

**Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte**

Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris

(Institut historique allemand)

Band 30/1 (2003)

DOI: 10.11588/fr.2003.2.63501

---

Rechtshinweis

Bitte beachten Sie, dass das Digitalisat urheberrechtlich geschützt ist. Erlaubt ist aber das Lesen, das Ausdrucken des Textes, das Herunterladen, das Speichern der Daten auf einem eigenen Datenträger soweit die vorgenannten Handlungen ausschließlich zu privaten und nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken erfolgen. Eine darüber hinausgehende unerlaubte Verwendung, Reproduktion oder Weitergabe einzelner Inhalte oder Bilder können sowohl zivil- als auch strafrechtlich verfolgt werden.

Der Frieden. Rekonstruktion einer europäischen Vision, hg. von Klaus GARBER und Jutta HELD, Bd. 1: Erfahrung und Deutung von Krieg und Frieden. Religion – Geschlechter – Macht und Kultur, hg. von Klaus GARBER, Jutta HELD, Friedhelm JÜRGENSMEIER, Friedhelm KRÜGER und Ute SZÈLL, München (Wilhelm Fink) 2001, 1168 p. Bd. 2: Frieden und Krieg in der Frühen Neuzeit. Die europäische Staatenordnung und die außereuropäische Welt, hg. von Ronald G. ASCH, Wulf Eckart VOSS und Martin WREDE (Wilhelm Fink) 2001, 622 p.

The 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Peace of Westphalia in 1998 provided the stimulus for numerous exhibitions and academic conferences. Perhaps the most ambitious of these events was that organised by the ›Institut für Kulturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit‹ at the University of Osnabrück, which brought together specialists from many different disciplines to consider the themes of war and peace in early modern Europe. Though the main focus was fixed firmly on the seventeenth century, the participants were encouraged to range across the entire period from the late middle ages to the end of the eighteenth century, and to cast their gaze beyond Europe to consider that continent's place in the wider world. The overall goal was to reconstruct early modern understandings of war and peace and investigate how these interacted with wider historical events.

The proceedings are now brought together in two substantial volumes containing 90 contributions from 88 different scholars. Given the scale and scope of the enterprise, it is perhaps inevitable that the results are somewhat uneven. The contributions vary substantially in length and many participants have clearly substantially reworked and extended their papers, while a few appear to have made only slight amendments. Equally, whereas many specialists have made great efforts to cross disciplinary boundaries, some remained enclosed in the jargon and internal debates of their own field. The editors have struggled bravely to impose order on the material. The first volume concentrates on the meaning and experience of war within the three themes of religion, gender and culture, each of which is broken down into four or five areas containing between two and nine separate contributions. The second, somewhat shorter and more coherent volume is split into two main parts dealing with the European states system and the question of European frontiers and the extra-European world. This volume is likewise subdivided into different areas, each containing a number of separate contributions.

The first volume opens with the issue of religion beginning with five studies of the different theological perspectives on war and peace. Manfred OEMING and Andreas LINDEMANN offer exceptionally clear and informative discussions of the concept of peace in the Old and New Testaments, indicating how interpretations of the key biblical passages have changed over time. Wilhelm GOERLING follows with a useful summary of the development of St Augustine's influential concept of peace, while Hans WALDENFELS SJ offers a brief and somewhat controversial investigation of the concept of religious war in the major world faiths. Siegfried WIEDENHOFER concludes the first section with an equally broad examination of pacific traditions in the major world religions, indicating that the recent advocacy of global peace by established faiths draws on well-established theological traditions. The Christian Humanist tradition is the subject of two contributions from Klaus GARBER and Friedhelm KRÜGER, who both depict Erasmus as a realist and see Humanism as a mediating ›third force‹ between the confessional camps. The more radical pacifism advocated by Anabaptists, Mennonites and Pietists forms the subject of four papers from Abraham FRIESEN, Christof WINDHORST, Hanspeter MARTI and Siegfried WOLLGAST. All note both the diversity of radical theological perspectives, as well as the close connection between the lifestyle of these groups and their chiliastic and pacifist beliefs. The question of irenicism and toleration is taken up by the last four contributors to this part. Trutz RENDTORFF offers a rather schematic interpretation of the Peace of Westphalia as a milestone on the road towards modern ecumenicalism; a view that ignores the current debate on the persist-



ence and even revival of sectarian antagonisms in later seventeenth and eighteenth-century Central Europe. Dietrich BLAUFUSS presents a series of detailed case studies indicating that some theologians were nonetheless able to transcend such antagonisms after 1648 and recognise each other as fellow Christians. Heribert SMOLINSKY draws a useful comparison between the early modern Low Countries and the Lower Rhine to demonstrate the dependency of sixteenth and seventeenth-century irenicism on political expediency. Friedhelm JÜRGENSMEIER makes a major contribution to our understanding why the Westphalian religious settlement actually worked by investigating the problem of biconfessional territories within the Reich. Like Smolinsky, but in contrast to Rendtorff, Jürgensmeier emphasises the political, rather than ecumenical dimension, indicating that the arrangements functioned because they assisted in the progressive juridification of confessional strife. Jutta HELD opens the volume's second major theme with a helpful survey of the fruitful connections forged in recent years between early modern cultural history, gender history and peace and conflict studies. This passes over the contribution of the Anglo-American and French ›war and society‹ approach, as well as the implications of the ›military revolution‹ debate for the relationship between war and wider historical change. As with the project as a whole, the current preoccupation with war as either a cultural and social concept or literary metaphor risks losing sight of the fact that it involved actual fighting and killing. Not only is there still a place for what is now being called ›operational history‹, or the analysis of military action, but there is a real need for cultural historians to study the behaviour and actual material of early modern warfare. Many of the following fifteen contributors are more concerned with tracing gender relations, than with the interaction between these and conflict. Together, they make a substantial contribution to understanding gender, and particularly women, in early modern Europe, but these findings are not fully systematised with an understanding of the changing nature of organised violence in the same period. Only Bea LUNDT addresses the issue of masculinity squarely and offers some suggestive thoughts on the shifting association of war/warrior and peace/peacemaker with gender definitions between the ninth and fifteenth centuries. Helen WATANABE-O'KELLY examines the role of women in actual combat as either commanders or participants. Though interesting, it should be stressed that such cases, which generally involved female transvestism, were relatively rare. Examples of more common experience are given in Barbara HOFFMANN's model study of female survival strategies in Leipzig during the Thirty Years War. Ulrike GLEIXNER provides a useful summary of her socio-legal research, noting how German rural legal culture responded to the War with sharpened moral discipline. Wolfgang SCHILD investigates the use of torture on female suspects in a substantial piece of psychohistory. Heide WUNDER and Claudia OPITZ address more political questions. The prominent place played by German princesses during the Thirty Years War illustrated by Wunder failed to translate into a positive reception in the contemporary political theory examined by Opitz. The remaining eight contributions draw primarily on literary and artistic evidence to examine social constructions of gender and early modern portrayals of a ›war between the sexes‹. Norbert SCHINDLER analyses how the abbess Maria Magdalena Haidenbucherin recorded military and political events in her diary. Renate KROLL and Martina DLUGAICZYK analyse the early modern fascination with the myth of the Amazons, while gender stereotypes are examined in the fields of music (Corinna HERR), literature (Elisabeth GÖSSMANN, Barbara LANGE), philosophy (Renate BAADER) and theology (Burkhard DOHM).

The final part of the volume examines the experience of war and peace in relation to culture and the natural world. The first six contributions deal with various utopian visions of peace (Aleida ASSMANN, Renate BÖSCHMANN, Thomas ALTHAUS, Michael SCHILLING, Helmut J. SCHNEIDER, Günter OESTERLE). They are primarily concerned with tracing changing images of arcadia in seventeenth and eighteenth literary and artistic forms. The following



nine pieces examine past hopes for peace from a variety of perspectives (Klaus REICHERT, Hubertus LUTTERBACH, Walter FÄHNDERS, Frank BAUDACH, Eckehard CZUCKE, Jost HERMAND, Christina VANJA, Jörn GARBER, Rudolf ZUR LIPPE). Many note the significance of myths of a lost golden age and how these ideas were gradually displaced by the desacralisation of politics. Some offer insight from surprising sources, such as Czucke's informative and entertaining analysis of Otto von Guericke's writings. However, the interrelationship between war and the natural world is rather neglected and Hermand's piece on 'war and peace in the German forest' is really a plea for the validity of environmental history. The six subsequent studies form a rather more coherent group, sharing a common basis in historical linguistics. Rosmarie ZELLER, Herbert E. BREKLE and Friedrich KITTLER primarily analyse the place of peace in the development of language in seventeenth-century Central Europe, while Ferdinand von INGEN concentrates on language and patriotism. Georg BRAUNGART examines the use of metaphor in courtly and political rhetoric, raising interesting connections between language and princely burial rituals. Bernhard JAHN traces the development of writing on diplomatic ceremonial in the century after 1648, concluding that it made a practical contribution to peace, even if the practice was increasingly condemned as irrelevant. The last eight contributors study war and peace in literature, drama, music and the fine arts. Werner HOFMANN examines the famous works by Rubens and Velázquez, inspired by the events of the Thirty Years War. Andreas TACKE's substantial piece questions whether painters used their creative work as a means of coping with the horrors of conflict around them. This theme is picked up by Ernst ROHMER who addresses the fundamental issue of how contemporaries came to terms with war and offers a useful warning against the uncritical selection of baroque literature, such as Grimmelshausen, as evidence for contemporary understanding of the horrors of war. Dirk NIEFANGER traces the themes of war and peace in seventeenth-century historical drama, while Andrea GREWE and Marianne SAMMER look at other literary evidence. Stefan HANHEIDE and Dietz-Rüdiger MOSER round off the volume from the perspective of musicologists.

As the editors admit, there is some overlap between the first and the second volume which is more concerned with war and peace in the field of international relations and identity. This second volume is divided into two unequal parts, the first concentrating on aspects of the European states system. Like a number of his fellow contributors, Heinz DUCHHARDT opens the volume by questioning the significance of 1648 as a turning point in the development of European international relations. Wolfgang REINHARD briefly develops the theme of war and state formation identified by the editor Ronald G. ASCH in the introduction to the volume. Whereas Reinhard stresses power politics, Heinhard STEIGER celebrates the development of international law as a common European cultural achievement constituting more than empty statements of good intentions. Randall LESAFFER presents a suggestive reappraisal of customary interpretations of European international development, reversing the customary emphasis by arguing that the development of international law was the product, not the cause of mid-seventeenth century political stability.

The relationship between the monopoly of violence and the rise of the modern state is explored by three contributors in greater detail. Peter-Michael HAHN relativises Prussian militarism by stressing the cultural dimension to the Great Elector's drive to create a standing army. Prussia, like its other German rivals, established a permanent military establishment to raise its prestige and compensate for a lack of real political influence. Guy ROWLANDS presents an equally new view in his impressive survey of the growth of French military power between 1515 and 1715. This depended not so much on the crown's technological or fiscal superiority, but on the aristocracy's acceptance of a royal monopoly of violence as a political necessity. I. A. A. THOMPSON compliments Rowlands' findings with his own examination of Spain across roughly the same period. He tests the validity of the current social and political science explanations for early modern state formation, concluding that war drove decen-



tralisation in Spain by increasing the political weight of the localities. Simon GROENVELD and Jean-Marie CONSTANT offer two further useful studies that show the influence of wider groups on foreign and military policy in the Netherlands and France. War propaganda is illustrated through three case studies. Jonathan BROWN shows the risks taken by Olivares who commissioned a series of celebratory battle paintings before the final outcome of the conflict had been decided. Malcolm SMUTS makes some interesting comments on the place of war and peace in Stuart court culture, concluding it was far more ambiguous than is often portrayed and that its ambivalence to conflict reflected deep-rooted divisions over policy. Johannes ARNDT surveys Dutch propaganda during the Eighty Years War with his customary clarity, identifying the arguments advanced to legitimise the continued struggle against Spain. This issue overlaps with the five contributors who examine the Reich as an early modern political system dedicated to resolving conflict. Martin WREDE investigates how operations against Sweden were legitimised in the conflicts of 1655–1660 and 1672–1679, noting the growing prestige of Leopold I as part of the wider recovery of imperial influence. Wilhelm KÜHLMANN traces the antecedents of this imperial patriotism to a distinct German Humanist identification with the Reich and its mission in Europe. Anton SCHINDLING summarises his extensive work on the impact of the Westphalian settlement on imperial institutions, outlining how the traditional hierarchical structure was preserved thanks to rejuvenated imperial leadership. These pieces reflect the current positive reappraisal of the Reich as a flawed, but functioning political system. A key issue in this reassessment is the question of confessional strife after 1648. Georg SCHMIDT's contribution represents the more optimistic interpretation, arguing that the growth of common values bridging the confessional divide assisted in preserving peace after 1648. Dagmar FRIEST examines this on a more micro-historical level studying confessionally-mixed marriages. Her findings raise important questions about the presumed secularisation of social and political behaviour in the later seventeenth-century, and like Jürgensmeier's chapter in the first volume, contributes greatly to our understanding of how the settlement actually worked on the ground. The question of confession outside the Reich is addressed by Olaf MÖRKE's persuasive piece on the early modern Netherlands, and Ronald Asch's insightful comparison between English policy in Ireland and the confessionalisation of peripheral provinces in continental monarchies.

The rest of the volume looks beyond Europe to consider questions of identity and boundaries in a global context. This part has its own introduction by Jürgen OSTERHAMMEL who also questions the significance of 1648, limiting its importance primarily to Central Europe. Anthony PAGDEN traces the origins of European cosmopolitanism and the political legacy of universalism up to the end of the eighteenth century. Suraiya FAROQHI and Frank Matthias KAMMEL respectively present findings from new research into the Muslim view of Europe and European attitudes to the Ottomans. Similar comparative perspectives on Sino-European attitudes are offered by Helwig SCHMIDT-GLINTZER and Walter DEMEL, while Sabine DABRINGHAUS suggests reasons for the comparative stability of the Sino-Russian frontier into the nineteenth century. István HILLER and Andreas KAPPELER examine the political, military, economic and cultural dimensions of the frontier for Hungarian and Russia history.

Neither volume offers definitive conclusions. Both contain work of outstanding scholarship and combined they demonstrate the necessity and utility of interdisciplinary work on a grand scale to reconstruct important elements of past experience. Certain common themes do emerge. Virtually all contributors note the distinctiveness of the early modern period from their own disciplinary perspectives. All note significant shifts in the European understanding of war and peace across this time, and though not all give reasons for this, many highlight the rise of the state and the desacralisation of political power as significant factors. The inclusion of historians from other fields not represented here, such as economics or



demography, might have produced a somewhat different range of answers. Nonetheless, these two volumes represent the result of a major undertaking, both in the initial organisation and in the subsequent editing. They make a valuable contribution to our understanding of conflict in the early modern world.

Peter H. WILSON, Sunderland

Les Monarchies française et espagnole (milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle–début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Actes du Colloque de 2000 (= Association des Historiens Modernistes des Universités, Bulletin n° 26), Paris (Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne) 2001, 208 S.

Bekanntlich bewirken die in Frankreich alle zwei Jahre zentral gestellten Themen für die *Concours*, deren Bestehen Voraussetzung für den Einstieg in die Lehrtätigkeit in Schule und Hochschule ist, eine Flut neuer Publikationen, die dem jeweiligen Sujet gewidmet sind. Den Frühneuzeitthemen der *Concours* gelten seit einigen Jahren die jährlichen Kolloquien der *Association des Historiens Modernistes des Universités*. Gegenstand der Studienjahre 2000/01 wie auch des anzuzeigenden Bandes ist die vergleichende Betrachtung der Entwicklung von französischer und spanischer Monarchie zwischen der Mitte des 16. und dem Beginn des 18. Jhs.

Anhand von zentralen Stichworten wie Information, öffentliche Ordnung, Symbolik des Königtums skizziert Bartolomé BENASSAR einleitend den Rahmen der Gemeinsamkeiten und Differenzen zwischen Habsburger- und Bourbonenmonarchie. Frankreich und Spanien begaben sich mit verschiedenen Geschwindigkeiten auf den Weg in den frühmodernen Staat: Zeigte die spanische Monarchie vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jhs. einen deutlich höher entwickelten Staatsapparat – beispielsweise einen hervorragend funktionierenden diplomatischen Dienst (S. 15–16) –, so fiel Frankreich durch die inneren Kriege weit zurück und konnte erst in der Mitte des 17. Jhs. zum spanischen Nachbarn aufschließen, um ihn schließlich zu überholen. Der vergleichende Blick auf die Entwicklung der Diplomatie in den beiden Monarchien bestätigt dies. Nachdem die französischen Diplomaten 1648 in Münster über die spanischen triumphiert hatten, dominierten sie mindestens bis 1715 die europäische Politik. Die Ursache für die Niederlage der spanischen Habsburger im Ringen mit den Bourbonen um die europäische Hegemonie lag aber, wie Bennassar zu Recht konstatiert, vor allem in den strukturellen Unterschieden zwischen den beiden Monarchien begründet. Die spanischen Könige herrschten von Madrid aus über ein weitverzweigtes, schwer zu verteidigendes Konglomerat von Territorien, die unmöglich unter ein Herrschaftssystem gezwungen werden konnten. Prinzip der Herrschaft war demnach eher Überwachung statt Unterwerfung der entlegenen Provinzen (deutlich sichtbar am Beispiel der Verwaltung der italienischen Reichsteile) unter einen kastilischen Zentralismus. Die einzige zentralistische, in fast allen Regionen des Reiches aktive Institution war die Inquisition (S. 21–22). Im Gegensatz zum französischen Königtum konnte der spanische König die zentrifugalen Kräfte auch auf der Iberischen Halbinsel nie vollständig kontrollieren, was den Franzosen Gelegenheit zur Destabilisierung und Schwächung des Gegners gab (Unterstützung der Revolten in Portugal, Aragon und Sizilien). Darin liegt wohl auch die grundlegende Differenz zwischen spanischem und französischem Staatsbildungsprozeß. Der Charakter einer zusammengesetzten Monarchie prägte Spanien weit mehr als Frankreich. Gelang es der Habsburgermonarchie bis in die Mitte des 17. Jhs. ihre strukturellen Schwächen zu kompensieren, so schafften es die Bourbonen hingegen, die eigenen Ressourcen zunehmend besser zu mobilisieren.

Diesem einführenden Überblick zur Entwicklung der französischen und spanischen Monarchie zwischen 1550 und 1715 folgen vier Beiträge, in denen Forschungen zu Fürstendienern und deren Ämtern sowie die Entwicklung des militärischen Apparates resümiert