan for the wholesale confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Two very different tactics were used in the attack on the monasteries. The lesser monasteries, religious houses worth £200 per year or less, were dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1536. The measure was justified on the grounds that spiritual values had decayed in such houses. In the course of 1536 nearly 250 of these houses were dissolved by royal officials, using the machinery provided by the new Court of Augmentations, which received and valued the monastic assets. The larger monasteries faced more critical challenge from Cromwell: they were repeatedly urged to surrender voluntarily their assets to the state authority. Cromwell sent agents throughout England to accomplish the task. He offered generous pension or high offices to those who accepted the proposal of Cromwell. However, the death sentence was for those who offered resistance. It is argued that the dissolution of the monasteries was an act of naked political force, rather than of constitutional law (Morris 2003, 174). Despite its smooth implementation, the dissolution of the monasteries has traditionally been regarded as a 'failed revolution'. The wealth initially derived from the monasteries probably increased the crown's income by about 75 per cent, yet within two decades the Tudor monarchy was reliant once more upon parliamentary grants. The wars with Scotland (1542) and also with France (1543) compelled Henry VIII to raise money by selling lands. Between 1543 and 1547, two-thirds of the former monastic lands were transferred to new owners. The well-established families, the civil servants influential people connected with the Court of Augmentations, and the established local gentries were the chief beneficiaries of the land transfer. ((Morris 2003, 174-175; Guy 144-145). In other words, a new land market was created in England after the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII, and it was the new riches who appropriated profit from it.

The long-term effect of the dissolution of monasteries was obviously debatable. However, there is no doubt that it destroyed the last fortresses of the medieval Catholic order. Henry VIII and Cromwell were successful in eliminating the potential resistance to the supremacy of the king in the realm of religion. Henry VIII founded six new dioceses at Peterborough, Gloucester, Oxford, Chester, Bristol and Westminster, the last being abandoned in 1550. A number of cathedral churches were re-established. These were cathedral churches of Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, Durham and Carlisle. He also re-endowed Wolsey's college at Oxford, re-founded the King's Hall Cambridge at Trinity College, and created regius chairs at both Oxford and Cambridge. However, a number of schemes like endowment to preachers, schools,

colleges, hospitals, Greek and Hebrew studies, poor relief, highway were dropped. The clergy as a social category suffered most from the Henrician Reformation. The rough estimates show that seven thousand monks, nuns and friars along with their attendants and servants were completely dispossessed. Though pension was allotted to the dispossessed monks, but clerical taxes were deducted at source. It is shown that two thousand monks purchased dispensations to act as secular clergy. The decline of the monastic order paved the way for the rise of the new riches and gentries in the English social and political life. The disappearance of the abbots from the House of Lords left the laity ascendant in both the houses. The national wealth of England was substantially redistributed between 1535 and 1558. The largest gainers of the changing situation were the crown, nobility and gentry. They now possessed largest volume of property in England. The gentry on an average possessed 64 to 75 percent of land in the country (Guy 1988, 147-149). It was undoubtedly a massive transformation of the English society in terms of the ownership of landed property. It also definitely initiated the larger social process of the rise of the gentry as a social class in the history of England. The transition towards capitalism from feudalism was also an integral part of all these changes, that is, the dissolution of monasteries and the rise of the gentry.

7(b).4 Resistance against the Henrician Reformation

The implementation of Reformation from above was not however uncontested. It faced resistance especially in Lincolnshire (October 1 – 18, 1536), Yorkshire (October – December, 1536) and in the north-west (January – February, 1537). The rising in Yorkshire also known as the Pilgrimage of Grace offered most formidable challenge to the Tudor State under Henry VIII. Henry VIII's religious policy was certainly the primary cause of the risings; however, there were other caused like bad harvests, objection to the peacetime tax etc. also played important tole behind the growth of rebel consciousness. the Lincolnshire rebellion ended very quickly without any success. The Yorkshire revolt was a much more serious affair. The rebels of Yorkshire considered themselves as Pilgrims and under the banner of Five Wounds of Christ, they marched. Under the leadership of the lawyer Robert Aske, some 30,000 men moved on York. A section of nobility came to extend its support to rebellion. It included Lord Darcy, who was an old enemy of Wolsey and who never supported the king's supremacy. However, despite the strong position of the rebels, the state forces under the Duke of Norfolk in January 1537 completely crushed

the rising with extreme brutality. Both Aske and Darcy were executed (Newcombe 2001, 60-61). The defeat of these risings cleared the full implementation of the Reformation Movement in England without any hindrance.

The historians are divided about the specific character of the resistance movement, especially of the Pilgrimage of Grace whether the causes of the Pilgrimage were 'secular' or 'religious', and whether it should be regarded as a genuinely popular movement or the outcome of an anti-Cromwell conspiracy articulated and hatched at the royal court. A.G. Dickens finds the economic factors as the key to the understanding of the revolt. The recent assessment views the resistance as chiefly religious one. Rumours played a vital role in spreading the message of revolt as well as rebel consciousness. Peter Marshall reminds us that the religion in the rebel consciousness did not necessarily mean the finer and subtle doctrinal aspects of Christianity. They rebels were also less concerned about the conflict between the papal authority and the king's supremacy. Their main grievance was centred around Cromwell's interference in the local customs and interpreted these as heresies. The economic factors like bad harvests were getting intermingled with the larger socio-religious issues. The substantial involvement of the common masses in the popular protest movement against the Henrician Reformation actually expressed the lack of acceptability of reform from above at the parish level. The Pilgrimage of Grace threatened the Tudor State because it was a combined force of nobles, gentry, clergy and common people sharing a common ideology. This uprising was neither a clash between different social groups nor a split within the ruling classes: it was a popular protest against the interventionist policy of the royal authority in the jurisdiction of religion. (Marshall 2012, 55-56; Guy 1988, 149-152). It shows the limits of the state sponsored reform movement in the realm of religion.

7(b).5 The Character of the Henrician Reformation

Any premodern state cannot afford a pure political intervention in societal affairs, and the Henrician Reformation was no exception of this general rule of long-term historical evolution. It was a period when politics and religion were intertwined with each other inextricably. It is also true that neither Henry VIII nor Cromwell was secular in modern sense of the term. The Henrician Reformation brought changes in the church affairs having theological as well as legal significance. Essentially Henry VIII was orthodox; however, he was in favour of religious reforms when these were needed. He also believed that there were some larger social or religious processes which could not be entirely controlled.

During his reign, it is noticed that Protestantism emerged in England but within a certain limit. Henry VIII also required consensus and unity within England as he was engaged in war with Scotland and France from 1542 to 1547 and from 1543 to 1546 respectively (Newcombe 2001, 62-63; 71). His policy definitely contributed to the dissolution of the monasteries and transfer of the ownership of wealth to a new section of the society. But it did not lead to the change of the character of the church in England towards Protestantism. The English church was schismatic but it was certainly not Protestant (Newcombe 2001, 73).

7(b).6: Conclusion

The Reformation movement crossed the boundary of Germany: it was not simply a German affair. As and when it crossed Germany, it took different shapes and wider nature. The Lutheran theology was not always uniformly accepted beyond the German boundary: the reformers of other regions critically studied the Bible and interpreted Christ's message independently. It is true that the theological propositions of Martin Luther had profound influence on the other reformers like Zwingli or Calvin; nevertheless, they were able to develop their own standpoint suited to the local needs. The political and social conditions of various regions of Europe also influenced the differential developmental pattern of the Reformation movement. However, one common point is that all the different strands of the Reformation movement not only questioned the very authority of the Catholic Church but also proposed alternative one. The proposed new church of the reformers was assumed to be the union of true Christians. It was a union of those people, who believed in Words of Christ and God's discipline. It was also based on the notion that all the Christians had to undergo a continuous struggle for becoming true Christians; finally, it was the selection of God. This theoretical proposition definitely strengthened the idea of discipline before the social and religious organizations of early modern Europe. The Reformation movement does not endorse any eradication of the religious structure: rather, it was replacement of the existing structure by a new one. The existing Catholic structure failed to fulfil the demands of the new era. With the gradual decline of feudal social structure and the rise of new ethos of commercial economy, fresh discipline was felt to be required. The ideology like Calvinism was the principal source of such discipline. In other words, the Reformation movement ensured the enforcement of discipline in the domain of society and religion. The result was the rise and establishment of a new authority in place of the old authority.

7(b).7 Model Questions

1. What are the characteristic features of the Reformation movement in Switzerland?
2. Discuss the role of Zwingli and Calvin in the Reformation movement.
3. Evaluate the development of the Reformation movement in Zurich, Strassburg and Geneva.
4. How do you explain the development of Reformation movement in England?
5. What was the basic nature of the Henrician Reformation in England?

7(b).8 Suggested Readings

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Unit-7(c) □ The Radical Reformation

Structure

7(c).0 Objectives

7(c).1 Introduction

7(c).2 Interpreting the typologies of the Radical Reformation

7(c).3 The Earliest Radicals

7(c).4 The Anabaptists

7(c).5 Conclusion

7(c).6 Model Questions

7(c).7 Suggested Readings

7(c).0 Objectives

The primary objectives of the present unit are to understand the different facets of the radical Reformation Movement in early modern Europe. The following aspects of the radical Reformation Movement will be analysed in the present unit:

- The different shades or trends of the radical Reformation Movement.
- The historical emergence of the radical reformers in Europe.
- The role and significance of the Anabaptists in the radical Reformation Movement.

7(c).1 Introduction

One of the most significant features of the European Reformation movement is that it possessed enormous possibility of competing interpretations and expansion within it. There is no general reason to believe that the Reformation movement was confined to only thought and activities of Luther or Zwingli. Different and competitive arguments emerged in 16th century Europe in the domain of the Christian theology. The so-called mainstream Reformation movement could not satisfy all – especially those who wanted a *logical conclusion* of the attempt to reform the church and its theological practices. The

mainstream reformers like Luther or Zwingli made effort to fuse scripturally sound theology with strict maintenance of the existing social order and the continuing rule of the temporal order. The mainstream reformers also wanted to reform the existing practices, which they thought unjust or even corrupt theologically, of the Catholic Church. They did not want any change in the existing social fabric or any revolutionary change in the dominant political structure. The aim of the radical reformers, on the contrary, was to restore the primitive church of the first century. Whereas the dominant mainstream Protestants - Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican – proposed to reform the old Church, the radical reformers decided to reject it and go directly back to what they believed to be the New Testament norm. The Anabaptists were the largest single entity with noticeable presence among these so-called radical reformers in early modern Europe. (Morris 2003, 71; Linder 2008, 81). This distinct trend distinct from the Lutherans and the Reformed – has come to be known as the Radical Reformation, because of its collective desire to return to the very roots of the Christian faith (latin: radix, "root"), and because it called for more aggressive and extensive changes in the social fabric. Though it is difficult to define what the Radical Reformation really implied, nevertheless some useful points may be mentioned for a proper understanding of the nature of this branch of the Reformation movement. These are

- Belief in the church as having fallen and disappeared at some point in early Christian history;
- Belief in an essential, unbridgeable chasm between Christians and "the world";
- Belief in strictly voluntary Christianity, and in a church composed only of believers;
- Rejection of infant baptism as an earmark of the compulsory, fallen, territorial churches;
- Belief in the freedom of the human will, and in the role of human effort toward salvation;

This group of thought rejected the mainstream Reformation movement as incomplete and insufficient. Indeed, they rejected any church, which relied on civil power. It is the most distinctive common thread of the Radical Reformation movement. The radical reformers argued that the existing Reformation movement was depended on magistrates or princes and other civil rulers. It believed in employing *magisters* (university-trained masters or teachers) and civil law to enforce its teachings and ritual among all who lived within particular jurisdictional boundaries for its existence. Therefore, the mainstream Reformation

movement also came to be known as Magisterial Reformation. It is clear that the Radical Reformation movement believed in some kind of ethical and moral rationality. It believed that the mainstream Reformation movement had not transformed Christian behaviour: it was the principal failure of the Reformation movement led by Luther or Zwingli. The Radical reformers argued that a complete transformation was required in individual's life for becoming a true Christian because sinner had no place in the true church. Therefore, it was an alternative path of Reformation relied solely on free spirit and voluntary participation of the true Christians in the domain of true Christianity. (Eire 2016, 250-251).

7(c).2 Interpreting the typologies of the Radical Reformation

The social scientists commonly agree that the Radical Reformation movement was not a homogenous movement: it was heterogeneous and multi-layered. There were differences in approach and activities among the members of the movement. Neither they were unanimous regarding all the issues of Christian theology and church organization. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that before the 19th century, these internal differences and existences of different groups within the broad umbrella of Radical Reformation was not very clear to the social scientists. The popular notion accepted the Lutheran interpretation, which categorized the entire gamut of this trend of Christianity as group of 'false brethren'. This dominant view proposed by Luther within the domain of Christianity was an uncritical understanding of the so-called Radical Reformation. Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) was the first, who broke this binary typologies explicated by Luther. He devised a distinction between religious communities he called "churches," which sought hegemony over entire societies and included even the wicked or spiritually indifferent in their number, and those he called "sects," which were nonconformist, and separatist, and tended to gather in a select few, voluntarily. According to Troeltsch, these so-called nonconformist sects were more progressive than the so-called Magisterial Reformers because their theological position was based on the spirit of Renaissance Humanism. The nonconformist church was 'true church; as it was a voluntary association of the Christian people; as it was divorced from the state and it was committed to egalitarianism and toleration. This theology also opposed the patriarchal propositions of Magisterial Reformation. Troeltsch viewed the nonconformist attempt to separate church from the state as the most revolutionary aspect of the radical Reformation movement. George Hunston Williams further elaborated the

typology of the Radical Reformation. According to him, there were three types of radicals: Anabaptists, Spiritualists, and evangelical rationalists (anti-Trinitarians). He also subdivided these three groups into smaller groups. The details are given below. (Eire 2016, 252-255).

The Radical Reformers (Typologies)

I. The Anabaptists

1. Mainstream-evangelical

   New Testament model, pacifist: Swiss Brethren, Hutterites, Mennonites

2. Contemplative-mystical

   Individualistic, influenced by medieval mystics: Hans Denck

3. Revolutionaries

   Violent, apocalyptic: Münster

II. Spiritualists

1. Mainstream-evangelical

   Spiritual perfection: Manifest later in pietism

2. Contemplative-mystical

   Individualistic, influenced by medieval mystics: Frank, Weigel

3. Revolutionaries

   Violent, apocalyptic: Zwickau Prophets, Andreas Karlstadt, Thomas Müntzer

III. Evangelical Rationalists and Anti-Trinitarians

1. Erasmians, Libertines, and Nicodemites
2. Skeptics and Rationalists
3. Anti-Trinitarians

7(c).3 The Earliest Radicals

The forerunners of the early radicals were the Zwickau prophets, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Thomas Müntzer, and their early followers. These people first challenged the

Magisterial Reformation. We must note that they were these early radical reformers were not Anabaptists because they did not propose rebaptism. However, they were the first who critically analysed the limitations of the Magisterial Reformation and rejected it; they were the first who started thinking of an alternative of the dominant Magisterial Reformation. Two distinct streams emerged among the early radicals: one violent, socially concerned, and very mystically inclined and the other pacifist and socially concerned, and moderately influenced by mysticism. While in the theology of Zwickau prophets and Thomas Müntzer, one can find the initial beginning of the apocalyptic activist tradition, that is, intense eschatological expectations, coupled with belief in prophetic inspiration and the need for immediate action, the reformer like Karlstadt represented the pacifist stream. (Eire 2016, 255; Lindberg 2010).

Both Karlstadt and Luther were the major figures in the history of the German Reformation movement. However, there were significant differences between Karlstad and Luther regarding theological propositions. These differences were rooted in the alternative readings of Bible and Augustine. Luther understood God's favor to the sinner as a Word of promise, a Word that addressed the sinner from outside the self. Luther emphasized that this promise from "outside us" (*extra nos*) is "for us" (*pro nobis*). To Luther the Christian always remained simultaneously sinner and righteous, unable to fulfill God's law from himself but rather accepting Christ's fulfillment through faith. In contrast, Karlstadt's theology seems to have been more determined by a theological shift from Thomist to Augustinian thought. This was certainly personally and religiously significant to Karlstadt. He opposed the Luther's theological motif of the dialectic of law and gospel. Karlstadt emphasized the contrast of letter and spirit; in contrast to Luther's emphasis on the Christian as simultaneously sinner and righteous (*simul iustus et peccator*), Karlstadt spoke in more ethical terms of the Christian as simultaneously good and evil (*simul bonus et malus*). Hence, Karlstadt emphasized inner renewal in contrast to outer acceptance, regeneration over justification, obedience to the Christ "*in us*" (*in nobis*). Karlstadt, like Luther, saw forgiveness through Christ's atonement as central, but unlike Luther he focused on self-mortification and inner regeneration. This led Karlstadt in the direction of conceiving of the Scriptures as divine law that governs church and individual, demanding perfection. The scholar like Hermann Barge views Karlstad as the pioneer of lay Christian puritanism. Ulrich Bubenheimer has traced the influence of Karlstadt's theology of rebirth and sanctification on the development of Pietism into the 18th century. He also discovered the German mystics as another source of his thought. The German mystics contributed to his

emphasis on regeneration and a spiritualist interpretation of the Bible. This mystical influence is evident in his 1520 tract *Missive von der aller hochsten tugent gelassenheit* ("Open Letter on the Very Highest Virtue of Resignation"). The development of the concept of *Gelassenheit* became central in Karlstadt's theology. Here also we find the foundation of a new hermeneutic, a shift from the outer word to an inner, unmediated word of God in Karlstad's thought. The potential conflict between Luther's emphasis on justification and Karlstadt's emphasis on regeneration became an actual conflict in the respective models of ministry developed by the two reformers. In Karlstadt, we finds traces of pacifist communitarian Anabaptism, evinced by a commitment to egalitarianism and even a rejection of infant baptism. His influence on later radicals is widely recognized. This influence could be found about social issues and certain theological questions concerning the sacraments and the freedom of the will. In some ways, Karlstadt was a prototype of the pacifist Anabaptists, but not entirely. He never established or joined a voluntary Anabaptist believers' church. Karlstadt was a moderate radical who seemed to grow somewhat comfortable with compromise as he aged and as he realized that, his own complex ambivalence had stranded him on the margins of a major revolution. We must also note that Karlstadt was a forerunner of Pietism. With the theology of rebirth and sanctification, Karlstad was able to establish historical lines of connection with Pietism. (Lindberg 2010, 90-91; Eire 2016, 256).

In the historical evolution of the Radical Reformation movement, Thomas Müntzer (ca. 1489–1525) played the pioneering role in establishing links between the religious spirit of inner world and material change of the outer world: in Müntzer's thought, mysticism became the theological basis for revolution. In the initial phase, Müntzer considered Luther as his fellow comrade; nevertheless, he changed his assessment about Luther after viewing Luther's role in reversing Karlstadt's innovations in Wittenberg. Müntzer denounced Luther as a carrion crow, Father Pussyfoot, Dr. Liar, the Wittenberg Pope, the chaste Babylonian virgin, arch devil, and a rabid fox. Luther labeled Müntzer a bloodthirsty rioter possessed by the devil who was hellbent on destroying both church and state; "a man born for heresies and schisms." To Luther, Müntzer became the symbol of dissent and heresy that logically led to the horrors of the Peasants' War and the later disaster at the city of Münster (1534–5). (Lindberg 2010, 137).

There is hardly any data about the early life of Thomas Müntzer. The historians are also not certain about the year of birth of Müntzer. It ranged between 1470 and 1495. It seems clear that his parents were from an urban milieu, and the family name suggests that

they were possibly engaged in minting. Ulrich Bubenheimer has recently explored Muntzer's social relationships for clues to his origins. The sources from his time in Braunschweig (1514–17) and his later contacts there up to 1522 indicate he associated with people from the professional strata of international merchants, goldsmiths, and minters. His connections with these people suggest that he came from a relatively well-to-do social milieu that in the larger cities was an educated and politically influential citizenry. Müntzer's origins and personal relationships were in the circles of the early capitalist mining economy of the Harz and Thuringian area, and thus were similar to Luther's. Müntzer studied at Leipzig, Frankfurt, Wittenberg (1517–18, 1519), and probably also at other universities. He received the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Scripture. During this period, Müntzer gradually developed a passionate love for purity. There is a mystical element in this formula, by which he identified Christ with his passion. The letter addresses Müntzer with the title "Persecutor of Injustice." The idea of justice and purity were indeed two key aspects of Müntzer's theology from the very beginning. The growth of early capitalist values in the context of theological purity played a critical role in his thought. Some of the close associates of Müntzer believed that their worldly success would dull their hearing for the voice of God. Müntzer's demand for an ascetic structure of life developed in this social–economic context keyed to growth, expansion, and capital accumulation. He was wholly committed to the ant-feudal struggle of the changing time span of early modern era. Müntzer rejected Luther's views on the role of the merchants in the society. Luther was of opinion that with some few exceptions, the merchants were in general dishonest and were equivalent to thieves because of their inherent practice of maximizing profit. Luther was in fact in favour of imposing control or regulation on the activities of merchants. Müntzer argued differently from Luther in this particular point. He opined that it was the princes and not the merchants, who were responsible for usury and greed. Müntzer held that Luther should rather preach judgment against the princes, who merited condemnation more than any others. Müntzer was completely against feudalism. It must be remembered that he was not unaware of the fact that there was exploitation in the emerging capitalist system. Nevertheless, he stood for a compromise and not confrontation with the traders and merchants because he knew that without the support of the urban merchants, he would not continue to struggle against feudalism. (Lindberg 2010, 137-140).

During Müntzer's study, Wittenberg was a complex mix of humanistic and theological studies. The scholars find close resemblance between the humanist ideology and the thought of Müntzer. The humanist form of monastic asceticism included celibacy and the

lack of a fixed abode. Its phenomenological closeness to Müntzer's theology of suffering is evident, and may also be the source of his criticism of the Wittenberg advocacy of clerical marriage. For Müntzer, the only justification of sexual intercourse within marriage was the divine instruction for the generation of elect descendants. Humanist influences came from Erasmus and Ficino. He also studied Jerome, Augustine, Cyprian, Eusebius, Tertullian, Cassiodorus, and Basil, among others. From Eusebius, Müntzer imbibed the theme that the virgin church of the apostolic period had fallen. To him, the once pure church had become a whore through the spiritual adultery introduced by self-serving scholars and faithless priests. Thus the laity, the common folk, must become the new priests. The community must be purified until it consists only of the elect separated from the godless. Humanist rhetoric also provided Müntzer with the category of "the order of things" (ordo rerum) by which he structured his theology. This rhetorical concept with its emphasis on the right relationship between "beginning" and "end" functioned in Müntzer's theology as a fundamental hermeneutical category. It comprehends rhetorically a revelation process from the immanent order of creation to the structure of the Creator's speech. The knowledge of God is not teachable; it may be conferred only in connection with a spirit-worked faith saturated with experience. The catastrophic inability of the church to mediate this spiritual renewal is related to its loss of the right "order of things" in God and in all creatures. Thus, Müntzer called for reversal of the traditional movement from the external order to the internal order. The living Word of God must be realized from God's own mouth and not from books, even the Bible. The mystical tradition as well as the humanist expressions of neoplatonism served his effort to express the priority of an inner oriented hearing by humankind that would lead persons to turn from their bondage to creatures to the process of divinization in God. Theologically, God's living spoken Word of creation is present in every period, and the creation is analogous to a rhetorical construction. Holy Scripture is thus a historically limited precipitate of this revelation process, a "part" of the "whole" revelation. Beyond Scripture there are other realms of divine revelation: the living speech of God, nature, and history. Theologians who limit revelation to Scripture are nothing but scribes. (Lindberg 2010, 140-141). We must also note that the theological difference between Müntzer and Luther was becoming clear. *Sola scriptura* is displaced by *sola experientia*. Scriptural faith is a dead faith that worships a mute God. The God who speaks is the God who is experienced directly in the heart. Luther's conviction that Müntzer's preaching would ultimately lead to violence is clear in his vigorous call to the princes in the July 1524 *Letter to the Princes of Saxony Concerning the Rebellious Spirit* to intervene at the first

sign of violence. Luther reminds the princes that their duty is to maintain order, prevent rebellion, and preserve the peace: this is the civil responsibility of the secular authorities. Müntzer reacted by saying that Luther had entered an unholy, self-serving alliance with princes and with them terrorized the common masses. It was indeed a bitter struggle between two different types of ideology. Finally, Müntzer was executed brutally. (Lindberg 2010, 144; 146).

Sometimes, Müntzer has been portrayed as a social revolutionary who fought for the proletariat. Nevertheless, it was an exaggeration. Oppression and social misery were to be combated from Müntzer's point of view because they hindered the common man from reading the Bible and coming to faith. He was a religious person, who believed in the existence of true church. His theology is not the ideology of a social revolutionary in the Marxist sense. Furthermore, Müntzer used the terms "poor" and "needy" in a spiritual rather than a material, social sense. According to Müntzer, the peasants were 'elect'. The Peasants' War, he believed, would bring about social equality. Some historians argue, nonetheless, that Müntzer's real legacy was overwhelmingly negative, for his failure and that of the revolution he championed soured the lower classes to Radical Protestantism, leaving them indifferent to religion and excessively submissive to their secular and ecclesiastical overlords. (Lindberg 2010, 146-149; Eire 2016, 256; Koenigsberger 1989, 172).

7(c).4 The Anabaptists

The mainstream reformers like Luther and Zwingli stood for a spiritually sound theology with the maintenance of the existing social order and the continuing rule of the temporal authorities. The Radical Reformers wanted, however, the advancement of the Reformation to a logical conclusion. They were not concerned about the possible damaging impact of such radical steps on the existing hierarchy of state or even church. These more radical reformers were described even at this early stage by the blanket term 'Anabaptist'. The term derived from the sensation caused by Conrad Grebel, Felix Mantz and others when they claimed in Zurich (January 1525) that the Bible gave no authority for the baptism of infants, and that baptism should instead be administered to adults able, on their own responsibility, to embrace the word of God. The major centre of the formulation of the Anabaptist theology was Zurich – the nerve centre of Swiss Reformation movement. Nevertheless, Anabaptism had its own intrinsic diversity. Zurich was definitely one of the

centres of the Anabaptist movement. However, there were other areas and other leaders also. For example, in central Germany, Thomas Müntzer's propositions for radical reforms were the inspiration for the Anabaptists. In south Germany Hans Hut and in Strasbourg Melchior Hoffman played important role in fomenting the idea of Anabaptism. (Morris 2003, 71; Lindberg 2010, 189).

In Zurich, the Reformation movement under the leadership of Zwingli, was critically dependent on persuasion of the authorities. It also existed in the face of the threats of Catholic cantons. Amidst this situation, the emergence of Anabaptism proved to be a serious threat to mainstream Swiss Reformation movement. In early modern era, what the authority needed a common ideology to keep the society united. The rise of Anabaptism could be threat to this authoritarian unity in Zurich. It could imperil the very existence of the state. In Zwingli's eyes the rise of the Zurich Anabaptists was therefore a clear and present danger. He regarded the evangelicals as querulous, jealous, backbiting, and deceitful extremists who lacked charity. Their aim was only to undermine the government. Their opposition to infant baptism, their open-air preaching, and their constant street discussions and harangues were bringing the gospel into disrepute. Indeed, Zwingli saw these people as social revolutionaries whose teaching would overthrow society and religion alike. Consequently, the civic authorities of Zurich took a very intolerant stand towards the Anabaptists. It prescribed the death penalty for all unrepentant Anabaptists, a penalty, which Felix Mantz – the leader of the Anabaptists -suffered in 1526. The stern and repressive measures taken by the civic authorities against the Anabaptist preachers or followers were the indication of the presence of revolutionary content in Anabaptist theology. The Anabaptists posed a radical alternative to the "state churches" of Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Catholics who believed that the visible church embraced all professing Christians. The alternative communities of the Anabaptists scrutinized members to eliminate the unworthy, and worshipped and associated in separate, voluntary communities. These nonconformist groups were the first who really challenged the very authority of both the rulers and spiritual leaders. It was a challenge to the established religious regime and existing hierarchical authority. Instead of a centrally administered and hierarchically controlled worshipping procedure, they offered individual understanding of god. This proposition made the very institutional foundation of church vulnerable. This theological understanding of Anabaptism had obvious disturbing effects in the contemporary political and social domains. The first concerted manifesto of the Anabaptists was the Schleitheim Confession of 1527. The authors of the document considered it unjustifiable to use weapons or legal

processes against one's fellows, and they rejected any form of oath as effectively taking the Lord's name in vain. Although Anabaptism was too diverse to be governed by one 'confession', it is generally true that the personal nature of this form of religious belief made it impossible for the believer to accept without question the demands and standards of any other social or political group. The authority of the princes, the doctrine of the Church, the payment of taxes and tithes, all seemed to be threatened. Fears that the very fabric of society was at risk soon seemed to find confirmation in the actions of some of the extreme Anabaptists. (Lindberg 2010, 190-191; Morris 2003, 71).

The civic authorities and the reformers like Zwingli found threefold danger in the Anabaptist movement. Firstly, the activities of the Anabaptists were a threat to the Swiss unity and Swiss Reformation movement. In Zurich, as elsewhere, the success of the reform movement was seen to be dependent on the support of the government. Fearful of possible aggression from the Catholic cantons, Zurich and other reformed cantons believed that only a community united in religion could defend itself and maintain its freedom. Thus, as far as the Anabaptists hindered this union they were seen as supporting the Counter-Reformation movement. Secondly, the Anabaptist theology was a clear challenge to Zwingli's reform process using Scripture – the weapon of Zwingli in the Swiss Reformation. The dissidents insisted that they were only carrying Zwingli's own commitment to the Bible as the norm for faith and life to its logical conclusions. When the Anabaptists read the Bible, they could find no permission in it for infant baptism, but only for baptism as a sign of adult faith and regeneration. Nor could they find any authorization in the Bible for the union of church and state. The Anabaptists started reading the Bible in their own way with a clear view that they were only advancing Zwingli's theological propositions to its logical end. Zwingli viewed the Anabaptists' alternative reading of Scripture as the expression of ignorance, malice, and contentiousness. On the other hand, from the perspective of the Roman Catholics, this dissonance and then dissidence was the can of worms opened by the Reformers themselves. Thirdly, the Anabaptists were viewed as politically as well as religiously exclusivists, and thus they were considered as a civic liability. In refusing to accept the normal obligations of citizenship – oaths, taxes (the tithe), military service – the Anabaptists were seen to be forming a state within the state. Their refusal to take oaths was a serious element in this perception because for late medieval society the oath was a major part of the "glue" that held the society together. Citizens swore oaths to the common good and defence of the town, to the guilds to which they belonged, and to the truth. Without the public oath, indispensable in any court of justice, the ordinary daily administration of public

life was in danger of breaking down. The rejection to render an oath was equivalent to political separatism leading to the disintegration of the state and society. (Lindberg 2010, 191-192).

During its early phase of evolution, Anabaptism was not hesitant to use force for its cause. However, after the Schleitheim Articles (1527), the Anabaptists adopted the path of pacifism and refused to take sword. It became a serious problem to the civic authorities. The Swiss towns did not have any standing army. Conventionally, all the citizens of a town had legal obligation to protect their cities from any outside invention, and thereby everybody had to carry weapons. The Anabaptist refusal to use weapon created big problem both to the civic authorities and to the fellow citizens. For civic authorities, it was a problem of the security of the cities. For the citizens, it could be an extra burden as some fellow citizens refused to take arms. Therefore, the Anabaptist pacifism was a source of crisis in the Swiss cities in the level of authority and security. The civic authority also viewed the Ababaptists' refusal to pay tithes and interest as a mark of both disobey and challenge to existing laws. The early church had regularized lay support for its work through canonical legislation of the Old Testament tithe. This became a particular imposition on rural areas in the Middle Ages because it exacted one-tenth of the produce of the land, including animals and profits. With the Reformation rejection of the papal use of the Old Testament regulations and canon law, the tithe was widely called into question. The Anabaptists made it clear that the tithe was refused not primarily, because it was an economic imposition but because it was perceived as an instrument of control by the Zurich government over the parishes within its jurisdiction. For Zwingli, the tithe was a key to the centralized territorial church, which he wanted to reform but not to dissolve. The refusal of tithes, like iconoclasm and attacks upon the mass, represented the disintegration of the old religious order. To some at least, this rejection of tithes and taxes appeared very similar to the Catholic Church's unpopular insistence upon exemption from taxation and from civil law courts. Similarly, the Anabaptist insistence upon a church of true believers, and thus the instituting of excommunication and the ban, also led people to associate the Anabaptists with elements of Catholicism. (Lindberg 2010, 193-193).

The repressive measures taken by Zurich authorities contributed to the dispersal of the Anabaptists to different places. Balthasar Hubmaier carried his beliefs to Augsburg, and then on to Moravia, where the movement enjoyed its most notable successes. He attracted some 6,000 adherents in the region within a year, establishing so-called 'Hutterite'

communities, which flourished until the 1620s. From there Anabaptism established its influence in Bohemia where, by the mid-1530s, eighty communities or more had been set up. The net result, however, was always persecution. Hubmaier and his wife were put to death in Vienna in 1528, while his successor Jakob Hutter died at the stake in 1536. Only in Strasbourg, the Anabaptists were briefly offered the toleration for their preaching. There was, however, another side to Anabaptism, for a few took the search for scriptural truth to extremes. The radical phase of Anabaptism can be dated from about 1529 with the rise to prominence of Melchior Hoffman (c. 1500–43). Formerly sympathetic to both Luther and Zwingli, he had become a fierce critic of both, and his religion had moved towards fanaticism. He denied that Christ had ever become man, preached that academic learning had no value compared with divine inspiration, and prophesied that Strasbourg would become the 'New Jerusalem' from which the prophets of the new age would come forth. His last prophecy coincided with Strasbourg's acceptance of the moderate Augsburg Confession, and Hoffman spent his last years there as a prisoner. Events elsewhere, however, were to haunt conservatives for the rest of the century. In 1533–4, in the aftermath of fanatical outbursts in several parts of the Low Countries, a group of Dutch and German extremists gained control of the city of Münster. Their leaders were Jan Matthys, a baker from Haarlem, and Jan Beukels, 'John of Leyden'. By February 1534 the city was besieged by its prince-bishop, and under the pressures of warfare the defenders established an extreme social and political regime. Property was declared to be held in common, the death penalty was imposed for such anti-social faults as adultery and maliciousgossip, and polygamy was introduced. There was no mercy for the defenders when the city was finally retaken in June 1535. Hundreds of them were slain and the leaders were slowly tortured to death, their remains left to rot, hanging from the church tower. 'God has opened the eyes of the governments by the revolt at Münster', declared Bullinger, 'and thereafter no one would trust even those Anabaptists who claimed to be innocent.' Certainly the Münster episode created great problems for Anabaptist communities elsewhere, and it has recently been claimed that 30,000 lives may have been lost in the subsequent backlash. That Anabaptism survived the disaster of Münster was largely due to the emphasis placed by other Anabaptist leaders on the simple, inwardlooking, pacifist faith of their early predecessors. The most notable of this next generation was the Dutch former priest Menno Simons (1496–1561). Converted in 1536, Simons spent the next years of his life wandering between communities in the Netherlands and northern Germany, preaching non-

violence and providing guidance and encouragement to the threatened believers. His 'Mennonite' followers may be seen as the forerunners of the later Baptist churches. Other notable contributions were made by Henry Niclaes (1502–80), whose 'Family of Love' foreshadowed the Quaker movement, and such writers as Cellarius and Servetus, whose denials of the Holy Trinity paved the way for the later Unitarian Church. (Morris 2003, 72).

7(c).5 Conclusion

The development of Radical Reformation movement was definitely logical extension of the reform process initiated by Luther and Zwingli. However, the Anabaptists went far towards a world of equality and fraternity. It was truly a clear departure from the existing practices of reforms in the domain of religion. The significance of Radicals cannot be judged in terms of their numbers for three fundamental reasons. First, they offered an alternative sort of religion in which communal bonds were redefined, and in doing so they shaped not only their own identity, but also that of their opponents, who had to come to terms with them. Second, they were the first Western Christians to break completely from the medieval symbiosis of church and state and to insist that church membership should never be compulsory. Third, save for the Münsterites and other apocalyptic activists, the radicals tended to champion toleration and the right of every individual to choose his or her faith. these three contributions to Western culture, one might argue, are among the most significant made by anyone in the sixteenth century. In many ways the radicals were indeed ahead of their time. Even opposite ends of their spectrum seem eerily modern: whether one looks at the Münsterites, with their totalitarian nightmare, or the spiritualists, with their solitary quest for truth within themselves, it is fairly easy to see more than a dim reflection of our own day and age. (Eire 2016, 285).

7(c).6 Model Questions

1. How do you explain the growth of Radical Reformation movement?
2. What were the basic features of the Anabaptism?
3. Write in brief the spread of Anabaptist movement in early modern Europe.
4. Assess the Radical Reformation movement with special reference to the Anabaptism.

7(c).7 Suggested Readings

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Unit-7(d) □ The Catholic Reformation

Structure

7(d).0 Objectives

7(d).1 Introduction

7(d).2 The Origin and Development of the Catholic Reformation

7(d).3 The Society of Jesus: God's Special Forces

7(d).4 The Council of Trent, 1545–1563

7(d).5 The Catholic Monarchies: Catholic Reformation in Action

7(d).6 Conclusion

7(d).7 Model Questions

7(d).8 Suggested Readings

7(d).0 Objectives

The objectives of the present are to understand the various aspects of the origin, role and significance of the Catholic Reformation in early modern Europe. The following points are to be highlighted in the course of discussion:

- The Catholic Reformation Movement: its origin and development.
- The role and significance of the Society of Jesus in the Catholic Reformation Movement.
- The role and significance of the Council of Trent between 1545 and 1563.
- The activities of the Catholic Monarchies in the Catholic Reformation Movement.

7(d).1 Introduction

The emergence and rapid spread of Protestantism in different areas of Europe made the authorities of the Catholic Church conscious about the possibility of erosion of the very

foundation of Catholicism. There was a growing awareness among some judicious Catholics that reform of the church was essential. There was a growing recognition from within the Catholic Church that it had developed a number of bad practices, exploitative mechanism and even corruptions reflecting deviation from the true principle of the Christ: these vices were required to be corrected or rectified. In this sense, the Catholic Reformation movement or the Counter Reformation was not a mere reaction to the Protestant Reformation. Even before Luther, there was a growing criticism against the Catholic Church. The Catholic Reformation was not simply a Counter-reformation, a deliberate re action to the challenge posed by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, but the response of Catholics themselves to the unhappy condition of their Church at the end of the·15th century. Consequently, it began long before Luther was appointed to Wittenberg, and it was not until the second half of the 16th century that it became preoccupied with combatting the spread of Protestantism. Nor was it a coherent movement, since it represented the spontaneous efforts of many individuals, or groups of individuals, who acted coincidentally but independently of each other to remedy the inadequacies and the corruption within their Church. Its origins were various and varied. In this unit, we will study the origin, development, impact and nature of the Catholic Reformation. (Maland 1982, 265).

7(d).2 The Origin and Development of the Catholic Reformation

Unlike the Radical Reformation, the Catholic Reformation was not a closed affair. It was an open initiative to reform the Catholic Church. For example the Capuchins, a reformed branch of the Franciscans, made deliberate attempt to work within the labouring poor of Italy. There were other groups who tried to combine the ordered life of the religious with a missionary desire to operate directly in the world were the new orders of clerks regular; they were neither monks nor friars but communities of secular priests who lived together under monastic vows, and whose life was devoted to action rather than contemplation. The Barnabites, for example, founded in Milan in 1533, combined a strict penitential life with a practical concern for the education of the poor, while the Somaschi, from Somasco near Bergamo, established orphanages. There was also attempt to reform the Church belonging to Catholicism in Rhineland and the Netherlands. For example,

Brethren of the Common Life or the Friends of God rejected the traditional monasticism. They devoted their labours to the benefit of the community at large. At the beginning of the 15th century, the development of such communities took place in cities like Delft, Deventer, Zwolle, Basle, Cologne and Strasbourg. In 1517, a branch of the Oratory of Divine Love was established in Rome. On the eve of the Protestant Reformation, many Christian humanists, and a number of theologians, pious monks and concerned lay people had been trying to renew spiritual life by promoting piety and ethics and by establishing confraternities and oratories. Under the inspiration of St. Catherine of Genoa, for example, the Oratory of Divine Love was founded in Genoa in 1497 and brought to Rome during the pontificate of Leo X. This informal organization of about 50 laymen and clergy emphasized the harmonization of faith and learning and advocated reform through personal piety, prayer, frequent confession and performing works of charity and service. Among those attracted to the Roman Oratory were such eager and highly placed reformers as Gaetano da Thiene (later St. Cajetan, founder of the Theatine Order of Clerics Regular in 1524), Gian Pietro Carafa (later Pope Paul IV, 1555–1559) and Jacopo Sadoleto (the humanist Bishop of Carpentras in southeastern France). The group was soon joined by the most conciliatory figure of the Catholic Reformation, Gasparo Contarini (Cardinal Contarini from 1535). The Theatines attracted to their ranks Reginald Pole, the English reforming cardinal and cousin of Queen Mary I. Spiritual regeneration on the upper levels of the Church hierarchy was the goal of the Oratory and later of the Theatines as well. Pope Paul III (1534–1549) appointed a commission to investigate the condition of Catholic Church. The commission's report was published in 1537, and its findings were so embarrassing that Protestants eagerly cited them as evidence that they were right in what they had said about the Church. Nevertheless, the pope and the leading cardinals who served on the commission were committed to reform, and the publication of their findings provided a major impetus for what was to become a wide-ranging reform movement in the Roman Church. (Maland 265-266; Morris 2003, 87; Linder 2008, 103-104).

Interestingly, there were Catholic scholars whose opinion was similar with that of Luther. Many of the Catholics agrees with the essence of Luther's theology of salvation. For example, the Benedictine monk Benedetto da Mantova preached justification by faith in Christ as the way of salvation as early as the 1530s. In 1543, he published his little book in Venice with the title A Most Useful Treatise on the Merits of Jesus Christ Crucified for

Christians. The theology of this work was very similar to that of Protestantism. Benedetto's work was at first well received. However, it was later placed on the Index of Prohibited Books and so successfully repressed by the Roman Inquisition that of the many thousands of copies of the Italian edition that were in existence only one is known to survive, discovered in the library of a Cambridge University college in the nineteenth century. That sort of successful repression was a part of the Counter Reformation that took hold after 1542. Contarini was another important Catholic scholar who wholeheartedly tried for rapprochement between Catholicism and Protestantism. Like Luther, he also experienced spiritual crisis. He nevertheless found peace through faith in Christ's suffering and death. However, unlike Luther, Contarini never challenged the Church's sacramental theology and papal authority. Rather, he repeatedly tried to reconcile his unwavering personal belief in justifying faith with Church teaching. In any case, Contarini and others of a like mind within the Old Church reached out to the Protestants in the hope of reconciliation. Pope Paul III made Contarini a cardinal in 1535, after which he took up residence in Rome and became one of the pope's closest advisors. The Pope Paul III, who was accused of many abuses in the report of 1537 by the reform commission, placed himself into the top of the Catholic Reformation movement. Paul was unanimously elected as

Pope in 1534 at the age of sixty-seven. Nevertheless, he acted as Pope for nearly 15 years since 1534. During this period, he provided the leadership of the Catholic Reform. He not only created the aforementioned reform commission but also appointed Contarini and a number of other reform-minded individuals as cardinals. Moreover, he also recognized several new monastic orders that eventually played important roles in the Catholic Reformation, including the Jesuits. Further, he convened the long-delayed church council (Trent) in 1545 to deal with Protestant complaints. (Linder 2008, 104-106).

The Catholic scholars were divided into two groups. The first group wanted reconciliation with the Protestants while the second group believed in repressive measures to stop the spread of Protestantism. The political condition of Europe however was in favour of those who wanted reconciliation. The Emperor Charles V stood for internal stability and peace within his empire due to the possible Turkish threat. He encouraged conversations between Catholics and Protestants in 1540–1541. In April 1541, the two sides met in Regensburg, where an imperial diet was in session. Calvin,

Melanchthon and Bucer attended the Colloquy of Regensburg, where the two sides used as their basis for discussion the Regensburg Book, which had been composed by Johann Gropper, a Catholic humanist, and modified by Bucer. The most surprising achievement of the colloquy was that the participants reached an agreement on the doctrine of justification by faith. The article dealing with that doctrine was worded in such a way that it took into consideration the major concerns of both sides. The final formula seemed to satisfy all concerned in that justification was not only attributed to the imputation of Christ's righteousness. It also stated that justifying faith must result in works of righteousness. Contarini, who served as papal legate to the colloquy, understood and sympathized with the Protestant position and considered the agreement a major breakthrough. Differences over the Eucharist were not however resolved. Nine days of debate resulted in stalemate over the real presence in communion and in a number of areas as well. Failure was difficult for Contarini to accept, but he no doubt hoped the long-delayed general council might continue the work of reconciliation begun at Regensburg. He did not live to see the council that was convened four years later because he died in 1542. (Linder 2008, 106).

7(d).3 The Society of Jesus: God's Special Forces

The foundation of the Society of Jesus: God's Special Forces was a landmark in the history of Catholic Reformation. It was founded by Ignatius Loyola, and a group of companions in 1534. Loyola's background to the age of thirty was military rather than religious, and a military mentality remains evident in his later religious organisation. Unlike Luther and Calvin, his religious conversion did not deflect him from his belief in the legitimate authority of the Church. Between 1521 and 1535, Loyola was preoccupied with his own spiritual education, in Spain (1522– 3), in the Holy Land (1523), at the universities of Alcala and Salamanca (1524–7), and in Paris (1528–35). Loyola was convinced that human being must be considered as a free agent and as free agent he or she could find God where he or she will. This conviction of Loyola was expressed in his *The Spiritual Exercises.* It is essentially a manual for meditation and spiritual reflection of Loyola. It provides a course of meditations that leads the reader from a starting-point of remorse and a rejection of sin towards a more positive state in which he or she is encouraged to understand more exactly, what is implied by each act and lesson of Christ.

(Morris 2003, 89). At Paris, Loyola was able to attract Peter Faber from Savoy, Francis Xavier from Portugal, and Diego Lainez and Alfonso Salmerón from Castile. The teaching of Loyola made these young and brave men into spiritual unit with considerable power. Loyola and his student followers agreed to form themselves into a body henceforth to be known as the *Societas Jesu*, the Society of Jesus, commonly known as the Jesuits. It was a military designation, with the Latin socii connoting followers of a chief in arms. They took vows to live in poverty and chastity and to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. However, they were obstructed in their desire to go to the Holy Land by a war then raging between Spain and the Turks. Therefore, they turned to Rome and requested papal approval for their enterprise. With the help of Cardinal Contarini, they secured official recognition of their new monastic order from Pope Paul III on 27 September 1540. One innovation was added to the Jesuit constitution: the Society was to report directly to the pope rather than be subject to the jurisdiction of a bishop in the diocese in which they were working. Loyola was chosen as the first superior general of the fledgling order, a post that he held until his death in 1556. The Jesuits were not only a tightly disciplined organization but also an elitist order that sought out only the brightest and most committed men. Before becoming a full member, the aspirant underwent 12 years of rigorous training, which included a year of general studies, three years of philosophical studies, and four years of theological studies. Training also included preaching, practical theology and the mastery of The Spiritual Exercises. The dominant trait of the Society was complete submission to hierarchical authority. They also were willing to do almost anything for the Church, no matter how distasteful the mission. Their flexibility—especially their willingness to embrace dissimulation, equivocation, casuistry and probabilism - was legendary, and has led some observers to suggest that they were the Machiavellians of the spiritual world. A member had to take a demanding series of vows, of chastity, poverty, the surrender of all private property, the severance of all family and personal relationships outside the order, and of total obedience to the commands of superiors within the order and within the Church at large. To guard against corruption, Loyola also forbade any member of the society to hold any benefice or office within the Church. Aided by such high standards the society had recruited just under a thousand members by the early 1550s, and had established its reputation in three main areas of work: preaching, education and missionary activity. Its earliest educational establishments were for the training of members of the society, at Bologna (1546),

Messina (1548), Palermo (1549) and the Collegium Romanum (1550). Within a decade of the society's formal recognition, seven colleges had been founded in Spain, while the establishment of the Collegium Germanicum (1552) provided a base for carrying the struggle into more hostile territory. At the end of the century the Habsburg Empire alone had 155 such colleges. (Linder 2008, 109-110; Morris 203, 89-90).

The Jesuits had a considerable expansion in the subsequent period possibly due to their strict military discipline. They numbered fifteen hundred in 1556. The people following this group were present in all the European states – either openly or secretly – in a good number. They were actively engaged in developing high quality educational institutes in Europe. In fact, it became one of their principal activities. The Jesuit schools were famous for its excellence. Eventually these schools played important role in weakening the influence of Protestantism. The Jesuit attempt to save Europe from the Protestant aggression was most successful in central and eastern Europe. For example, Catholicism was able to recover its lost ground in Bavaria, Poland, Austria and Hungary. The moderate success came in France. In France, both secular and religious opposition was strong. In 1685, the French King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. The Edict of Nantes was a royal decree, which had provided limited toleration of the French Huguenots for nearly three generations. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the result of the persuasion of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, they were able to achieve considerable success even beyond Europe. St. Francis Xavier was the most notable among those Jesuits who took the Gospel to India, Ceylon, Vietnam, the islands of Asia and Japan. The zeal and devotion of the Jesuits were so suited to the interest of the Catholic Church. It saved the Roman Catholic Church from crisis, which it faced due to the aggression of Protestantism. The Jesuit philosophy always emphasized the necessity of well-educated priests in the social and religious life. It was because it believed not in isolated life of a monk or priest; rather, it believed in the active life and full participation of the priests in the development of society. Another distinctive element of the Society of Jesus was that the candidate took not only the three regular vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but also a fourth vow: a special vow of obedience to the pope. It is this special fourth vow of obedience to the pope that starkly highlights Loyola's distance from Luther on reform. To Loyola, the church was the hierarchical church. The authoritarian character of Loyola's understanding of personal relationship to the church is expressed in this vow to go without question or delay wherever the pope orders for

the work of the church. In this sense, the fourth vow intends to express apostolic ministry to the world to be facilitated by the papacy rather than vice versa. That is, the focus of the fourth vow is not the pope but mission and ministry. Another distinctive feature of the Jesuit movement is that it sought to extirpate heresy and win Protestants back to Rome by means of political influence and effective education. Jesuit political influence grew as members of the order gained access to the courts of Europe as confessors to influential persons. In this way they were effective in inducing political rulers to suppress Protestantism. The Jesuits also placed great emphasis on education that promoted both advanced learning and strong devotion to the authority of the church. Loyola himself founded grammar schools and both the Roman College (the Gregorianum) and the German College in Rome, the latter serving as a model for papal seminaries in Germany in the 1570s and 1580s. The educational ventures not only opened a new era of formal education in Roman Catholicism, but also positively engaged the Jesuit community with their cultural contexts in a way that has gained them renown down to the present. The Jesuits also established missions in India, Malaya, Africa, Ethiopia, Brazil, Japan, and China. These missions were remarkable expressions of theological flexibility in shedding Western cultural baggage and striving to inculturate the Christian faith in Asian culture. An example is Francis Xavier, who gradually shed the Iberian racism and imperialism of his heritage as he worked in Asia. “Xavier was an early discoverer of the moral contradictions at the heart of Western Christian evangelism within a framework of colonial exploitation” (Mullett 1999: 98). The mission to Ming China by the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci is another of many noteworthy examples (Spence 1984). By Loyola’s death in 1556, the order included over 1,000 members, and by 1626 there were about 15,000 Jesuits throughout the world and some 440 colleges. (Linder 2008, 110-111; Lindberg 2010, 337-338).

7(d).4 The Council of Trent, 1545–1563

The Council of Trent was convoked in 1545. The program of the Council was to reform the Christian faith, restore Christian morality, and reunite all Christian peoples. The council was convoked in 1545 in a theoretically still united Christendom; it closed in 1563 with a Christendom rent by divisions that still affect world Christianity today. After the Council of Nicea (325), it was most important meeting of the Catholic Christians. From the Council’s deliberation, the denominational term Roman Catholic

Church emerged against the varieties of Protestant churches. The Roman Catholic Church became the singular identity of the Catholic Christians against the multiple denominations of the Protestants. The next such Council was held after 300 years of the Council of Trent. It must be remembered that the proceedings of the Council was not held continuously. It was interrupted by the political events. In reality, three distinct meetings of the Council were held 1545–7, 1551–2, and 1561–3. In June 1542, Paul III finally summoned a General Council to assemble on neutral territory, at Trent in northern Italy. Even so, further warfare between Charles V and Francis I delayed the meeting for another three years, and obstructed the flow both of goodwill and of delegates. Of some 700 bishops eligible to attend, only thirty-one were present at the opening, and no more than 270 attended at any time during the Council's eighteen-year history. Of these, 187 were Italians. Only two German bishops ever attended, while England and most of the rest of northern Europe remained unrepresented throughout. These limitations restricted the authority of the Council of Trent, but they served the immediate purposes of Paul III. Three further political decisions helped to ensure that the Council would be broadly amenable to papal authority. First, it was accepted that debate would be directed by a presiding panel of three cardinals, del Monte, Pole and Cervini, appointed of course by the Pope. Second, the Pope insisted that decisions should be reached by the bishops voting as individuals and in person. The fifteenth-century practice of voting en bloc by nations was abandoned, and the outlawing of proxy votes ensured that the decisions of the Council would always be determined by the numerical superiority of the Italian bishops. Lastly, Paul III insisted that doctrinal issues should be discussed first, knowing that this could only emphasise the differences between the parties. With an orthodox doctrinal position safely reaffirmed, the Church could proceed to the business of reform from a position of strength. The final decision, the result of considerable Spanish pressure, that discipline and doctrine should be debated together, showed that the papacy still had some way to go to establish overall control. It nevertheless represented a substantial defeat for Charles V and for his hopes that the long-awaited General Council would bring together the warring factions in Germany and elsewhere in Christendom. (Lindberg 2010, 338-339; Morris 2003, 91-92)

The Council of Trent brought success to the authority of Pope. During its course, Paul III, Julius III and Pius IV confronted both Protestantism and the potential authority of the Council itself, and they ensured that neither would exert any future influence within

the Catholic Church. Longstanding ambiguities in doctrine had been resolved, and the Church now stood in better moral and doctrinal shape to resist the encroachments of heresy than at any previous stage in the century. The hopes of the Emperors Charles and Ferdinand, and of the rulers of France, that the Council might create a basis for compromise and reconciliation in their domestic religious disputes were disappointed in every respect. Reconciliation was never seriously on the agenda at Trent, and the split between Catholic and Protestant became permanent. Italian solidarity and support had enabled the popes to achieve most of their outstanding victories at Trent, and the price they paid for these successes was that in future the direct influence of the papacy would be largely limited to Italy. Nearly 400 years passed after the Council of Trent before the papacy passed again to a non-Italian. (Morris 2003, 93).

7(d).5 The Catholic Monarchies: Catholic Reformation in Action

The impact of the Council of Trent was, however, limited as far as the spread of Catholic Reformation is concerned. In the 1520s and the 1530s, the Spanish Church decisively persuaded the Catholic Reformation. It was nevertheless developed from the Spain's own cultural and spiritual heritage. The period between 1525 and 1533 saw an attack upon Erasmianism and upon the equally suspect Illuminists, which ended with the banning by the Inquisition of many of Erasmus's works and the removal of many of his admirers from university posts. In the years that followed Trent, Spain produced a fine crop of new and dynamic religious orders, notably the Discalced Carmelites founded by St Teresa of Avilà (1562) and the Hospitaller Brothers established by St John of God (1572). In one respect, Spain resisted the impetus of the Council of Trent. The Tridentine decrees sought to reimpose the spiritual authority of the papacy, but when Philip II allowed their publication within Spain (1565) it was with the strict proviso that they should not operate in any way to the prejudice of royal authority. If the Spain of Philip II deserved its reputation as 'the strong right arm of the Counter Reformation', then it was earned by the country's independent contribution to Catholic renewal, and not by her willingness to follow the papal lead given at Trent. In Portugal, the Jesuits played a very important role in the development of Catholic Reformation movement under the leadership of Rodrigues de Azevedo. In France, the condition was not very

favourable to the Catholic Reformation. Two primary factors were responsible for it. Firstly, the strong Protestant hostility during the Wars of Religion; secondly, France believed in maintaining its independence. Charles IX refused to have the Tridentine decrees published in 1566, and rejected them once more in 1579. Yet reformed religious orders did make steady progress within France from about 1564, when the Jesuit Collège de Clermont was opened. At least fourteen other Jesuit institutions were founded in France in the course of the next thirty years, before an attempt on the life of Henry IV by a former student of the Collège de Clermont (1594) led to the expulsion of the order from France. In spite of this development, the progress of Catholic Reformation movement was not highly impressive in France. The success of the Catholic Reformation was dependent on the support of the political authority. For example, the Jesuits influenced Rudolf II - the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire. He was eager to change the religious balance of Germany established in Germany by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The greatest successes of Rudolf II was against the further encroachment of Lutheranism. He defeated the attempt of the Lutheran Prince Joachim Friedrich to assume the archbishopric of Magdeburg (1582). Bavaria remained Catholic under the Wittelsbach princes of Bavaria, Albert V (1550–79), Wilhelm V (1579–97) and Maximilian I (1597–1651). The Jesuits were also active in this region of Germany in protecting Catholicism from the onslaught of Protestantism. There were instances of expulsion of the Protestants from Bavaria. St Peter Canisius - the Jesuit preacher – played the most important role in the Jesuit activities of Bavaria between 1549 and 1597. Canisius was known as an outstanding educator, administrator and preacher; he was a leading force in the establishment of the Jesuit colleges at Ingolstadt, Cologne, Innsbruck, Prague and Nymwegen. The accession of Ferdinand II in 1619 as Emperor into the throne initiated a new beginning of concerted Catholic Reformation movement in the German land. As a continuation of this process, the Edict of Restitution was issued in 1629. It was the most ambitious plan of Ferdinand II. The main objective of the Edict was to make sure that the 'Ecclesiastical Reservation' of the Peace of Augsburg was enforced. This would actually indicate that the Catholics could take back a number of monasteries, convents and other institutions controlled by the Protestants until the time of Reformation. The southern provinces of the Netherlands saw the strict imposition of Catholic regulations. Strict censorship was enforced, and a ban was laid upon all discussion of religious subjects by laymen. In these regions, too, members of the Society of Jesus played the principal role in lay education and clerical training. (Morris 2003, 93-94).

In regions like northern Netherlands or England, the Catholic Reformation movement achieved limited success. In England, Queen Mary attempted to revert England to Catholicism between 1553 and 1558. Nevertheless, this attempt did not achieve success. The Jesuits entered England in 1574. The English Catholics did not show much enthusiasm in this regard. Subsequently, neither the Catholic Reformation movement nor the Jesuit attempt achieved the desired level of satisfactory results in England. (Morris 2003, 94-95).

7(d).6 Conclusion

The Catholic Reformation movement made an attempt, which was not always a concerted one, to revert the trend of history to the opposite direction. An objective judgment would prefer to say that its success was localized: the presence of the Catholic Reformation movement was noticeable in Spain, Italy, Bavaria and southern Netherlands. In France, northern Netherlands and England the movement achieved hardly any success. The contemporary political condition and the internal politics of the Catholic Church immensely influenced the fate of the movement. In this context, we must point out that the Jesuits played an outstanding role in the spread of Catholic Reformation in Europe and elsewhere. They were able to stop the unprecedented growth of Protestantism largely. As a whole, Europe in 16th century witnessed the bitter struggle between two fundamental streams of Christianity. The development of the Catholic Reformation movement was a part of this historical evolution of early modern Europe.

7(d).7 Model Questions

1. Discuss the growth and development of Catholic Reformation movement in Early Modern Europe.
2. How do you explain the birth of the Society of Jesus?
3. Write a short note on the Council of Trent.
4. What was the role of the Catholic monarchies in the spread of the Catholic Reformation movement?

7(d).8 Suggested Readings

Eire, Carlos M. N. *Reformations. The Early Modern World, 1450–1650*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

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Unit-8 □ Results

Structure

8.0 Objectives

8.1 Results of the Reformation Movement

8.2 Reformation, Modernity and Rationality

8.3 Reformation and Rise of the Vernacular Languages

8.4 Reformation and the Domain of Politics

8.5 Model Questions

8.6 Suggested Readings

8.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the results or impacts of the Reformation Movement in the historical evolution of Europe. The results of the Reformation Movement will be assessed in the following areas:

- A general understanding of the results of the Reformation Movement.
- The relationships of the Reformation Movement with the rise of the modernity and rationality.
- The impact of the Reformation Movement on the rise of the vernacular languages
- How the domain of politics was influenced by the Reformation Movement.

8.1 Results of the Reformation Movement

There is a general agreement among the scholars that the period between 1517 and 1660 was the Reformation Era in the history of Europe. The influence of Reformation

was not, nevertheless, limited to these odd years of one hundred forty seven years only: it influenced the European world including religion, politics, society and even economy. In this sense, it was an epoch-making event like Renaissance and Enlightenment. The long domination of the Catholic Church on the people of Europe, the corruption of the church, the religious practices devoid of love and affection – all these were factors behind the growth of dissention, criticism and questions within a section of the Europeans. We must remember that it was not the Protestants alone who raised questions about the vices of the Catholic Church. A sizeable section of the people within the Catholic Christianity started thinking about the necessity of reform of the church and its various practices. There was a widespread feeling that the reforms were badly required for church.

The Reformation began in Europe with this general feeling; it came to an end with political tension, war and bloodshed. Europe witnessed the prolonged Thirty-Years War between 1618 and 1648. It ravaged many parts of war with devastating consequences. The war was started as religious conflict with political overtones; at the end, it was fundamentally a political struggle with religious flavour. There was continuous shifts of the European states during the war. Even no simple arithmetical relationship was present among the states involved in war. For example, Catholic France was an ally of several Protestant states. The civil war dramatically transformed the political perspective of England. The English Parliament beheaded Chares I – the King of England. It established the sovereignty of the Parliament. However, after the failure of Cromwell's protectorate, the monarchy was restored. It contributed to the decline of the Puritan movement in England and the Reformation movement came to an end. In 1598, with the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, France entered a new age as far as religious practices were concerned. This Edict brought peace and coexistence between the Catholics and the Protestants. Nevertheless, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV completely changed the situation. The French state forced the Huguenots – the French Protestants – to leave the country. Consequently, thousands of Huguenots fled from France and took shelter in the Netherlands, England, Prussia and British North America. A major section of the refugees was lawyers, bankers and skilled artisans. In long run, it was a huge loss to the French state and economy. By 1660, the division of Europe on the religion ground

was completed. Protestantism was dominant in northern Europe including most of Germany. The southern Europe and much of eastern Europe still remained Catholic. (Linder 2008. 123-124).

8.2 Reformation, Modernity and Rationality

The historians are not unanimous in assessing the long-term impact of the Reformation. A major argument is that Europe entered the new phase of civilization based on modernity and rationality during this period because of the Reformation. The first significant impact of the Reformation was the division of faith and authority: the church was first divided. The division of church implies the division of faith indeed. The German social scientists have used the term 'Confessionalization' in this context: it indicates fragmentation of unitary Christendom. The sole existence of church in Europe was divided into three confessional churches – Lutheran, Calvinistic or "Reformed and post-Tridentine Roman Catholic. The common masses even earned the courage to question the authority of the church. In long run, it definitely indicates that the state and monarchy could also be questioned. In this sense, it became clear, though gradually, to the major section of the European society that everything could be questioned. Nothing is above the critical understanding. It was the very basis of the scientific temperament originated initially form the Reformation. We must remember here that neither the Catholics nor the Protestants liked such extension of critical reasoning in every sphere of life. However, the wave of rationality and scientific temperament achieved relative autonomy in the subsequent period of history. It resulted to the growth and firm establishment of diversity of belief, faith and religious practices. It was one of the most profound changes initiated from the Reformation movement in Europe. (Linder 2008, 125; Lindberg 2010, 348).

One of the most notable areas of changes was the conduct of religious ceremonies and the organization of the church life. Many old and conventional religious ceremonies were stopped. Many traditional feast including the feast of Corpus Christi, celebrating the Real Presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine were no longer practiced. Religious worship was radically reshaped: the Mass became the celebration of the

Lord's Supper, conducted in the vernacular by a minister in a plain black gown who faced the congregation over a table, using bread instead of a wafer, and who offered the cup to the laity. The sermon became more central to religious worship, and in some places a daily sermon replaced daily Mass, while the Lord's Supper was received infrequently, often no more than monthly, and sometimes only at Christmas and Easter. The only other Sacrament recognised was Baptism, although Penance continued as a pious practice in some places. Marriage went through a curious change, for although it was no longer recognised as a Sacrament, the ceremony was made more religious than in the past, with a service in church being given greater prominence over secular celebrations. Nevertheless, there were regional variations within the Protestant Church. There was an effort to create a reformed church as well as a reformed clergy; nevertheless, the gulf between the clergy and laity was still present in the European society. Protestantism also attempted to create professional clergy during the same period. At the initial period, it was difficult to create the graduate clergy due to the lack of adequate number of graduates. Many of the first generation of Lutheran pastors were former tradesmen, but by the end of the sixteenth century probably as many as 80-90 per cent of Protestant clergymen were the university graduates. Gradually there grew up new clerical elites, whose sons became clergymen and married the daughters of clergymen. The entire process gave birth to new a clerical caste as distinct as the old one. It is also true that the clergies lost many of their traditional legal and financial privileges. The most remarkable change was compelling the clergy responsible to the secular authority. The emergence of a married clergy, which brought them closer to married parishioners, was another notable change because of the Reformation. It stabilised the lives of those unable to face the demands of celibacy. (Scribner 1986, 55-56).

The women question was an area where the Protestant theology was not free from ambivalence. The general argument is that Protestantism raised the status of women in early modern Europe. Nevertheless, the modern researches show that the Protestant ideology restricted the women identities to certain areas. The patriarchal bondage was imposed on women. In the family life, the superiority of men was recognized in Protestantism. The

primary aim of the Protestant theology was to preserve stability in the domestic life. (Scribner 1986, 60).

8.3 Reformation and Rise of the Vernacular Languages

The Reformation diminished the use of Latin as the medium of communication. It generally preferred the use of vernacular instead of Latin in making communication with the masses. In other words, the linguistic unity of Latin was truly destroyed in early modern Europe. The privileged position of Latin in the domain of religion and theology ended. The translation of Bible in various national languages made it accessible to the common masses. It democratized the religious domains largely by making the religious texts accessible to the learners. The entire process was also a part of the development of language. For example, Luther's translation of the Bible into German greatly affected the progress of the German language. It was a linguistic milestone important for its direct religious impact, for its formative power in the development of New High German as the standard language of the people and of literature, and for its influence on translations of the Bible into other vernacular languages, including English. The English Reformation encouraged a flood of translations of Bible into the native language. Encouraged by Luther's precedent, William Tyndale produced a fresh English version of the New Testament from the original Greek in 1526. He also translated portions of the Old Testament before death in 1536. Miles Coverdale followed with a complete English Bible in 1535, largely based on Tyndale's translation. These versions were superseded by the Great Bible of 1539, published by royal authority. It was made available in every parish church in England. The Geneva Bible of 1560, produced by the community of Protestant exiles in Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary I, was the first English version translated throughout from the original text. The Geneva translation became the household Bible of English-speaking Protestants until well into the 17th century when the Authorized Version of 1611 gradually replaced it. Commonly called the King James Version because King James I authorized it, this new translation set a standard of ''Bible English'' that exercised a profound literary influence on the English language for the next three years. (Linder 2008, 126-127).

8.4 Reformation and the Domain of Politics

The Reformation had profound contribution in the domain of politics. It gave birth to the idea of pluralism in European society and politics. Differential religious commitments were deeply associated, though not in a linear manner, with the formation of different types of nation-states in 16th century Europe. It is difficult to separate the Spanish state from Catholicism or English state from English Reformation. The recognition of plurality in the societal activities was another aspect of the contribution of Reformation. It was probably for the first time Europe was compelled to accept differences within Christianity. Protestantism also fostered the idea of resistance to the unjust rules. Precisely speaking, the Reformation movement gave birth to the democratic values, ideas and ethos in early modern Europe. (Lindberg 2010, 352-355). One critical appreciation of the Reformation movement is that it belonged to the medieval era, and not the modern one. This interpretation argues that the Reformation was based on theological interpretation of Christianity while the modern world depends on rationality and scientific arguments. Therefore, it is difficult to state that the Reformation produced modernity directly: nevertheless, it contributed to the development of certain conditions for producing modernity. Moreover, the Reformation was not an isolated phenomenon: it was part of wider changes, which were taking place in Europe during this period. These were Renaissance, geographical discoveries, scientific revolution, emergence of modern states and Enlightenment. The Protestant reformers in fact responded to the religious and theological crisis of late medieval era of the European history. Of course, there were variations among the reformers. For example, Luther was more medieval than modern while Zwingli was less dogmatic and Calvin was more rational and humanistic. The radical groups like Anabaptist belonged to a different world of religious and theological understanding. These groups primarily advocated piety and toleration. The Reformation definitely gave birth to a new world; however, this new world was under the domination of church and dogmatic principles. Protestant Church was no less authoritarian than the Catholic one. It enforced its laws and regulations strictly. The state also became powerful because of the weakening of Catholic Church in many places of Europe. The destruction of religious unity made the state responsible for maintaining religious ethos and peace. (Kouri and Scott 1987, 535-539). Therefore,

the rise of the state, plurality and world outlook though in a nascent form were the major results of the Reformation. The subsequent centuries, that is, the 17th and 18th centuries, saw the evolution of European politics, society and state system in a more dynamic way. It witnessed the emergence of competing churches, religious organizations, market and state system: the roots of these changes directly or indirectly were connected to the Reformation movement of 16th century.

8.5 Model Questions

1. What was the results of the Reformation movement?
2. Do you agree with the view that the impact of the Reformation was plural in nature?

8.6 Suggested Readings

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Block - V

Economic Developments of the Sixteenth Century

Unit-9 □ The Economic Condition of 16th Century: General Aspects (Rural and Urban)

Structure

9.0 Objectives

9.1 Introduction

9.2 The Demographic Structure of Europe, 1500 – 1700

9.2.1 Sources

9.2.2 The Demographic Structure

9.2.2.1 The Black Death and its Effect

9.2.2.2 The Population in Europe: General Trends

9.3 The General Economy: Rural Europe

9.3.1 The Mediterranean Basin

9.3.2 Western Europe

9.3.3 Germany and East Central Europe

9.4 The General Economy: Urban Europe

9.5 Conclusion

9.6 Model Questions

9.7 Suggested Readings

9.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the economic condition of Europe in the 16th century. The following aspects of economy (both the rural and urban economy) will be explored in this analysis:

- The demographic structure of Europe with special emphasis on the Black Death and its effects on the population.
- The general economic condition of rural Europe. Three distinct geographical domains of Europe will be discussed: the Mediterranean basin, the western Europe and Germany and the central Europe.
- The general economic condition of urban Europe.

9.1 Introduction

The present module as well as the units within it aims to study the economic development of Europe in the 16th century. We will try to understand the general economic condition of Europe during this period. Apart from that, attempts will also be made to present analytical views on the issues like the rise of the Atlantic in the European economy, the occurrence of the commercial revolution and its significance and the causes and impact of the Price Revolution on the economy of Europe. These units are all about the study of different aspects of economic history of the 16th century Europe in an explanatory manner. In Unit 16 specifically, that is the first unit of Module V, we will discuss the following themes: demographic structure of Europe (1500 – 1700), the agrarian economy, and the urban economy. We will make effort to comprehend the general trends of the European economy (both urban and rural) against the background of the demographic changes during the 16th century primarily. In this discussion, we will also include economic development of 17th century Europe in the analysis – where we feel it necessary - as these two centuries did have a remarkable continuity of the European social and economic developments in many respects.

9.2 The Demographic Structure of Europe, 1500 – 1700

Any discussion related to the study of demographic structure or population studies requires precise data, which is reliable, standard and consistent. It is not surprising that these types of data are linked with the rise and articulation of a very specific *modern* subject, that is, statistics. As a highly specialized branch of the science in general and mathematics in particular, statistics deals with the collection, analysis, interpretation and presentation of large number of quantitative data. It actually provides discipline to wide array of numbers in organized and prescribed formats. Therefore, the method of data collection and the size of sample survey are very important in the statistical enumeration. These are possible only under the so-called *scientific temperament of modernity*. One cannot expect the availability of such reliable data collected through technically approved methods and standardized formats in any pre-modern era. It however does not imply that this period under discussion was completely devoid of any type of statistical data. There were varieties of surveys conducted by the different authorities, statistics related to trade,

church registers etc. – though in an uneven format and devoid of standardized method of data collection in many cases – available for study. Therefore, it was not a pre-statistical period, which did not possess statistical data; rather it was a 'proto-statistical' period (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 1-2). However, the historians have judiciously used these data belonging to the 'proto-statistical period' to get the picture of the demographic structure.

9.2.1 Sources

It is easily understandable that the data available on population structure during the early modern era was not very consistent, precise and standard. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the early modern authorities often carried out census not for the entire country but for the cities or towns under them. In most cases, it was the fiscal reason that motivated the rulers to estimate the size of population. However, it gives us the most vital clues to reconstruct the population figure of early modern era more accurately. The lineage of utilitarian concept of demographic statistics was present in the thinking of the rulers throughout the period under review. It is also, however true that there was a development of scientific approaches in the study of population during the same period.

The Italian cities played the pioneering role in estimating the total number of population under their areas. For example, in 1509, Venice conducted a census of its population for the first time. The interesting point is that it divided the population in two categories: 'useful persons' (male inhabitants between 15 and 60) and 'useless person' (others). In Spain under Philip II, attempt was made to prepare a descriptive enquiry aiming to enumerate the number of Houses, families and of inhabitants apart from other queries. This project was undertaken in 1574, and after seven years of work, it produced the *Relaciones topograficas* – a major work on population and other related matters. The French authority attempted under Louis XIV to assess the general condition state. Colbert – the most influential minister of Louis XIV – conducted first the censuses in France. During the last six years of 17th century, there was attempt to survey the condition of the country again. The important enumerations of these surveys were recorded in the *Memoires des Intendants*. In England, the same efforts were undertaken. The Act of Indemnity of 1694 in England first tried to conduct a survey similar to that of France. However, this survey did not produce vary satisfactory results (Cipolla 1979, 20-25). All these surveys undertaken by the different European states in the early modern phase provided two types of data: (i) numerical information especially on number of houses or hearths and (ii)

definitive categorization of inhabitants – for example – the taxpayers, the receivers of Communion, the military services personnel etc. One can easily infer that any estimate on the size of population of early modern European states would be a kind of approximation, as we do not get the precise data obtaining through standard method of assessment. Obviously, the reconstruction of the population size of early modern Europe would not be neat or correct; however, the reconstructed figure would not be very far from the reality. The data collected from the state sponsored surveys may be substantiated by the data available in the parish registers for having the demographic structure of the period under review. Parish registers contains valuable information on baptism, marriage and burials. Though this data are available in 14th and 15th centuries, however, the 16th century parish registers provided extensive volume of data, which could be exploited on a large scale. Apart from these ecclesiastical data, we also have data, which is secular in nature. In early modern Europe, there were some local municipal bodies, which recorded and kept data on general condition of society and population. For example, there was such a record at Sienna, where the municipality had a register for 436 years (1381-1817). In Venice, there were two specialist departments, which maintained data. There was municipal department in Holland maintaining registers for marriage and death. Undoubtedly, the data supplied by these municipal departments were by no means purely statistical in nature. However, it gives the historians to have an idea of the approximate size of population (Cipolla 1979, 26-32). This analysis shows that the historians working on the early modern Europe do have access to data, which is indirect and incomplete, but could be used, judiciously for the reconstruction of demographic structure of the period under review.

9.2.2 The Demographic Structure

9.2.2.1 The Black Death and its Effect

Any analysis of the demographic structure of Europe between 1500 and 1700 should begin with the catastrophic effect of the Black Death of 1347-51 on her population pattern. The Black Death caused the death of 25 percent of its population, according to the estimate of J.C. Russell (Cipolla 1977, 54). In England, it was 20 percent (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 6). However, this statistics on death toll varied geographically and from urban areas to rural areas. All the parts of Europe were not uniformly affected. Some areas were hardest hit; some areas were able to escape. England was primarily agrarian country and much less urbanized in comparison with France or the western parts of Holy Roman

Empire or Italy. The historians are generally sceptical about the effect of the Black Death on England's rural areas, which were less populated. The death toll must have been higher in densely populated urban areas. For example, in 1348, it was two-thirds in the Tuscan areas of the Papal States. A chronicler of South-Tyrolian stated that only one-sixth of the population was able to survive against the attack of plague. It killed at least one-tenth of the population in Coimbra (Portugal). Therefore, one can assume that the rate of death toll due to the plague was higher than 20 percent in Europe. It is generally assumed that the effect of the Black Death was much drastic in the urban areas rather than the rural areas. Nevertheless, the researches shows that the rural Scandinavia or mountain regions of Salzburg were severely affected by the Black Death. Therefore, the plague's effect was not uniform or identical in early modern Europe. It varied from place to place and from rural areas to urban areas even within the same region. According to Kari F. Helleiner, the main cause of these variations was the natural difference of the bubonic and the pneumonic – two basic varieties of plague. The bubonic variety was not as fatal as the pneumonic one because in case of bubonic plague, there was chance of recovery; however, it spread more rapidly than the pneumonic one because it is transmitted through an insect called flea and it is highly infectious in its primary form because coughing and sneezing contributes its fast diffusion. The most striking point is that many areas, even urban areas like Louvain and Ghent of the southern Low Countries or towns in Lombardy were comparatively free from the ravages of the Black Death. Therefore, the overall rate of mortality due to plague was approximately 25 percent.

The Black Death in 1347-50 primarily affected the middle aged or elderly people, while the younger generation was more affected by the plague of 1360-61. It in turn had negative impact on the recovery of population in long run. Indeed, the age distribution was not favourable to the increase of birth rate. A careful analysis of the available data on population pattern shows that there was a prolonged decline of population in Europe after 1360-70. It was the most critical effect of the Black Death on the demographic structure of the European society. The urban centres were bound to relax their immigration policies to allow the rural migrants to settle in the cities or towns as the shortage of labour hampered the economic or social activities. The admission to the guilds was also made easier. This migration from rural areas to the urban areas was one of the features of the social history of the post-Black Death Europe. The rural area was depopulated not only for the plague alone; the migration towards the cities was the second cause (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 1-20).

9.2.2.2 The Population in Europe: General Trends

It is clear from the available data that there was no quick recovery of the European population from the ravages caused by plague immediately with the beginning of 15th century. However, because of the absence of time series data, it is a difficult task to ascertain the real turning point of upward swing of population in a concrete form. Using the available data judiciously, one can conclude that Europe started witnessing a secular growth of its population since 1450 though there were some areas or regions where it was retarded. It was only after 1500 the population recovery was more noticeable throughout Europe. All the European countries more or less experiences sustained economic growth during this period (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 20; Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 38). The following table gives us a clear idea about the demographic changes in Europe between 1500 and 1700.

Population in Europe
(In millions)

	In about 1500	In about 1600	In about 1700
Spain and Portugal	9.3	11.3	10.0
Italy	10.5	13.3	13.3
France (incl. Lorraine and Savoy)	16.4	18.5	20.0
Benelux countries	1.9	2.9	3.4
British Isles	4.4	6.8	9.3
Scandinavian countries	1.5	2.4	2.8
Germany	12.0	15.0	15.0
Switzerland	0.8	1.0	1.2
Danubian countries	5.5	7.0	8.8
Poland	3.5	5.0	6.0
Russia	9.0	15.5	17.5
Balkans	7.0	8.0?	8.0?
Total for Europe	81.8	104.7	115.3

(Source: Cipolla, Carlo M (Ed.). *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Great Britain: Collins/Fontana Books, 1979. 38)

The period between 1500 and 1700 was period of the expansion of population in Europe. This expansion primarily occurred in the 16th century. However, some areas like northern regions of Italy, Spain and some parts of Central Germany did not have growth of population in a positive sense (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 39). The secular rise of population had effect on the long-term trends on wage-rates and prices during the period under review. In the last quarter of the 15th century and throughout the 16th century, several European regions witnessed the decline of real wages of urban producers. There was also a clear decline of quantity of foodstuff obtainable for physical work. The general implication is that there was mounting pressure on land and other resources due to increase of population (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 24). Nevertheless, one must remember that the population increase was not uniform, and there were varied regional heterogeneities in Europe during this period in this regard. For example, in Italy the areas as Lombardy, Massa-Carrara and Malta were considerably populated having 100 to 120 inhabitants per square kilometre. However, the some remote areas of mountainous Italy had only 25 to 40 inhabitants per square kilometre. In the plain areas of Po, Liguria, Tuscany and Emilia, these figures were 50 to 80. In Naples and Sicily, it was in between 40 to 60. The least populated areas were Corsica, Sardinia and some Alpine valleys with the population density of less than 15 inhabitants per square kilometre. The other areas of Europe had the similar regional diversities as far as the population density is concerned. In France, the average population density varied from 35 to 45 (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 39).

If we consider the rural-urban distribution of the population pattern of Europe during the period under review, it will be noted that the majority of the people lived in villages. The number of urban centres was truly limited. Moreover, the size of the cities and towns could not be compared with the present day's magnitude in any respect. In early modern Europe, a town having a population of 20,000 to 30,000 was comfortably considered as large one. It is estimated that out of 75 million Europeans, only 3.5 million lived in 100 large cities. It was, therefore, less than 5 percent of the total population residing in urban areas. The geographical location of the urban areas was highly uneven. The cities and towns were mostly concentrated in the coastal areas of North Sea and in the Northern Italy. However, the effect of trade on urbanization was slowly manifested during this period. London experienced an increase of ten-fold in two centuries while Amsterdam, Berlin, Vienna, Moscow, Madrid had a growth of four or five-fold (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 40).

The population increase in early modern Europe had wider impact on the contemporary European society. Firstly, as we have already noted that it contributed to the development of urban centres in Europe though not in a uniform manner. The old medieval *Curtis* (Curtis: 'The heart of a large medieval estate was the interior courtyard, or curtis which by its very nature was 'closed' with respect to the economy of the period') started declining with the growth of population, urban centres and trade. Secondly, another major change, often not much discussed, was the process of deforestation. The growing population required greater of amount of foodstuff; it led to the clearance of forest and extension of cultivation. It was substantiated by land reclamation project, new types of agrarian contracts like *mezzadria* sharecropping system in Tuscany at the end of the 15th century and cultivation of rice in the plains of the Po valley, where pre-capitalist forms of management and large-scale land leases were introduced. Paola Massa points out that the 15th century was more a period of adjustment and integration economically and financially rather than crisis and turmoil (Vittorio, Antonio Di 2006, 10-11); it inaugurated the era of transformation towards capitalism.

9.3 The General Economy: Rural Europe

In 16th century, Europe was predominantly an agrarian: even more than half of the population was dependent on agriculture for their livelihood between 1500 and 1800. It was after 1800, there were symptoms of the beginning of a new age, where the importance of agriculture would seem to be declining within the overall structure of economy. It is also important to point that the limited industrial activities in medieval or early modern era were primarily based on agriculture (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1977, 45). These industrial activities were essentially linked with handicrafts; the use of steam as the basic source of power behind the production of goods had yet to be invented. In fact, the agricultural developments were modest in comparison with the other spheres of the economy in early modern period in general and with trade in particular. Obviously, the return from agriculture was considerably lower than trade during this period. However, the 16th century also saw some effects of changes caused by geographical discoveries, opening up of long-distance trade and 'price revolution' on the agrarian economy of Europe. Both the landowners and the farmers started developing new agrarian contracts and new methods of agricultural production. Nevertheless, it does not imply that there was an altogether breakdown of the

existing pattern of production pattern of agriculture. Changes definitely took place, but it was slow in its progress (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 273-274). Robert S. Duplessis tries to understand the European agriculture in terms of regional diversities. He therefore divides Europe in to three specific zones: (i) the Mediterranean basin (prime centre of European economy and most advanced agricultural region), (ii) western Europe (region having the capability of advancement) and (iii) east central Europe (region expressing separate and distinct path of development (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 49).

9.3.1 The Mediterranean Basin

Spain and Italy were the two major states in the Mediterranean basin in 16th century. Spain had a prosperous and diversified agricultural economy since the later 15th century. This prosperity lasted until the decade of 1570s. Two points are important regarding the opulent agriculture of Spain. The first point is that the volume of production was substantial especially of the grains, olive and grape. Secondly, it achieved market-oriented specialization. For example, Castile was famous for the production of wool, Aragon for saffron, the north-western provinces for cattle etc. The coastal areas of Mediterranean produced ample amount of fruits, raw silk, vegetables, rice and sugarcane. The general expansion of trade and urbanization in Spain during the period under review created favourable conditions for increase in agricultural productivity (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 50). These agricultural commodities were exported to northern Europe from Spain, and enhanced its national income (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 328). Like Spain, Italy also had a flourishing agricultural economy during this period. It produced rice, sugar, wheat, olive oil, silk, flax etc. The peasantry, at least a sizable section of it, considerably flourished financially. The growing prosperity of the agrarian economy created land market in rural Italy. On the one hand, the opulent peasantry was the customer of transfer of holding. On the other hand, the rich urban gentry started buying agricultural property during the same period. It created a new social dynamism in 16th century Italy. However, both Spain and Italy experienced decline of agricultural prosperity in later 16th century. The increasing pressures of population on land made bargaining difficult for the peasants vis-à-vis the property owners. The agricultural production stagnated. There was increasing pressure of state on the agrarian economy of Spain. It tried to extract resources from agriculture to fulfil its political requirements. Besides the state, the landlords were also squeezing the Spanish peasants for extra amount of revenue. This overexploitation was the primary reason for the stagnation

and decline of the agricultural production in late 16th century Spain (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 52-53). The peasants were forced to pay 30 percent of the total produce in the decades of 1580s as rent. Apart from the rent, the peasants had the obligation of paying tithes, seigniorial dues and other taxes, and finally it was not less than 50 percent of the total produce that they paid to the different authorities in Spain. The situation was worse for the landless peasants. Their livelihood was in deep crisis during the late 16th century and early 17th century. There was even no significant capital investment in the Spanish agriculture during this period. Capital was mostly deployed in non-agricultural sector (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 53-54). It further impoverished the peasant economy of Spain.

There were similar manifestations of agrarian crisis in Italy during the same period. The growing stagnation in agricultural productivity, excessive demands of the landlords and increasing demographic pressure caused the general decline of the agrarian economy. Government policies were not in favour of the agricultural economy. The state authority forced the Italian farmers to sell their products at low rates for the city dwellers, as government was eager only to ensure the supply of foodstuff in the urban centres. The export of the agricultural products was also restricted. It discouraged the peasantry either to increase their existing production or to diversify it according to the demand. The landlords who were mostly urban had interest only in extracting revenue from the peasants. They raised substantial amount of seigniorial levies, and sometimes they were able to reintroduce serfdom (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 55-59). All these changes in the Italian agrarian economy indicate the growing poverty of the peasants on the one hand and tilting of the rural social structure towards feudalism on the other hand. To be precise, the declining economic situation, the reappearance of feudal pretensions in Southern Italy and mismanagement of administration in Papal States – all these contributed not only to the decline in agriculture in general but also a return of the cultivation towards old-fashioned method e.g. the fields-and-grass in Central-southern Italy. It further contributed to the gradual reduction in the arable land and expansion of uncultivated acreage. This was the feature mostly of the Central-southern Italy, however, the other parts of the Mediterranean also suffered extensively. In vast areas of Italy, where agricultural advancement was found in the 16th century, fell in to state of crisis. It was manifested in the development of unhealthy, marshy lands infested with malaria and other diseases (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 332). The deteriorating public health was the indication of general decline of the economy during the latter half of 15th century and first half of 16th century.

The mountain areas of Mediterranean region did not experience many changes between the 16th century and 18th century. The economy of this area was essentially based on exploitation of forest products and natural pastures. In the higher regions of Alps, the Appennines, the Pyrenees and the Sierras, the principal activity was pastoral, rearing cattle and sheep. However, the limited economic opportunity of the mountainous regions forced the people to start settling down in the valleys. This migration towards the settled agrarian zones often created tension between the farmers and mountainous people (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 329-330). Since 1550-60, there was encroachment of pasturelands by the farmers, and it was brought under cultivation. The farmers were eager to yield their income from producing cereals, the price of which was rising during this period. This agrarian transformation took place in between the 15th and 16th centuries. However, with the declining price of cereals between 17th and 18th centuries, the agricultural fields were again going to be converted in to pasture lands (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 330-331). It was the manifestation of the agricultural crisis in 17th century Europe.

9.3.2 Western Europe

France was one of the major areas of agricultural expansion during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It began in 1453 with the end of the Hundred Years' War. The French peasantry took initiative to start cultivation not only in the farmland, but also in the deserted land. The agricultural expansion also involved clearance of forest. In France, one-third of the area was under forest in 1500; it became a quarter in mid-17th century. Between 1450s and 1540s, cereal production possibly doubled. The French peasantry started producing grapes extensively especially in Bordeaux area. It had ready export market in the Low Countries and England. Textile industry stimulated woad growing in the south-western provinces of France (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 59). In the north-eastern France, the peasants produced wheat, rye, barley and oats at regular cycle. This particular area was highly cultivated, and the pattern of cultivation underwent little change. The most agricultural advances were made in Alsace and Thuringia; Alsace was famous for its hops while Thuringia for woad (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 305). However, the crisis started shocking the French agriculture even before it was felt in the Mediterranean areas. In the decade of 1540s, the first wave of stagnation came to be sensed in France's some districts; the stagnation and decline became a common feature in entire country in the second half of the 16th century. The Religious Wars (1562-98) perhaps affected the French agriculture

considerably, and thereby created a protracted agrarian crisis. The individual farms were devastated in many areas; the French rural communities started hiring guards to protect their property from the marauding troops. The peasantry fell in to debt to meet this extra cost. Because of this crisis, there was a general sale of the common lands; it naturally affected the poorer sections of the peasant society, who were dependent on the common lands for fuel, pasture, fertilizer and sometimes for additional cultivable plots. The signs of recovery became noticeable after the end of war in 1453. The production of grain and wine was increased during the first half of 17th century, but it was not very impressive until the late 18th century. Indeed, during the 17th century, there were repeated failures of crop production, and consequently the occurrence of famines affected the normal life and agricultural cycle (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 59-60). The agricultural prosperity in 16th century France was the contribution of middle peasantry who were used to cultivate their lands as single-family farms. The family labour was substantiated by the prevalence of low rents after the end of war in 1598. It caused the expansion of agricultural considerably. In many cases, French peasantry was able to expand their holdings to 25 acres or even more. However, since the mid-16th century, the landlords took initiative to increase the rent, and by the early 17th century, the French peasants were forced to pay one-third of their gross crop that they produced. The Religious War was also blow to the condition of the middle peasants. Some of them lost their farms; some became sharecroppers. A thin layer of rich peasantry survived, however. Another critical development of the French agricultural history is that there was a shift of ownership of agrarian property from rural peasantry, especially the middle one, to the urban social classes like lawyers, merchants, office-holding 'robe' nobility, the so-called 'sword' nobility and high clergy. These rich sections of the urban population bought massive amount of rural property in the countryside of France. On and average, the city dwellers owned more than fifty percent of the rural property in many areas of the country around 1660s. Two consequences of this transfer of property were evident: firstly, in some cases, the new owners – that is, the urban magnets – amalgamated the segregated lands in to a single one; it resulted in to the concentration and consolidation of landed property largely. Secondly, the urban magnets rented out the holding to a single peasant. In both cases, the agrarian differentiations were increased. According to the modern researches, the top 5 percent of villagers tripled the amount of arable land they held between 1453 and 1635. On the contrary, the middle peasantry's share was halved. The landless agricultural labourers became one-sixth of all the rural population. Apart from

the regions of central France, the other areas including Normandy and southern France experienced peasant differentiation to a considerable extent (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 59-62).

The agricultural taxes in France had begun to go up in the second half of the 16th century. However, the real increase started to escalate after 1600; the real per capita tax burden quadrupled between 1560s and 1630s. The most interesting point is that the lands owned either by the nobility or by the urban bourgeoisie was exempted from paying taxes. It implies that there was no tax on the most of the lands; the poor peasantry became poorer as they had to pay all taxes. The agricultural production of the nobility's firm did not have to pay heavy excise taxes in urban markets; the peasants however had to pay taxes (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 62-63). All these developments indicate the growth of inequality and differentiation in the French rural society during the period under review.

The agricultural practices in Scotland and Ireland were isolated and backward. It mainly concentrated in exploiting the rich forestry resources and on livestock rearing. The increasing demand for meat in the urban centres like London provided stimulus to the development of animal husbandry. Barley was the main crops produced in Scotland; apart from barley, the Scottish peasants also produced oats, beans, pulses etc. The Irish agriculture followed the similar type of production: it produced mainly cereals. They also earned some amount from forest and livestock rearing. The oppressive feudal tenure system did not stimulate the productivity in agriculture in rural Ireland (Cipolla, Carlo M. 1979, 316-318). England experienced different types of changes: on the one hand, there were changes in the system of land tenure and farm management; on the other hand, changes were noticeable in methods of cultivation, farming techniques and economic output of the farms. The agricultural production in England underwent transformation towards commercialism. Capital investment was made to increase the volume of production. Business methods came to be adjusted and readjusted with the changing condition of market. By the second half of the 17th century, the fall in the cereal prices pushed the capital investment towards animal husbandry. The primary characteristic feature of the English agriculture in 17th century was the increasing domination of sheep rearing (Cipolla, Carlo M. 1979, 318-322). It is generally argued that the English countryside, especially the rural class structure, underwent considerable changes during the period under review. Because of the capitalist penetration, two social classes emerged in rural England: gentry and proletariat landless labourers. This process of socioeconomic polarization created the

conditions for the emergence of industrial society. It is also commonly conceived that the enclosure movement further stimulated the growth of capitalism in England. However, some recent studies show the need of rethinking about the overall effect of enclosure movement. For example, only 10 percent of cultivable land was enclosed in England between 1500 and 1650. After 1650, the enclosure movement got greater pace. It is also clear from the recent researches that the landlords did not always possess sufficient amount of capital in 16th century to undertake enclosure. It is also far from true that the English agrarian society was an egalitarian society free from class conflict before the enclosure movement. What the enclosure movement did was to consolidate the power and privileges of rural capitalist gentry as a class, thereby stimulating the rise of capitalism in rural England. The prosperous peasants gained from the enclosure movement while the poorer sections of the rural structure faced crisis in their lives. As far as the increase of productivity is concerned, it is estimated that the wheat production was augmented at a rate of 10-25 percent. The productivity of barley and oats was more than that of wheat. The labour output was also increased proportionately. However, it must be mentioned that the increase of rent was not simply correlated to rising productivity alone; it was also related to landlords' superior control over the agrarian society. It was the reflection of the shift of power in the English agrarian society that enabled the landlords to appropriate larger share of agricultural surplus (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 63-67). This was a new dynamism in rural England, which created the conditions for the transformation towards the emergence of a capitalist society in early modern era.

The general agricultural condition of the Low Countries was considerably prosperous in late 15th and 16th centuries. The positive demographic growth along with the development of industrial production and international trade contributed to the expansion of agriculture here. For example, during 1507-20 the cereals were produced in 47 percent of arable land; it however became 63 percent in 1541-50. The rising demand of meat dairy products in the 1550s initiated the conversion of agricultural fields into pasture land, even permanently, in some cases. The Dutch peasants also positively responded towards the urban demands by producing industrial and horticultural crops. The levies imposed on the peasants by the state and the landlords were comparatively low in Netherlands than other parts of Europe. In the northern and eastern provinces of Netherlands, feudalism was weak. The urban merchants invested their surplus capital in these areas viewing land as a liquid form of

wealth. The Dutch state was comparatively less dependent on agricultural taxes; it was primarily financed by the taxes and loans appropriating from trade and urban consumption. The Dutch peasants were also provided with the benefits of interregional and international market linkages. The condition of agricultural production was in the Low Countries was much better than any other parts of Europe. Throughout the 16th century, it was highly productive region in Europe (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 70-74). Indeed, researches shows that the agricultural productivity in the Low Countries was less affected by the 17th century crisis as it was un the other parts of Europe. This specificity is often called as the Dutch Agricultural Cycle'. The most of the areas of the continent witnessed the prosperity in agriculture in 16th century, and it was followed by crisis in 17th century. The effect of the 17th century crisis was felt until 1750s. The Dutch agricultural development did not follow this general trend, however. The agricultural production faced crisis in 1560s and 1570s in the Low Countries; however, the Dutch peasants were successful in overcoming this crisis. There was more or less continuity of prosperous agricultural practices from 1590 to 1670 in this region of Europe. After 1670, the Dutch agriculture faced crisis, which lasted until the middle of the 18th century (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 312-313).

9.3.3 Germany and East Central Europe

The agricultural development in Central Germany and large territory of the Russians provinces showed similar pattern. It is sometimes called as 'forest colonies' as there was a general tendency of clearing the forest and creation of fertile lands for agricultural production in East Central Europe. The main agricultural products in this area were cereals and rye. The livestock rearing was practiced in some areas of Hungary, Moravia and Southern Poland. Due to the international demand, the production of cereals was expanded up to the middle of the 17th century. In Poland, the price hike of the agricultural products took place because of the influx of precious metals in to the economy. The beneficiaries of this change were the rural propertied class and seigneurial property owners. It was also one of the factors behind the development of second serfdom. However, during the mid of 17th century, there was decline of agricultural production in this region of Europe. In 1660 sowing fall to a third, and harvests to less than a fifth of the 1569 figures. In 1660, only 15 percent of crop rotation was cultivated while 85 percent remained fallow. Two basic changes took place in East Central Europe as far as the structure of agrarian society was concerned. Firstly, it witnessed the increase in the seigneurial *réserves* during the

period under review. Secondly, the agrarian society also saw the emergence of serfdom for second time (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 308-312). It was the principal contrast between the east and west of the European continent's agricultural development. In the west, with the gradual decline of feudal social relations, the peasant family farm became the main unit of production. Serfdom had disappeared by the 13th century. It provided freedom to the peasants. Until the 16th century, it was common form of development in both east and west. However, during the long 16th century the East Central European agrarian development deviated from that of the West European one. The serfdom was reimposed in the entire region of the east of Elbe. It was reincarnation of feudal property relationship in East Central Europe; it enabled the lords to appropriate not only the peasants' surplus but also to expand the lords demesnes at the cost of the peasants' holding. The feudal lords of the East Central region used both law and force to strengthen their social position and coerce the peasantry to ensure the extraction of surplus, (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 76). The serfs under second serfdom were bound to perform all duties and obligations as instructed by the lords. Nevertheless, there was one major difference between second serfdom of early modern period in Eastern Europe and western feudalism of the medieval era. Unlike the Western Feudalism, the East European Feudalism of the 16th century was highly commercialized. It is estimated that three-quarters of all crops in the areas under second serfdom were marketed. The lords sold most of the agricultural products produced by the reenserfed peasants not only in the home market, but also in the markets of Western Europe. The importance of the Western Europe's demand for the agricultural commodities is clear from the following figure: around 1460, 6000 tons of Polish rye were exported to Western Europe. During 1560s, it increased to 70,000 tons; in 1618, the figure was 200,000 tons. The buyers of Western Europe were showing increasing interest in livestock, wine and a number of industrial crops during the same period. It must be remembered that though East European feudalism of early modern era, the basis of which was the reappearance of serfdom for second time, grew significantly in response to the market demand of Western Europe, however, its roots were located in the crisis of medieval feudal order. The crisis of 14th and early 15th centuries in Eastern Europe created conditions for the unusual consolidation of the power of the feudal lords on the one hand and erosion of peasants' capability of resistance on the other hand. It contributed to the growth of a market-oriented feudal social structure in 16th century rural Eastern Europe (Duplessis, Robert S 2004, 77-82).

9.4 The General Economy: Urban Europe

The developmental pattern of Urban Europe during the early modern period was incoherent and incomplete. The economic progress of cities and towns was relatively slow, and there was deterioration of social condition in many areas. The events like religious strife, warfare, agrarian crisis and excessive demands of the state for taxes sharply affected civic life of urban Europe. The 16th century growth in urbanization came to be slowed down in 17th century in most of the areas of Europe except Europe. Some constant factors were also there affecting the growth of cities. These were the natural catastrophe, warfare, harvest failure, epidemic etc. often contributed to the sudden fall of urban population during the period under review. In late 15th and 16th centuries, the largest cluster of cities was found in Italy. The population of these Italian cities was approximately between 40,000 to 100,000 in 1500. The Italian cities especially Venice were the centre point of international trade of Europe; Venice maintained the overland trade relations with Germany and the Low Countries on the one hand while the import of oriental spices was also made through this city. The development of textile industry also contributed to the prosperity of Venice (Clark, Peter 2009, 110-112). Even the comparatively less successful urban centres like Florence, Milan, Bologna, Padua, Pavia, and Verona were able to increase their population during the same period. The Spanish cities also had significant progress. The most dramatic change was happened in case of Seville: it was a regional port initially. With the changes in the economic fortune of Spain, it was transformed in to an international entrepot. In 1534, the population of Seville was 55,000 while in 1600 it was 135,000. Due to the rising maritime trade with the New World and migration of rural population to the urban areas the urban population of Spain was steadily increased in 16th century. Eastern Europe also shared the same experience despite the fact of political uncertainty created by the Ottoman Turks. In Serbia, the older larger towns became political and economic centres of Turkish power. The city of Sarajevo in Bosnia benefited from new construction and trade with Istanbul and Dubrovnik. These signs of urban prosperity however fell into crisis with the end of 16th century. First blow came from the aggressive advancement of the Ottoman power: it disrupted the trade in Levant. Secondly, plague, agrarian crisis and warfare contributed to the crisis in the urban life. Thirdly, the Dutch and the English merchants started

penetrating into the Mediterranean trade so far controlled by Italy. Fourthly, the North European manufacturers pushed away the Italian manufacturers from the market. In short, the urban economy of Italian city-states was in turmoil and deep crisis in 17th century. The cities like Venice, Bologna, Pavia, and Mantua faced economic and demographic decline. The textile and silk industry of Milan fell into difficulties in 17th century because of the increasing competition. The elites of these cities were forced to shift their attention towards rural investment from the urban one. The Spanish cities also suffered from the declining population. Seville lost its population by a half during the 17th century partly because of the rise of Cadiz in the 1650s. The other Spanish cities except Madrid faced declining economic opportunity and fall of population. However, due to Dutch and English competition and growing agrarian crisis, the manufacturing sector especially the textile industry lost its economic importance in Spain in 17th century.

Western Europe was able to sustain its growth of urban economy during the period under review. Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels were the most expanding cities during this period though Bruges lost its prominence. The urban centres of Northern Netherlands also experienced economic and demographic development. Amsterdam's population rose to 27,000 in 1560 from 12,000 in 1500. In 1622, its population reached at 105,000. The increasing participation of Amsterdam in the Baltic trade was one of the causes of its prosperity. Amsterdam was also increasing its role in the maritime trade with Asia and Africa. The French cities like Paris and Rouen had substantial expansion of economy and population. In 1550, Paris might have the population of 250,000. The Rouen possibly possessed population of 75,000 while Lyon – the centre of silk industry, printing trade and commerce stretching from Mediterranean and Northern Europe had 60,000 inhabitants. However, the French religious war from 1560 disrupted the urban economy of France largely; it also caused the fall of the demographic pattern sharply. The population of Lyon fell by a half. At OrlÊeans, it fell to 37,000 from 47,000. The economy and population structure of the other provincial urban centres were affected. At the turn of the century, the signs of recovery of economy and population in the urban areas of France became visible. In England, the growing international trade, agricultural prosperity and political stability stimulated the urban growth in 16th century. London emerged most spectacularly during this period as port

city and capital of the country. The city had a population of 50,000 in the early phase of Tudor era. By the time of the Civil War, it had reached 400,000. The other provincial cities and towns like Norwich, Exeter, and Bristol enjoyed both economic expansion and demographic upsurge. The rate of population increase in these cities was 20–35 per cent during the sixteenth century. The urbanization pattern in Germany was different from that of France or England. Because of the absence of any big city like Paris or London, growth was evident in medium sized towns. In the south and north-west of Germany, largely autonomous network of urban centres was developed. It was because of the textile, mining and banking industry, the population of Augsburg was doubled during the 16th century. The cities like Cologne, Mainz, Hamburg, Emden and Hamburg also prospered in the same century. However the Thirty Years War from 1630s affected the economic prosperity of the German towns and cities (Clark, Peter 2009, 112-122).

The urban economy and mode of living in 16th century Europe were intimately related to the rural socioeconomic structure. The most noteworthy point is that almost all the big cities of this century possessed large amount of agricultural fields within its boundary. Paris, Castile, Wildberg, Geneva, Esztergom, Sopron etc. substantially produced food, wine and other agricultural commodities for their own. Apart from that the growing demands of the cities and towns in 16th century, more and more rural areas were getting integrated in the chains of supply. It was a common feature of Europe after 1500. In fact, the increasing urban demand on the hand and occasional bad harvest forced the urban areas to expand their provisioning areas for supply of agricultural commodities during the 16th century. The cities also competed with each other for ensuring supply of foodstuff. Paris expanded its hinterland in northern France while in case of Lyon it was the area, which included Burgundy and Mediterranean. The international grain trade between Baltic ports like Gdansk and Atlantic and Mediterranean cities was substantially increased due to growing urban demand. The cattle trade also witnessed considerable growth. From Denmark, Germany and Northern Netherland the cattle were sent to Lier near Antwerp – the place of famous cattle fair. This description of thriving trade based urban economy of early modern Europe does not however imply that there was no possibility of subsistence crisis in the cities. On the contrary, in the late 16th century, the European urban centres started facing chronic food shortage. The bad

times in this respect were 1590s, 1690s and 1740. In some Mediterranean cities food crisis persisted until the 19th century. The trade of timber was very important in the early modern urban economy because of its use for heating, construction and industry. However, coal steadily replaced the use of timber during the period under review: for example, London imported 500,000 tons of coals from Newcastle in 1660. While Southern Netherland started using coal, the Northern Dutch exploited peat reserves. The Europeans also used bricks and stones for construction of building, as there was shortage of timber. The 16th century witnessed another major development: it was the growing urban investment in the rural areas. The urban investment was made into both property and industry in the rural areas. The reverse flow of investment, that is, from rural areas to urban areas, was also a feature of this period. The cities like Paris, London and Madrid saw the rural elites' investment even in the form of prodigious expenditure for consumer goods. It generated employment in the urban economy (Clark, Peter 2009, 140-143). This period also witnessed the development of regulations for controlling trade of towns and cities, especially from 1500. The urban market came to be controlled by the rulers since the late middle age. The early modern rulers facing the chronic shortage of foods in the cities tried to prevent the export of food from the local areas. The merchants were prohibited to speculate over prices of foodstuff. In Spain, Germany, Italy and England, the cities developed their own granaries for storage of food in late 15th and 16th centuries to supply foods in the famine condition. The civic authorities made all possible efforts to stop hoarding of foodstuff, to supervise the stock on the granaries and to stop export of the cereals to the other regions. The state authority also imposed various kind of taxes on the urban people, which was a kind of suffering of the city population. The urban economy also suffered from the religious strife occasionally. The discriminatory religious policy of states often caused sufferings and displacements to the minor religious groups frequently. It affected the economic life of the urban Europe considerably. The early modern state often tried to regulate the activities of guilds also. The purpose was two-fold: firstly, to raise revenue; secondly, to get idea about the city activities, especially of subversive nature. In all the cities and towns new guilds emerged, that indicates the expansion of trading activities. The guilds functioned in a multifarious way: regulated labour market through the apprentice and guild members, defended the guild members' trade from outside competition, took action against the illicit traders and controlled the scale and quantity of output.

Though in the early modern period, the market was getting integrated with each other, yet, the guilds of different towns or cities maintained their own laws or regulation. The organizational pattern of guilds also varied from cities to cities. In some cities, under the political system, it was organized cohesively acting broadly as a united force. On the contrary, it was also common in some cities that the guilds because of the absence of any centralizing authority acted on their own and competed with each other for acquiring status, power and privileges over other. It was also noted that with the rapid expansion of economic activities, there was growing erosion of control of guilds over the traders and merchants. The guilds were not compatible with the emerging capitalist relationships, which were manifested in the 17th and 18th centuries. As far as the development of industrial activities are concerned, the European experience was notable in the area of textile industry, the production of alcohol, the printing industry, the construction of buildings, bridges, roads etc. The volume of trade was increased along with the growth of new trading network and revival of the old routes in some cases. In 1600, England and the Low Countries specialized in certain commodities. The medieval market economy was considerably dependent on organization of fairs in regular intervals; this significance of fairs as the prime mover of the economy was declining during the period under review. It witnessed the growth of markets in urban Europe in structured way. The fairs of Lyon, Medina del Campo, and Antwerp suffered setback in 16th century due to war and decline of Mediterranean trade. In general, the fairs of Western Europe faced survival crisis; however, the Northern and Eastern European fairs were able to continue their functions in the economy. Some fairs emerged in Europe with certain specialization of commodities like horse fairs or saffron fairs. After 1700, the emergence of retail shops in different areas of urban Europe decreased the importance of medieval fairs and early modern markets simultaneously. This change was the reflection of new consumerism in early modern Europe. The popular demands of consumer goods facilitated the growth of retail shops during this period.

The reorientation of international trade route from Mediterranean to the Atlantic zone and the establishment of contact with India transformed the European economic balance from Italy to England, France and Holland via Spain and Portugal. The development of port cities in these regions of Europe was another new dimension of urban economy of early modern Europe. The volume of trade was also substantially

increased. For example, the Europe's Levant trade in 14th and 15th centuries was carried based on high profit and low volume, the Asian and American trade of 16th and 17th centuries involved both extraordinary profit as well as large volume in 15th and 16th centuries. The European trade dominated by the Western Europe imported not only luxury goods like Indian cloth or spices but also common commodities like sugar or tobacco. The import items also include tea and coffee (Clark, Peter 2009, 144-153).

9.5 Conclusion

All these developments indicate the presence of a thriving economy in the urban regions of Europe. Some points may be made briefly for a better understanding of the analysis. First, there was a shift of the European economic balance, especially of the urban trade-based economy, from the Mediterranean regions to the Atlantic one. Second, the growth of long-distance trade contributed to the growth of port cities in Western Europe during this period. Third, there was a spurt of consumer culture in Europe promoting the development of retail trade as an economic practice. Fourth, there was simultaneous decline of medieval guilds in the early modern era. These are all the essence of internal dynamics of Europe especially in 16th and 17th centuries. This dynamism was reflected in the simple estimate of Europe's urbanization. According to De Vries, the share of cities and towns in the total population rose from 5.6 percent in 1500 to 10 percent in (Prak, Maarten 20011, 68-71). Under preindustrial economic conditions, this figure is not very unimpressive. The rural economy also underwent changes during this period. The common thread was the prosperity in 15th and early 16th centuries, while relative decline in late 16th and 17th centuries though there was regional diversities. The second notable feature of the rural economic development of early modern Europe is the divergence between east and west: while the Western Europe was successful in demolishing the feudalism and progressed towards a capitalist society, the Eastern Europe witnessed the emergence of 'second serfdom' during the early modern era. The lords were able to crush the peasant resistance effectively and retained the feudal social structure in this part of Europe. However, the most interesting point is that unlike the medieval feudalism, the eastern feudalism in early modern era was closely

connected with the market economy of the western parts. It was far from a self-sufficient economic structure; the feudal lords of Eastern Europe imposed serfdom for the second time on the one hand and responded positively to the growing demands of west European markets on the other hand. Their control over serfs' labour ensured the production for the western market. Therefore, it was definitely feudal order, but not a reincarnation of medieval one. It was early modern one.

9.6 Model Questions

1. What were the features of the demographic structure of Europe in early modern era?
2. Discuss the impact of Black Death on the economy and society of Europe.
3. Analyse the long-term dynamics of the rural economy of early modern Europe.
4. How do you explain the development of regional diversities of the European rural economy in 16th century?
5. What were the primary features of the urban economy of Europe during the early modern period?
6. Trace the development of urban economic structure in Europe in 16th and 17th centuries.

9.7 Suggested Readings

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Unit-10 □ Shift of Economic Balance from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

Structure

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Decline of the Mediterranean Region

10.3 The Atlantic Costal Trade

10.4 The Development of the Transatlantic Trade with America and Asia

10.5 Conclusion

10.6 Model Questions

10.7 Suggested Readings

10.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the shift of the economic balance of early modern Europe from the Mediterranean region to the Atlantic region with an emphasis on the following points:

- The economic decline of the Mediterranean region.
- The nature of the Atlantic coastal trade.
- The establishment of the Europe's trading relationships with Asia and America through Atlantic and its significance.

10.1 Introduction

In the earlier unit, we have already discussed the general development of the economy (both urban and rural) of Europe in detail. It is now clear to us that the European economy underwent significant changes in the late 15th and early 16th centuries: these changes were

reflected in the expansion of agriculture and trade, in the growth of urbanization and in the articulation of commodity production. These economic changes were in fact integral part of the two deeper transformations of the European economy during this period. First, the changes were associated with the emergence of capitalist mode of production in Europe. Second, the Europe's economy was reoriented towards north-west from south of the continent. The first change was internal, that is, the changes in the class relation and production relations of the society. Second change was external, that is, the shift of economic balance from one region to another region. This gradual shift was closely associated with the expansion of long distance maritime trade between Europe and the rest of the globe. This entire process provided the impetus to the formation of modern world system, the beginning of which could be marked in the late 15th and in the 16th centuries.

10.2 Decline of the Mediterranean Region

Prior to the discovery of America (1492) and direct sea route to India via Cape of Good Hope (1498), the economic importance of Atlantic was little in the European economy. The Mediterranean trade chiefly dominated it; Italy was the prime centre of the economic activities of Europe. The Italian city-states were considerably busy in the international trading activities of Europe before the discovery of new sea routes in late 15th century. However, after these two epoch-making geographical discoveries, the major centres of the European economy started moving towards the north-west of the continent. At the end of the 15th century, the most highly developed region in Europe was the Mediterranean zone on general, and central and northern Italy was in particular. The influx of the American silver in 16th century contributed to the erosion of the prosperity of the Mediterranean zone. In 17th century, it became a backward region in terms of volume of trade and economic affluence. The centre of economic gravity had already moved to the North Sea (Cipolla, Carlo M 1977, 231-233). The North European economy was backward and largely agrarian prior to the 16th century. Even during the 16th century, the movement of economic progress in North was slow. It supplied raw wool, iron and fish, and woollen cloth to the South of Europe. The North of Europe was sparsely populated in comparison with the South. A small proportion of the total population lived in towns, and the size of the towns was very small except a few one. Most of these small towns

essentially provided service and acted as market centres for their rural hinterlands; these North European minor towns did not possess any connection at all with the long distance trade (Musgrave, Peter 1999, 139-140). The balance of the European economy since 16th century had been gradually moving towards the north-west of the continent, the gravity of which was first felt in the Iberian Peninsula.

10.3 The Atlantic Costal Trade

The long stretch of the Atlantic coastline of Europe created rich opportunities for the development of trade and commerce, especially port-to-port trade. The volume and scale of the coastal trade of Atlantic was no less important than the trade of Mediterranean or the Northern Sea. The commodities like Wool, wine and salt were the most dominant trading items – the nature of which was essentially daily use – in the coastal trade of Atlantic. It is also important to note that the Atlantic traders maintained close connection with both Mediterranean and North Sea trade. For example, both Portugal and France supplied salt to the North Sea areas in a competitive manner. Again, the northern merchants exported grain to Spain and Portugal as these two areas had shortage of this item. In fact, salt and grain occupied the key position in the maritime trade of 16th century. Initially the Hans and the Dutch merchants were active in the Atlantic trade between North Sea and Mediterranean; later the Dutch traders gradually occupied the key position in the Atlantic coastal trade operating between Mediterranean and North Sea. They monopolised the sea-borne trade along the shores of northern Europe. The Dutch merchants clearly directed their efforts to the Baltic. The registers of the Danish Sound dues or charges recording the number of payments made by ships passing in and out of the Baltic showed an increase in Dutch payments from 1,300 in 1500 to 5,000 in 1600. The Dutch traders steadily expanded their maritime activities in the Atlantic coast. The most significant point is that despite war with Spain, the coastal trade of Atlantic was not slackened or disturbed significantly. Both Spain and Portugal needed large quantity of grain, fish, metal goods and textiles for their own population and for the overseas colonies. The Baltic timber was required for the construction of oceanic fleets of Portugal and Spain. From 1570, Baltic timber was regularly imported in the Iberian Peninsula. The Iberian merchants also looked-for the Dutch vessels to transport Andalusian wool, high quality wool from Burgos and

Castilian soap to the textile industries of England and the Netherlands, and salt from Set'lbal for the Dutch fisheries. The Dutch merchants also participated in the trade of fruits from Mediterranean, wines from Seville and the Canaries, spices from India and silver from the New World. They also tapped the markets of Barcelona, Marseilles, Naples and Livorno quickly as the Mediterranean region failed to supply commodities there. The ship owners of other countries like England, Scotland and Scandinavia partially emerged only in 17th century; the Russians started penetrating in this trade during the 18th century only. During the same period, Netherlands became the principal buyer of spices imported by Portugal from the east. In fact, the key geographical location of Netherlands enabled her to control the coastal trade of Atlantic (Cipolla, Carlo M 1979, 445-446; Maland, David 1982, 182-184). Spain exported high quality wool to Netherlands in large quantity, and a smaller amount to Hamburg, France and England. In late 16th century, Spanish trade with Netherlands declined; it was compensated with the rising trade with England. Bilbao – the Spanish port – imported cloth from England. The Flemish cloth was also imported to Spain via Bilbao. Seville was also very important port in the Atlantic trade of Spain. It imported various commodities like foodstuffs, dyestuffs and drugs - sugar, cacao, cochineal, indigo, logwood, tobacco, and quinine from the New World. Seville was indeed famous as the terminus of the official trade with Indies and supplier for the rest of Europe. It had age-old trading relationships with England and the Low Countries. From Bristol, Seville imported large quantities of English cloth. The merchants of northern Europe exported fish to Spain mainly salted herring from the North Sea or dried or salted cod from Iceland. Seville also imported the manufactured goods from France and re-exported these items to Indies. This Spanish port also busy in exporting a coarse and cheap variety of raw Andalusian wool and several other raw materials of the clothing industry: Castile soap, olive oil, and barilla (an alkali used in soap making, derived from the ashes of salt-wort scrub). It supplied northern Europe also with much of its winter fruit—oranges, raisins, figs and almonds especially, which had formerly been articles of rare luxury but which in the sixteenth century were becoming fairly general and the objects of a substantial trade. The most famous export of southern Spain, however, was wine to the Low Countries and especially England. Bordeaux had been the principal supplier of wine in England before its decline in the 16th century. The new place was acquired by Seville and Cadiz. These two ports supplied the wine of south-western Spain and of Canary Islands to England. Bristol exported cloth to Spain and imported wine for England (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson

1967). The northern countries maintained trading relationship with Mediterranean through Atlantic. For example, the English traders exported cloth and tin in Mediterranean while the Dutch offered fish and grain. This trade was carried through Seville and Lisbon. Sometimes it was interrupted by war but it never ceased to operate. The German merchants also sold grain in Italy. The bad harvest in Italy between 1586 and 1590 opened up greater scope before the grain merchants of Northern Europe to sell their products at good price. In 1593, 219 ships brought grain at Leghorn – a port at Italy. Out of 219, 73 ships carried grain from the outside of Mediterranean. The various Hanseatic towns had 34 ships while the twelve were Dutch, seven English, four Flemish, two Norwegian, one from Riga; thirteen remain unidentified (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 185-188).

10.4 The Development of the Transatlantic Trade with America and Asia

Spain was the first among the European states that monopolized the economic fruits of the discovery of Atlantic sea route to the New World in 16th century in Europe. In 1503, Spain created the Casa de la Contratación in Seville in order to establish its complete royal monopoly over the trades in the newly discovered sea routes in Atlantic. It contributed to the enormous growth of Seville financially. Spanish authority maintained special *registros* carefully to ensure a total surveillance on all the aspects of the maritime trade in its Atlantic trade. The primary purpose of the *registros* was to collect the taxes and to establish royal monopoly over some precious metals. But, subsequently, the Spanish authority was successful in establishing its dominance and control over nearly all the aspects of trade in Atlantic. In the initial years, shipments were mostly made from the European countries; it consisted of the supply of food products and manufactures to the overseas settlement. However, soon the picture took a reverse turn. Silver was the most common item imported from the New World. However, it does not imply that the European export to America became insignificant. The European settlers created demands for textiles, metal tools, armaments and other manufactured products. The Portuguese, who dominated trade with the African Atlantic coast, got involved in the slave trade. The African slaves were increasingly exported to the New World, and soon became one of the most profitable trades in Atlantic. The enormous profit in trade of African slaves soon attracted the other

countries like England and Holland. These two countries participated heavily in the export trade of slaves to New World (Vittorio, Antonio Di 2006, 37-38). During the same period, the old trading network from Asia to Europe via Mediterranean gradually lost its importance. The new routes discovered by the Portuguese via Cape of Good Hope contributed to the declining significance of Mediterranean in the European economy of early modern era (Vittorio, Antonio Di 2006, 37). The collapse of the Byzantine Empire before the Ottoman Turks, the expansion of the Ottoman influence in the coast of African Mediterranean and violent clashes leading to the Battle of Lepanto (1571) completely closed the Asian imports through Mediterranean. The Atlantic Ocean routes replaced the previously important Mediterranean trade routes; the old cross-continental trade was less feasible in the changing political structure. The pattern of trade was also changed. For example, sugar and dyes were previously imported from Asia; in 16th century, the Europeans imported these commodities from America. The other items like spices, silks, pearls, precious stones and cottons were still in the list of Europe's Asian trade. The emergence of Holland and England added new dimension in the changing network of Europe's trade in 16th century (Vittorio, Antonio Di 2006, 37). While the Spanish and Portuguese trade was completely under the royal monopoly, the private merchants and companies initiated the British and Dutch trade with Asia and the New World. It was definitely a new development as far as the organizational aspects of the 16th century trading world was concerned.

In 16th century, two main ocean-going trade routes emerged replacing the older system based on Mediterranean: the first one from Lisbon to India and second one from Seville to the West Indies. Both Portugal and Spain tried to secure their monopoly over this trade; however, during the 17th century, the other European powers like Holland or England successfully challenged this monopoly with greater naval strength, flexible trading method and efficient means of transport. Spain's trade with America through Atlantic was much bigger than the Portugal's trade with the East. It is because of the fact that Spain not only extracted precious metals or commodities from its transatlantic colonies but also exported number of goods for meeting the demands of the settlers. The settlers made themselves habituated in maintaining a Spanish way of living in America, and that is why they imported goods from Spain. The Spanish colonizers developed plantation economy, which required slaves. The requirement of slaves opened up new trading opportunities

between West Africa and America. From the middle of the 16th century, Spain started importing silver from the New World. It enabled Spain to pay the bills of imports and purchased goods from Asia comfortably (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1977, 198-199). Seville was the most prominent port in the Spanish trade in Atlantic. Indeed, it was the most convenient port for regular shipment to the Spanish colonies in the New World. In the first half of the 16th century, Spain's trade with America through Atlantic chiefly consisted of local productions of Andalusia: these were foodstuff, wine, oil, wheat-flour and other products of daily use. In the decade of 1540s, the discovery of silver transformed the trading pattern of Atlantic dramatically. It was indeed a revolutionary change in the transatlantic trade. The population, because of this new change, was increased considerably in the Indies, and so was the demand of the different commodities. Before 1540s, the Spanish products mainly dominated the trading relationships between Spain and the New World; after 1540s, the commodities produced outside of Spain came to dominate the Spain's transatlantic trade. These new items were clothes, different types of weapons, utensils, glass, paper, books etc. The return cargos from the Indies to Spain carried chiefly silver apart from hides and sugar The average annual tonnage sailing from Seville increased from less than 10,000 tons in the 1540's to over 20,000 in the 1580's, representing perhaps one-tenth of the total shipping capacity of Spain (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1967, 200). Between 1550 and 1610, the average annual number of ships departed from Seville varied between 60 to 65. The size of the ocean-going ships was increased steadily in the 16th century. The primary reason was two-fold. First the need of self-defence of the ships and second the demands of the trading items. However, the official restriction on the maximum size of the ship was 550 tons. It must also be remembered that the continuous increase in size of the ships could not always a security or guarantee from the attack of the pirates because of the use of artillery by the attackers. The armed galleons – two to eight in numbers – escorted the Spanish trading ships in the formation of convoy in Atlantic. The galleons also carried trading goods of private origin. The problem of this mode of shipping (convoy system along with full-fledged security system) was the involvement of huge amount of cost. Apart from the cost for maintain security in the high seas, the increasing cost was fuelled up by extra amount of duty imposed on the trading goods. The Spanish Atlantic economy finally faced serious problems due to this increasing shipping cost on the one hand and restrictive regulations, increasing competition from the other emerging maritime powers and chronic shortage of required number of ships on the other hand.

Moreover, the internal resources of Spain were not at all compatible with the potentiality of trading opportunities of Atlantic Ocean (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1977, 200-202).

The Portuguese trade in Atlantic suffered less from restrictive regulations during the same period. Sugar was the chief trading item of Portugal. Brazil supplied most of the Europe's demand of sugar in late 16th and 17th centuries. Portuguese settlers imported bulk of manufactured goods to Brazil not only for themselves but also for the illicit trade in the Spanish America. These goods were re-exported to the areas under Spain without paying custom duties. These goods consisted chiefly of cloth, hardware and slaves. Since Portugal had little industry during this period, the industrial goods came originally from northern Europe. The slave trade formed a close link between Spain and Portugal. Portugal was the only country that had barracoons in the West Africa. It supplied African slaves both to Brazil and to the Spanish plantation in the Caribbean, mines in the New Spain and even to Potosi. The slave trade was highly lucrative, however as a commodity it was perishable. Therefore, the slave shipment was licensed to be exported directly from Lisbon to Spanish America without waiting for regular convoys. Sometimes, the slaves were exported from Guinea to the New World directly without any license. The regulations of Spanish state had hardly any effect in controlling the illegal trade of slaves in Atlantic. The most lucrative nature of slave trade also attracted the other maritime powers in Europe. England was the first to have intruded in the slave trade for securing its share in it. The British traders reached Guinea and smuggled slaves to the New World from the African coast along with cloth and other manufacturers in return of sugar, hides and silver. The Dutch traders participated in the Atlantic trade in a bigger volume than the English did in the late 16th century. In 1587, they started trading cloth in Brazil in return of sugar. Subsequently, their trading activities were expanded in terms of volume and items. In early 17th century, the Dutch were involved in the hide trade in Cuba and Hispaniola with twenty ships of 200 tons. Apart from sugar and salt, the Dutch were eager to exploit salt from Venezuela. The British and the Dutch also exported Venezuelan tobacco and Margarita pearls from the New World to Europe. In 1621, with the constitution of the Dutch East India Company as a chartered company, the Dutch trade became more organized and aggressive in nature. They pursued plunder, conquest and competitive trade in the transatlantic trade and because of this highly organized venture of the Dutch traders, the Spanish share in the trade with Indies was declining in the 17th century. the official shipping between Seville and the

Indies shrank by 1640 to less than 10,000 tons annually, and continued to shrink throughout the rest of the century. The Dutch due to their efficient shipping became the carriers for Spain and Portugal in the New World. Consequently, Amsterdam emerged as the centre of economic transactions and commodity market of the growing Atlantic trade in 17th century (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1977, 202-204). The other North European powers like the Scott, the French and the English were not far behind the Dutch. These powers developed settlements in a long string down the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to Barbados. The new settlers exported manufacturers from Europe and started producing exportable staples. New Amsterdam emerged under the Dutch power as growing centre of beaver fur. The furs were shipped to Europe for hat industry. New Amsterdam also served as an entrepôt between North American colonies and the Caribbean. The French settlement at St Lawrence and British settlement on the southern shores of Hudson's Bay were two other sources of fur in the subsequent period. Virginia became the English source of tobacco in the 1620s. The Dutch developed successful plantation economy in Surinam, Essequibo and Demarara. The prosperous planters exported sugar to Europe using slave labour in these islands occupied by the Dutch power. The Dutch supremacy in Atlantic Ocean and inter-American trade especially as carrier was not however unchallenged. First the Portuguese recovered their possession in Brazil and used the African slave trade as a principal source of income. The British also since 1663 started re-asserting their role in the slave trade. It was between 1660 and 1730, the English maritime trading activity in Atlantic continued to grow: the rough estimates are 90,000 tons in 1663, 178,000 in 1688, 261,222 in 1701 (Rich, E.E. and C.H. Wilson 1977, 204-206).

Portugal was the other major player in the transatlantic trade apart from Spain. However, it dominated the trade with Asia through using Atlantic via Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese dominance in the Asian trade lasted for about hundred years since 1498. However, it came to be challenged by Holland, England, France etc. in the subsequent period. The Dutch traders were able to achieve an impressive growth of trade in the Asian commercial network: it covered the whole of maritime Asia from Japan in the east and across Taiwan to various stations in Southeast Asia. The Dutch also had presence in India, Ceylon, Persia and Arabia to South Africa in the west. The chief feature of the European trade with Asia was that it chiefly imported the Asian products; there was little scope of exporting the European goods in the Asian market in 16th and 17th centuries. In the 16th century, spice, especially pepper, dominated the Europe's trade with Asia. The textile

emerged as the chief item of import from the east to Europe in 17th century. Around 1700, textile accounted for 40 percent of the total import made by the Dutch East India Company. In 1720s and 1730s, new commodities like tea and coffee appeared. By 1740, both tea and coffee's share was 25 percent of the total Dutch trade. The entire 17th century was a period of boom of Europe's Asian trade through Atlantic.

10.5 Conclusion

The period between 1500 and 1850, according to the recent researches, witnessed significant growth of the Atlantic trade, which contributed to the simultaneous development of the Atlantic port cities. The rise of Europe in the early modern era was indeed the rise of the Atlantic economy of Europe. The countries adjacent to the Atlantic shore profited mostly from the shift of economic balance from Mediterranean to Atlantic. Some scholars further argue that the rise of trade and boom of profit indirectly, at least, created conditions for the development of capitalist institutions in the non-absolutist states like England or Holland. The trade and its associated profit became an integral part of the internal dynamics of the society as it was reflected in the securing of the rights of private property and regulation of trade and commerce. The decreasing importance of the older feudal institutions, if not immediate fall, and the articulation of commercial interest under the favourable political-institutional condition, paved the way for the emergence of capitalist society. The rise of the Atlantic trade could be regarded as an organic part of this larger process (Acemoglu, Daron 2005, 572).

10.6 Model Questions

1. What was the importance of the Atlantic trade in the early modern European economy?
2. Write an essay on the shift of economic balance from Mediterranean to Atlantic in 15th and 16th centuries.
3. Briefly discuss the role of the Dutch traders and merchants in the coastal trade of Atlantic.
4. What was the role of the Portuguese and the Spanish merchants in the transoceanic trade of early modern Europe?

10.7 Suggested Readings

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James Robinson. "The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth". *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 95, No. 3 (Jun., 2005), pp. 546-579.

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Unit-11 □ Commercial Revolution

Structure

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Introduction

11.2 The Trading World of the Medieval Europe, 900-1500

11.3 The Trading World of the Early-Modern Europe, 15th-16th Centuries

11.4 Conclusion

11.5 Model Questions

11.6 Suggested Readings

11.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present are to understand the commercial revolution of the early modern era in Europe with special emphasis on the following two aspects:

- The condition of trade and commerce in the medieval Europe.
- The development of trade and commerce in early modern period.

11.1 Introduction

There is a common agreement among the historians that two fundamental changes played the most distinctive role in transforming medieval Europe into modern one. The first one is the agrarian transition – that is, the dissolution of serfdom and emergence of capitalist property relations in the European agriculture especially in Western Europe – and the second one is the commercial revolution, which changed both the trading networks of Europe with outside and traded items. In the present unit, we will study the long-term transformation of the European trading world, the effects of which were dramatic as far as the consequences were concerned. It was because of the changing pattern of trade between Europe and non-European world, the first global age of capital and commodity emerged, which is often described as the 'world system'. These changes also initiated the fragmentation of the world into two broad spheres – core and periphery. Eventually it led

to the establishment of the European domination over the rest of the world. Therefore, the historians have interpreted it as 'revolution'. In general, the revolution in the trading world has been analysed as Europe's relationships with the outside world, that is, Asia, Africa or America. The trading dominance of Europe on the rest of the world and associated networks come to be known as the world system in the pages of economic history. However, it is equally important to note the development of trade within Europe during the transition period from feudalism to capitalism. In the present analysis, attempts will be made to understand both the internal and external trade of Europe and its consequences on European development during the period under review. Finally, this analysis would obviously involve three basic aspects of trade: the traders, the commodities and the trading networks and their roles in the historical evolution of the European socio-economic structure towards a capitalist one.

11.2 The Trading World of the Medieval Europe, 900-1500

The medieval Europe, especially between 900 and 1500, witnessed both expansion and contraction of trade and commerce. After the end of the so-called dark ages, there were signs of spurt of trading activities around 900 A.D in the different parts of Europe. There was acceleration of the pace of economic recovery in Europe period between 11th century to middle of the 14th century: the plains of Eastern Europe was colonized, the coastal areas of Baltic underwent positive economic changes, the Crusades opened up new trading connection especially in the Mediterranean regions etc. The recovery of the economic condition of Europe from a stagnant one was clear in 11th century. All these changes indeed expanded the geographical limits of trading exchanges of Europe. The increase in population and in production stimulated the entire process of economic expansion in medieval and late medieval Europe.

The economic historians point out that unlike the medieval China or Middle East, Europe between 1000 and 1500 was able to develop the suitable conditions for the growth of trade, towns and markets. The creation of the conditions facilitating the economic development has been interpreted as the take-off the commercial revolution (Lopez, Robert S 1976, 56-79). The long distance Mediterranean trade was largely controlled not by the European traders, but by the Syrians, Jews, and Greeks. It is also important to keep in mind that the rise of the Turkish power did not end all the trading relations between east

and west. Apart from the Jews, the Syrian merchants took also a leading role in the trading relations during the period under review. The Jews merchants especially maintained important relationships between Europe on the one hand and the Islamic world, the Byzantine Empire, even India and China on the other. Moreover, they were able to consolidate their position in the local markets of Europe between the 9th and 11th centuries. The Jews traded with salt, wine, grain, cloth, slaves and all other possible items. During the 10th century and early 11th century, the presence of this merchant community was markedly visible not only in Europe, but also in the Islamic world. The Jews were also engaged in usury business, but it was not central to their financial activities. Though they were socially and culturally marginal in the medieval European society, the Jews however contributed to the growth of economic prosperity of the areas like the Iberian Peninsula, the regions between the Rhine and Meuse and Provence (Lopez, Robert S 1976, 60-62). The Italian port-cities like Venice or Amalfi played a major role in the economic development of Europe in medieval and late medieval era. Venice maintained close maritime relationships with both Byzantium and the Islamic world. Eventually there was the development of a prosperous triangular trade encompassing Venice, Byzantium and the Islamic world. Venice imported spices, silks, and ivories while the export commodities were western heavy commodities like iron, timber, naval stores. Slave, salt and glass were also important in the trading activities of Venice. Robert Lopez points out that in the early years of the eleventh century the Venetians imposed their protectorate on a number of seaports of the upper Adriatic, but not attempted at constructing a territorial empire that would have diverted their interests from sea trade to agriculture. Amalfi was also engaged in trading relationship of Europe and eastern world. Textile was also a very important commodity in the Amalfi's trade during the medieval era. The economic activities of Venice and Amalfi contributed to a very significant change in the balance of the maritime trade in the Mediterranean region. There was a gradual shift of economic balance from the eastern world to the shores of Mediterranean in the 10th and 11th centuries. Pisa and Genoa also had significant role in the growing prosperity of this region of Italy.

The economic development of the port-cities of Italy in 10th century was substantiated by the positive demographic changes and agrarian revival. One notable point is that the Italian cities in medieval and late medieval era provided a more or less common framework of duties and responsibilities of the citizens inhabited there. For example, merchants served the army with equal footing of the landowners of equivalent income, and all citizens were

responsible for the defence of the city. This practice of equality had a positive impact on the demographic growth and economic development of both the cities and rural areas. Within the city structure, there were obviously differences between the rich nobles and the common people, but it was more of a difference of wealth instead of status. During the same period, the European society was based more on status than on wealth following the strict medieval legacy. The Italian cities were both economically and psychologically commercial in orientation rather than feudal posts. The basic interest of the citizens was to promote trade and business for the economic prosperity of the cities. Apart from the commercial activities, the Italian cities also maintained army and navy for the protection of cities and for ensuring trade and supremacy in Mediterranean. The Italian cities also developed credit system, norms of contract and partnership system for business in the 10th-11th centuries. These factors were also essential for commercial growth of the medieval economy of Italy. The Italian merchants used the Greco-Roman laws of contracts and business norms in this regard (Lopez, Robert S 1976, 80-84). All these factors contributed to the economic expansion of Italy especially since the 10th century. The mutually dependent factors for the growth and gradual expansion of economy were much visible in 10th-11th century Italy rather than the Northern and Western Europe. These were the growth of population, progress of technology, faster transport, and articulation of business culture and supply of credit. Lopez argues that the different regions of Europe gradually witnessed the shift of economic balance from agriculture to trade and commerce, which could be interpreted as the prime expression of the commercial revolution in Europe during this period. However, it was not even in nature and the Jews and the Italian merchants were the most prominent rather than merchants of the other parts of Europe as far as the trading activities were concerned.

The growth of towns and of markets was the nerve centre of the commercial revolution of medieval era. The development of exchange economy based on the crosscurrents of demand and supply acquired new pace in the Italian city-states during this period. In the other parts of Europe, the traditional market place and seasonal fairs stimulated the economy. As far as the international trade is concerned, the Levant controlled spice and luxury items like ivory, raw silk and precious stones. The balance of trade was initially in favour of the Levant merchants. However, gradually, the Italian merchants were able to turn down the balance of trade in their favour by supplying non-precious metals, timber, glassware, arms and other iron war, woollen and linen cloth to the Levant (Lopez, Robert

S 1976, 85-96). Lopez further argues that this expansive prospect of the European commercial activities was not result of the so-called Crusades but the initiation took in earlier period. However, it is also true that military expansion of Europe not only against the Islamic forces but also against the Byzantine power helped to expand the commercial influence especially in Mediterranean. Abu-Lughod points out that the Crusades developed mechanism that reintegrated north-western Europe into a world system from which she had become detached after the fall of the Roman Empire (Abu-Lughod, Janet L 1989, 47). The 13th century witnessed certain breakthrough as the expansion of the European trading influence was concerned. Two fundamental factors played important role in this breakthrough. The first factor was the successful extension of commercial activities of the merchants of Venice and Genoa in 1204 and 1261 respectively in Black Sea. These two cities were able to establish colonial outposts in this region breaking the control of the Byzantine Empire. This step consolidated the Italian presence beyond the Mediterranean region. The second factor was the emergence of the massive Mongolian Empire in the 13th century. It provided stability to the vast stretches of Eurasia and thereby stimulated trade and commerce. The Italian merchants were beneficiaries of the peace and stability created by the Mongols (Lopez, Robert S 1976, 97-111). The development of trade and urbanization in Northern Europe and Western Europe was although noticeable but it cannot compared with that of the Italian cities between 10th and 13th centuries.

Recent research argues that by the 11th and 12th centuries, the many parts of the Old World began to become integrated into a system of exchange (Abu-Lughod, Janet L 1989, 3). The European continent developed several distinct but interrelated economic subsystems in during this period. There were growths of agriculture, mining and urban centres in north-western Europe. In France and Flanders – two areas, which had access to the Mediterranean region – substantial amount of urbanization and trading activities took place. Initially, this trade was conducted periodically centring on the fairs; however, with the increasing pace of urbanization, the towns became the prime areas of trade and commerce (Abu-Lughod, Janet L 1989, 47). The European cities, especially the Italian cities like Vince and Genoa, developed some sort of 'merchant capitalism' within the very structure of feudal social structure. The Italian merchants were still pre-capitalist in the sense that they worked under the domination of feudal mode of production. Nevertheless, certain spirit of capitalism – that is, the free enterprise of investment and profit – was evolved first in Italy in medieval and late medieval period within the very structure of feudal society.

In the decade of 1330s, this enterprising trend of nascent capitalism started facing reversal. Jacques Bernard identifies it in harvest failures, fiscal crisis and currency disturbances. The Black Death of 1348 to 1350 aggravated the crisis, the manifestation of which was the drastic population fall in Europe. All these contributed to the contraction of economy sharply. The Bubonic plague came to Italy from Caffa, a trading post in Crimea. The disease was then transmitted to Europe by rats. The result was catastrophic: in 1348-49, three-fifths of the population of Venice died; Genoa also suffered heavily. By 1350, the population of Genoa was only about 60 percent of what it had been in 1341. The economic and commercial contraction of entire Europe lasted up to the middle of 15th century. The demographic and monetary catastrophes of 14th century prepared the way for a new equilibrium. In the second half of the 15th century, Europe recaptured the spirit of expansion what she had once shown during the period of Crusades (Abu-Lughod, Janet L 1989, 126-127; Cipolla, Carlo M 1977, 275). It is also noted that the aggressive rise of the Ottoman Turks on the one hand and decline of the Mongolian power on the other hand caused to the dislocation of the Eurasian trading network in the 15th century. The Europeans, therefore, had no other way but to find out new routes of Asia. These difficulties also forced the Europeans to produce silk, sugar, cochineal and wax in Cyprus, Sicily, Calabria, Valencia, Andalusia, and the archipelagos of Atlantic. The 15th century saw the growing production of grain, oil, fruit, wine, salt, textiles, timber, iron and arms, and later paper in the European side of Mediterranean. The production of these commodities provided sustenance to an active coastal trade during this period. There was also development of textile industry in Catalonia, Languedoc, Lombardy and Florence. The Northern Europe also witnessed spurt of textile manufacturing. Collectively this renewed commodity production restored the balance of payments of Europe. Wine was supplied from Burgundy and the Rhineland to south-west France, and was exchanged for fish or cloth. Agricultural and other food products formed the basis of trade in north and north-west Europe, from the Bay of Biscay to the Baltic. This trade was mainly localized in this region. The textile industry was exceptionally expansive in nature. These manufacturing centres of textiles were located in Flanders, southern Flanders, Ypres, Ghent and Bruges. The dense population, intensive agriculture and general vigour of exchanges stimulated the development of textile industry in these regions. In the 14th century, the new areas like Brabant-Brussels, Louvain, Malines were included in the textile production region. England supplied wool to the textile manufacturers of Flanders and Brabant. Between 13th and 15th

centuries, England emerged as one of the principal exporters of cloth in Europe: the English merchants supplied cloth from the Baltic to Spain, and even in to Mediterranean. The supply of cloth from the Northern Europe stimulated the Italian industry, especially that of Florence in two ways. Firstly, there was the finishing of cloth. It assured the quality of the product as good as the Flemish one. Secondly, the Italian experience was used to work the best wool in the west with the finest dyes of the east. There is hardly any doubt that the growing cloth trade in Europe brought decisive stimulants in the late medieval European economy. It not only boosted the economy, but also helped to restore the balance of trade of Europe with that of the eastern world (Cipolla, Carlo M 1977, 276-289). As a direct consequence of the expansion of trade and commerce in late medieval European economy, three distinct developments took place: firstly, the development of business correspondence and network of information, secondly, the development of money market and thirdly, the development of accounting and complex business organization (Cipolla, Carlo M 1977, 321-329). All these provided the necessary conditions for the growth of an early modern economy based on trade and commerce in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries.

11.3 The Trading World of the Early-Modern Europe, 15th-16th Centuries

The European economy continued to expand in the middle of 15th century with the waning of the fear of plague on the one hand and advancement of agriculture on the other hand. Trade and commerce followed the similar pattern of growth and expansion it during the 15th-16th centuries. The old school of economic historiography broadly represented by Phyllis Deane, W.A. Cole, Leroy Ladurie and others argues that it was the Industrial Revolution in late 18th century England and subsequent industrialization in the continental Europe brought the decisive structural changes in the stagnant agrarian economy and created new society based on industrial production of factory system. This has been the dominant view on the long-term economic and social changes taken place in Europe in the decades of 1950s and 1960s. This view does not find occurrence of any vibrant change in the economic structure of early modern Europe, and therefore, there was no radical break in the European economy before the Industrial Revolution of late 18th century. This view has come to be challenged by the new group of historians in the subsequent periods

of 1970s and 1980s. This challenge is emanated from two different angles: firstly, the historians like N.F.R.Crafts (1985) or Sylla and Toniolo (1991) make efforts to revise the estimate of economic growth of Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution or to reassess the impact of the Industrial Revolution on the European economy. While Crafts revises the estimate of Dean and Cole regarding the estimate of economic growth of Great Britain, the research of Sylla and Toniolo finds little merit in the idea of discontinuity produced by the Industrial Revolution. The scholars working on the Early Modern Europe offer the second challenge. They argue that the so-called radical break in the late 18th and 19th centuries due to the Industrial Revolution would not have been possible if Europe had not witnessed the development of trade and commerce, of urbanization, of agricultural productivity, of regional specialization and of proto-industrialization in the early modern Europe. Gunnar Persson is the first among the revisionist historians who reminds us that the economic growth had been normal in Europe since the late medieval era (Prak, Maarten 2001, 67-68). It is also noted that certain regions of Europe – especially the west of the Adriatic Sea and the Elbe River – experienced transformation from the subsistence-oriented economy to a money economy in the late middle era (Winks & Wandel 2003, 67). By the 15th century, Western Europe had long been importing the spices from the East; salt from the mines of Germany or the sea-salt pans of the Atlantic coast; and the wines of Rhine, Burgundy and Bordeaux. There was considerable amount of trade in Europe with the following commodities: furs of Eastern Europe, wool of England and Spain, woollen cloth of Flanders and Italy. In spite of the crisis created by the Black Death in 1348-50, the European trade began to recover in the 15th century, and by the late 1400s, the west European trade in terms of volume and variety, reached its highest peak, which could be compared only with the trade of the Roman era. Besides the growth of trade and commerce, the European merchants were able to develop elaborate commercial procedures and organizations. For example, the German merchants developed Hansa – a commercial organization of the German merchants – for protecting the interest of the merchants and boosting the trade. This organization was consisted of the merchants of almost hundreds of towns; however, its leadership was provided by Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, and Danzig. The representatives of the member towns determined the policies of the Hansa in meetings. These meetings were usually held in Lübeck. With the gradual decline of the Holy Roman Empire, these Hanseatic towns acquired some kind of autonomy, and started playing virtually independent political and military role along with economic power. In other

words, the Hansa became the most successful confederation of commercial towns in Europe in the 15th century. The Hansa merchants carried Baltic fish, timber, grain, furs, metals, and amber to the markets of Western Europe and brought back cloth, wine, and spices. These merchants also traded with Italy using the land route. There were large depots of the Hansa merchants at places like Bruges, London, Venice, Novgorod, and Bergen on the Norwegian coast. These are colonial outposts of the Hanseatic empire (Winks & Wandel 2003, 67-68).

The fortune of the Hanseatic League went into decline in 16th century due to the shift of the prime economic activities of Europe towards Atlantic. Many of the Hanseatic towns' prosperity came to an end as a result of the declining trade. The rise of the strong monarchical governments in different parts of Europe further weakened the loose organization of the Hansa merchants. However, the big amount of business was to be found still in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and the cities of Mediterranean: Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Lucca, Florence, Milan and other such cities. But, it must be noted that after the rise of Atlantic the west European coast became the most vibrant area of economic activity. It does not nevertheless reduce the importance of the commercial activities of the Italian city-states. Marx never notes that capitalism originated first in England. According to Marx, capitalism first emerged in the city-states of the Renaissance Italy (Heller 2011, 53). The more matured form of capitalism subsequently emerged in Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Holland and finally in England: these were all the different phases of primitive accumulation – the most necessary pre-condition of the capitalist development (Heller 2011, 53-54). Maurice Aymard points out that the merchants of the northern Italy were responsible for the economic transformation of the countryside. The Italian merchants invested huge amount of money in the agricultural sector not simply to buy the land but also to improve it. However, it is also true that the commercial prosperity in late medieval Italy did not lead to the development of capitalist mode of production. What Italy witnessed was the dominance of merchant capital in her economy. According to Aymard, the merchant capital was not interested in bringing changes in the means of production. For example, the merchants controlled simple financial control over the producers in the cloth industry of Italy rather than the actual process of production (Heller 2011, 57).

The real change came into the Northern Europe in general and England in particular during this period. An estimate of the structure and level of income in England, 1290 and 1688 shows the shift of income from rural areas to the urban areas.

Estimates of the structure and level of income in England, 1290 and 1688

	Share of Households 1290s	Share of Households 1688s	Share of Households 1290s	Share of Households 1688s	Real increase income per Households 1290-1688
Landowners, aristocracy, gentry, high clergy	2.3	2.9	15.8	22.0	132
Tenants, smallholders	41.8	16.4	43.6	22.4	175
Cottagers, (rural) labourers, vagrants	36.2	37.9	19.4	9.1	–6
Non-agrarian sector (commerce, professionals, craft smen etc.)	19.8	42.8	21.2	46.4	112
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(Source: Zanden, Jan Luiten van. *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000-1800*. p. 237)

Zanden noted that it is clear from the above-mentioned table that there was a distinct polarization of the rural income distribution. The 'middle classes' of tenants and smallholders that still dominated the agricultural sector in the 1290s, were greatly reduced in relative and absolute terms, whereas the landowners' share of income increased substantially, from less than 16% to 22% of GDP, or from about 20% of value added in agriculture to about 50%. Moreover, the real income of agricultural labourers (and cottagers) declined, in spite of the more than doubling of GDP per capita. Finally, the share of non-agricultural activities in GDP more than doubled in these 400 years; employment in the non-agrarian sector increased from less than 20% in the 1290s to 43% in 1688, and the share of income increased in a similar way. These figures show that the role of the commercial economy

based on the activities of merchants and traders were increasing in the British economic structure indicating a distinct shift of balance from the agriculture-based economy to money economy. This data also points out the growing importance of the landed interest in the economy of Britain.

The recent historiographical development characterizes the commercial prosperity of Northern Europe in the early modern era as 'the little divergence'. Two countries – Holland and England - achieved considerable amount of pace in the development of trade and commerce. The dependence of the British economy on trade and commerce was evident from the above-mentioned figure. If we look at the figures related to Holland we would also see that the majority of the labour force was dependent on trading activities, and not agriculture. In 1514, only one-quarter of the labour force was active in agriculture, another 15% in other primary activities (digging peat, fishing), 20–25% in services (trade and transport in particular), while a staggering 38% was occupied in industry (Zanden 2009, 99). Holland's economy was a commercial economy in true sense of the term in early 16th century. Zanden argues that the economic structure of two parts of Europe – that is, England and Holland – was complementary with each other. In fact, it was a gradual shift of economic gravity of Europe from Italy, Spain and Portugal (14th – 16th centuries) to England (17th -18th centuries) via Holland (16th - 17th centuries). This shift was made possible due to the growth of a commercial economy based essentially on trade and commerce. The development of commercial towns and port-cities was also a fundamental feature of the growing prosperity of the Northern Europe: these cities were Amsterdam, London, Bordeaux, Nantes and Hamburg etc. These were the centres of rising trade and commerce of Europe and world economy. The transoceanic trade contributed to the growth of prosperity of these towns and port-cities. These cities traded with the commodities like spices, textiles and other valuable items from Asia, sugar, tobacco and cotton from America, furs, timber and other goods from Northern Europe, salt and wine form Southern Europe. It is also pointed out that the northern cities developed industries related to their long-distance commerce, processing and refining the produce they imported before re-exporting it. In some cases, such as Amsterdam, the spread of trade-related industry was wider than the city itself. As a result of the growing economic opportunity due to trade, there was change in the population pattern. New forms of urbanization along with migration took place during the same period as a complementary element of the economic and commercial activities. The northern commercial cities also became important centres of international finance for commerce, industry and for states. The urban population in the

various parts of Northern Europe was increasing during the period under review. However, it is also true that during the 16th-17th centuries the share of urban population to the total population was higher than Northern Europe. (Musgrave 1999, 138-142). Musgrave argues that the period between 1590 and 1620 was a period of crisis: it was a period of major subsistence crisis. There was a huge of shortage of grain in Europe except the Baltic areas. The Baltic trade was under the domination of the Hanseatic League and the Dutch traders. The Dutch traders had the advantage of owning ships which were capable of transporting grain to the Mediterranean Europe through the Bay of Biscay and Atlantic. These ships further carried commodities from south to north during their return journey. The profit accrued from this trade was a major source of prosperity not only for Amsterdam but also for the other Dutch cities (Musgrave 1999, 142-146). The establishment of joint stock companies also an integral part of the entire process of commercial revolution especially in Northern Europe. It implies the development of necessary organizational structure for a growing commercial economy. The joint stock companies created opportunities for the aspirant traders and entrepreneurs to look for long-term profit with a minimum amount of risk. It was an institutional achievement of Europe, which was an immense fillip to the commercial revolution. It also catered the interest of the long distance transoceanic trade and commerce by reducing risk amount and providing precision at the organizational level.

11.4 Conclusion

The development of the European trade, especially the west European trade in early modern era, initiated long-term changes in the history and society of not only of Europe but also of the international economy. The growing trading networks – both long distance and short distance – were one of the basic roots of transformation towards capitalism. These changes in the trading patterns and networks are often termed as commercial revolution. However, though the effect of the so-called commercial revolution on the European economy and society was far reaching, one must not dramatically overemphasize its importance in the contemporary era.

The fundamental question is what was the importance of trade and commerce in the overall economic structure of early modern era? Was growth a natural phenomenon? The clear answer is that trade and commerce though started playing increasing role in the European economy in general, however, its final or ultimate contribution was still negligible

during the period under review. Trade remained an exceptional feature in the European life; it actually engaged a small section of the total population. Most of the population in Europe was inhabitants of the rural areas. The rural isolation determined the aspects of the lifestyle of the majority of the population. The sole dependence on the agriculture was the most crucial factor in the living pattern of the common people. It is needless to point out that the mode of living was communitarian and based on status and privilege. The people normally suspected the merchants and their social status was low. The merchants were viewed as such a group of people who usually exploited people's need by supplying goods from producers to customers. They took the advantage of deficiencies of regions caused by the lack of production. This era was not a period of economic revolution; rather it was a period of imitation and development as argued by David Maland (Maland 1982, 205). This period in general and commercial transactions in particular created conditions however for the triumph of the European economy over the rest of the others in the next centuries.

11.5 Model Questions

1. What was the role of trade in the European economy in the early modern era?
2. Was there any commercial revolution in early modern Europe?
3. What were the features of the trading world of late medieval Europe between 900 and 1500?
4. Write an essay on the growth of European trade and commerce in the 15th-16th centuries.

11.6 Suggested Readings

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. New York: OUP, 1989.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James Robinson. "The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth". *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 95, No. 3 (Jun., 2005), pp. 546-579.

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Unit-12 □ Influx of American Silver and the Price Revolution

Structure

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Influx of American Silver

12.3 American Silver and Spanish Bankruptcies

12.4 Understanding the relationships between currency and price

12.5 Interpreting the Price Revolution

12.6 Impact of the Price Revolution

12.7 Conclusion

12.8 Model Questions

12.9 Suggested Readings

12.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the long-term impact of the influx of American silver in Europe after the discovery of the New World. The following points will be explored in detail in this unit:

- The mechanism of influx silver from America to Europe and its impact on the economy of Spain.
- How the influx of American silver influenced the currency and price of early modern Europe.
- Interpretation of the Price Revolution.
- Impact of the Price Revolution.

12.1 Introduction

The discovery of the so-called New World in 1492 was a decisive moment in the history of Europe and the global economy. It gradually opened up new channels of trade,

communication and networks between Europe and America through the transoceanic routes. In the Unit – 17, we have already discussed the growth of European trade both with Asia and with America. We noted that silver was one of the major items in the trading relationship between America and Europe. The Europeans started importing huge amount silver from the South American mines; this influx of the American silver had long-term effects on the European trade and commerce during the period under review. Silver was discovered in the decade of 1540s in South America and it brought revolutionary changes in the transatlantic trade (Rich and Wilson 1967, 200-201). The American silver was brought to Seville and Cadiz – two principal ports of Spain, and then it found its route to other parts of Europe (Cipolla 1979, 448-449).

12.2 Influx of American Silver

Silver was first extracted in Mexico (the mines of Zacatecas were in production from 1548); during this time, the mines of Peru also contributed to the supply of silver to Europe. The volume of silver extraction was increasing with the improvement of better techniques of mining and reorganized supply of native labour. The demand of the underground silver mining forced the adaptation of the European technologies. The skilled European technicians – mainly German – got opportunity to provide improved techniques of mining. Spaniards introduced iron and steel tools and lamp oil; German miners erected stamp mills for crushing ore along with the smelting of ores containing lead. The Spaniards constructed hoists and pumps powered by water wheels or animals to effectively drain and ventilate the deep galleries. Significantly, a Sevilla merchant and a German miner are credited with working out separately the amalgamation process of applying mercury and salt to crushed ore to obtain silver, which replaced smelting. First adapted in Mexico in the early 1550s, it was quickly transmitted to Peru's mines. It stimulated the production of silver in the New World. This upward trend of silver extraction was continued until the early 17th century; in the latter half of the17th century, there was a contraction of silver mining. Silver was shipped to Europe via Seville initially and after 1679, Cadiz through an elaborately organized monopoly (Stein and Stein 2000, 20-21; Scammel 2002, 27). There developed a new route to Manila and Far East through Acapulco in a similarly organized manner under monopoly control. It is pointed out that the true scale of the silver trade is unknown to the historians. One general estimate is that the precious metals accounted for the best part of value – 80 percent at least – of cargoes from Indies to Europe. Some sources

suggest that there was a dramatic decline of silver import from America in c.1600. Other sources indicate that from the mid-1660s, there was a recovery of silver trade, and it surpassed the earlier peak in each decade of the rest of the century. However, any estimate regarding the volume of silver trade is dubious. It is because of the fact that the royal monopoly faced problem of duplicity, corruption and dishonesty. All the ships commonly carried more than that of its declared amount. Besides, illicit trade flourished. By 1600, something like 25 percent of Potosí's output was disappearing across the Andes to the Río de la Plata and thence to Brazil, Lisbon and markets beyond (Scammel 2002, 27-28). Some useful information is available for the decennium 1531-40, when the Spaniards first began to exploit the mines of central Mexico. During 1531-40, the total volume of fine silver imported to Seville was 86,193,876 grams (3,372,217 pesos). In the next decennium, 1541-50, when Potosi and Zacatecas came into production, the amount doubled to 177,573,164 grams (6,944,307 pesos). In 1551-60, the figure jumped to 303,121,174 grams (11,859,201 pesos) and in 1561-70 to 942,858,792 grams (36,888,066 pesos). The introduction of mercury amalgamation and opening of new mines in Mexico contributed to the spectacular growth of silver production. In general, one-quarter to one-third of silver entered Seville went to the royal account and the remaining on private accounts. The boom beginning in the 1560s radically transformed the relative values of gold and silver production in the New World. In the decennium 1551-60, the proportion in terms of the total value of Sevillian imports, was 2:1 in favor of gold. In the next decade, it shifted to 3:1 in favour of silver, and the disproportion continued to mount throughout the century. It was reflected in the widening of the bimetallic ratio (the value of gold in relation to silver) in Spain from 10.11:1 during the years 1497-1536 to 12.12:1 during 1566-1608 (McAlister 1984, 229-230).

A complex network of activities – both financial and organizational – evolved in the New World as a result of silver mining which could not be measured only on the basis of volume of production or amount of profits. The silver mining stimulated all the other sectors of the economy in Indies in a powerful way. Mining installations had to be supplied with articles of iron, leather, tallow, wood, and cloth, and miners had to be fed and clothed. Stock ranching and agriculture were developed in New Spain. Some of the rich mine owners constructed their own cattle and wheat ranches. The steady flow of supplies to the mines and the return movement of silver to the vice regal capitals and ports was mainly responsible for the development of permanent transportation routes. Of the utmost importance was the fact that silver furnished bullion and specie for exchange against the large volume of imports that a growing European population demanded (McAlister 1984, 230).

12.3 American Silver and Spanish Bankruptcies

The influx of the American silver into Europe generally caused price inflation, which is termed as the price revolution. The historians have identified the period between 1550 and 1630 when the price revolution took place in Europe. However, its development differed from country to country. The rate of inflation was 2-3 percent, which was quite exceptional in a preindustrial set economic structure. From the middle of the 17th century, the deflation started. The key factor responsible for the fall of the prices was the decreasing supply of silver from America. After the discovery of silver in the New World, large amount came to Spain partly as taxation and chiefly as exchange of goods with the colonies. It must be remembered that the colonies were allowed to trade, at least theoretically, with the mother country. The major problem of Spain in this context was that she did not have the capacity to meet all the demands of the colonies. Taking advantage of the situation, the other European countries soon started supplying the goods to the Spanish colonies. Consequently, the American silver found its new way to Amsterdam, Florence, Milan and Lyons. It was impossible for Spain to maintain monopoly over its colonies. The other European countries profited much from the Spanish weaknesses. Spain's problem was much aggravated by the revolts in the Low Countries. The Spanish government was forced to increase its war expenditure. Spain was also compelled to take war debt from the leading bankers of Europe from 1568 until the middle of the next century. Banking families such as the Fuggers in Germany, the Diazes in Portugal, but especially the Dorias, Spinolas and Centuriones in Genoa paid the Spanish king advance sums of money to pay the wages of the mercenary troops fighting in Flanders, and the bankers were repaid with proceeds from various taxes. However, by 1609, 80 per cent of the Spanish tax revenue had been mortgaged and taxes fall into the hands of the foreign bankers. It revealed the bankrupt condition of Spain. She had to renegotiate the rate of interest on debts with the bankers. The bankruptcies clearly had serious repercussions on the financial system of Europe, which were further aggravated by the policy of gradually debasing the currency, especially the fractional currency, of Spain and other areas under Habsburg rule, that is, Germany and Milan. Non-Habsburg Europe did not have the experience of the same disastrous conditions. Many areas like Holland and England also benefited from the large amounts of liquidity coming from America, and enjoyed very low interest rates. In case of Holland and England. the interest rate on public debt bonds over the whole century fluctuated between 4 per cent and 6 per cent. These two countries were unquestionably the most advanced from the financial point of view,

though interest rates in France and the Venetian Republic were also tending to decrease (Vittorio 2006, 66-67).

12.4 Understanding the relationships between currency and price

Peter Musgrave points out that the relationships between currency values and supply of precious metals in early modern Europe is extremely complex. He reminds us that the supply of precious metals could be considered as one of the factors, and not the sole one for determining currency values and therefore prices. In a growing economy, if the supply of coin is fixed, prices fall. It is because coins are in demand and in short supply so their value increases and they can be changed for more goods than before. Increasing the supply of good coinage in those circumstances does not necessarily lead to inflation. If it matches the demand for coin, it will stabilise prices at their former level; if it is insufficient, prices will still fall (Musgrave 1999, 191-192). There was another factor extremely important in the context of the early modern economy of 16th and 17th centuries: it was the quality of the currency in circulation. Musgrave notes that the early modern rulers took the short-term methods of reducing the precious metal contents of the currency to accrue profits or generate income. In other words, the debasement of coinage was one of the favourite instruments of the 16th and 17th centuries European rulers to overcome financial difficulties. Between 1 543 and 1 546, for instance, the

English government reduced the silver content of the shilling (testoon, 5p) from 1 00 to 40 grains. The mint paid £3 for every pound of silver and coined it into £7 45. The difference, apart from the quite low expenses of minting, was pure profit. In the reign of Edward VI, the silver content of the testoon was halved again. However, the point is that it inevitably led to the increase of prices, as more amount of the debased coins were required for purchasing the same quantity of commodities. Moreover, the export of silver to East for procuring the Asian goods was another factor that influenced the economy of early modern Europe. It is argued that the Asian-derived wealth increased demand in Europe and consequently the rate at which the goods were exchanged. This increased the demand for money, and so reduced the potentially inflationary effects of the bullion imports. What was the effect of the price revolution on the European economy? Though the historians do not have any consensus regarding the effect of the rise of prices on the economy of early modern economy, some broad conclusions may be inferred. In the 16th

century, the import of silver from the New World increased the price level of Europe in general. However, it must be remembered that the pace of inflation was not as high as it is normally assumed. It is because of the fact that the European economy in 16th century was growing in an impressive manner. The development of monetized commercial production system kept pace during this period with the cash influx in Europe. In 17th century, the currencies and prices were more or less stable in Europe except with certain exceptions in Spain and Germany despite the fact that there was a continuous flow of precious metals in Europe especially from Brazil. There was grave shortage of coinage in Europe indicating the fact that the economy was undergoing productive changes with faster pace than the supply of bullion and coin (Musgrave 1999, 192-193; Koenigsberger , Mosse and Bowler 1989, 31-32).

12.5 Interpreting the Price Revolution

It is already pointed out that the general interpretation of the price revolution centres around the influx of precious metals, especially silver, from the New World to Europe in early modern era. This is the common explanation of the price revolution from the traditional viewpoint. Even the early medieval French political theorist like Lean Bodin (1530-1596) argued that it was the American silver that contributed to the rise of the prices in Europe during this period. J. D. Gould in his paper on the price revolution identifies some major causes behind the price revolution offered by the historians who are sceptical about the commonly assumed cause, that is, the influx of silver in Europe from abroad (Gould 1964, 251-252):

1. If there was a price revolution caused by the influx of the silver in early modern Europe, there would have been identical rise of prices of all commodities at a given reference point, which actually did not take place. The prices of different commodities increased at different pace in early modern era. In some cases, prices fell also.
2. The fall of the value was marked in some cases even before the beginning of the influx of silver in Europe.
3. Those who believe in the role of the population in the course of history argue that it was the growth of population, and not the precious metals, that contributed to the price inflation in early modern Europe. It was true especially to those commodities, the supply of which was inelastic. The grain was the perfect example

of it. With the rise of population in early modern Europe, the price of grain was soaring as its supply was more or less fixed.

4. It is also not a very easy task to show the relationships among the volume of precious metals imported in Spain, how it was dispersed in Europe and the rate of inflation of prices correspondingly.

Gould further points out that the data used for the basic understanding of the rise of prices is also a problematic one. These are all contemporary estimates used by the modern historians. Moreover, comparisons at international level of prices could be intelligibly constructed if the variations of local currencies are comfortably given uniformity (Gould 1964, 256). The question is that whether we have adequate data to prepare the link between the local price variations and silver prices at a given point of time of early modern Europe.

The revisionist historians argue that Spain – the biggest importer of precious metals from America – actually re-exported the bulk of the silver for various reasons: to pay for Spanish imports, to supply the pay and provisions of Spanish troops abroad, and to repay the loans, which German and Genoese bankers made to the Spanish government in the time of the financial crisis. The Spanish government therefore suffered from shortage of silver and gold in a recurrent manner. In the early 17th century, Spain was forced to adopt a billon currency – primarily a copper currency with an admixture of small amount of silver. This coincidence of high price and shortage of precious metals indicates the existence of credit inflation rather than currency inflation. In Italy, the price inflation did not have any correspondence with the influx of silver. The rise of prices of different commodities here did not indicate any even monetary event. The prices of all the commodities did not have any uniform escalation. The agricultural sector – notably the prices of grain and wool – experienced the upsurge. Manufactured goods rose only about half as much (Koenigsberger , Mosse and Bowler 1989, 32-33). As far as the economy of Portugal is concerned, it is noted that Portugal imported vast amount of gold from North America before the influx of American silver in to Europe. The estimated amount of gold is 40,000 kg, which is equivalent of 520,000 kg of silver. The central American mining also contributed an amount of 50,000 kg of silver per annum to the European market in the early part of the 16th century (Cameron 2006, 22). One must not underestimate however that the effect of the influx of precious metals on the price level of early modern Europe. There was definitely the effect of silver intrusion in the European economy. However, it was not the sole factor behind the so-called price revolution.

The most commonly accepted explanation of the price revolution is the population growth in Europe during this period. Though the figures relating to the all-European population level are not available until the 18th century, however, enormous amount of population data could be accessible at the level of urban centres especially. In some cases, province wise data are also available. This data were recorded as a part of censuses of households and land registers. The early modern authority collected these data for the purposes of taxation and for preparing muster rolls of military services. From the available data, the historians present a view of demographic changes in early modern era. The population of Europe increased from 60.9 million in 1500 to 68.9 million in 1550 and 77.9 million in 1600, a rise over the century of 27.9 percent. The population of England rose from 2.3 million to 4.2 million between 1500 and 1600, showing the fastest growth of population at the rate of 82.6 percent. In the northern Netherlands the rate of population increase was 57.8 percent during the same period. However, during the same period, the population growth of Scotland and Ireland was not more than 25 percent. In 1500, Germany's population was 12 million; it rose to 16 million in 1600 indicating the 33 percent rise. In 1500, Europe had five cities, which had a population of 100,000. These cities were Constantinople, Naples, Venice, Milan and Paris. In the course of 16th century, the population of Naples was doubled. Venice rose to 1 68, 000 in 1563, but the plague of 1575 reduced its numbers again. Milan reached 1 80, 000 and Paris may have touched 200,000 at the turn of the century. By 1600, seven or eight more cities in Europe crossed the edge of 100,000 population. During the same period, Rome and Palermo were able to double their population reaching about 110,000. Lisbon and Seville had a population of 100,000 and 120,000 respectively. The growing transoceanic trade contributed to their prosperity. After 1600, London and Amsterdam crossed the limits of 100,000 populations. The comparatively smaller cities like Florence, Lübeck, Vienna, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strassburg, Hamburg and Danzig also expanded comfortably. In 1500 there were in Europe, excluding Russia and Turkey, about 150 cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants, with an aggregate population of just under 3.5 million. By 1600, there were 220 such cities, with nearly 6 million inhabitants. Undeniably, it was a remarkable urban development in early modern Europe indicating the growth of population. However, we examine the data more closely, we will find a more complex picture. It is noted that throughout the 16th century, the rate of urbanization was never very high. Rather it remained low and often static. In Switzerland, the urban quotient declined from 6.8 per cent to 5.5 per cent (a 20 percent fall), even though its total population is supposed to have increased by 50 per cent. The

highest rates of urbanization could be found in Italy. It was just over 22 percent. The population of Flanders was more or less constant between 28 and 29.3 per cent in the period. The urban ration of northern Netherlands rose from 29.5 per cent to 34.7 per cent (an increase of 17.6 per cent). Amsterdam and London experienced an exceptional population growth rate of 61 percent and 400 percent during this period. In 1500, London had population of 40,000; in 1600, it rose to 400,000. However, we must remember that the population growth first originated in the countryside, the cause of which is still not very clear to the historians. One probable reason could be the gradual disappearance of the impact of epidemic; the other reasons were the establishment of strong central government and end of the feudal conflict and violence. The relative peace in the countryside of Western Europe provided impetus to the regional specialization in agriculture with increased output (Cameron 2006, 19-20; Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler 1989, 33-35). The growth of population created substantial pressure on land in Europe throughout the 16th century. A large number of peasants did not find lands for cultivation. It has been estimated that the population of England grew from 2.5 million in 1500 to about 4.1 million in 1600: it implies the creation of huge demand of bread, meat, wool, and flax, building material and fuel constantly. This is true also about the continental Europe. Though the increased productivity met the new demands to some extent, however, it was not possible for the European peasants in general to improve the technology of cultivation. Consequently, the supply of agricultural commodities did not match with the growing demands during the period under review. The demand rose sharply than the supply of the agricultural products. Costs rose with rising rents and rising wages. The cost and demand inflation in a combined way contributed to the price revolution in early modern Europe. It also explains the price differences between the agricultural goods and nonagricultural commodities. If we take 1500 as the base line, we will get the following estimate of price inflation: cereal prices rose up to six and a half time in France; more or less quadrupled in England, in southern Netherlands and in parts of Spain (Valencia and New Castile) and Poland. However, it rose up to two and a half time in Germany and Austria. The prices of other commodities increased slowly. The price of wool was also increased during this period. The pace of increase wool price was faster than the prices of grain. England and Spain were the two major countries in Europe in 16th century producing wool for international market. The sharp increase in the wool prices created conditions for the beginning of enclosure movement in England (Cameron 2006, 21-22; Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler 1989, 36-37). Unlike the agricultural output, which failed to correspondence with the growth of

population, the industrial economy was able to produce in an increased way. One of the basic reasons is that the labour was surplus and thereby became cheap in 16th century Europe. The development of putting-out system decentralized the production pattern in Europe. The wage of the labourers was increased; but the prices of the foodstuffs rose more sharply, thereby reducing the real wage of the workers or artisans. The decline of wage structure could not be explained only in economic terms and conditions of supply and demand. In many cases, the city magistrates introduced a capping on the maximum wage amount in order to satisfy the master craftsmen on whom they had dependence. Moreover, in many cases the wage was paid in kind instead of cash early modern Europe.

Tom Scott reminds us that the inner quality of the coins in 16th century remained intact: it implies there was not much amount of debasement during this period by the rulers. He argues that it was the inflation of credit rather than currency inflation, which contributed to the price revolution. A new form of funded public debt emerged in 16th century Europe along with joint-stock companies and banks. The unquestionable explosion of credit expanded the money supply and accelerated income velocity, and inflated the prices of commodities in Europe. The growth of population definitely played a role in the price rise. However, it must be contextualized in the perspectives of differential elasticities. It means that in the context of rising prices, there was an inevitable shift of expenditure from luxury goods to essential goods, especially for foodstuffs. The demand of foodstuffs was relatively inelastic at a given point of time (Cameron 2006, 22-23). The supply side of the foodstuffs could not be an elastic one. As the rise of wage did not always match with the increasing prices of agricultural commodities in 16th century Europe, there was the possibility of outbursts of unrest of the urban workers. After 1530s, this type of discontent became more and more evident. For example, at Münster in 1534 there was a violent explosion of protest of the urban workers. Similar outbreaks took place in Norfolk in 1549, in Netherlands in 1565-66 and in Paris in 1589-90. However, it is true that the occurrence of riots or violent events were not frequent as it could have been. The reason is that a majority of workers living in the rural Europe had a patch of land for supplementing the family diet (Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler 1989, 42).

12.6 Impact of the Price Revolution

The larger impact of the price revolution is still a matter of debate in history, especially in the social consequences on the rural society of Europe. From the resent researches, it

is clear that the small peasants in England suffered from the changing socioeconomic conditions. Often they were ousted from the land by the superior landlords. The price hike strengthened the landlords' position in rural society. They even in many cases leased out the land in lieu of higher rates for a short period. In British rural society, the gap between the rich, poor, especially between the prosperous yeomen with secure land tenure, and smaller farmers was widened. It is noted that in many cases the smaller farmers were reduced to the class of common farm labourers. The gentry and yeomanry accrued profit from the changing situation; however, the lower order of the agrarian society suffered. The standard of living of the higher aristocratic class remained static. The social mobility in the 16th century England was greater than the continental Europe. The common trend was the transfer of profit accrued from trade to the land; however, it is also true that in the 16th century England, there was also a reverse trend, though small in nature, of capital transfer. It was from rural economy to urban one. The expanded economy of the 16th century provided opportunity of greater mobility of capital and human towards lucrative zones. It had cumulative effect on the development of a vibrant commercial economy in England (Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler 1989, 43-44). Nevertheless, it is debatable to ascertain that whether these changes originated solely from the price revolution. Moreover, it must also be remembered that these changes were not capable to alter the social structure of 16th century England.

The impact of the price revolution on the rural economy of the continental Europe is also not far from debate and controversy. In Holland, the rural economy had a symbiotic relationship with the urban one. The incentive emerging from the urban trade had a differential impact on the on such an agrarian social structure, which have a traditionally evolved week landlord class. The surplus rural population in Holland was available for work opportunity in the urban centres. The Dutch peasants got the opportunity to avoid the splitting of their lands and initiated some kind of specialization in the farms. Dairy farming and meat production were two growing areas of the rural economy of the 16th century Holland. The surplus income from prosperous agriculture was reinvested in the agricultural production and infrastructure of the regions, that is, the development of roads, dykes, canals and polders (land reclaimed from the sea). The agrarian prosperity also created demand for manufactured goods from the city markets. It further stimulated Dutch trade and industrial production. The situation in France and Italy was quite different. A section of the rural nobility failed to keep pace with the rising prices solely on the basis of

the income from rent. There was hardly any capital investment in urban trade from the rural sector in France and Italy. In southern and western Europe, however, the higher nobility was managed to manage the situation comfortably. In Spain, the government introduced the *tasa*: it was a decree of fixing maximum prices of grains. It was a system, in theory, to control the agricultural prices. However, in reality, it became an oppressive system: the landlords used the *tasa* to give the lowest possible prices to the peasants. The landlords on the contrary sold the grains at highest possible prices. The increasing pressure on land provided an excellent opportunity before the landlords to increase the rents in an exorbitant manner. It is important to note that though the peasants were legally free, however, in actual terms, they were subject to heavy feudal dues. The economic deterioration forced the French peasantry to subdivide the agricultural farms among the children. Because of the existing law and custom, the lords were not able to stop this fragmentation of agricultural lands. In England, the lords were successful in merger of lands by dispossessing the peasants from lands. The entirely different development took place in France. This period witnessed the growth and consolidation of the small peasantry out of the economic crisis and price rise. The French nobility was compelled to support it because the process of subdivision gave them more rents and entry fines. The peasants in France continued their lifestyle based on inefficient farming. The Dutch rural prosperity was absent in the agrarian France of 16th century. In southern France and some of the areas of the development of sharecropping system of cultivation made the situation poorer. It is simply because the landlords were able to keep their income intact as they had to bear the production cost. In the era of price hike, it was extremely lucrative to the landlords. However, it blocked the possibility of any development of efficient farming (Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler 1989, 45-47).

The German landlords also faced problems due to rising prices. The situation was comparatively better in Bavaria and Austria, where serfdom was still a dominant social practice. In these two areas, the archbishops and dukes supported the landlords' claim of entry fees. However, in the other parts of Germany, the peasants were able to protect their rights in a sustained way. The condition in Eastern Europe was completely different. Two factors played important role behind it. Firstly, the peasant resistance against the feudal encroachment was less articulate in the Eastern Europe. Secondly, the growing markets of rye, timber furs and other forest products in Western Europe provided an excellent opportunity before the feudal lords to increase their income by supplying these commodities. Under these circumstances, the landlords had only one option to absorb the situational

benefits: it was the tying of the peasants to the lands. All these changes created conditions for the emergence of second serfdom. The Eastern Europe witnessed re-feudalization of its socio-economic structure. The Western Europe, on the contrary, was able to advance towards capitalism during the same period. Historically, both capitalist advancement in Western Europe and re-feudalization in Eastern Europe were complementary with each other (Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler 1989, 48-50).

12.7 Conclusion

From this analysis it is clear that the both the causes and effects of the price revolution were extremely complex and far from homogeneity. The modern researches do not agree with the view that the influx of precious metals from the New World into Europe was the sole cause of the so-called price revolution. The German silver played a very important role in the monetary history of the 16th century Europe. More importantly, it was the inflation of credit rather than cash, which contributed to the price revolution. The demographic changes and agrarian transformation were the other factors in this regard. The development of prices was not homogeneous in Europe. All the social classes were not affected equally by the price hike. There were wide regional variations in this regard. We have already noted that the Eastern Europe underwent an altogether different transformation in 16th century. The price revolution did not initiate any kind of capitalist transformation in this region.

All these economic changes created the conditions for the future trajectory of Europe's history in 17th century. The capitalist transformation did not affect the entire Europe uniformly. The most profited areas were Holland and then England. Price inflation was a part of this wider change. The other factors were the growth of long distance trade, the agrarian struggle, the role of state and other institutions. All these changes need to be studied in a comprehensive manner.

12.8 Model Questions

1. What were the factors behind the price revolution of 16th century?
2. Write an essay on the development of the European economy with special references to the price revolution.

3. What was the impact of the price revolution on the European economy and society?
4. Assess the historiographical critique of the price revolution.

12.9 Suggested Readings

Cameron, Euan (Ed.). *The Short Oxford History of Europe: The Sixteenth Century*. Oxford: OUP, 2006.

Cipolla, Carlo M (Ed.), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* Great Britain: Collins/Fontana Books, 1979.

Block VI:
Emergence of European State System

Unit-13 □ Spain

Structure

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 The State System: Elementary Aspects

13.3 The Spanish State

13.4 Conclusion

13.5 Model Questions

13.6 Suggested Readings

13.0 Objectives

The primary objectives of the present unit are to understand the emergence of European state system with special reference to the Spanish state in early modern Europe. The following points will be highlighted in the course of analysis:

- The elementary aspects of the state system and its structure.
- The emergence of the Spanish state in the early modern Europe.

13.1 Introduction

State is the most critical and complex system ever built by the human civilization. It is related with the enforcement of law, rules, order and regulation in the human society. It is also the responsibility of the state to protect the society under its legitimate control from the external invasion. The most noted feature of the state is the exercise of supreme power, commonly known as sovereignty. Sovereignty is the expression of the state's most legitimate claim of its rule or governance – a kind of power, which cannot be divided, challenged, or disputed. The modern state bears this feature distinctly. However, the modern state along with its all features is a result of the long-term evolution of the human society, civilization and culture. Indeed, the transition from feudalism to capitalism,

transformation from medieval era to modern period via early modern age and rise of bourgeois capitalist society in Europe were an integral part of the emergence and evolution of state system.

13.2 The State System: Elementary Aspects

Three things are essential for the development of state: legitimacy, discipline and institutions. In his *The City* Max Weber highlights the role played by Christianity in the gradual erosion of ancient sacred and blood ties and soon these ties were replaced by the more rational ties based on the idea of citizenship. The notion of citizenship reflects voluntary association of self-conscious and responsible masses of a distinct territory within the evolving legal-political domain of the state for the cause of peace, prosperity and security (Kirshner 1996, 13). The first and principal function of state is to ensure stability, security and sustenance in the lives of the citizens in lieu of discipline and obedience. It implies that the state's service is not unconditional. The citizens' responsibility is to fulfil their responsibility towards the state. Therefore, it is a balance of duties and responsibilities in a symbiotic form. Pierangelo Schiera reminds us that the institutions are nothing but the crystallizations of innumerable encounters between command and obedience that occur along the two paths of legitimation and obedience. The first path concerns the establishment of power, which must be legitimate in order to be institutional; the second concerns the secret impulse toward obedience that subjects demonstrate for their own convenience and by conviction (Kirshner 1996, 14). There are two basic understandings, according to Schiera, regarding the crystallization of state as a system

bourgeoisie was feudalized through this process, which subsequently stabilized the system. However, England and Holland were exceptions in this regard because of the fact that the bourgeoisie could not be tamed as they were economically strong enough to resist the feudal strategy. The English Civil War and the Revolts of the Netherlands overthrew absolutism from England and Holland respectively. In Eastern Europe, the 14th century crisis weakened the socio-economic position of the urban merchants and the independent peasantry. It gave an opportunity to the nobility to reintroduce serfdom. It implies that the 'second serfdom' in Eastern Europe consolidating feudalism through the erosion of peasant solidarity and bourgeois cohesiveness. The eastern states were part of this re-feudalization process directly. It was highly militarized and centralized forms of state aiming to curb down the independence of the peasantry through the restoration of serf-based agrarian

system. The socio-political foundation of the eastern states was the feudal lords and bureaucracy. As there was neither an aspirant bourgeoisie nor a rising commercial class, there was hardly any necessity of sale of offices (Ertman 1997, 16-18). The eastern absolutist states were in general feudal military-bureaucratic in nature.

13.3 The Spanish State

The rise of Spain in early modern era was not a reflection of a single episode. It does never represent any linear growth of state formation in any meaningful term. There were also occasional clashes between the ideal of absolutism and the persistence of varied groups on which the Spanish monarchy sought to impose the centralized standardizing rules (Winks and Wandel 2003, 180). The birth of absolutist state in Spain was a result of the Union of Castile and Aragon effected by the marriage of Isabella I and Ferdinand II in I469. The economic foundation of the new state was apparently firm. Castile developed lucrative wool economy in the late medieval period. Castile was also a major partner of the Flemish trade. Aragon had been a prominent economic and commercial power in the Mediterranean region. Sicily and Sardinia were under the control of Aragon. The military strength along with expansionist nature of this newly unified state was vigorously expressed in the series of expeditions. The last Moorish base at Granada was destroyed in 1492 and Reconquista came to be completed. Naples was annexed; Navarre came under the possession of Castile in 1512. The discovery of the New World produced the most dramatic results in the Spain. The exploitation of the American treasure was a game changer. The Spanish troops also seized territory in southern France, northern Africa, southern Italy, Canary Islands. The Habsburg connection soon added Milan, the Franche-Comte and the Netherlands to Spain. The internal reorganization aiming to consolidate the monarchical strongholds in Spain was also started under Isabella and Ferdinand. The aristocratic power was systematically suppressed. The royal council was also reorganized in order to make it stronger, professional and larger. The royal council was reconstituted with lower order of nobility and educated non-noble class. A large number of additional councils were set up in Naples, Aragon, New Spain and such other areas to administer the each region. The monarch took the responsibility of appointing the government officials; it was deviation from the earlier tradition, which followed the practice of incorporating the nobility into the royal administration. The Spanish state also paid attention to develop standing army. The new Spanish state also took a stern outlook to the Jews. Throughout the middle age, the Christians of Europe had antipathy towards the Jews. Both England and

France expelled them from their country around 1300. A large section of these expelled Jews took refuge at the different places of the Iberian Peninsula. Though initially they were welcomed in this region, however, since 14th century the Jews started facing repeated attacks from the Christians. Facing this attack, many of them adopted Christianity as their religion. Some of them were forced to be converted. This newly converted Christian Jews came

13.4 Conclusion

It is clear from the Spanish case that the state in the early modern Europe suffered from uninterrupted financial difficulties. Spain failed to increase her income at all at home. The sale of office was the only stable source of income. Consequently, it had to depend on borrowing. There were some real difficulties in developing an efficient taxation system in early modern Spain. The first difficulty was the distance between the centre and the peripheries. Communication was slow, and consequently, there was usual delay in the decision-making. The second difficulty was that in many cases the feudal nobility and clergy were exempted from taxes. They were not ready for any financial support to the king in case of difficulties. It was a general problem for the feudal structure in Europe. Therefore, the difficulty in revenue collection, the opportunities for graft and lack of administrative skill along with financial inexperience made the situation worse for Philip II. It explains why he failed to devise a suitable strategy for developing systematic general taxation in Spain. Apart from the financial difficulties, the political centralization in Spain was at an uneasy plain. Many of the regions retained their autonomy and monarchy's control was not uniformly effective. Many states imposed local custom duties on the traders. Many retained their ancient traditions in many respects. The northern regions preserved *fueros* – it is a compilation of laws, especially a local or regional one; a set of laws specific to an identified class or estate. Aragon kept the office of *justicia mayor*, a judge nominated by the Crown for life and entrusted with enormous public authority. The achievement of the Hapsburg dynasty was that it tried to unite the diverse elements and vast landscapes in the single entity under its control. Spain devoted its energies to establish hegemony over Europe and to subdue the Protestant heresy. However, it was never fully accomplished. Moreover it exhausted the peninsula and the weakened the Spanish overseas possessions (Winks and Wandel 2003, 181). Spain failed to keep up her prosperity for a long time. The Dutch became the powerful competitor of the Spanish force. Between 1600 and 1620, the Spanish economy became stagnant. The imperial warfare of Philip II involved huge cost

and drained the Spanish royal treasury. The cost of the lost armada was 10 million ducats. The expense of the war in the Netherlands was 2 million ducats. Philp II sent 3 million ducats for the French Catholic leaders. In 1589, a new tax – *millones* – was invented, and it ensured additional 8 million ducats in the royal treasury of Spain. In general, the tax burden of an average Spanish peasant was not less than fifty percent of his income. However, this enormous tax burden could not meet the massive expenditure of Philip II. Spain was dependent on foreign loan to make up her deficit. It is estimated that the half of the income of the Spanish state was meant for the interest paid for loan. Therefore, this loan was at all sufficient for meeting the increasing war cost. It implies the growth of vicious cycle of more debts and more interest. Spain fell in the grave crisis what in modern term is debt trap. By 1590s, it had become clear that it was extremely difficult for Spain to get rid of the debt crisis. It was further aggravated by the chronic harvest failures. In 1598-1599, the plague killed at least 600,000 population in Castile alone. In the other places, half of the population died. The Spanish economy was completely ruined. It was however manifested after the death of Philip II. It was obviously too late to recover (Winks and Wandel 2003, 182-183).

13.5 Model Questions

1. Write an essay on the emergence of state in early modern Europe.
2. Brief assess the different aspects of the state formation in Europe during the early modern period.
3. How did the social scientists view the rise of the modern state?
4. Discuss the rise of Spain as a state in early modern Europe.
5. Make and assessment of the Spanish political and religious policy under Charles I and Philip II.

13.6 Suggested Readings

Anderson, Perry. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: NLB, 1974.

Cameron, Euan (Ed.). *The Short Oxford History of Europe: The Sixteenth Century*. Oxford: OUP, 2006.

Ertman, Thomas. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

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Winks, Robin W. and Lee Palmer Wandel. *Europe in a Wider World, 1350-1650*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Unit-14 □ France

Structure

14.0 Objectives

14.1 Introduction

14.2 The French State and its Institutions

14.3 The Beginning of Absolutism in France, 1547-1588

14.4 France under the Bourbon Dynasty: Henry IV

14.5 France under the Bourbon Dynasty: Louis XIII: The Rule of Richelieu, 1610–1643

14.6 France under the Bourbon Dynasty: The Reign of Louis XIV and The Rule of Cardinal Mazarin, 1643–1661

14.7 Conclusion

14.8 Model Questions

14.9 Suggested Readings

14.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the emergence of state system in France during the early modern period. The present unit will discuss the following points in detail:

- The institutional development of the French state and the beginning of absolutism.
- The rise and establishment of dominance of the Bourbon dynasty in France.

14.1 Introduction

France since 11th-12th centuries had been experiencing territorial expansion through a number of measures like conquest, marriage and inheritance. The French kings developed the system of professional non-noble royal agents called seneschals in the southern France and *baillis* in the northern France. These royal men enjoyed judicial, military and financial

powers. The military expansion of France required extra amount of money in the late medieval period. The way before the French kings was to extract more money from the subjects in the form of taxes. The innovative way that the French kings devised was the establishment of national assembly to approve the imposition of taxes. To meet the increasing expenditure, the kings wanted to impose taxes not only on the subjects but also to extract levy from the clergy. It brought the French kings with the direct conflict with the Pope. The religious authority considered the imposition of levy on the clergy was against the laws as the clergies did not belong to the secular world and therefore, they were outside the scope of royal taxation. The national assembly was organized into three Estates: first, second and third. The each Estate represented the three major social blocs of the late medieval French society. These were the clergy (First Estate), the nobles (Second Estate) and the urban bourgeoisie (Third Estate). In the meeting of the Estates General, the king's proposal of taxes and other policies were generally given approval. The French kings summoned the meeting of the Estates General when money was needed in the royal treasury. In many cases, the Estates General permanently approved the taxes to the kings: for example, *taille* on land, the *aide* on sales, and the *gabelle* on salt. There were some provincial Estates General, which also imposed permanent taxes, and due to these taxes, the French king did not have to bother about money in the time of war. They did not have to convene the meeting of the representative bodies as the kings of England had to do. In France, one interesting point is that the each Estate General voted as a bloc. It implies that if any two of the three Estates had become united, the king's proposal would not have been approved. As the first two Estates were traditionally powerful bloc in the French society, the chances of their getting united were much easier. Over the years, the first and second Estates were able to waive the taxes: the clergy through prayer and the nobility through war. They were exempted from the state taxes. Only the Third Estate was concerned about the imposition of taxes.

The French kings like Charles VII (1422–61) and Louis XI (1461–83) reorganized the various state apparatuses as well as the royal treasury during their rule. Charles VII created the permanent royal army for the first time in the European history, reorganized the royal council and forced the Pope to agree to the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges[1], which gave the crown the right to name bishops and abbots and halted some papal taxes. During the reign of Louis XI (1461–83), the French army was further expanded. However, duke of Burgundy was the main obstacle before Louis XI's expansionist policy. He was technically a vassal of the French king, but in the time of Hundred Years War, he became an ally of England. Philip 'the Good' – the duke of Burgundy used all sorts of ways like conquest, treaties and marriage to expand his territory. He ruled until 1467 from 1419 and

established his control over Burgundy, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault and Luxembourg. Charles the Bold – the son of Philip 'the Good' – during his rule (1467–77) – pursued the policy of expansion more vigorously. He married the sister of Edward IV of England. It further strengthened his position. The possibility of the growth of a powerful monarchy in eastern France under the rule of the Charles the Bold was evident during this period. However, his premature death in 1477 in a battle stopped this possibility. It was suddenly a great opportunity before Louis XI to uphold his position. He seized most of the properties of Charles the Bold (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 103-105). The entire course of events eventually built the foundation of the French state in the early modern era. The immediate challenge before the French state was disappeared, and its evolution took a new turn with the development of institutions required for a state.

14.2 The French State and its Institutions

With the gradual territorial expansion and consolidation, France developed institutional forms required for an early modern state structure during the reign of Charles VII (1422–61) and Louis XI (1461–83). The development of *parlement* of Paris was the most important institutional landmark in this regard. The royal court acting on the judicial business was given the name of *parlement* of Paris. It was the supreme court of the territory directly under the royal court. Some areas of France had their own *parlements*. Though the French parlement did not enjoy the power of legislation like the British parliament, however, it had the traditional power to examine any royal edicts and to forbid their registration if these edicts did not conform to the established laws. Nevertheless, the king had the power to register any edict through personal appearance in the court (this practice is known as *lit de justice*). This power was however limited.

As the *parlement* was a court with the power of examining the legitimacy of royal edict, therefore, theoretically, the councillor must have legal training or adequate knowledge on law. The Valois kings Francis I (1515–47) and Henry II (1547–59) during their rule considered these posts as open for sale. The sale of offices was the most important source of income to the French kings. The French nobility was also interested in purchasing the offices. The nobility collected income and other perquisites from the offices, and then they sold it at a lower salary to the interested persons, who would perform the duty. The lower nobility or the non-noble wealthy persons were interested in purchasing the offices because it opened up the possibility of acquiring royal patronage and social prestige. Two types of nobility emerged in France as far as the social origin is concerned. The first type was the *noblesse d'épée* or nobles of the sword. These nobles were the traditional in the sense that

they had derived their title through their military service to the king. The second type of the nobles was the *noblesse de robe*, or the nobles of the robe, a term derived from the robes worn by judges and officials. These nobles acquired their social prestige from holding the royal offices. It was also an opportunity before the French king to establish relationship with the lower nobility and to incorporate them within the royal sphere of influence. It was clear to the kings that the incorporation of lower nobility in the state structure would strengthen the French monarchy. There was huge demand of the of offices, which is clear from the increasing price: a position as councillor on the Paris *parlement* went from 6,000 livres in 1522 to 60,000 in 1600. Though it was profitable to the French state at the initial stage of state formation in the early modern era, it was, however, in the end, produced harmful consequences. It was because of the fact that the nobles were increasingly getting exempted from tax payment, and these offices also became hereditary. It finally affected the financial condition of the French state in an unprecedented way (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 105).

14.3 The Beginning of Absolutism in France, 1547-1588

The beginning of absolutism in France was started after the end of Hundred Years' War particularly under Louis XI. Unlike Spain, the French state had certain advantages. In Spain, the strong presence of regionalism (for example in Catalonia or among the Spanish Basques) was an obstacle before the unified state formation. The provinces in France did not show such regionalism during the period of early modern state formation. Moreover, there was hardly any area in France, which was geographically isolated. There was more or less good communication across the country. The social and linguistic differences that divided the South from the North, although persistent and pronounced, were never quite as great as those set the East off from the West in Spain. Despite all these favourable conditions, France was still a loosely tied country under Francis I (1515–47). The political control of the French kings was not territorially uniform. The French state enjoyed its power in Paris and adjoining regions. It had little control over those territories, which were far from Paris. The size of population in 16th century France was 20 million – twice of the contemporary Spain. In an early modern regime, such vast number of population was not easy to administer. There were local Estates, the *parlements* and other privileges acting against the state formation process. It indicates that there was no linear constitutional development in France. In 1516 through the Concordat of Bologna, the Pope granted increased control over the Gallican Church to the French king. It was the one of the first principal step that favoured the centralization and consolidation of the state in the

early modern France. The right of appointment of the bishops and abbots was also given to the French king. However, the reign of Francis I was followed by the civil and religious war in France, and it created obstacle before the state formation process. Perry Anderson rightly commented that the state formation in France was a 'convulsive progression towards a centralized monarchical State, repeatedly interrupted by relapses into provincial disintegration and anarchy, followed by an intensified reaction towards concentration of royal power, until finally an extremely hard and stable structure was achieved'. The French state formation was consecutively interrupted by the Hundred Years' War of 15th century, the Religious Wars in the 16th century and the Fronde in the 17th century. All these events initially arrested the growth of state in early modern France and the transition from medieval state to absolutist state. However, the state building process finally won over the disruptive elements of the French society. The result of this crosscurrent between the centripetal and centrifugal process was the creation of an unprecedented royal authority in France, which could not be compared with the state formation process of the other European countries (Winks and Wandel 2003, 185-187; Anderson 1974, 85-86).

France fell into deep religious conflict, which was fundamentally embedded with the political condition of 16th century. The religious map of the country in 16th century was a complex one. The French peasantry was embraced Protestantism in general except the in parts of South. The Huguenots were prominent among the French nobility and among the capitalists and artisans – two rising social classes. In 16th century France, some areas were predominantly Catholic. For example, Paris, Brittany, most of Normandy, and the northeast were ardently Catholic. In the southwest of France, Protestant religious faith was consolidating its process. in this region, the employers were Protestants while the workers remained Catholic. These critical religious divisions in 16th century France created the conditions for internal religious strife. The absence of stable political leadership in France during this period made the situation more complex. France entered a state of crisis after 1559. In 1559, Francis II succeeded Henry II. He ruled France only for one year. The next French king was Charles IX (r. 1560-1574) and Henry III (r. 1574-1589). The country witnessed the beginning of sporadic warfare since the death of Henry II in 1559. Charles IX was at the age of ten when the kingship was bestowed on him. His mother Catherine deÊ Medici was anxious to preserve the royal inheritance for Charles IX. Though she was devoid of any specific religious conviction, the rise of Huguenots, however, started alarming her. The most frightening factor was the growing division and polarization of the nobility on the religious line. The simple illustration of the religious fragmentation of the high nobility was that while the Guise was passionately Catholic, the Bourbon and Montmorency were the Protestants. Throughout her political career, Catherine

deÊ Medici tried to keep the French monarchy above the factional political or religious development. She always made effort to minimize the influence of the nobility and the religious groups. Unlike the hardliner Catholics, Catherine was against the extermination of the Protestants. She knew the strength and tenacity of this religious minority group. Her policy stood for peaceful reconciliation of the conflicting issues. As the Regent of Charles IX, Catherine adopted policy of religious tolerance. The Guise policy of religious repression was no longer important. The state relaxed the repressive policy. More importantly, the new Chancellor, Michel de L'Hôpital reconvened the Estates General and a new conference was convoked for 1561 known as the Colloquy of Poissy. The Colloquy of Poissy (1561) is considered as the last great attempt to establish reconciliation between the Catholics and the Protestants in the 16th century. Catherine's aim was to avert the impending clash between the French Protestants known as the Huguenots and the Catholics. The powerful Guise family provided the leadership to the Catholics. The Colloquy began on September 9, 1561. Theodore Beza (1519-1605) – the theologian and lawyer – was the leader of the Protestant group. Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562) joined Beza in the course of discussion. Cardinal de Lorraine was the leader of the Catholics in the Colloquy of Poissy. He was joined by the representatives from the Council of Trent. In spite of prolonged discussion, the discussants failed to reach an agreement on the question of Lord's Supper. Subsequently, the Colloquy was dissolved in the mid-October of 1561 with two vague and insignificant pronouncements. It produced nothing important in reconciling the Catholics and the Protestants. (Winks and Wandel 2003, 187; Garrisson 1995, 256-258; Hillerbrand 2005, 1791-1792). After the failure of the Colloquy of Poissy, Catherine issued the Edict of January in 1562. It extended the freedom of conscience and a degree of freedom of worship to the Protestants.

The failure of the Colloquy, however, enhanced the distrust between the two religious groups. The rise of Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572) as the major Huguenot leader and his increasing influence over the unstable rule of Charles IX made the Catholics deeply anxious. The panicky Catherine threw her lot with the powerful Guises. It resulted to the massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572). Despite the fact that the six thousand Huguenots were killed in Paris, the power of the Protestants remained intact. Both groups organized their power seeking help from the foreign nations. While the Catholics looked forward to the possible Spanish help, the Protestants, on the contrary, sought support from England. The simple implication is that the massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572) aggravated the French crisis on the religious issues rather than solved it. The war went on into the reign of Henry III (r. 1574–89). He spent most of the time in hunting and other pleasure related activities. In

1588, the duke of Guise took control of Paris in defiance of the king. Apparently, it was the victory of the Catholic League. However, it made Henry III anxious and he had the duke murdered in December 1588, along with his powerful brother, Louis II, the cardinal of Lorraine (1555–88). This killing again did not solve the problem. On January 5, 1589, Catherine died, and in August, King Henry himself was murdered (Winks and Wandel 2003, 185-187; State 2011, 111-113).

14.4 France under the Bourbon Dynasty: Henry IV

After the death of Henry III, Henry of Navarre became the new king of France as Henry IV (r. 1589-1610). The Catholics had the intention of making aged cardinal of Bourbon as 'King Charles' in the throne of France. However, the defeat of the Catholic forces in the decisive battle of Ivry (March 1590) partially secured his position. But his efforts to capture Paris came to be frustrated by the Spanish forces sent down from Flanders by Philip II. Philip II's plan was to bestow the crown on Isabella. Isabella was the daughter of Philip II and his third wife Elizabeth of Valois, who was the child of Henry II and Catherine deÊÚ Medici. The increasing Spanish threat made Henry IV's position extremely difficult. Under this circumstance, he had nothing to do but to embrace Catholicism, which would ensure trust among the Catholic subjects about him. He was also confident that his turn towards Catholicism would not create distance with the Protestants. After Henry's conversion to the Catholic belief (1593), Paris finally surrendered to him. He then declared war against Spain and was successful in forcing Spain to sign the Treaty of Vervins (2 May 1598). The declaration of war on Spain in January 1595 was a political masterstroke. The war was a national enterprise reminiscent of the foreign policy of Henri II, an attempt to push the enemy back beyond the frontiers of the realm. With the British and Dutch help, Henry IV was able to eliminate the Spanish threat to France. The Peace of Vervins guaranteed France possession of Brittany, Calais, and strips of northern territory that Spain had occupied. Philip II accepted defeat, recognising that his daughter would never occupy the throne of France that Catholicism would not be the sole religion of that country, and that Brittany, Provence and Picardy would no longer be his. The dream of a universal Habsburg monarchy had been burst like a bubble. This treaty also brought the prolonged conflict between France and Spain on the religious and political ground. The farewell to arms arising from the Edict of Nantes inaugurated a period of pragmatic religious toleration, while the Treaty of Vervins which brought an end to the Franco-Spanish war on the frontiers of Picardy was no fragile outcome of short-term calculation or princely whim. It was imposed on the participants by the logic of events and

circumstances. With their resources exhausted and war-weariness everywhere apparent, neither side saw any prospect of victory, and both realised that further military efforts on the scale of the 1590s would not be feasible for many years.

Within France, the Edict of Nantes (1598) was issued. The proclamation of the Edict of Nantes by Henry IV on April 30, 1598 and registered by the parliaments of Paris on February 25, 1599 ended the series of eight years long religious conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants that tore France for thirty-six years (from 1562 to 1598). The Edict of Nantes remains within the frame of the Ancient Regime, which granted not so much individual rights, but rather rights to members of a given community (Hillerbrand 2006, 1535-1539; State 2011, 116; Garrisson 1995, 393-394; Bercé 1996, 1). The Edict of Nantes was consisted of four separate documents. There were ninety-two articles in the Edict. It ensured religious peace largely. The Edict clearly expressed that Catholicism was the state religion of France, but gave Huguenots the right to live and worship freely in certain defined areas and the right to maintain about 150 fortified towns. The Huguenots could not be disqualified from holding offices on religious grounds. However, the Edict forbade the practice of Calvinism in all other areas except the stipulated one. The act of proselytization was prohibited for the Protestants. By contrast, it permitted Catholic worship and assemblies everywhere. Moreover, Huguenots had to pay tithes to the local Catholic church and respect all Catholic holidays and festivals. It further expressed the king's wish that all his Protestant subjects would return to the Catholic faith and hinting at the provisional nature of the recognition of two religions within the kingdom. The settlement pardoned all hostile acts committed before Henry's accession; no party could claim redress or being a prosecution for an inquiry suffered before 1589. (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 194; Parker 2001, 83). In assessing the significance of the Edict of Nantes, Yves-Marie Bercé comments that it was a general law laying down the conditions for the practice of the two varieties of Christianity to be permitted in the realm. If people were unable to worship God in the same way, at least their prayers could be offered with similar intentions. The edict provided for the restoration of Catholic worship wherever it had been suppressed, and for the restitution of confiscated property to the Church. It then proceeded to specify in detail the arrangements for the freedom of conscience and worship for the Reformed (that is, the Huguenots), and the individual and collective guarantees which would ensure toleration for the minority. Political, financial, judicial and even military provisions gave the Protestant interest a privileged position within the State. Nevertheless, the edict was not founded on some anachronistic concept of ecumenism. The toleration it established was entirely pragmatic, and its implementation was entirely dependent on royal authority. In the long term it was almost inevitable that difficulties should arise from the profusion of complex provisions and the extent of the privileges accorded to the Protestants. However, in the

short term, the vast majority of the people saw in the edict the promise of domestic peace (Bercé 1996, 2-3). We must remember that the Edict of Nantes was also a reflection of the policy of appeasement of Henry IV. He tried to make a balance between the Catholics and the Protestants. It was not possible for Henry IV to alienate the Catholics, especially the former Leaguers, by granting too many favours to Huguenots. It is argued that at the end neither the Catholics nor the Protestants were satisfied about the Edict. Both tried to use it as a steppingstone for future gain. One must note that the Edict of Nantes did not introduce any systematic policy of religious toleration. What it allowed in reality was the temporary coexistence of two religious groups. However, its ultimate goal was religious concord – that is, unity – rather than toleration of differing confessions. Henry IV hoped that this unity would be achieved peacefully. Until this unity was achieved, the king would protect the interest of the Huguenots. Sometimes, it is argued that the Edict was the expression of the modern *raison d'e´tat*. It was the victory of the modern secular thought over the so-called medieval thought based on theology. This type of argument does not reflect the reality of early modern European politics. This view suffers from anachronistic perception of historical analysis. It further misinterprets the Henry's intention under the early modern politico-religious conditions. The Edict of Nantes was, to be sure, a forced settlement like most of the earlier edicts of pacification. It resulted from the particular circumstances of the 1590s: Henry's abjuration, the submission of the League, and his politics of appeasement. The edict was also a product of Henry's commitment to the Gallican monarchy of his predecessors. Rather than religious toleration or modern reason of state, the underlying principle of the Edict of Nantes was the restoration of 'one king, one faith, one law'. (Holt 2005, 166). There was nothing secular in the 16th century European politics.

The proclamation of the Edict of Nantes (1598) contributed to the huge expansion of Catholicism in post-1598 era in France. The total number of convents in France doubled between 1600 and 1650. Both the established Religious Orders and the newly formed Orders flourished. For example, the Benedictines of St. Maur had only eighty monks in 1620; it increased to 1,000 in 1650. The new Order like Oratory of Jesus Christ, founded (1611) by Pierre de Bérulle – a devout priest with excellent connections to the court, expanded at a very impressive rate: it ran forty houses by 1624, and sixty-three by 1660. The Jesuits, after their re-entry to France in 1603, established both convents and colleges. They brought not less than 40,000 students under their fold. The French elites also sent their children to the Jesuit institutions. This impressive growth of the different Catholic Orders in France during the first half of the 17th century made significant impact on her religious map. In many cases, Protestantism suffered from decline. For example, Loudun,

which had been a Huguenot town for a long period, gradually became a prominent area under the Catholic dominance. This town saw the arrival of the Carmelites in 1604, the Jesuits in 1606, the Capuchins in 1616, the Daughters of Calvary in 1624 and the Ursulines in 1626. Diocesan seminaries sprang up for the secular clergy from eight in 1614 to seventy in 1660. Apart from some exceptions, the Catholic initiatives achieved success. On the contrary, the Huguenot church declined from perhaps 1,250,000 members in 1600 to 500,000 or less in 1680 (Parker 2001, 84-85).

After more or less successful end of the prolonged religious conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants and the restoration of peace, it was time for France to pay attention to the reorganization of its economy. During the reign of Henry IV, the size of France was 480,000 square kilometres (the size of Spain was 490,000 square kilometres). Both Spain and France developed a kind of state system, which could be termed as 'composite monarchy' according to Geoffrey Parker. It indicates the fact that these two countries had witnessed the territorial unification around a central core: this central core was the kind of nucleus in the process of state formation. This process of composite state formation took place in late 15th and early 16th centuries. In case of France, Paris served as the central core or nucleus of the state formation process. The nearby provinces like Brittany, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Longuedoc and Provence acted as the peripheries. The core of the territory was governed directly from Paris (known as the *pays d'élections*); the peripheries of provinces were known as the *pays d'états*, where the local institutions impeded the exercise of royal authority. These provinces enjoyed autonomy in respect of the state power. It may be noted that the provinces of Brittany, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Guyenne, Longuedoc and Provence as a whole covered almost one-third of France in 1600. In the early modern era, France had two basic advantages over her neighbouring countries, which were essentially required for the building of state as an institution. First, France's population was 14 million in the first half of the 17th century. During the same period, it was 8 million in Spain. In the early modern period, population was an extremely important and valuable factor in the making of state. Second, France produced agricultural products in a more or less satisfactory way. Unlike many contemporary countries, France was less dependent on the other countries as far as the food production was concerned (Parker 2001, 85-86). Against these favourable situations, France was to concentrate now for the consolidation of her economic condition. It is needless to point out that the French economy was in deep crisis in 1598 due to heavy war expenditure. Henry IV was forced to take loan from the clergy and the major towns. Royal demesnes were also alienated to meet the cost of war. The French king was heavily obligated to the foreign financiers and the Protestant rulers like the Queen of England, the Duke of Wurttemberg or the Elector Palatine. The Swiss helped Henry IV both with men and with money. They were owed in

the region of 30 million *livres*. The Tuscan banks of the Medici and the Rucellai had advanced considerable sums to the French state. It was clear to Henry IV that the recovery of the health of the state finance was the prime responsibility of the king in the post-1598 period. What Henry IV needed was an able and efficient man on whom the responsibility of devising a plan of economic recovery of France could be entrusted. Maximilien de Bethune, Baron of Rosny, who had been in Henri's service since 1576, was the ideal man to the king for rebuilding the state economy. In 1606, he was made Duke of Sully. He was one of the oldest and most loyal supporter of Henry IV. He was a born organizer and tireless worker with commendable efficiency. By 1600 he had accumulated a clutch of high offices: *Surintendant desfinances, Grand Voyer, Grand Master of the Artillery, Surintendant des bdtiments, and Surintendant des fortifications*. He was a man of war, a haughty nobleman of ancient blood, and a staunch Protestant to the day he died. Never before in the history of France had so many and various offices been concentrated in a single pair of hands. Sully's career was in itself an indication of the centralising tendencies of the age (Bercé 1996, 19). He was the ideal man in the period of crisis of the political economy of the early modern France.

Sully adopted all possible ways to reduce the burden on the state treasury in a comprehensive way. His undertaking of diplomatic actions in abroad, negotiations on the credit instruments and efforts for the reduction of rate of interest finally brought the debt under control. The second problem before the French state was the alienated royal domain. This alienation caused to the fall of the king's income substantially. In order to recover from this problem and regain the alienated domain, the Treasury issued contracts by which companies (*partis*) undertook to repurchase lands, rents or offices for the Crown, with the shareholders (*partisans*) in return enjoying the revenues of the property in question for a number of years. It was a tax farming system aiming to ensure the mobilisation of the ample credit of the richer sections of society in the service of the public debt. It was the only workable solution under the early modern condition, which was devoid of modern type of tax system and public financing. The royal finance of France was also dependent on *taille* – the only direct royal tax, covering entire France. The way of measurement of *taille* was not uniform in France. In the south, the *taille* was assessed based on land values recorded in *cadastres*. In the north, it was assessed upon estimates of an individual's total wealth fixed by the consent of the taxpayers as a group. The clergy and noble were exempted from paying the *taille*. The general masses of the early modern era accepted it as a privilege enjoyed by the nobility and clergy. However, in most cases, the towns were also able to achieve exemption from *tallie*. It was made possible because of the political crisis of the 16th century when the king disparately required the support and loyalty of the towns. The French towns extended their support to the king in the time of war in lieu of exemption

from payment of tax. The French peasantry also protested against the imposition of *tallie* on them in unjust ways. The most serious risings took place in the Limousin and Perigord during 1594-5, where the insurgents calling themselves the 'Tard Avises' came to be known as the 'Croquants' (i.e. peasants armed with staves or 'crocs'). Henry IV was well-aware of the situation, especially about the precarious condition of the royal finances on the one hand and the popular grievances against the unjust imposition of *tallie* on the other hand. The Assembly of Notables advised the king for the reduction of the *taille* (met at Rouen between November 1596 and January 1597). The King's Council finally reduced not only the proportion of the royal revenue raised through *taille* but also the real burden of tax itself. The taille had risen to 18 million livres by 1598, but it had fallen to 13 million by 1602, and stabilised around 16 million by 1609-10 (Bercé 1996, 18-21). The sale of royal office was expanded, andmade royal offi cials pay an annual tax, the *paulette* , if they wanted their offices to remain hereditary (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 328). Sully's systematic effort finally stabilised the royal finance keeping the deficit under control. Eventually, he was able to achieve a balance between income and expenditure of the French state. Under the rule of Henry IV, the progress of French economy was impressive. The economic improvement was extensive and innovative. There was widespread land reclamation in France during this period. Encouragement was given to various kind of activities like luxury handicraft production, mulberry plantation and silk manufacturing, infrastructural development like extension of canals and building of roads and bridges (Winks and Wandel 2003, 190). Henry's efforts were crowned with rapid and remarkable success. The public debt was converted into a surplus, and France became for the first time a first-rate economic power. After decades of stagnation, the population grew and prosperity was widespread (State 2011, 117). It was now clear that France would become a powerful state and major economic power in Europe in the coming century.

14.5 France under the Bourbon Dynasty: Louis XIII: The Rule of Richelieu, 1610–1643

On May 14, 1610, Henry IV was stabbed in Paris by François Ravaillac (1578–1610). Ravaillac a sometime tutor and pious paranoiac claimed that he was convinced that Henry intended to make war on the pope. Louis XIII (r.1610–43) became the new monarch. As he was just nine years old, the Parlement of Paris declared his mother, Marie de' Medici (1573–1642), regent. She ruled for the next four years without any skill and competence. Sully – the most trusted man of Henry IV – was compelled to resign in 1611. Marie was surrounded by the court favourites. Her inefficiency caused to the development

of anarchy in France. The anarchy and faction politics cast shadow over the political life of the country. Amidst the crisis and political conflicts, France witnessed the rise of Armand-Jean du Plessis, a nobleman and bishop who was made Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642). He combined within his person a determination to advance both his personal well-being and the state's welfare. Richelieu pursued the policy of making the state of France as powerful as possible. The principle he followed was ideal for an early modern state. As an extremely able politician and shrewd personality, he was able to bring the French politics under his control. Richelieu always acted in the name of king. His overarching ambition drove him to seek power, while a shrewd intellect and a toughness of will gave him the means to do so. He rewarded those nobles, who were supporting him with high offices, military commands, and advantageous marriage alliances, while sending those who opposed him into exile or even executing them. However, he was a patron of culture and artistic activities. He indeed used different cultural productions for creating the legitimacy of the Bourbon rule. In 1635, he gave official support to the *Académie Française*, a society of writers and philologists intent on standardizing the French language, which would provide a cultural counterpart to political measures of centralization. Richelieu made wholehearted effort to systematise the administration and uphold the royal power. He extended the power of intendants (a kind of royal officials). The intendants had to bear the responsibility of a number of districts with certain distinct types of activities. They were responsible for recruitments in army, collection of taxes, and regulation of economic activities and administration of lower courts. The intendants were not supposed to be engaged in their own districts. The French administration always practiced this policy to make the intendents unable from establishing any local roots in the district level. The intendants had no independent local power base. They were entrusted to consolidate the centralization process of the French state in localities and weaken the power of the regional nobility. They were assisted by the deputies, who had thorough knowledge about the local power relations. Both Louis XIII and Richelieu were in favour of imposing stricter control over the French Huguenots. The Huguenots were allowed to keep up their religious freedom, but they were not supposed to maintain the fortified towns. La Rochelle - the Protestants strongholds on the shore of Atlantic – objected the policy of Richelieu towards the Huguenots. In 1625, the Protestants of this Atlantic port city challenged the authority of the French state. They again revolted in 1627. The Huguenots were encouraged by England with occasional help. Louis XIII and Richelieu besieged La Rochelle and suppressed the resistance of the Huguenots in late October 1628. The starving Protestant citizens of the town were compelled to surrender before the Catholic French state. Richelieu soon established control over the other Huguenot strongholds. The King Louis

XIII signed the Peace of Alais (also known as Edict of Alès) on June 28 June 1629. By the Peace of Alais, the Protestants retained the right to practice their religion, but they lost their special towns, their ports and fortresses, and their legal privileges. The policy of Richelieu completely broke down the military capability and moral power of the Huguenots in France (State 2011, 117-119; Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 328-329). Because of the policy pursued by him, the power, prestige and status of the Bourbon state of Early Modern France was enhanced and truly consolidated.

Another major problem before the consolidation of the authority of the French monarchy was the powerful existence of the French nobility in many areas of the country. They maintained castles and private armies. They were also involved in conspiracy with each other. This group of people was a major obstacle in the process of establishing royal hegemony. Richelieu tried his best to incorporate them in the structure of French royal polity and to transform them into dutiful servants of the king. To make his plan successful, Richelieu gradually extended the administrative authority of the central government. He appointed the provincial intendants (commissioners) to supervise the implementation of the royal policy as well as royal orders. It enhanced the authority and power of the state in the different provinces. To increase the state's income, Richelieu imposed tax on the properties of the clergy. It initiated conflict between the French state and the papacy. He planned to develop an impressive infrastructure in France. He developed road condition, built new canals, encouraged the creation of new navy, supervised the silk industry, and launched overseas trading and colonial companies. The effect of the rigorous implementation of new taxation policy was not obviously peaceful. Violent riots, though sporadic in nature, exploded in different parts of France between 1620 and 1640. Riots broke out in 1630 at Dijon; in 1631, at Paris; and in 1632, at Lyon (State 2011, 119). One of the basic causes of the violent disturbances in the French countryside was definitely the new taxes. However, the agrarian crisis of 1630 was also a major cause of the violent outbursts of the peasant grievances. (Bercé 1996, 111). In the late 16th century, there was no serious shortage of food in France in general. In 1627, the agricultural production began to fall in southern and central France. The harvest of 1629 was again poor. It triggered the crisis, and led to the situation towards famine. Municipal authorities and charitable organizations started arranging food for the famine stricken people. The famine was the only one aspect of the entire of crisis. The crisis of severe shortage of food was aggravated by plague in 1626. Both famine and plague completely ravaged the French society in the second and third decades of the 17th century. The grain trade was interrupted due to the onslaught of plague, and it further deepened the food crisis in France. The worst-affected cities lost as much as half of their population. In one terrible instance, the city of Digne, which had a

population of 10,000 in 1628, was down to 1,500 a year later. Chambery and Aurillac lost half their people, and even great cities like Lyon and Bordeaux lost between a quarter and a third. It is estimated that the epidemic of 1628-31 carried off between 1.5 and 2 million victims out of a total population of between 17 and 20 million in the area occupied by France today. The crisis of 1630 had deep impact on the contemporary French society. There were enough evidences of growth of poverty and destitution, depeasantization, growth of begging, disruption of family structure etc. There was also sharp rise of indebtedness in the French society as due to poverty people were unable to repay their loans. Some wealthy people were beneficiaries of this crisis. They took the advantage of the distress sale of property of the famine and plague affected masses. It is also noted that the chronic civic indebtedness became a pretext for the state authority to make intervention and curb down the many ancient privileges and communal power along with the confiscation of property. The crisis of 1630 in reality consolidated the centralizing trends of the early modern French state (Bercé 1996, 111-115).

As far as the foreign policy of Richelieu was concerned, it was extensively ambitious. The main aim of the Cardinal was to decrease the Spanish supremacy on the one hand and to establish France as the major power – both politically and militarily – in Europe. It led France to war in Italy and Spain, and into the Thirty Years War (1618–48). The Thirty Years War was a partly religious partly political affair of conflict in the history of early modern Europe. Richelieu did not show any hesitation to ally with the Protestant Sweden to wrest Europe from the dominance of Spain. Until his death in 1642, Richelieu continued this proactive foreign policy to crush the power of Spain (State 2011, 119-120; Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 329-330).

14.6 France under the Bourbon Dynasty: The Reign of Louis XIV and The Rule of Cardinal Mazarin, 1643–1661

Loius XIII died on 14 May 1643 after the five months of Richelieu's death. Louis XIV was five years old in 1643. Following the rule, his mother - Anne of Austria (1601–66) - became the regent of adolescent boy. Cardinal Mazarin - a new cunning cardinal-statesman emerged in French political arena once again after Cardinal Richelieu. Both were brilliant politicians; however, there were some critical differences between them. While Richelieu was ruthless in his orientation, Mazarin was tactful in nature. The former showed his ready inclination to employ force; the latter believed more in diplomatic persuasion than use of power. Nevertheless, like his predecessor, Mazarin was a firm believer in augmenting the status of French monarchy both within France and abroad. It is needless

to point out that it required substantial amount of money. The only way was to raise taxes. Both Anne and Mazarin collectively tried to compel the parlement of Paris to accept new tax. However, this proposal was refused. In retaliating, the queen arrested some of the leaders of the parlement. It led to the explosion of popular unrest in Paris. Louis II, the prince de Condé (1621–86), who was joined by the viscomte de Turenne (1611–75), a brilliant general, and Cardinal de Retz (1613–79), a courtier and archbishop of Paris, gave the leadership of revolt against the royal family. The rebels reached an alliance with Spain, even allowing Spanish soldiers to enter the country. There was a complete breakdown of law and order situation in Paris. The violent mob even threatened the royal family, and it forced them to leave the city. Amid a confusion of conflicting and self-centered ambitions—Turenne and the cardinal switched sides—Mazarin assembled a loyalist coalition and raised an army to defeat both the insurrectionists and the Spaniards. By September 1653, all resistance had been stamped out and rebellious cities restored to royal control. The queen was able to come to a term with the rebels after several months. Though it restored peace in Paris, nevertheless the parlements of different regions still refused taxes to the capital. France saw continuous occurrence of violence between 1648 and 1653. Indeed, there were disorder and instability in the entire country during this era. These disturbances were collectively known as Fronde. It means "slingshot" in French. The word was derived from the weapons that poor children used to throw mud against the coaches of the rich. The social composition of the rebels – that is, the *Frondeurs* - was a complex one. It was not simply the resistance of poor urban masses and rural peasants; many types of armed men participated in the movement. The high nobles joined in the revolt in many cases as they were in favour of the restoration of pre-Richelieu system of governance and taxation. The royal intendents, who were supposed to be the representatives of the royal government in provinces, joined in the resistance. They demanded the preservation of their interest. However, the biggest problem of the Fronde was that it failed to develop a cohesive plan and unity. Mazarin used this disunity and lack of solidarity among the rebels brilliantly: Mazarin played one faction off against another and used loyalty to the young king as a tool to counter the rebels. He firmly ruled the country until his death in 1661. He concluded the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) aiming to end the hostility with Spain. France gained the provinces of Roussillon and Artois because of the Peace of Pyrenees. The violence of Fronde profoundly influenced Louis IV. He never forgot the 'treachery' of the nobles and the parlement of Paris. Consequently, throughout his kingship, Louis XIV had been very cautious to and sceptical about the nobility and favored anything that encouraged order and enhanced his own regal power (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 329-330; State 2011, 121-122).

Like his predecessors, Louis XIV faced the same problem of income deficit of the royal treasury. He also came to the conclusion that it was not politically possible to impose

tax on the nobility. Louis XIV therefore along with his controller-general of finances, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–83) decided to extract taxes from the commercial sectors. He realized that the development of commerce and industry was the only suitable way that could increase the income of the state. It led to the grant of subsidy to different industries like cloth, steel, and firearms. The French state gave bonuses to the shipbuilders. The guilds were organized in many industries. Trading companies were established. Merchant marine was expanded. Colonial exploration as well as expansion was encouraged. Colbert sent peasants as settlers to New France in North America. Robert la Salle (1643–87), claimed the delta of the Mississippi River for France in 1684, naming it, not surprisingly, "Louisiana". Apart from the policy of commercial expansion, Louis XIV was also anxious about the unity of France. He increasingly deprived the Huguenots from the religious liberty and political rights. They were also barred from many professions. The forcible conversion to Catholicism also took place. The Protestants were also prohibited to settle in New France. Here the French policy under Louis XIV sharply differed from the policy adopted by the British state. England always encouraged the Puritans and Quakers to leave the country. The intolerant religious policy pursued by Louis XIV reached its zenith in 1685 with the formal withdrawn of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestant churches and schools were closed down. The Protestant clergies were ordered to leave the country. Those who believed in the Protestantism were ordered to be converted. Though the emigration of the Protestants were forbidden, however, a large number of them migrated to other areas. The French Catholics, especially the nobility, boldly appreciated this step taken by the king. It needs also to be mentioned that the large scale migration of the Protestants did have little impact on the economy of France in general. However, it is difficult to deny the fact that the ambitious foreign policy of Louis XIV increased burden on the royal treasure enormously. He invaded the Spanish Netherlands and United Province. Finally, some Flemish towns and the area of Franche-Comté came under his possession. In the 1680s, the French army started seizing Strasbourg. Louis XIV also sent his armies into the province of Lorraine. Despite the fact that the French army was well-organized and better trained, the opponents were not in a position to retreat. The French people were also not ready to pay taxes for this war adventure. It was coincided with bad harvest, starvation, disease, and depopulation in many parts of France. The decade of 1690s eventually saw the rise of peasant unrest. These renewed peasant revolts obstructed the fulfilment of Louis XIV's ambitious foreign policy temporarily. He again became involved in the problem of Spanish succession. This war is known as the War of the Spanish Succession. His aim was to make Philip king of Spain. Here he was successful in making a bourbon as the king of Spain. But he achieved little from this war as the peace treaty concluded that the crowns of France and Spain were never to be held by the same member of the Bourbon family.

The treaty also gave far more land to the Austrian Habsburgs than to France: all of Louis's military efforts had gained relatively little territory. This overambitious plan had negative financial implications for France. It exhausted the country economically. The death of Louis XIV in 1715 was a relief to his subjects (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 330-331).

14.7 Conclusion

The expansionist foreign policy on the one hand and inability of expand the tax net within the country on the other hand contributed to the formation of the basic characteristic of the French absolutist state. It completely failed to impose control on the nobility. The provincial parlement and nobility retained their autonomy and strength largely. In this sense, though theoretically the French state was absolutist in nature, it was not, however, uncontested. Moreover, the French royal treasury was never recovered from crisis. The tax burden was completely rested on the commercial classes apart from the other labouring poor. Perry Anderson points out that the French state under the absolutist ruler finally failed to protect the interest of the nascent bourgeois power (Anderson 1974, 110). It created major imbalances in the society, and eventually led to the crisis of French polity in 1789. The religious policy of the state also suffered from parochialism. The growing influence of the Catholic ideas on the policy-making completely cornered the French Protestants. In this sense, the social basis of the early modern French state was narrow. The result was the growing insecurity of the masses and crisis in the political economy, which could not be peacefully resolved. It led to the occurrence of the French Revolution in 1789. The rigidity of the feudal social formation in pre-modern France blocked any possibility of imposing taxation on the nobility. It eventually created conditions for the complete erosion of the French absolutist state.

14.8 Model Questions

1. How would like to review the growth of absolutism in France between 1547 and 1588?
2. Briefly write the development of different state institutions in early modern France.
3. What was the contribution of the French king Henry IV in the making of French state in early modern era?
4. Assess the role of Richelieu in the consolidation of the French monarchy.

5. How did Mazarin try to protect the interest of the French monarchy between 1643 and 1661?
6. Evaluate the role of Louis XIV as an absolute monarch.
7. Write a short note on the Edict of Nantes (1598).
8. How do you evaluate the religious policy of the French state in post-1598 period?
9. Make a critique of the rise, growth and crisis of the French state in the early modern era.

14.9 Suggested Readings

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Unit-15 □ England

Structure

15.0 Objectives

15.1 Introduction

15.2 The Tudor State: Process of Consolidation under Henry VII, 1485-1509

15.3 The Tudor State: The Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547

15.3.1 The Foreign Policy of England under Henry VIII and Wolsey

15.3.2 Internal Administration of England under Henry VIII and Wolsey

15.3.3 A Revolution in Government?

15.4 The Tudor State under Edward and Mary

15.4.1 The War with Scotland

15.4.2 Religious Policy

15.5 The Tudor State under Elizabeth I

15.5.1 Elizabeth and the Question of Religion

15.5.2 Elizabeth and the State Administration

15.5.3 The Foreign Policy of England under Elizabeth

15.6 Conclusion

15.7 Model Questions

15.8 Suggested Readings

15.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the emergence of state in England in early modern era. The following aspects will be analysed in detail in this unit:

- The rise and crystallization of the state system in England under the Tudors.
- The administrative development of the Tudor England.
- The Tudor foreign policy.
- The Religious policy of the Tudor rulers.

15.1 Introduction

The history of state formation in early modern England was a unique one. In the medieval period, England had developed a strong monarchy with a clear vision of military expansion and political dominance in Europe. She did at the expense of France's power, especially during the Hundred Years' War (1337 – 1453). England as an insular state projected aggressive sign of organizational superiority against her continental enemies. However, in the early modern era, the island produced a comparatively weak absolutism in its state formation process. The strongest mediaeval monarchy in the West eventually produced the weakest and shortest absolutism: it made the historical evolution of Europe different from the other countries like France or Spain. What England produced was a no more than a contracted form of absolutism. It indicates that the class struggle and social formation in early modern England took a very different path. The political development was also different from the other parts Europe. Perry Anderson reminds us that the England's transition from medieval era to early modern era corresponded to a deep and radical reversal to the characteristic traits of prior feudal development. Therefore, there was a fusion, often contradictory, of some of the traditional elements with novel identities in the making of state in England. The early crystallization of administration under Norman feudalism produced tiny and regionally unified nobility on the one hand and a royal power at core. In between of the regional nobility and the royal power, towns emerged in England as commercial centres without political autonomy unlike its continental counterpart. The Anglo-Saxon monarchs established basic system of administration for smooth collection of taxes. The post of sheriff was created. The sheriffs were the unpaid officials of the well-off families responsible for the collection of taxes. The Duke William of Normandy after the conquest of England in 1066 reorganized the entire administrative and legal structure of the country. Both the assessment and collection of taxes were started. The nobles were asked to take oath and express their allegiance to the king. The idea of common law was first initiated to establish a uniform legal system in England. The judges were required to travel across the length and breadth of the country. This was how the state system first crystallized in England during the early middle age (Anderson 1974, 113-114; Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 99). The king's power first came to be halted in 1215 when the famous Magna Carta (Great Charter) was singed between the king and the nobility. It imposed limitation on the power of king vis-à-vis the higher nobility. This settlement actually curbed down the king's power to demand money from the nobility. During the 13th century, the size of the advisory body to the king was expanded. The expanded body of king's advisors

was reconstituted and it now included the lower rung of nobility within it. The newly recruited members chiefly came from the knights and prominent town people. Based on the stipulations of Magna Carta, this representative body slowly achieved legitimate power of countering king's claim on taxes. The nobility demanded their approval before any imposition of taxes. The Hundred Years' War indirectly enhanced the power of the Parliament as far as the tax collection was concerned. The representatives in the Parliament refused to grant any addition taxes for king's war effort unless they were given something in lieu of it. The Hundred Years' War was followed by the War of Roses: Yorkists and the Lancastrians – two conflicting houses – in the just beginning of the early modern era – became heavily involved in the war of succession. This period also witnessed declining feudal rents, economic depression and financial embarrassment of the ruling authority. Amidst the economic crisis, the so-called War of Roses contributed to the sharp breakdown of the relationship between the monarch and the feudal nobility. In 1485, Henry Tudor finally defeated the Yorkists and a new kingship under Henry VII was started in England. It may not be irrelevant to mention that Henry Tudor was not at all a formidable competitor for the throne of England. He became king because of the elimination of the other powerful claimants to the throne. With the accession of Henry VII in the throne of England, a new age began in England (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 99-100). The relationship between the state and society took a new turn with the rise of the Tudor power in England.

15.2 The Tudor State: Process of Consolidation under Henry VII, 1485-1509

The Tudor state under Henry VII faced a number of critical problems in its early years. The new king lacked money and manpower to implement any decision. However, it was not simply a problem either of the lack money or absence of manpower. It was a more a problem of credibility and authority. The crisis of early Tudor administration was aggravated by violence, bribery, corruption and intimidation at the local level of society (Morris 2003, 128). If we look to the character of the king, we would see that the Henry VII possessed some eccentric qualities: shrewd, cautious and unwilling to spend money. He preferred to rule the country through the Royal Council instead of the Parliament. The members of the Royal Council were high nobles, clergy, lawyers, civil servants and knights. One of the primary duties of the Royal Council was to negotiate with the foreign countries and maintained diplomatic relations. The members of this Council were also entrusted to create specialized bodies like Courts of Chancery, Requests, and Star Chamber. The

responsibility of these specialized courts was to look after those legal matters, which could not be resolved under the common law courts (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 100). Henry VII emphasized more on extracting fine and distributing benevolence rather than taxing people. This strategy worked well, and the health of the royal treasury was good. The ecclesiastic persons and men of comparatively humble origin were given the opportunity to hold the different royal offices. The first advantage of this policy was that these men had loyalty towards Henry VII. It secured his position. The second advantage was that it was cheaper option rather than appointing the high nobles as the royal officials. It proved to be an efficient administrative measure acting as a check on the feudal influence. He was determined that no Englishman should build any castle walls over which the English king could not look, and that, as far as possible, no private person should possess a franchise in which the king's writ did not run. All these measures were intended to consolidate the king's position. It ensured social and political stability as well as peace and security in war-torn England. Henry VII tried to establish his rights over the crown lands through augmenting the administrative efficiency. He also enacted two laws: Acts of Resumption (1486 and 1487). These two acts re-established king's right over such lands, which were already alienated. Apart from securing the rights of king over the crown lands, Henry VII also made effort to maximize the royal income from different feudal sources, such as wardship, relief and the profits of justice. The available figures show that the new Tudor king achieved substantial amount of success as far as the health of the royal treasury was concerned. Receipts into the Royal Chamber between July 1487 and July 1489 totalled only £17,000 per year, of which £3,000 per year was derived from the crown lands. Between September 1489 and October 1495, the corresponding figures were £27,000 and £11,000 per year respectively, rising to £105,000 and £40,000 per year respectively (October 1502-October 1505). Over the reign of Henry VII as a whole, income from crown lands rose by almost 45 per cent (Morris 2003, 131). Undoubtedly, it was an impressive achievement.

Three important structural changes took place in England during this period producing significant new orientations in the administration and finance under the Tudor state of England. Firstly, the power of the feudal nobility along with the private armies were broken before the formation of Tudor England. During the War of Roses, the regional elites of England lost their military capability and became virtually powerless. The king's position was almost unchallenged when the Tudor power started their reign. The nobility was divided into different factions competing with each other and trying to get the patronage of the royal court. Secondly, there was a steady replacement of clergy with the laymen within

the royal administration. The inclusion of new elements in the administrative structure brought new practices. It included increase in fees charged to the public and requests for reversions. The new administration was eager to secure the social and economic fortune for the family members around the offices during this period. Moreover, once life tenure had been secured, the office became proprietary and hence a marketable item for which payment could be demanded at the time of one's retirement. It must be remembered that the change of tenure or the grant of reversion or the transfer of position to third party required, at least formally, the royal approval. Thirdly, the major structural change also occurred in the power and authority of the Parliament. After the Hundred Years' War, the power, authority and status of the English Parliament declined. During the war period, the Parliament had become almost an equal partner and co-sharer of power vis-à-vis the royal authority. The meeting of the Parliament was held annually to provide fund for the war. The Parliament played an active role in the time of war appointing own trusted officials and keeping eye on the honesty and efficiency of the king's servants apart from the perfect accomplishment of procedure of impeachment and creation of reforming commissions. This prominent presence of the Parliament was, however, no longer required with the England's withdrawal from the European politics after her defeat in the hands of France. The call of meeting of the Parliament at regular intervention after the restoration of order in England after 1485. It is evident from the fact that Henry VII called the meeting of the Parliament only for four times between 1485 and 1505. After 1505, such meeting was convened comparatively more frequently; however, these meetings were more concerned with the religious issues. After the establishment of the Tudor State in 1485, the ability of the Parliament to intervene in the administrative decision making was curbed (Ertman 1997, 179-180). The lay proprietary officeholders started holding the government offices in the Tudor England as a result of the interactions of these thee structural changes. They collected their income in the form of fees and gratuity. What Henry VII achieved during his reign was the restoration of traditional elements in late medieval government. It was not at all a modern administrative set up. The king was always moved by pragmatism and immediate factors. Henry VII invested financial business of crown into a few hands of his close associates through the predominant use of the Royal Chamber between 1488 and 1493. Evidently, it was not a radical change in the financial matters. Henry VII preferred a close day to day supervision on the financial matters personally. He was in fact extremely ruthless as far the financial recovery of England was concerned. All the accounts of the surviving Chambers were thoroughly scrutinized. The royal councillors inspected the king's due or feudal obligation at a regular interval (Morris 2003, 132). Because of the adoption of these measures, a strict financial discipline was introduced under the rule of Henry VII.

The Royal Council acted as an advisory body for policy making and coordinating: it ensured the smooth implementation of the royal policy at various levels of the society. The historians who argue that the Tudor Monarchy was a new monarchy prefer to cite the example of Royal Council and its activities. It is argued that the Tudor State ushered a new system of administration with the policy of decentralization of responsibilities through the Royal Council at the apex and sub-councils at the bottom. It was a shared departmentalized system of governance, which is interpreted as the building-blocks of the new monarchy. Of late, this interpretation is being questioned on the ground that there was no such decentralization of power and responsibilities in Tudor England. The modern historians point out that these bodies were also deprived of any constitution legitimacy. The very members of such bodies were simply the royal servant and their task was to implement only the royal policy. However, it must be noted that what Henry VII had achieved could not have been possible without the support of the group of trusted and loyal men around him. Under the close supervision of the monarch, the royal administration was intimately involved in general affairs, finance and even in war and diplomacy. The system that Henry VII gradually developed was centred around on his ministers and administrators. It is difficult to identify the differences between the king and his close associates as far as the governmental action was concerned. Henry VII in fact worked very closely with his trusted men in implementing his policy. The most interesting feature of the Henry VII's administrative personnel was that they originated from very humble and low origin. However, this group of people was no less proficient than Sir Richard Fowler (1425-1477) or Sir William Catesby (1450 – 1485). They were able to combine administrative skills, diplomatic efficiency and military aptitude. They reconstructed the English royal bureaucracy on a new firm basis after the breakdown of the older system of administrative mechanism during the War of Roses. At the very centre of the Tudor State, they were politically powerful. The most important point is that they also played a noticeable role even in the localities. Their grips on finance and justice were much higher than the earlier bureaucrats. (Gunn 2016, 319-321). They built the state system under the Tudor power especially under Henry VII.

The rule of Henry VII could be divided into three distinct phases: (i) 1485-1492, (ii) 1492-1503 and (iii) 1503-1509. In the first phase of his rule, the Tudor administration was in the hands of Richard Fox (1448-1528) – king's secretary and since 1487 keeper of the privy seal and bishop of Exeter. During this phase, the royal finance was centred on exchequer. After 1487, the Yorkist financial system began to revive. It resulted to the transfer of substantial amount of revenue from the exchequer to the chambers and king's coffers. The second phase saw the acceleration of centralization of the royal financial administration under the leadership Reynold Bray. Bray transformed the chamber into

centre of governmental and monetary nexus. This royal nexus was successful in penetrating the most distant and remote areas and extracted social surplus. It kept the records of receipts, bonds, debts etc. It dealt only with cash. In 1498-99, the Council Learned in the Law was formally formed, and Bray was as the chief general auditor was responsible for the activities of it. The primary function of the Council was to enforce king's prerogative as the royal agency. During the third phase the royal authority came to be more personified to Henry VII. He used his signature on warrants and state papers; it disrupted the long-established official procedure prevalent in England. Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley became the most trusted persons of Henry VII after the death of Bray in 1503. He also established conciliar court of audit. Robert Southwell and Roger Laybourne were entrusted to preside over it. All these men were personal choice of Henry VII. They acted with full authority and command, but they were only answerable to the king. Henry VII actually enforced his own prerogative in his own way often violating the notion of justice. (Guy 1988, 53-55). An analysis of the Henry's reign shows that he made best efforts to exploit his prerogative feudal rights. The royal commissions were sent to all directions to augment the income of the king. In 1508, the king appointed Edward Belknap as surveyor of the king's prerogative. All possible means were used in search of new sources of revenue: wardships, escheats, reliefs, licenses for the marriage of the king's wards and widows, searches for concealed lands (i.e. lands legally held *in capite* of the Crown but the facts of tenure concealed from the king's officials). In spite of the severe administrative complexities, infractions were accurately hunted. The royal officials tracked down to the cases originating in decades back. In 1505-06, for instance, the commissioner for concealed lands filed ninety-three returns alleging alienations, minorities, idiocies and intrusions. The landowners faced problem from both sides of the king's policy. On the one hand, their income from the disputed lands might be stopped at least for time being with the confiscation of property. On the other hand, if the landlords protested loudly, they could be dragged to the law court immediately (Guy 1988, 66). The entire evolution of the Henry's administration indicates that the Parliament had hardly any importance during this period. it played a secondary role in the Tudor realm. During the Henry's twenty-four reign, it met for only sixty-nine weeks. However, the English Parliament performed two significant jobs in the reign of Henry VII. Firstly, it acted as an important source of finance to the king. It sanctioned the amount that was requested for except in 1504. The Parliament granted the reduced amount of £ 40,000 in 1504. It may be noted that the taxation was sought only in case of exigencies. Henry VII sought the approval of the Parliament for grant in his early years of reign to secure his position. In the last fourteen years of his reign, the Parliament lost its significance.

Parliamentary grants in the reign of Henry VII

Year	Grant	Purpose
1485	Tunnage and Poundage	
1487	Two-fifteenths and two-tenths	Resistance to Lambert Simnel
1489	Extraordinary grant of £ 100,000	Intervention in Brittany
1491	A benevolence of two-fifteenths and two-tenths	For continuation of war against France
1495	Grant of £120,000, made theoretically as a loan	For precautions against an invasion from Scotland
1497	Two-fifteenths and two-tenths and an 'aid and subsidy of as great and large sums of money'	Resistance to Perkin Warbeck
1504	Subsidy of £30,000 and a feudal aid	For the knighting of Prince Arthur (who had been dead for two years) and for the marriage of Princess Margaret

(Source: Morris, T.A. *Europe and England in the Sixteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 2003. P. 133.)

Secondly, the Parliament played a crucial role in enacting laws during the reign of Henry VII. The total numbers of laws which it enacted were 192. It was a prolific number; nevertheless, most of laws lacked originality. Therefore, these laws lacked depth (Morris 2003, 132-133).

As far as the local governance was concerned, the Tudor State was trying its best to implement laws and brought the distant rural areas under the royal control. Each parliament of the reign enacted laws to prevent corruption of the jurists. Apart from the measures taken to free local judicial system from corruption, Henry VII always pursued a clear policy of imposing limit on the power of the local lords. The English lords wanted to maintain private army under their control. It was a clear obstacle before the establishment of king's supremacy in the vast regions of England on the one hand and a formidable challenge to the power of the central authority on the other hand. Through the statute books prepared between 1487 and 1504 Henry VII tried to delimit the power of the local lords.

The real problem before Henry VII was the peculiar status of Ireland: Henry VII was a regarded as a 'Lord of Ireland' in Ireland and not the king of Ireland. However, it was true only in case of an area known as Pale. It was an area along the east coast stretching from Dalkey, south of Dublin, to the garrison town of Dundalk. The inland boundary went to Naas and Leixlip around the Earldom of Kildare, towards Trim and north towards Kells. Beyond Pale the king of England did not haver any power. The real power was in the hands of the Irish elites and the Anglo-Irish magnet families. The most notable families were earls of Ormond, Desmond and Kildare. Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare was the most influential among the Anglo-Irish feudal lords. He had become the Lord Deputy during the reign of Edward IV, and virtually enjoyed uncontrolled freedom in Ireland. In the early years, Henry's concern was only to secure his rule. He dismissed Kildare from the post of Lord Deputy in 1491 and sent Sir Edward Poynings to Ireland for the preparation and implementation of a comprehensive legal framework in September 1494. Between December 1494 and April 1495, the Irish Parliament passed a number of acts confirming Ireland's legal subjection to England. It was confirmed that all English laws relating to treason and to livery and maintenance applied with equal force in Ireland, and it was established, by a measure traditionally known as 'Poynings' Law'. It was clearly stated that no measures passed by Irish parliaments would be legally valid unless they were confirmed by the king of England. Henry VII realized that Kildare was the only person who could implement the Henry's policy in Ireland. Consequently, Kildare's conviction for treason was reversed in February 1496 and he was restored to the office of Lord Deputy in August 1496 with due honour. Now he paid full attention to establish the English rule in Ireland and acted according to the Poynings' Law. Because of all these measures, some degree of control was established in Ireland (Morris 2003, 136).

Henry VII restored the medieval form of government at its most efficient form. All the features of the Henry's administration – financial administrative system based on king's chamber, informal means for audit and control, use of signet, rise of secretary, increasing importance of individual councillor rather than council – clearly marked the manifestation of a household methods in Tudor administration. The sober statesmanship was another principal characteristic feature of Henry VII's reign. He followed always the policy of pragmatism with an aim to secure the nascent Tudor State in England. Unlike many other kings, he was neither bloodthirsty nor egoistical. The most significant contribution of Henry VII was establishment of Tudor State on solid foundation. It is true that the power and authority of the local landlords were still visible in the English society; however, Henry VII was able to curb down their power to a great extent. It secured his throne. He was also

able to restore peace and rule of law in England during his reign apart from augmenting the royal income. Henry's judicious pragmatism prepared the way for the future consolidation of the Tudor State in England. The English state made a promising start towards the construction of an absolutist state under Henry VII in late 15th and early 16th century. Henry VIII inherited a powerful executive and a prosperous exchequer from his father. (Elton 2008, 36; Guy 1998, 78-79; Anderson 1974, 119).

15.3 The Tudor State: The Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547

The reign of Henry VIII was started with two major events: first, he married Catherine of Aragon – the widow of his elder brother; second, he executed Richard Empson and Edmund – the two most unpopular ministers of Henry VII. These two events marked a reversal from the policy pursued by Henry VII in many respects. The execution of these two persons was a calculated step by Henry VIII to profit from the stability won by Henry VII without incurring any of its attendant stigma. During the most of the time of his reign, Henry VIII was a medieval warrior king; it was only during in the latter period of his reign, and very rarely, he assimilated renaissance spirit of kingship and authority. The Parliament met on January-February 1510 after Henry VIII's coronation for the first time. It took two important decisions. The first decision was that chamber finance was put on a statutory footing and allowed to continue. The second decision was that the Council Learned was abolished as a specialised arm of the Council. The general surveyors of crown lands were subjected to the exchequer. Consequently, its power was curbed to some extent. While Henry VII had restored order and stability in war-torn Europe, Henry VIII added imperial character to the state of England under the Tudors. Henry VIII augmented the regal power of the state. He indeed indulged himself to formulate an aggressive foreign policy which would bring glory for England. he wanted war with France – more precisely speaking the revival of the Hundred Years' War – in order to establish two traditional claims: English claim to the French throne and occupation of territories like Gascony, Guyenne and Normandy (Guy 1988, 80-81; Morris 2003, 157-158).

Before going into the details of Henry VIII's turn towards a more aggressive foreign policy, we must look into the matters related to the administration of the new king. On April 1509, Henry VIII appointed Thomas Wolsey (1473-1530), a protégé of Foxe, to the post of King's Almoner. It was the most significant appointment made by the new king during the early years of his reign. The rise of Wolsey on the Tudor administration was a perfect

match to the style of Henry VIII's kingship and way of functioning. While Henry VII was extremely meticulous in scrutinizing all the details of administrative and financial activities of the state, Henry VIII did not have any interest in such personal verification of facts and figures. Here he required an efficient man, and Wolsey fulfilled the king's necessity. The years 1512-13 was the most decisive phase in the administrative careers of Wolsey. He played a major role in the time of war with France. Henry VIII found in Wolsey a partner, and not a mere substitute, in articulating the royal policy and consolidating the Tudor power. Their long political relationship owed more to mutual respect than to the simple exploitation of Wolsey's talents by a lazy monarch. Wolsey enjoyed his unquestionable power and authority until 1520s. And during this long period, though Wolsey had command over the making of royal policy in many respects, he never usurped power of the king. Wolsey knew that his power did not originate from the number of offices he held; rather, it was the king's trust upon him that was the real source of power of him. He never did anything for which he could be deprived of the king's personal trust (Morris 2003, 158-159). It was the key to the success of Wolsey for a long period.

Henry VIII was fascinating, threatening and often morbid by nature. He suffered from ego and suspicion, but not always. His character was an admixture of contradictory qualities and attributes. Henry VIII allowed his council to discuss even the policy matters to a long extent. But it was obviously within the very limits of Henry VIII's wish. He exerted pivotal effects on the council members regarding the issues like of diplomacy, invasion of France, the definition of royal supremacy and the theology of the Church of England. It must also be noted that Wolsey enjoyed greater freedom than his successor Cromwell. Before 1525 or 1527, Henry had been less interventionist. Much of the royal affairs were left to Wolsey during the first half of his reign. It was because of his power, Wolsey was described as *alter rex*, that is, the second king. Sometimes, Wolsey is compared with Disraeli as both lacked any guiding political principle. Wolsey's main concern was to establish a centralized state in England. He interfered in the matters of feudal lords, rural gentry and citizens of London. He demanded the attendance of many of them in royal court. Wolsey's centralizing vision was an important step in the formation of national identity under the Tudor State (Guy 1988, 83-85).

15.3.1 The Foreign Policy of England under Henry VIII and Wolsey

It is already noted that Henry VIII's foreign policy aimed to secure glory for England through war and expansion. France was the chief enemy of England. Henry fought three

wars with France: the first war (1512-1514) he fought aimed to establish the young king's reputation as warrior; the second war (1522-1525) was fought to prove the fact that Henry VIII was still a major player in the European politics; the third war (1543-1546) was associated with the aging king's ambitions in Scotland. In November 1511, Henry VIII joined Spain, Venice and Papacy against France in the Holy League. In 1513, the English forces in association with Emperor Maximilian I invaded northern France. Henry's forces defeated the French at the Battle of the Spurs on 16 August and captured the town of Thérouanne on 22 August. Henry VIII then seized Tournai – a French enclave within Netherlands. The city fell on 21 September. Henry planned to renew the war in 1514 but was abandoned again by his Spanish and Imperial allies. In August, he made peace, agreeing to marry his sister, Mary Tudor, to Louis XII of France. During the same period, some other developments took place in England with important consequences. James IV of Scotland made an alliance with France and invaded northern England. At Flodden Field in September 1513, an English force under Thomas Howard, future second Duke of Norfolk, defeated and killed the Scottish king. England's decisive defeat of Scotland at the battle of Flodden Field, September 9, 1513, destroyed a generation of Scottish leadership. The English victory both against France and Scotland made Henry VIII an acknowledged political leader at the age of twenty-two. The number of Scottish casualties was not less than ten thousand, and they mostly belonged to the nobility and the church (Wagner and Schmid 2012, 27; Kinney and Swain 2001, 261-262). The victory against France and the rebel Scottish forces did not however involve England in the continental politics in a direct way. England did not take part in any war for next nine years. One reason was the huge cost of war: in 1512, the total war expenditure was £111,455. The second reason of avoiding war was that since the war of 1512, the English foreign policy had been under Wolsey. A. F. Pollard argues that Wolsey was in favour of protecting the interest of papacy. Wolsey sacrificed England's interest in the interest of the Pope, and he himself had the concealed ambition to be the next Pope. J.J.Scarisbrick rejects this argument. He is opinion that there is no evidence from which it could be substantiated that Wolsey aimed to become the Pope. Wolsey was a loyal servant of Henry VII. The main reason was the excessive cost of war that horrified him. Moreover, it must also be remembered that during the reign of Henry VIII England was still a minor player in the European politics. The continental politics was mainly dominated by Spain and France (Morris 2003, 159).

Henry VIII was however not in a position to accept the fact that England's power and influence were comparatively weak than that of France and Spain. The European war of England came to an end in 1514 due to high cost on the one hand and lack of allies on

the other hand. The treaty however came to an end with the sudden death of the French monarch Louis XII and accession of Francis I in the throne. Francis I had interest more in war rather than peace. Henry VIII tried to develop anti-French coalition with Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. However, it failed miserably because both these two countries concluded peace with France. It ruined the prestige of Henry VIII's aggressive foreign policy. England was largely isolated in the international politics. Charles I of Spain and Emperor Maximilian I both made effort to ensure peace in Europe. Wolsey was anxious about the increasing influence of France in Scotland. He took the initiative of peace as an opportunity to reassert England's position in the international diplomacy. Henry VIII also realized that Europe was in favour of peace. There was another factor accelerating the peace process. All the major states were financially exhausted. Their military capability was also not up to the mark. Thus, peace was ensured in Europe due to various reasons and distinct factors. There was also a growing consensus that the Christian powers should not get involved in war and conflict. Pope Leo X dispatched representatives to the European states to stop conflict among themselves. Henry VIII and Wolsey using this as a pretext started negotiation with France. Consequently, both the countries concluded agreement for peace. The French granted Henry a pension in return for the surrender of Tournai (captured by Henry in 1513), and Henry promised Princess Mary as bride for the French dauphin. The Anglo-French agreement created conditions for peace settlement among the other major European powers. Wolsey presided over the negotiation for peace process and finally Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Papacy and twenty lesser states concluded the peace agreement. The members of the alliance agreed to perpetual peace with each other and to common action against any aggressors. In 1518, the Treaty of London was signed. Though it enhanced the prestige of Henry VIII and Wolsey to a great extent, it however ensured peace only for three years. Nevertheless, Wolsey was able, though temporarily, outflanked the Pope as an international peacemaker. If the prestige of the English crown was the primary concern, the Treaty of London was evidently a manifestation of it (Morris 2003, 159-160; Wagner and Schmid 2012, 713-714). The period 1520–21 witnessed some prolonged and spectacular diplomatic negotiations. The meeting between Henry and Francis outside Calais at 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' (1520) was splendid but unproductive in reality. The Emperor, meanwhile, met Henry at Canterbury (May) and Gravelines (July), and concluded the Treaty of Bruges in August 1521. However, the battle of Pavia (1525) completely transformed the European power balance. Spain now united with the Hapsburg became the supreme power of Europe. In the changing situation, Spain did not require England's friendship, and spoils of victory would not be shared with

England. Henry VIII and Wolsey tried to invade France in order to assert her power and strength in the continental politics. But this attempt faced obstacle within England as the popular protest began against the Amicable Grant. The Amicable Grant was a nonparliamentary tax, essentially a forced loan, demanded by the government in 1525 to fund war with France. While the demand itself was not unusual, the reaction to it was. Because protests against the assessment were so widespread and vocal, the king and his ministers eventually withdrew it. The French campaign, meanwhile, was abandoned for lack of funding, and Henry VIII thereafter started pursuing a more pro-French policy (Morris 2003, 160; Wagner and Schmid 2012, 16-17).

During the post-1525 period, Wolsey tried his best to uphold the power and authority of England in the international arena and to rectify the damage caused by the battle of Pavia. However, all these attempts failed to achieve any thing for England in concrete terms. The anti-imperial League of Cognac (1526) challenged the supremacy of Spain. However, the Spanish force defeated the coalition decisively. The Treaties of Cambrai and Barcelona were the final manifestation of Wolsey's defeat in making England a prominent power in Europe. Nevertheless, Wlosey was able to sustain Henry VIII's nearly unrealistic dream in respect of foreign policy of England for more than two decades successfully.

15.3.2 Internal Administration of England under Henry VIII and Wolsey

Wolsey was entrusted by the Tudor State to enforce king's order throughout England uniformly and consistently to all the subjects since 1515 as the Lord Chancellor. His main weapon was the committee of the Royal Council sitting at Westminster, in the Star Chamber. Wolsey transformed this informal and loose body into an articulate and settled institution of the Tudor England. while under Henry VII, this committee heard only 13 cases in a year, it tried 120 cases in a year under Wolsey. During the same period, another body was also developed. It was the Court of Requests. Wolsey made effort to punish the law breakers and provide justice to the poor people through these two bodies. The fundamental problem is that the success of this process was largely dependent on the personality of Wolsey. His notion about justice was more important than objectivity of the application of law. Besides the implementation of law in England, Wolsey was also busy in tapping new sources of royal income. One of the basic problems of all medieval and early modern monarchs was the heavy expenditure: there was no rationalization of king's expenditure for reducing the financial burden on the state. England was no exception of this general trend of the early modern era. Wolsey was able to increase the state's income from the

established sources; he also invented new sources of income. However, in spite of Wolsey's best efforts, no long-term solution of the financial crisis of the state was found. Above all, Wolsey was a prodigious exploiter of parliamentary taxation, largely responsible for one innovation in national taxation, the subsidy. Five such subsidies (1513–15 and 1523) raised a total of £322,000, as well as £118,000 through the older method of tenths and fifteenths. In addition, some £240,000 was raised between 1515 and 1529 through taxation of the clergy. Traditional sources, however, could not meet the demand, and Wolsey was also compelled to use more devious means, raising £260,000 through a series of 'forced loans' (1522–3) (Morris 2003, 162-163). Despite the best efforts made by Wolsey, the financial problem of Tudor England remained with the same tune. The primary problem lies in the fact that without improving the productivity and level of income of the general masses, the deficit of the state's income could not be mitigated. It was not possible for an early modern regime.

15.3.3 A Revolution in Government?

The historians are divided on the issue of the nature of the Tudor State. G.R. Elton argues that under the Tudor rule, especially because of the role of Thomas Cromwell, English state underwent profound changes. Before Cromwell, the state and government were largely dependent on the individual initiatives and personal traits of the king. Following the medieval legacy, the state system was focused on the cult of the king. According to Elton, Cromwell brought fundamental transformation in the nature of the state and government in early modern England. It was now the impersonal centralized bureaucracy became the dominant from of governance replacing the older individualistic policy framing. The formation as well as articulation of a centralized system of administration and governance was also boosted by the formalisation of the Royal Council, by the development of the office of the king's Principal Secretary, and by the reorganisation of the revenue courts into a more comprehensive, bureaucratic system. Elton argues that it was Cromwell's contribution which ensured these changes. The second group of historians, on the contrary, argues that though there were substantial changes in the structure of government during the period under review, however, it was not simply Cromwell's individual contribution alone (Morris 2003, 177-178). Before Cromwell, the signs of changes towards a centralized administrative system were already manifested. After Cromwell, the medieval legacy in governance was not absolutely absent in the English state system (Guy 1988, 154-158). In other words, it was a period of transition from premodern system to modern one and the Tudor State stood in between them. It reflected both the outdated premodern features

and the emerging modern attributes of state system, administration and governance. If it was not a revolution under the Tudors, it definitely prepared the way for revolution in administration and governance in the subsequent period. Two more things need to be pointed here associated with the deep internal changes in the English society. First, the Henrician Reformation, which introduced the dissolution of the monasteries and created a market for land – the prime beneficiary of which was the gentry, finally weakened the state itself. To be more precise, the rise of the gentry was made possible at the cost of the strength of the state. Second, the growth of land market stimulated the transformation of the social basis of the ruling classes in early modern England: the nobility became more and more non-military and proto-commercial in its orientation. These two changes – distinct but interrelated with each other – finally created new balance of power in the English society (Anderson 1974, 125-127). The development and consolidation of the state in early modern England were a part of these broader social changes.

15.4 The Tudor State under Edward and Mary

Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547 at the age of 55. He was succeeded by his son Edward VI. As Edward VI's age was just nine years in 1547, the country was ruled by regency council. The council was first led by his uncle Edward Seymour, first Duke of Somerset (1547–1549). After the fall of Somerset in 1549, John Dudley, first Earl of Warwick (1550–1553), who from 1551 was Duke of Northumberland, took the control of royal administration in the name of adolescent king. On 6 July 1553, Edward VI died at the age of fifteen. During this period, England faced certain important changes, which need to be analysed.

15.4.1 The War with Scotland

England in this phase became involved in war with Scotland. Somerset was indeed preoccupied with the question of establishing England's dominance in Scotland. The war against Scotland began in September 1947. The English army achieved a crushing victory at Pinkie over the Scottish force. In order to consolidate the English success in Scotland, Somerset installed series of armed garrisons in twenty-three strategic fortified locations between Edinburgh and the border, for holding the territory for the English and providing protection for those Scots who came over to the English side. However, it was a total failure. The cost involved in this failed military project of Somerset was £351,000 during the two years while Henry VIII spent £235,000 in six years. A French army landed in

Scotland in the summer of 1548, and a full-scale war was launched in the following year with an attack on Boulogne. English plans suffered a further blow when the young Queen of Scots was transported to the French court, beyond the reach of Somerset's matrimonial plans. Somerset made this problem complicated by continuing with the policy of garrisons long after there had ceased to be any real prospect of its success (Morris 2003, 228-229).

15.4.2 Religious Policy

During the reign of Edward VI, England was inclined towards Protestantism. Moreover, this period witnessed the sustained policy of religious toleration. The Protestant ideology was able to expand its sphere of influence under the reign of Edward VI. The 20 percent of population of London, Kent, Essex and Sussex was Protestants. No one was executed in the name of heresy when Somerset was Protector. It is argued that Somerset's religious policy was consisted of two distinct components. First, the removal of the weapons with which Protestants had hitherto been attacked during the period of Henry VIII. Henry VIII was addicted to the treason laws, the restrictions placed upon preaching and printing the scriptures, and the statute *De Heretico Comburendo*. The second component was the reaffirmation of the royal control over church even more vigorously. It must be noted that the Somerset's commitment to Protestantism was sincere and thoroughgoing. The first step was the destruction of the remains of old devotional institutions. The Chantries Act of 1547 confirmed the destructive intent of legislation of 1545 allowing the Crown to seize chantries and colleges of priests and appropriate their revenues. This measure was justified in wholly Protestant terms. It was argued that there existed no scriptural authority for the doctrine of purgatory and that salvation was no longer believed to depend upon good works, the prayers said in the chantries for the souls of the dead were at best useless, and at worst dangerously misleading. Nevertheless, the profits of the dissolution of chantries went straight to finance the Scottish war. It would not be irrelevant to point out that the Protestantism became associated with confiscation of property and pursuit of purely political objective of the state (Morris 2003, 231-232; MacCulloch 1990, 11-12). It is argued that what Somerset proposed was new humanism, which believed in the role of the ruler rather than the rights of the ruled. It was based on the assumption that the state was a divinely sanctioned way of organising human society. Indeed, Somerset's policy, based on pragmatic approach, provided limited range of religious liberty to the English people within the very structure of rigid control and obedience (Lockyer 2013, 108). His economic policies, especially imposition of taxes on sheep and on woollen cloth, created discontent in the English agrarian society. This discontent was crystalized amidst the

growing crisis of general economy of the country. In the spring and summer of 1549, the widespread rural uprising spread over Cornwall and Devon. There was also a prolonged siege of Exeter. However, in August, the rebels suffered a huge loss. In July 1549, the peasants of Norfolk broke out in revolt. This revolt is known as Kett's Rebellion. In the region of East Anglia, the rebel peasants were able to establish their dominance. The Earl of Warwick finally suppressed the revolt ruthlessly. Both religion and economy played contributory role in articulating the revolt. For example, the rebels of western England (Cornwall and Devon) were moved chiefly by the religious factors like demands of restoration of the Act of Six Articles and of the Mass in Latin, the suppression of the English Bible and Prayer Book. However, they were also aggrieved about the sheep tax. The Norfolk rebellion was more concerned with the agrarian changes that affected or threatened their livelihood. Their main target was the gentry class and their properties. Popular involvement in the Rebellions of 1549 had been extensive. The government forces faced formidable military threat from the rebels. (Morris 2003; 232-233). Though Somerset was successful in crushing the uprising and in restoring social stability in the countryside, the crisis prepared the way of his downfall eventually. His decline was started in October 1549. Through series of events, Somerset was finally executed in January 1552 on spurious treason charges. The new Protectorate was John Dudley, 1st Earl of Warwick, known as Duke of Northumberland. His main priority was ensuring peace in England. consequently, The Treaty of Boulogne was signed with France (March 1550). According to this treaty, Boulogne was returned to France. Moreover, England withdrew her forces from Scotland and negotiations began for the clear definition of the borders between the two states. The restoration of peace brought economic and social stability in England. The condition of the royal finance was improved under the direction of Northumberland. In 1551, the total income of the state was approximately £170,000. The cost of maintaining garrisons in Scotland was £80,000 in a year. Apart from that England had a foreign debt amounting to £250,000. In order to deal with the crisis, Northumberland immediately suspended all the government payments including monastic pensions. The selling of crown lands with a value of £150,000 brought money in the royal finance. In March 1551, decree was issued to confiscate the church plate and other valuables. Measures were adopted to restore the quality of coins. It ensured financial security of the Tudor State during the period under review. (Morris 2003, 233-234; Lockyer 2013, 121). The steps taken in the years between 1549 and 1553 consolidated the foundation of the Tudor State; the English state under Elizabeth was also benefited from it.

Between 1550 and 1553, England became for the first time a wholly Protestant state. Under the rule of Edward VI, a decisive break had been made with the past as far as the

religious ideology and practices were concerned. The Protestants hoped that it would lead to the creation of a reformed church in England (Lockyer 2013, 122). But the quick deterioration of health condition and eventual death of Edward VI on 6 July 1553 quickly transformed the entire situation. After intense inner struggle, Mary Tudor – the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon – ascended the throne in July 1553. Mary believed in particular type of religion, which was essentially conservative in its orientation. England under Mary Tudor witnessed the return of Catholicism. Because of the forceful reversal of England towards Catholicism, the Protestants started leaving the country immediately. It was not that this forced migration was either planned or directed. Rather it was spontaneous in nature leaving a country which seemed to be unsafe for the Protestants (Lockyer 2013, 125). The new queen did not have any trust in the ministers; it created the fundamental weaknesses of the Mary's administration. She readily relied on Simon Renard – the Spanish ambassador in London. Between 1553 and 1555, Renard exercised unprecedented influence on Mary. Mary's marriage to Philip – son of the Emperor Charles V – was the culmination of the Spanish influence on Mary's England. This marriage provided Mary a husband and a firm alliance with Spain – the most notable Catholic power in Europe. In January 1554, the terms of marriage were finalized. The cardinal points of the terms of this royal marriage were as follows:

1. Philip received the title of 'King'. However, he would not be entitled exercise none of the royal prerogatives.
2. No English law would be changed. No foreigners would not be allowed to hold any office at England.
3. As far as the succession was concerned, Philip and his descendants' rights would be lost if Mary died before her husband.
4. Any child of the marriage would inherit the throne of England or the Netherlands but would not claim the throne of Spain or the Italian territories of the Spanish crown.

The contracts of the marriage made all efforts to ensure the independence of England. Nevertheless, it created unrest within England on one hand. Moreover, tension was also fomented with the relationship of France. The domestic reaction was first crystalized in the revolt of Sir Thomas Wyatt. However, it was quickly crushed and Wyatt was executed. It may be noted that it was not a religious uprising though there were Protestant followers in it. It was on the contrary a protest against the possible Spanish intervention in the England's political life. The defeat of the Wyatt's rebellion indicated the truth that the

violent revolt of such type was no more relevant in changing the government's policy. It also proved the capability of the English state in crushing such violent uprisings (Morris 2003, 236; Lockyer 2013, 128). As far as the religious outlook was concerned, Mary Tudor was convinced about the sinfulness of the Henry VIII's decision to break with the Pope. She was of opinion that the Reformation was an act of a small group of heretics and supported by a section of elites. It did not have much social basis or popular support. Mary considered politics as a part of religion and morality. To her, the principal came first, and it was followed by its strict immediate implementation without any compromise. It made her image stubborn, intolerant and cruel in the public memory and history.

The first Parliament of Mary was a manifestation of compromise between the Henrician policy and return to the Catholic fold. The Parliament was willing to discard the doctrinal legislation of the previous reign. However, the members of the Parliament were against of any attempt to restore the confiscated lands to church again. However, Cardinal Pole on behalf of the Pope assured that the monastic lands, which were already under the control of the government, would remain under the state ownership. The status of such lands would not be changed. After getting this assurance, the MPs gave their consent to introduce the laws against heretics for trials and execution. The papal supremacy over the church was re-established in England replacing the royal one. The most compelling point is the beginning of persecution. It was started with the burning of the Protestant scholar John Rogers (February 1555), followed by at least execution of three hundred men and women between February 1555 and November 1558. There is no doubt that Mary had the eagerness of effective and ruthless implementation of her religious policy. However, despite the fact of cruelness in pro-Catholic policy adopted by Mary, the Protestant ideology was able to survive and continued to spread. Lockyer analyses the class character of the Marian martyrs. It reveals certain important facts. From his analysis, it is clear that they primarily belonged to the lower orders of the English society. It included weavers, tailors, hosiers, labourers, brewers and butchers. Some fifty women were among those who were burnt. Moreover, they were not necessarily Protestants in conventional sense of the term. For example, in Kent, the people who faced repression of Mary were Lollards. It must be noted that radical religious ideology was not only active in the towns but also in the countryside also. (Morris 2003, 237-238; Lockyer 2013, 130-131). It needs to be noted that during the reign of Mary, the secret organizational activities of the Protestant believers were going on. The total memberships were around two hundred. They changed their meeting places in order to evade the government's attention and possible repression (Lockyer 2013, 131-133).

What Mary and the Catholic bishops aimed was the restoration of traditional rituals and objects in the practices of religion. Mary was very clear in her objective, and the way she tried to revert to Catholicism generated tension and anxiety. It also suppressed the positive and constructive approach of the Catholic order to some extent. However, Mary did not have much time to accomplish the task that she had set (Miller 2017, 118). By the autumn of 1558 she was very ill and spent long periods in a coma. On 17th November, 1558 she died at St James's Palace. On the other side of the river Cardinal Pole was also lying ill in his palace at Lambeth. He survived Mary by only a few hours. It marked the end of the catholic reaction abruptly as it began as a sudden swing (Lockyer 2013, 138).

15.5 The Tudor State under Elizabeth I

Elizabeth I was Queen of England and Ireland from 17th November 1558 to 24th March 1603. She was the last ruler of the Tudor dynasty. She was daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn was executed when Elizabeth was two and half years old. After the death of Mary, she became the queen of England and Ireland. There is a general consensus among the historians that the reign of Elizabeth I was remarkable in many respects. She ruled for nearly forty-five years. During her reign, England faced a number of crises which even threatened the basic existence of England as a state. Here we will pay our attention to the various aspects of her reign briefly.

15.5.1 Elizabeth and the Question of Religion

We have already noted that Mary's reign saw the Counter Reformation in England. It even witnessed some sort of excess in making the country a Catholic one. The reign of Elizabeth I needs to be seen against this background. Indeed, the religious question was the most delicate and critical issue in England during this period. Both the internal stability and foreign relationships were dependent on the formulation of a correct religious policy suitable for the interest of England. It is clear from the recent researches that Elizabeth I had two distinct ideas behind the formulation of her religious policy. Firstly, she disliked the clerical marriage. Secondly, she was against Catholicism because it created obstacles before the establishment of royal supremacy over the church. What she wanted a moderate Protestantism without Calvinist flavour because the Calvinist ideology questioned the right of any woman to govern either church or state (Morris 2003, 303). The new queen had two basic problems during the time of her accession in the throne. On the one hand, the Marian bishops were powerful in the House of Lords. Elizabeth had to take into account

their attitude. On the other hand, Mary left a legacy of war with France and a depleted exchequer. She was therefore not in a position to take any risk of antagonizing the Catholic powers during this period. It was only in April 1559, when the peace treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis was signed between England and France, Elizabeth I was in the position to implement her plan regarding religious issues. William Cecil – the Principal Secretary of the State and Nicholas Bacon – the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal were the two main architects of the Elizabethan Settlement (Lockyer 2013, 186-187). Three bills concerning the supremacy, uniformity and the suppression of the anti-heresy laws were presented before the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Though the House of Lords passed the bills, the House of Lords however rejected. The Marian bishops, along with the Abbot of Westminster and some Catholic lay peers were still powerful enough to create obstacle before royal attempt of reforming the church. However, using political tactics, Elizabeth I was able to introduce the reforms. The Act of Supremacy (April 1559) recognized Elizabeth as 'Supreme Governor' (rather than 'Supreme Head') of the Church of England. with the same powers and prerogatives as her father had enjoyed. All clergymen, civil servants and academics were required to take the Oath of Supremacy. Refusal to do so resulted in loss of offices; a third refusal was punishable as treason (Morris 2003, 303; Lockyer 2013, 188). There was little resistance against the Elizabethan settlement among the parish clergy. It is estimated that out of a total of about nine thousand only some three hundred were deprived of their livings. Nevertheless, it would not be a correct position to see these changes as a spontaneous one: the Elizabethan settlement was accepted in a passive way in many cases. Many priests expressed their outward loyalty without the spirit. Elizabeth immediately sent commissioners to different parts of the country in order to implement the new religious settlement. Being convinced Protestants, the commissioners were engaged in destroying the ornaments and images that local congregations had provided for their churches during Mary's reign. The puritans wanted to clean the church from all traces of Catholicism. They called for the abolition of holy days other than Sundays and the principal feasts, such as Easter. They also the removal of organs from churches. They demanded that ceremonies such as kneeling to receive communion and signing with the cross in baptism should be left to the discretion of the minister, and that compulsory vestments should be confined to the surplice, which they regarded as the least obnoxious of the prescribed garments. However, all these proposals were defeated by fifty-nine votes to fifty-eight votes in the lower house of Convocation. The most noteworthy point is that Elizabeth unlike all others during this period viewed the settlement as the final destination, and not at all as the first stage towards the establishment of a reformed church in true sense of the term. What she wanted the end of the bitter religious conflicts in

England and establishment of the royal supremacy over church and society (Lockyer 2013, 188-191). The Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity imposed religious changes from above without the consent of the clergymen. The coercive measures based on violence and fear along with subtle political tactics made the Elizabethan settlement successful. (Guy 1988, 262). It was the main spirit of the Elizabethan religious settlement.

15.5.2 Elizabeth and the State Administration

Like all the able and successful rulers, Elizabeth was anxious about the necessity of the creation of an efficient administration. Between November 1558 and January 1559, she developed her administrative framework. A number of sweeping changes at Court was made by Elizabeth reflecting her distaste about the Marian past. The royal household witnessed changes also. Except Sir John Mason – the Treasurer of the Chamber – all the old officials were removed. The most significant changes took place in the composition of the Privy Council. During Mary's reign, there were thirty-nine members in the Privy Council: Elizabeth reduced it to nineteen. It must also be remembered that she even retained ten councillors, who had been appointed during Mary's time either due to their experiences or due to their enormous power in the locality. The new members appointed by Elizabeth were both trusted and experienced. The most important newly recruited members of the Elizabeth's team were Sir Richard Sackville, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Nicholas Bacon and Sir William Cecil. The newly reconstituted Council under the new Queen was determined to expand both the royal supremacy and patronage to both the committed Protestants and religious conservatives. Most of the personnel of the central administrative departments retained their posts. In the realm of judiciary, the Marian judges despite their conservative attitude were not removed from the bench. Elizabeth I was able to create an efficient administrative structure within the early 1559 essentially based on a broad holistic approach. She was against the papal authority; however, neither the Catholics nor the Protestants who were accepting the Queen's supremacy were excluded of her patronage. She always maintained a clear balance in her policy and put the interest of the state above the personal interest (Smith 1997, 108-109).

In the administrative matters, Elizabeth relied on the opinion and efficiency of her ministers. However, she always took care of any problem with great detail and utmost accuracy. The ministers were expected to give their advice when it was asked for on the one hand and to perform their duty with full commitment. Because of the growing importance of the new men like Cecil or Bacon or Sackville, the nature of the Council during the reign of Elizabeth came to be changed. It became more impersonal, rational and

professional. The Queen believed that the duty and responsibility of the Council was to provide effective administrative machinery in the country as the representative authority of the Tudor State rather than to satisfy the narrow political ambitions of nobility (Smith 1997, 114-115). As far as the relationships between the Queen and the Parliament was concerned, the latter was not in a position to counter or oppose her policies. The House only sat when Elizabeth wanted or needed it to do so. Apart from the

Parliaments of 1559 (which had crucial legal work to do to establish the succession) and of 1572 (specifically summoned to consider the fate of the Queen of Scots), all Elizabethan Parliaments owed their existence to the government's chronic need for money. Even so, Parliament was only in session for 140 weeks in a reign of forty-five years. Therefore, the English Parliament was never a threat to Elizabeth during her reign (Morris 2003, 304).

15.5.3 The Foreign Policy of England under Elizabeth

The reign of Elizabeth witnessed the dramatic shift of balance of power in Europe: this period witnessed the fall of France and the rise of Spain as the major power. The Elizabethan foreign policy had to interact with these changes of the international politics in such a manner so that the interest of England could be meaningfully protected. Elizabeth began her reign with the signing of the peace treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis by which the war with France came to an end. On the one hand, it was a relief to the English exchequer. The huge and recurring war expenditure was stopped. On the other hand, it was the loss of Calais to France. By the treaty (April 1559) the port was ceded to France, on condition that France would pay 500,000 crowns in compensation within eight years or would hand Calais back. This condition was never full-filled. During almost the same period, the French Protestants as the "Lords of Congregation' rebelled against the rule of French regent. It provided an excellent opportunity to England for intervention. Initially Elizabeth was hesitant so far as 'intervention' was concerned. She had the apprehension that providing support to the rebels might invite possible French retaliation. However, the beginning of civil unrest in France drove away such possibility of French retaliation. England concluded the Treaty of Berwick with the rebels and a troop of eight thousand was sent to Scotland. It forced the French along with their supportive Scottish powers to sign the Treaty of Edinburg (July 1560). It was a huge victory for the English power as it completely ruptured the Franco-Scott alliance. This swift victory at Scotland provoked England to actively participate in the French politics. The Treaty of Richmond (September 1562) was concluded between England and the Prince of Condé. However, the English army was not considered to be

a liberator in the French soil. Therefore, it was failed experiment and misadventure. It was a good teaching to Elizabeth. During her reign, she encouraged intervention in all possible cases but never allowed the direct deployment of English forces on the foreign soil.

The most dramatic change taken place in the Elizabeth's reign was fall of France and rise of Spain as the most powerful power in the European international politics. In 16th century, Spain was the major Catholic power having a formidable army and navy and possessing a vast colonial empire. Her domination on the long-distance Atlantic trade route was a cause of Spanish prosperity. All these factors made the rise of Spain possible, which created a new balance of power in Europe when Elizabeth ruled England. In fact, the Elizabethan period was a major watershed so far as the English foreign policy was concerned. During the entire medieval period, France had been the traditional enemy of England. The sign of first change came to be noticed in the period of Henry VII. During this period, the relationship between England and Spain became gradually bitter. By the time of Elizabeth, France had become an uneasy ally, and Spain was at war with England. One more additional factor was there making the foreign policy of England more complicated: this was the English interest in Scotland and Ireland. The England's aim was to keep Scotland free from the possible French influence and to keep Ireland under tight control whatever the cost might be (Levin 2002, 38-39).

With the decline of France in the 16th century, Spain emerged as the chief enemy of England. In the 1560s, though there were occasional conflicts between England and Spain in the Caribbean, the real bone of contention was on the issue of the Netherlands. Philip II of Spain sent an army under the Duke of Alva into the Spanish Netherlands in August 1567 to crush the revolt that was smouldering there. Elizabeth could hardly ignore this move, for a powerful army in The Netherlands was always a potential threat to England. The internal condition of the Netherlands was highly complicated. There were divisions between the greater nobles and the lesser nobles; between the nobility and the bourgeoisie, the Calvinists and the Catholics. A group of people, who were Calvinists by faith, from Zeeland and Holland called themselves 'Sea Beggars' making privateering as their profession against the Spanish ships. The south-east ports of England were used as the base of operation of the Sea Beggars. But in 1572, Elizabeth ordered them to leave England facing the Spanish pressure. The unintended effect of her action was to transform the whole nature of The Netherlands' revolt, for the Sea Beggars did not simply return peaceably to Holland. Instead, they seized a number of ports, drove out the Spanish garrisons. It contributed to the shift of main centre of the rebellion from the southern to the northern provinces. William of Orange, the Burgundian noble who had emerged as the

rebel leader championing the Netherlands' autonomy quickly realized that the success of any revolt against power like Spain would depend on how far he could expand the social basis of the rebellion. He therefore extended his support to the Sea Beggars. In 1573, William of Orange joined the Calvinist Church inviting hostility of the conservative Catholic nobles of the south. He was also eager of the possible English support with men and money. Elizabeth was however not in favour of the independent Netherlands. What she wanted the return of the Netherlands to the autonomy that she had enjoyed before Philip II. At the same time, she preferred negotiation on behalf of the rebels rather than revolt. Nevertheless, at the same time, Elizabeth urged Philip II to grant home rule to the Netherlands, failing of which might attract the possible English intervention. (Lockyer 2013, 218-219). The mounting tension between England and Spain was exacerbated by the activities of men like Francis Drake. Elizabeth pledged her support to the Dutch rebels by the Treaty of Nonsuch (August 1585). This extension of support in the affairs of the Low Countries going against the Spanish interest completely altered the situation. The activities of Drake and his fellow adventurers were on full swing after August 1585. This changed situation was untenable to Philip II: he realized that without eliminating the English presence in the Netherlands, the Spanish interest would not be secured. On the contrary of Philip II, Elizabeth wanted the expulsion of the Spanish army from the Netherlands; the prevention of the French from gaining power in the Netherlands. She did not want an independent Netherlanders: the Netherlands must remain under continued Spanish protection, but the Dutch would enjoy their ancient liberties and home rule they had had under Charles V (Bonney 1991, 140; Levin 2002, 39).

The weakening of France on the one hand and the Dutch uprising on the other created new forces in the international relations of the 16th century Europe. The new competitors were England and Spain. It became evident that the issues which created tensions between these two countries could not be resolved peacefully. England advanced with two strategies against Spain. First, she tried to create obstacle before the long-distance Spanish maritime communications. It is sometimes considered as 'silver blocked'. The main aim was to stop the flow of precious metals, especially the silver, on which Spain had dependence from the New World. Nevertheless, it had little impact on the military capability of the Spanish naval force. Second, the direct military intervention in the Netherlands was another option to prevent Spanish control of the deep-water ports along the Channel coast which an Armada might use. However, Leicester's war effort in the Netherlands was a disastrous. In many cases, he even alienated the Dutch also. He also spent a huge sum in war with Spain at the Netherlands. To be precise, he spent £160,000 in the first year of intervention instead of the estimated £126,000; the only real consolation when Leicester was finally recalled to

England at the end of that year was that the vital port of Flushing had been kept out of Spanish hands (Morris 2003, 335). In the summer of 1587, Philip II spent time to build his armada – the great fleet for the conquest of England. The Spanish plan was to sail up to the English Channel to Dunkirk. At Dunkirk, the Duke of Parma, the Spanish commander at the Netherlands, would meet the armada with his army. Then this army was to be convoyed across the Straits for a landing in the mouth of Thames. As the time for the Armada approached, English Catholic refugees abroad were jubilant, convinced that Elizabeth would be overthrown and England brought back to the Catholic Church. Some looked for help from their co-religionists at home. But, in fact, England united behind its Queen in a great show of nationalism. In the summer of 1588 Elizabeth was at her most popular and many Catholics were prepared to place patriotism above religion and fight loyally for their Queen and country. The Spanish plan was excellent, but did not work according to the plan. Drake destroyed a mass of Spanish ships and stores at Cadiz by a sudden attack. Though it delayed the plan, however, the armada reached the English waters on July 1588 (Morton 1989, 168-169; Levin 2002, 68). The Spanish armada under Medina Sidonia had about 130 ships carrying more than twenty thousand soldiers and sailors, and he kept them in so tight a formation that the English could not break it up. But the English ships were swifter and more manoeuvrable. The English ships were also better armed, and their cannon inflicted heavy damage on the Spanish vessels when they came to close quarters. Medina Sidonia's orders were to keep his fleet intact until the rendezvous with Parma, and he showed his capacity as a commander by doing just this until the night of 28 July 1588, when he ordered the Armada to anchor off Calais while he awaited news from Parma. This was the opportunity the English had been looking for. Howard – the English commander - sent fireships sailing downwind towards the anchored ships and these caused such alarm and confusion that the Spaniards cut their cables and stood out to sea. By the time daylight came the great fleet was scattered over the waters, and the English darted in and around it, doing great damage. They could have done more if they had not run out of ammunition. In effect the battle was over, for the Spanish ships were short of supplies, and many of them had been so badly damaged by English fire that they could fight no more. Since Howard blocked the southern route back to Spain, Medina Sidonia ordered his leaky ships to sail north, round the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, where rough winds and high seas took a heavy toll. Only half of the great fleet that had set out to humble the protestant Queen eventually returned to harbour, and the enemies of the Catholic Church all over Europe hailed this defeat as a sign of God's blessing on their cause. Elizabeth herself viewed it as a grace of god (Lockyer 2013, 226-227).

15.6 Conclusion

On March 24, 1603, Elizabeth I died. James VI of Scotland as James I of England was proclaimed as the new king. The state in England underwent significant changes during this period spanning from Henry VII to Elizabeth I. In 1500, the word 'state' meant nothing to the people of England. however, at the end of the rule of Elizabeth I, the state as an institution came to acquire meaningful presence even in the daily life. The constituent features of state in England were (i) a defined territory, (ii) a monarchical society organized for civil rule and (iii) a sovereign government which recognized no superior in political, ecclesiastical and legal matters. There were three underlying beliefs influencing the social and cultural developments of England during the same period: (i) the humanity was divided into races or nations, (ii) the purity of the English nation was sullied by the foreign admixtures and (iii) the English language, law and customs (including dress) were the badges of nationality (Guy 1988, 352). In the 15th century, there was no unitary nation or sate in England; there were three distinct languages prevalent in England – English, Welsh and Cornish. However, by the 1590s, the English nationhood came to be defined in terms of English language, culture and law. The English became the language of the court and nobility. Even the old English was alienated. The Tudor State adopted a conscious policy of ignoring the minor languages. The English was made compulsory in legal services, though not in the church service. The indigenous communities of Welsh and Ireland were granted to the status of freeborn Englishmen subject to the condition that they would adopt the English language, law, and customs. There was no place for the Celtic or Gaelic culture in the national level. Probably the Tudor policy was to create a dominant English culture rather than to kill the minority culture altogether. The promotion of a unitary religious practices and break with Rome were other critical aspects of the development of the English state in early modern era. The English Protestantism was associated with the imperial theory of kingship championed by Henry VIII. Elizabeth advanced this idea during her reign. The most interesting fact is that the Tudor policy did not affect the regional autonomy of the distant provinces. The rulers more or less maintained the councils' autonomous role in the local areas. It created a balance and consensus in the royal polity. The Tudor State worked on this fundamental foundation.

15.7 Model Questions

1. How did Henry VII consolidate the Tudor regime in England?
2. How far did the English government become centralised under Henry VII?

3. Discuss the foreign policy of Henry VIII.
4. Critically examine the foreign policy of England under Henry VIII.
5. Analyse the internal administration under Henry VIII.
6. Describe the condition of England under Edward I and Mary Tudor.
7. How did Elizabeth resolve the religious issues?
8. Discuss the development of state administration under Elizabeth.
9. Make an assessment of foreign policy of Elizabeth.

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Unit-16 □ Russia

Structure

16.0 Objectives

16.1 Introduction

16.2 The Growth of Muscovy, 1462-1533

16.3 Russia under Ivan IV (1533-1584)

16.4 Russia under the Romanov Dynasty

16.5 Conclusion

16.6 Model Questions

16.7 Suggested Readings

16.0 Objectives

The objectives of the present unit are to understand the rise of state in Russia in early modern period with special emphasis on the following aspects of the history of Russia:

- The emergence of Muscovy as the nucleus of the Russian state system.
- The historical evolution of Russia under Ivan IV and the Romanov dynasty.

16.1 Introduction

The emergence of Russia as a state in the early modern era was remarkable. Russia stood in the front line of European and Christian defence against non-European and Christian invaders. Nevertheless, this particular historically evolved role of Russia tended to divide it from the rest of Europe and to divert its history into different paths. Before the Mongol invasion of Europe in the thirteenth century, the ancient kingdom of Russia was based on the Ukraine with its capital at Kiev. The Mongol invasion definitely contributed to the disintegration of medieval Russia. After the end of the Mongol dominance in Russia, the Russian state was slowly but gradually crystalized. By 1801, the Russian empire stretched from Poland to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Caspian and Black Seas, encompassing dozens of subject peoples with vastly different cultures and histories. So, it was the rise and articulation of a great empire in the early modern era that Russia had. The Russian empire significantly inherited some of the traditions of the Mongols. It is noted in

recent researches that the Russian, Ottoman, Safavid, Mughal, and Chinese empires, all of which arose in the wake of the Mongol empire were vast, continental, and highly diverse in ethnicities, confessions, and languages. These 'new' empires synthetically drew on the Chinggisid heritage of the Mongol empire to construct ruling ideologies and governing strategies. These Eurasian empires calculated central control against the advantages of maintaining stable communities. The rulers of these empires always recognized the differences. Such empires rule from the center but allow the diverse languages, ethnicities, and religions of their subject peoples to remain in place as anchors of social stability. These early modern empires were connected through trade, warfare and conquest. They shared military technologies, bureaucratic record-keeping skills, languages, communications networks, and ideologies. There were broad similarities in the approaches to governance through the recognition of differences among these empires (Koenigsberger 1987, 25; Maland 1982, 290; Kollmann 2017, 1-2). The early modern Russian empire shared many of these traditions.

Throughout the 14th century, the Russian dukes had to pay tribute to the Mongol khans, and in lieu of it their authority came to be confirmed. However, there were serious dynastic rivalries in the khanate in the second half of the 14th century. The khan of the Golden Horde clashed with Timur from 1387 till 1396, and, after a brief resumption of united direction during the first twenty years of the 15th century, the Golden Horde then broke up into three sections. In the north a khanate was established at Kazan (1445), in the south another emerged based on the Crimea (1449) which was soon to be the object of sustained Ottoman attack. The remainder of the Golden Horde survived on the lower Volga. By this time the Tatar hosts had abandoned notions of conquest and permanent control. They conducted raids on each other, on Lithuania and the states of Russia. Their sole purpose was to capture booty and slaves chiefly for the the Mediterranean market (Hay 1989, 283). Nevertheless, the decline of the Tatar powers paved the way for the rise of Lithuania. The rise of Lithuania was made possible at the expense of the Russian territory. Gedymin (1316—41) occupied the area of the middle Dnieper. Olgierd who succeeded him (1341—77) also pursued this policy, several times raiding as far as Moscow; but he also turned south and in 1363 pushed Lithuanian power to the shores of the Black Sea. Lithuania indeed for a long period looked like being the unifier of the divided Russian states. The marriage of Jagiello (1377—1434) to Hedwig of Poland in 1386 united Lithuania and Poland. The Roman Christianity was also introduced in Lithuania during this period. It gave birth to the religious conflict between Lithuania and Russia because the Orthodox Christianity was dominant in the Russian territory. In the first half of the 15th century, the union of Lithuania and Poland remained a constant threat to Russia.

But the discord between Lithuania and Poland provided a relief to Russia. In the second of the 15th century, Moscow emerged as the powerful and dynamic nucleus of Russia. In 1494 a peace and marriage treaty was signed between Russia and Lithuania. It not only precluded further Tatar attacks on Moscow, which had occurred intermittently from 1460 to 1481, but also gave Russia control of some of the territory taken by Gedymin over a century before (Hay 1989, 283-284). During the reign of Vasili II (1425-62) and Ivan III (1462—1505), Moscow gradually earned sovereignty freeing itself from the Mongol control. Ivan III was the first grand duke who had no patent from a Tatar khan confirming his authority. It symbolized the growing authority of Moscow as the nucleus of the future Russian empire. The steady increase of Moscow also initiated socio-economic changes in late 15th century and early 16th century Russia. With the rise of Moscow, the Russian nobility extended their power and possessions. The importance of civic popular assembly or *veche was* notably declined. The dominant social group by the end of the fifteenth century was composed of the boyars, nobles who had gained much land by the redistribution of the great territories formerly belonging to Novgorod, and who had absolute rights to their estates. The *Duma* or the assembly of high nobles also took a shape confirming the feudal legal rights and privileges in the Russian society. The Russian society also witnessed the growth of lesser gentry during the same period. The lesser gentry was a potential counterweight to the boyars in the new power structure. They were granted fifes on state lands in return for military service. Another major change in the Russian society was the growing disappearance of free peasantry and the growth of serfdom ((Hay 1989, 283-286).

16.2 The Growth of Muscovy, 1462-1533

The period between 1462 and 1533 witnessed the major growth of Muscovy, that is, the grand dutchy of Moscow in terms of land and population. The Muscovite state gained a significant amount of land and population to the southwest in treaties with Lithuania, and annexed the principalities and republics of Iaroslavl (1471), Perm (1472), Rostov (1473), Tver (1485), Viatka (1489), Pskov (1510), Smolensk (1514), Riazan (1521) and Novgorod (1478). This expansionist policy transformed Muscovy from a loosely organised confederation, roughly equivalent in structure to any of the neighbouring steppe khanates, into a monarch-in-council form of government with a quasi-bureaucratic administrative structure. The Muscovite state created necessary institutions to organize markets, collect taxes, control the population and staff the army and bureaucracy. The rulers also disbursed a major share of collected wealth or taxes among the elites in order to enlist their support.

The Muscovite state made effort to create a cohesive elite class by offering tax, land, and other privileges. Now it could be compared with that of any west European dynastic state as far as the mode of governance and administrative policies were concerned. The emerging state of Moscow incorporated effective and uniform administrative mechanism, the institutionalization of military services and the creation of spectacular citadel aiming to impress the subjects. The new system of administration incorporated not only the Russian elites within the body politic but also the non-Russian elites and nobles. All these changes made the Muscovite state under three rulers, namely, Vasilii II, Ivan III and Vasilii III. The responsibility of the Russian nobility was to strengthen the state authority and administration. It was the general consensus of the ruling class in early modern Russia. The Church also extended its support to consolidate the process of state making. It also offered standardised religious practices with an effective anti-Tatar ideology. It provided the ideological framework of the new state. Despite some occasional disagreements, the state and church in Russia worked more or less harmoniously. It provided the basic legitimacy and sustenance to the newly formed state of Moscow (Perrie 2006, 213-214; Kollmann 2017, 4). During this period, the Muscovite grand princes successfully ended the independence of the other Russian princes. They were not allowed to receive the *iarlyk* (patent) for their principality directly from the Tatar khans. It greatly reduced the semi-autonomous status of the Russian princes. On the other contrary, this step ensured the sole authority of the grand princes over the rest of the country. In spite of the development of state form in Moscow, one major weakness remained in the structure of the Russian state: it was the absence of standing army under the possession of the grand princes. Until the end of the 15th century, the grand princes relied on the supply of mobile armed forces on others. It was mainly the Tatar khans who supplied the armies. The grand princes also had dependence on their relatives and close associates for the supply of residual requirement (Perrie 2006, 217).

Moscow stood in the middle of the trading network of Black Sea and the forests of the north. The government collected custom duties and toll from the merchants. It became one of the sources of the Muscovite prosperity in the 15th and 16th centuries. Muscovy was a vital trade centre for the forested area north of the western steppe region. Because of this special position of Moscow, the Muscovite ruling class, military, administration and culture were always subject to outside influences. Until the 15th century, the major influences came from the east; after 15th century, there was a reverse flow of the ideas. The west started influencing the east. Moscow experienced this critical transition of early modern history in a spectacular manner (Perrie 2006, 218-219). Russia by 1500 had emerged as a distinct state. Now it started experiencing the influence of west. Ivan III took Zoë, niece of the last Greek emperor as his second wife accepting the advice of the Pope. The marriage took place in Moscow in November 1472, when the princess adopted the

name Sophia. For a time, this seems to have encouraged Italian influences at Ivan's court - there were Italian architects at work in the Kremlin from 1473 to 1491 (Hay 1989, 286-287). Ivan III was succeeded by Vasilii III in October 1505. Vasilii III like his father made all efforts to expand his personal power as well as the power of the state. He also preferred to depend on the advisors rather than his relatives or brothers. The domestic policies of both Ivan III and Vasilii III focused on reducing the power of their brothers and on maintaining good relations with the boyars and the Church. The relationship between Ivan III and Vasilii III, on one side, and their respective brothers, on the other, was often a tense and suspicious one. Both grand princes, however, required their brothers' help in mobilising troops. Each grand prince had four brothers and each brother could be expected to muster about 10,000 men for a campaign. Ivan III and Vasilii III completed the process of incorporating the service princes as integral parts of their armies along with their own boyars. Both Ivan III and Vasilii III treated their boyars well, let them manage their estates unhindered and regularly consulted with them on the formulation of state policies. The boyars also participated in the formulation of decree, law, code, regulation and even foreign treaties (Perrie 2006, 222-225). In the religious affairs church was the supreme head. This period witnessed the dominance of councils in the matters related to church and religious practices. A number of councils were held in1488, 1490, 1504, 1525 and 1531. One of the basic questions discussed in the councils was the heresy and the investigations of heretics. The Council of 1503 discussed the several ecclesiastical issues along with discipline and procedure in the religious practices. Both Ivan III and Vasilii III were actively involved with the Church as befitted their positions as head of state. They presided with their respective metropolitans over Church councils. They also recognised the Church's spiritual role. Vasilii III also abided by the Church's prerogatives and actively punished heretics (Perrie 2006, 225-229).

Both Ivan III and Vasilii III had far-ranging foreign policies. They have to cope up with both the east and the west. Between 1462 and 1533, the western steppe area of the Eurasian heartland witnessed a balance of power among five political entities of medium economic and military might: the Crimean khanate, the Great Horde (replaced in 1502 by the khanate of Astrakhan'), the Kazan' khanate, the khanate of Tiumen' (soon to be replaced by the khanate of Sibir') and Muscovy. These five political entities occupied a frontier zone between three relatively distant major powers (or core areas): The Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania and Safavid Persia. None of these three major powers was strong enough or close enough to exert hegemony over the western steppe or its accompanying savannah and forest border area. In 1496, the first diplomatic contact was established between the Ottoman empire and the Muscovite power. It was a good political

and trading relations that both the power developed. The Turkish merchants purchased furs, iron tools, flax, walrus tusks and mercury from Muscovy while Russian merchants purchased brocades, taffeta and silk from Turkey. In the latter half of the 15th century, the position of Moscow was threatened by the union of Poland-Lithuania on the one hand and the Crimean khanate. The Muscovite grand princes started incorporating Lithuanian princes and nobility and their attendant service people to come over into grand-princely service of Moscow. The Tatar people were also getting incorporated in the princely service. It strengthened the Muscovite military capability. From the late 15th century, Moscow steadily advanced towards the Grand Dutchy of Lithuania. Moscow's encroachments into the upper Oka area were ratified by a peace treaty around 1492, cemented by the marriage of Ivan III's daughter to Grand Duke of Lithuania Alexander in 1495. However, war again broke out in 1500. 1503Moscow won Toropets and other upper Oka towns including Starodub, Briansk, Novgorod-Seversk, and Chernigov. Moscow won the city republic of Pskov in 1510 and Smolensk in 1514, acquiring several overland trade routes: through Pskov to Narva and other Livonian towns on the Gulf of Finland and Baltic. It opened up long-term conflict between Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania (Perrie 2006, 233-238; Kollmann 2017, 51-52).

16.3 Russia under Ivan IV (1533–1584)

Ivan Vasil'evich, the future Ivan IV 'the Terrible' (Groznyi), was born into the family of Grand Prince Vasilii III of Moscow, the head of the ruling branch of the Riurikid dynasty, on 25 August 1530. Ivan IV nominally became grand prince at the age of three after the death of his father in December 1533. Ivan's mother Elena Glinskaia immediately took the control and authority in her own hands freeing herself from the regents deputed by Vasilii III. On 3 April 1538, Elena died. Her death was followed by the 'boyar rule' (1537-47) in the Muscovite. On 16 January 1547, the coronation of Ivan IV took place. Ivan's coronationwas followedinFebruary1547byhismarriage to Anastasiia Romanovna, a member of the established boyar clan of the Zakhar'in-Iur'evs. Both coronation and marriage of Ivan IV indicated the beginning of major shift in the power and authority of the Muscovite dynasty. The coronation changed the status of the ruling family and affected its domestic, international and cultural policy. Ivan IV acquired the status of a ruler chosen by god through the adoption of the new title Tsar and received the supreme authority over other princes and court members. The elevated position of the dynastic head allowed the ruling elites to develop an ideological programme of consolidation of the ruling circle's authority around the figure of the monarch. The main thesis of the official propaganda

contrasted the anarchy of the boyar rule during the minority of Ivan with the harmony prevailing under Tsar Ivan. Ivan IV himself promoted the idea of divine authority of his power and his hereditary right to the title of tsar (Perrie 2006, 240-249).

Ivan IV made effort to consolidate his rule through an expansionist policy. He annexed the so-called enfeebled states of the east: Kazan (1552), Astrakhan (1556). The conquest was brutal: The Muscovite army used the tactics of mass expulsion that had been employed on the western borderland since the defeat of Novgorod (1478). Most of the Tatar population was moved out of Kazan city. Leaders and elites were executed or deported; Russian gentry were moved onto their lands and Russian merchants into the city. Mosques were destroyed and an Orthodox bishopric and monasteries were founded on confiscated lands. Resistance was persistent—Tatars and Cheremis (Mari) revolted in 1570–2 and 1581–4—and brutally put down. The cities in the conquered regions in general were greatly Russianized, but in the surrounding countryside the status quo was affirmed for loyal ethnic groups. It enabled Evan IV to establish the Russian dominance over the whole basin of Volga on the one hand and Siberia on the other hand. Pacific Ocean was now open to Russia. However, the westward expansion of Russia was however not easy. The Ukrainian steppe – the southern part of Russia – was dominated by the Cossacks. It was an ethnically mixed group of frontiersmen. As fierce fighters, the Cossacks were always a potential threat to Russia. Evan IV found it profitable to include some of the Cossack bands in lieu of payment into the Russian army. The Polish cavalry was also an obstacle before the Russian advancement towards the west directly. The potential area for conquest before Russia was Livonia in the north-west. Livonia was attractive to Ivan IV because the conquest of this area could open the way towards Baltic. He justified his aggression towards Livonia by arguing that the Livonians were not Christian. However, in spite of enormous costs, the Russian force failed completely to conquest the region because of the powerful military organizations of the Baltic states. Evan IV was however successful in establishing his absolute control within the Russian territory, that is, the whole vast area north of the Oka and the Volga. This area indeed became the private estate of the tsar. No regional or provincial autonomy existed in the face of the tsarist expansionist policy. The corporate cities with autonomy ceased to exist in Russia. For example, the liberty enjoyed by Novgorod was smashed. It was a striking difference with the west European development: the cities in the Western Europe were able to retain their autonomy through continuous struggle in the early modern era. The Russian cities, however, did not have any autonomous role in the societal development. The Church was, of course, a corporation and, in a crucial Church council in 1503, it successfully defended its property against Ivan Ill's plans for secularization. In all other matters, however, including the choice of the metropolitan, the right to convoke councils and even in jurisdiction over heresy, the Church

acknowledged the authority of the tsar and, following Byzantine tradition, preached his absolute power (Koenigsberger et al 1989, 251-252; Kollmann 2017, 56).

Ivan IV came to the conclusion that the boyars were the most serious threat before the establishment of absolute power of tsar within Russia. It motivated him to the development of a careful plan for eliminating the boyar influence in the political structure of the country. The boyars were the great landowning class in early modern Russia enjoying substantial amount of power and wealth. The grand princes of Moscow had developed *dvoriane*, the service nobility or gentry who performed military services with their retainers according to the size of their estates. The service nobility also faced serious competition from the boyars so far as the labour supply was concerned. The boyars as great land holding class had advantage over the service nobility in securing the supply of peasants for cultivation. As Russia was sparsely populated, the lack of securing labour meant crisis of agricultural production especially for the service nobility. The boyars were in advantageous position in this regard. Moreover, Ivan IV had the bitter memory of the activities of the boyars during his long minority (1533-47). During this period, the boyars fought for their own personal interests. In 1565 Ivan IV set up an organization, called the *oprichnina*, in which first 1,000, later up to 6, 000 of his most loyal followers were given land confiscated from boyars and other landowners. Some of the boyars were given compensation in frontier areas, to the south and cast, but much of their old influence was now broken. The coup was staged with exemplary brutality. There were mass executions and thousands were evicted from their homes in the middle of winter. Within the area of the *oprichnina*, about half the territory of the state, the tsar was left with absolute power (Koenigsberger et al 1989, 252-253). The government bureaucracy and landed gentry – all were now under the direct command of Ivan IV. It was an unprecedented enhancement of the royal power of tsar in the early modern period with far reaching impact without solving the fundamental problem of feudal polity and economy. It disintegrated the free peasant communes greatly. As the new owners required labour for cultivation, the service nobility imposed extremely harsh conditions on the peasants. Most of the peasants fled from their lands immediately as a direct consequence of this disaster. It led to the decline of population and the acute shortage of labour. In this context, the tsar allowed the imposition of serfdom on the peasantry. It partially solved the problem of labour scarcity. In turn, the tsar was able to secure the unconditional support and loyalty of the service nobility. But these measures failed to solve the crisis in the Russian feudal economy. First Ivan IV failed to develop any centralized impersonal administrative machinery: the administrative mechanism evolved around his personality. Therefore, it was inherently weak in nature. This process also weakened the military capability of Russia. The decline of the boyars – the traditional

military class – created an immediate vacuum in the military structure of the feudal Russia. A Tartar raid on Moscow in 1571 exposed the military weakness of the country clearly. According to Dr Giles Fletcher, – the English ambassador – the country was in full of grudge and mortal hatred when Evan IV died in 1584 (Koenigsberger et al 1989, 253-254). For a time, Boris Godunov, the maternal uncle of the weak-minded Tsar Fedor, governed successfully, rather like an Ottoman grand vizier. But by 1600, when Fedor had died, the country immediately fell into civil war between warring palace and boyar factions, while Poles and Cossacks intervened to try and control the fate of Muscovy (Koenigsberger et al 1989, 254).

The idea of a Russian absolutism was first evolved as a distinct ideology in the reign of Ivan IV. He invented the genealogical line of the Russian tsars from Caesar Augustus and the Byzantine emperors. Ivan IV exercised more effective control over the administration than his predecessors. The regional autonomy was completely destroyed. With the help of Yermak – a Cossack commander – Russia subjugated Siberia: it brought enormous wealth to the Russian possession. However, the limits of Evan IV's expansionist policy and the idea of absolutism need to be discussed also. Though he was able to subdue the Tatars of the Volga region, however, he failed to defeat the Tatars of Crimea. Evan IV also failed to establish his foothold in the Baltic Sea. So far as the state building mechanism and absolutism were concerned, it would be inappropriate to characterize the 16th century Russia as a state in west European sense. The idea of absolutism in the Evan IV's Russian statecraft was a more an illusion or aspiration rather than a concrete reality. The inherent weakness of the Evan IV's administration was expressed after his death when the empire started disintegrating. This period is commonly known as Dark time or Time of Troubles. After the complete disintegration, the Russian state began to take shape under a new dynasty – that is, the Romanov – with a firmer basis than the previous period. The Romanov rulers established the Russian absolutism on a more lasting basis than their predecessors (Dukes 1982, 3-4).

16.4 Russia under the Romanov Dynasty

Ivan's death was followed by a period of social unrest the Russians called the "Time of Troubles," which saw various factions competing, fighting and murdering to gain the throne, a series of pretenders claiming to be one or other of the murdered princes, the Polish occupation of Moscow, and revolts by Cossacks and peasants. Amidst this crisis, Boyars and service nobility met together in a national assembly (Zemski sobor) and elected

a grandnephew of Ivan, Michael Romanov (ruled 1613–45), as tsar, establishing a dynasty that would rule until the Russian Revolution in the early twentieth century. It was the background of the establishment of Romanov dynasty. The most important point is that the assembly of the nobility did not impose any limitation on the tsar's power during this period. Michael Romanov was not a very capable in restoring the royal glory, peace and stability. But his advisors were skilful enough to consolidate the authority of Michael. They ensured the support of the boyars and service nobility at the expenses of the townsmen and the peasantry. In 1649, with the support of the nobility, the law was enacted to make the peasants into serfs. It virtually completed the process of imposition of serfdom on the peasants of Russia and ensured absolute authority of the Russian feudal lords in the rural social structure. The Michael's advisors also successfully confirmed the support of the Ukrainian Cossacks: the Cossacks became the members of the tsar's army. The Cossacks played a very important role in Russia's expansionist policy in Siberia. They also took a leading role in crushing a major peasant uprising in 1670-71 (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 356).

Michael was sixteen years old in 1613 and was not in a good health. He was also by no means a strong character. It in fact assisted his election to the throne: both the urban service nobility and the Cossack of the agrarian hinterland became united in the selection of Michael. In 1619, however, Patriarch Filaret – the father of Michael – returned to Russia. Until his death in 1633, Filaret became the virtual ruler of the country. Filaret exercised strong control over all parts of the administration and worked against what he saw as dangerous innovations. He idealised the past and considered himself as a restorer and not at all as a reformer. The efforts were made to consolidate the power of the tsar and the importance of the representative assemblies were minimised. Apart from the internal centralization, Filaret attempted to strengthen the capability of the army. Filaret' s main aim was to revive the struggle against Poland for Smolensk and other western lands. The significant secondary purposes were to make secure the southern steppe frontier and to extend Russian interests elsewhere in Europe and Asia. In 1632, Russia got involved in war with Poland on the issue of the control over Smolensk. However, the peace was restored with Poland through the Treaty of Polianovka by which Poland retained Smolensk. It must also be remembered that during this period, Russia took a keen interest in observing the development of Western Europe. She wanted a Pan-Christian anti-Turkish crusade in Europe (Dukes 1998, 54-55).

The Russian empire and imperial ideology were based on two fundamental constituents: absolutism and serfdom. These two elements broadly provided support to the framework of the emerging network of power and authority of the Russian tsars. Both these institutions took on something like a definite shape during the last half of the seventeenth century. The

Russian expansion at Ukraine and Siberia was managed by the central bureaucracy and army. A consistent, cohesive and orthodox ideology strengthened the imperial administrative framework. All these developments created the necessary conditions for the rise of Peter the Great in the history of Russia. The rule of Peter I was started in 1689. He was determined to expand the Russian territory and make the country stronger than ever before. In 1700, Peter attacked Sweden to obtain a port in the Baltic. However, the well-disciplined Swedish army quickly reacted forcefully, and completely defeated the Russian army. This defeat led to the adoption of a modernization plan of the Russian armed forces. Peter I introduced the law of conscription in a wider scale in Russia. All the members of boyars or the service nobility were forced to serve either in the army or in the bureaucracy. The peasants were forced to join in the army of Peter I as foot soldiers. As war required huge amount of money, he tripled the taxes, and spent generously for war. The three-quarters of all revenues were meant for war. Peter I paid attention to the technological development of the Russian army. The foreign experts were invited to Russia to train the Russian soldiers and develop improved weapons (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 357). As a result of the modernization process of the Russian military by Peter I, the Russian troops were able to defeat the Swedish forces in later battles. In July 1709, Russian forces destroyed the Swedish army at the battle of Poltava in Ukraine. Although the fighting with Sweden dragged on until 1721, when the Treaty of Nystadt finally brought an end to hostilities, the victory at Poltava stunned Europe and confirmed Russia's emergence as a major military power. Russia was now an established presence in the Baltic region, with Peter's new capital city, St. Petersburg, positioned as his window on the West. A large area of Baltic came under Russia. Later in the 18th century Russia took the north coast of the Black Sea and much of Poland, building a large navy to defend their holdings. At the beginning of the 17th century, Russia was just like a small principality in terms of size and power. Nevertheless, by the turn of century, Russia became one of the most dominant powers in the region, which came to be recognized by the western power also. She had established diplomatic relationships both with the western powers as well as the eastern power like China (Wiesner-Hanks 2013, 358; Ziegler 2009, 36; Dukes 1998, 55-56).

Peter I completely rejected any idea related to the introduction of political liberalization in Russia. In 1698, he brutally suppressed the revolt of *streltsy* (royal musketeers). Many of them were executed; others were sent into exile. The creation of Senate to administer the country when Peter would be not in Moscow did not imply any radical change in the affairs of the state. All the administrative measures were taken to consolidate the absolutist rule of the tsar himself. New laws on provincial and municipal government were enacted in 1719 and 1721, respectively, in an attempt to separate judicial and administrative functions. Peter also sought to create a more activist state to provide social services,

govern the economy, and create a respect for law and sense of communal responsibility. Yet there was no equivalent to the American concept of a law limiting government. As the British historian B. H. Sumner has pointed out, Peter relied heavily on his guards and officers to override ordinary government, rule Ukraine, and force officials to carry out his edicts. This practice of relying on a state above the state had been employed by Ivan the Terrible (Ziegler 2009, 36-37). All these measures completely transformed the country from a medieval principality or dutchy to an absolute state of early modern Europe.

16.5 Conclusion

When Peter I died in 1725, he left a Russia transformed. He injected both the values of west and east – often contradictory - into Russian society, creating tensions that would endure for centuries. The upper classes had certainly become Europeanised to a great extent under the rule of Peter I. However, the great mass of the population remained culturally Russian. Over the next century, this cultural divide would widen even further, creating virtually two worlds having little in common. Only in the late 19th century were there any serious efforts to bridge the gap, not via reform, but through various populist and terrorist movements that would destabilize Russian society and prime it for revolution (Ziegler 2009, 37). From the beginning of the centralized state formation process in Russia, it was a multi-ethnic state. The very concepts of 'nation' and 'nationality' were largely absent in imperial Russia. It was rather religion in many respects that played a pivotal role in consolidating the imperial identity of Russia. The Russian tsars took for granted the predominance of Russian culture (including language) and the Russian Orthodox religion within the empire. But Imperial Russia also lacked the resources and even will to carry out consistent and activist programmes of national assimilation or 'ethnic cleansing' whether through education or more violent methods. Tsarist 'nationalities policy' was far from a single homogeneous policy. The tsars developed different policies from time to time in Poland, Caucasus and Central Asia. The expansionist policy of the Russian tsars aimed to collect the tribute in a ruthless manner, and not always to establish the direct rule in the vast territory of the frontiers. (Lieven 2006, 27-28). Therefore, during the early modern period, the Russian state and empire emerged as a conservative and orthodox political institution with expansionist imperial ideology. It believed in military modernization, development of trade and commerce, agricultural expansion; however, it did not encourage any growth of liberal thinking and representative government. The Russian rulers believed in absolute command, authority and power within the territory. The political economy of the Russian feudalism was firmly based on absolute or unquestionable authority of the tsars on the one

hand and the introduction of agricultural production system based on serfdom. The gradual evolution of absolutism and serfdom in Russia contributed to the formation of an empire which was largely orthodox, agrarian, military and bureaucratic in nature.

16.6 Model Questions

1. How do you explain the growth of Muscovy as the nucleus of Russia during 1462-1533?
2. What was the contribution of Ivan IV in the formation of the Russian state?
3. Make an assessment of Peter I as the ruler of Russia?
4. Discuss the growth of Russia under the Romanov dynasty.
5. How did Peter I pursue the imperial policy of expansion in Russia?
6. What were the primary features of the state formation in early modern Russia?

16.7 Suggested Readings

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