Encyclopedia of Early Modern History
The Encyclopedia of Early Modern History – to be published in 15 Volumes – offers 400 years of early modern history in one work. Experts from all over the world have joined in a presentation of the scholarship on the great era between the mid-15th to the mid-19th centuries. The perspective is European. That does not mean, however, that the view on the rest of the world is blocked. On the contrary: the multifaceted interrelatedness of European and other cultures is scrutinized extensively.

The Encyclopedia of Early Modern History addresses major historical questions:
- Which ideas, inventions, and events changed people’s lives?
- In which ways did living conditions change?
- How do political, social, and economic developments interlock?
- Which major cultural currents have begun to become apparent?
- How did historical interpretation of certain phenomena change?

The individual articles are connected to one another as in a web of red threads. The reader who follows the threads will keep coming upon new and unexpected contexts and links.

Also available online:
Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit Online /
Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online
Preface to the English Edition

When the *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* appeared in 2005–2012, it was very well received in the German-speaking world as both a general and a specialized source of information on all aspects of European life and culture from the late Middle Ages until the Industrial Revolution. The idea of an English-language version was mooted in dialogue between the publishing houses Metzler and Brill well before the first volume of the German edition was published.

As soon as we began looking in more detail at the translation process, it was clear that for the English-speaking world, this work would have a rather different status than in the German-language sphere. A large number of articles focus on Central European culture, while others divide a subject into a section on the occurrence of a phenomenon in the German lands and a section on the rest of the world. Many of the articles treat a topic by discussing first the German situation, then the wider world, or begin with discussions of the history of the German terminology, or take German examples to illustrate wider phenomena. For the German-speaking reader, this is a natural way to approach topics, moving from the known to the unknown and seeing one’s own culture in a wider context. If the English version were to serve the same function for the English reader, this material would have to be replaced with equivalent English material, which would involve a very substantial re-writing of the texts. It was clear that that was not our task.

Rather, we hope that by deliberately keeping the original focus, we can provide the English-speaking world with something rather unique – a resource in English that views world history through a Central European perspective. The scholars who have written here, all internationally renowned specialists in their fields, have assembled a repository of historical knowledge which will benefit all historians of the period. But again and again the Central European angle will be obvious, and we hope that this will be one of the great strengths of the work: a chance to see historical topics from a viewpoint seldom expressed in English. This, then is a foreignizing translation, which brings the reader to the text, rather than a domesticating one which brings the text to the reader, and it will come as no surprise that some articles which pertain to particularly German cultural concepts have kept the German term as the headword. Examples include *Ackerbürgerstadt* or *Bildungsreise*.

The decision to keep the German focus made the solution to some translation dilemmas very much easier. When an article opens with a discussion of the etymology of the German term, we keep that, possibly adding parallel information on the English term, but in no way removing or camouflaging the original content. Many other translation issues remained, however.

Some of these arose from the differing semantic fields of the German and English terms in the lemmata, so that the grouping of concepts is not as it would be if the work had originally been written in English. The articles tend to group concepts that in German fall under a single term. An interesting example is the article *Sache* ("thing"), which deals with two technical uses of this word in German, first as part of the terminology of objects and ideas in Descartes’ ontological philosophy, and second in the sense of a matter at issue in a legal case. At first sight, the only unifying feature of this article is that a very every-day German word happens to serve these two technical roles in philosophy and jurisprudence respectively, and hence the article opens with a short etymological note on the word *Sache*. Our preferred solution is to find a translation that covers all aspects, but there appears to be no
technical word in English which adequately translates both meanings of Sache, and a minimalist translation with “Thing” would be very unsatisfactory. The simplest option might be to keep the German lemma, since in a sense the article is about the word, but in this case we are not speaking of specifically German cultural concepts, and it did not seem terribly helpful to introduce a new German lexeme into English-language discourse about French philosophy. The option of splitting the article is always available, but that would not do justice to our mission to present the German perspective on the material. However a closer inspection shows that in both halves of the article, the Latin word res features heavily, and indeed, it is precisely in imitation of Latin that the German Sache has come to have this particular double meaning. Since Latin was the working language of both Descartes and the early modern German courts, res provides us with a headword which suitably accommodates the whole of this article, and the opening sentences have been rewritten to discuss the various linguistic echoes more fully.

In other cases, the opposite phenomenon occurs, when German uses separate terms which in English would fall together. For example, the German entries under the lemmata Disputation and Religionsgespräch both beg to appear in the English volume under “Disputation”. In this case the relatively simple solution was to have lemmata “Disputation, academic” and “Disputation, religious”. In this way they appear together in the alphabetical sequence, as the English reader needs them to, but they remain separate texts as German thinking required them to be.

Even when there is only a single concept at issue, the requirement in article head-words to translate one-to-one creates difficulties. This is particularly the case with articles whose titles are imperfectly translatable, because the English equivalents are not exact, or because the German article is really only about the German form of the phenomenon. This is frequently the case with legal and administrative topics. The German title of office Büttel can sometimes be rendered by its English cognate “beadle”, but the two have often quite different ranges of application at different times in history, and calling the translated article “Beadle” is a compromise which is only possible by carefully alerting the reader to the difficulty. Although the legal articles were translated by a specialist in legal history, the translation of such terms as Amtmann, Gerichtsvollzieher, Gesellschaftsrecht and Policey, or even Recht and Gesetz remains fraught.

We have been very fortunate that our translators are all competent academic researchers in their own right, and can approach these issues with a scholar’s eye. With thought and creativity, solutions have been found, and hopefully an interesting text has resulted. We trust that precisely these solutions will give this handbook on European history a special appeal to the English-speaking reader.

Graeme Dunphy
Preface to the German Edition
(Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit)

The complete text of this preface, comprising ca. 20 pages, can be found at brill.com/eemh.

[...]

1 The encyclopedia: intentions, guiding principles, and article structure

The *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* chronologically continues the work of the two previous works, *Der Neue Pauly – Enzyklopädie der Antike* and *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, while modifying the conceptual basis. It presents the historical material in some 4,000 articles arranged in fifteen volumes, followed by an index volume. At its core, it surveys the four centuries from 1450 to 1850. It thus regards the early modern period as an integral part of an era that during the second half of the 18th century transmuted into the “Age of Revolutions,” although this period continued to be pre-modern in essence. The encyclopedia, however, keeps clearly in mind that the early modern period was, in many ways, closely connected with the genesis of the late modern period, which according to this periodization began in the second half of the 19th century, and it explores such transitions at decisive junctures.

Four conceptual guiding principles underlie the factual and conceptual survey of the early modern period:

1) Unlike a specialist encyclopedia in the strict sense, the *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit* is not intended solely for those active in the field of early modern history, but more generally for a readership with an interest in scholarship and history. It thus bridges the gap between specialist knowledge and a more general demand for historical information. The articles reflect the current state of scholarly research, but do so in language that consciously avoids the specialist terminologies of professional discourse. The encyclopedia therefore commends itself to a wide readership in the world of scholarship, education and society in general, while providing information about key processes and contexts of early modern history while omitting details that could be of interest only to specialists.

The focus of the work, then, is not on the specialization of historical knowledge, but its location in context. Historical phenomena and processes in the various fields of historical reality – politics and the law, society and economy, science and technology, culture and media, art and religion – should here be elucidated not in regard to their internal peculiarities and peculiar development, but in consideration of their general positions and interactions in history, the cultural contexts of their emergence, their overall impact on society, and their roles in the lives of contemporaries as they were lived and the transformation of early modern societies.

2) In terms of methodology, this thematic direction fits well with an interdisciplinary approach. History, political and legal, social and economic, and scientific, technical, and environmental, the history of gender, media, and communication, culture, philosophy, and religion, and finally the history of literature, art, and music will all be treated equally as important subsidiary disciplines of historical research. Their respective specialists here collaborate to complement their various perspectives in the interests of an overall historical interpretation of the period.

Such an approach is not least necessitated by the fact that many articles in the lexicon resist clear allocation to particu-
lar specialist disciplines, and the themes treated in them belong simultaneously to multiple dimensions of historical reality. Complex processes, such as the history of the Enlightenment, of the city, the nobility, the churches, or of festivals bring together many different layers of meaning and possess political, legal, cultural, economic, and other dimensions that can only be appropriately reflected in the cooperation and reciprocal supplementation of multiple specialties. The interdisciplinary approach of the encyclopedia offers the chance to bring to bear the diverse aspects of the material under examination in an integrated and unabbreviated way.

(3) Two principles guided the process of establishing keywords and determining article structure. Firstly, the reader should be provided with outline knowledge of general developments, key phenomena, and overarching narrative contexts in early modern history. Secondly, however, detailed knowledge on particular aspects and events should also be given, so that a range of informational needs can be flexibly met. Opting for an article structure oriented towards general points of consideration meant eschewing articles on individual people and places, but these may be researched by means of the suitably detailed index.

In consequence of these considerations, three different types of articles were established, each to fulfill specific functions of knowledge transfer and historical orientation. They are precisely integrated with each other by means of sophisticated cross-referencing, and can thus be read to complement each other.

– Approximately 100 key articles, on average ten pages in length, explore the fundamental phenomena of early modern history on a transnational and transepochal level. They provide a concise presentation of facts and contexts, and introduce important approaches and terminologies of scholarship. They provide an overview for orientation on major themes. Cross-references then lead on to the relevant detailed treatments.

– On the intermediate level, some 900 “umbrella” articles examine central aspects of the key articles, each extending to between three and six pages.

– The 3,000 or so individual articles on the third level provide more detailed information still. One to two pages in length, these present detailed studies of closely-defined subjects, and are likewise linked to umbrella and key articles by a network of cross-references.

(4) Finally, the concept of the encyclopedia is to combine factual and documentary presentation of issues with a reconstruction in conceptual history of the source language of the 15th–19th century and a reflection of current historical approaches in research and interpretation. This threefold approach distinguishes the present work not only from the conceptual concentration on fundamental historical concepts, but also from the Realenzyklopädie focus limited to the supposedly objective description of phenomena, which effaces past and present-day traces of the processes whereby those phenomena have been translated into narrative and subjected to historical interpretation. Against these approaches, the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit follows an explicit interpretation concept of early modern history that determines the selection and interpretation of the phenomena under scrutiny.

There now follows a more detailed presentation of this understanding of the early modern period and the corresponding conception of the encyclopedia, examining the fundamental concept of the period and the caesurae and periodization criteria resulting from it (2.); the perspective from which the history of the early modern period will be examined (3.); the guiding structural themes and thematic viewpoints in the
light of which the historical material will be explored in the various areas of study (4.).

2 The period: periodization and caesurae

[...]

(1) The timeframe of the project extends from the mid-15th to the mid-19th century. In locating the start of the early modern period in the second half of the 15th century, it follows an understanding of modernity that has gradually come to prevail since the 1950s, with the central concept of “early modern” as the term for the period between the 15th and 18th century. The basic assumption of this concept is that the European world began to undergo profound change in this period as various crucial events and processes coincided, and that developments became apparent that would be defining features of the early modern world as a whole. These included:

– the formation of the early modern state on the external basis of territorial sovereignty and the internal basis of a state monopoly of power;
– the emergence of continual exchange between states that found visible expression in the establishment of a system of permanent diplomacy from the 16th century;
– the gradual rise of professional groups and elites of a middle-class character, through which the primacy of the nobility and the estates was called into question and increasingly undermined;
– the emergence of empirical, scientific thinking that brought with it new forms of criticism and a methodical revolution in the process of acquiring knowledge of the world, but also much conflict in religious and secular modes of life orientation;
– the invention of printing, with consequent revolution in knowledge production, dissemination of information, and intra-societal communication;
– the creation of a sophisticated system of genre in the field of the arts that found theoretical justification in the spheres of poetics and aesthetics;
– the confessional schism in the wake of the Reformation and the ensuing outbreak of religious civil wars;
– the expansion of the European powers following the discoveries of new worlds and civilizations overseas, with far-reaching consequences for traditional cultural worldviews;
– the formation of a proto-industrial early capitalism founded on increasing division of labor and the emergence of market conditions, and the internationalization of trade (in which Great Britain played a pioneering historical role);
– finally the proliferation of processes of individualization on the basis of wider educational opportunity and increasing rates of literacy.

[...]

(2) Whereas consensus was quickly established among the editors of the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit that the early modern period with its processes of transformation should be defined as beginning in the mid-15th century, agreeing on the end of the period proved more complicated. From the viewpoint of a history of political events, there would have been good reasons for placing this caesura “around the year 1800”, ending the purview of the encyclopedia either at the French Revolution, the adoption of the United States Constitution, or the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire. The recently published Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World, for example, is founded on such a restriction of the period under
scrutiny to the early modern period, to the exclusion of the Age of Revolutions: it ends at the outbreak of the French Revolution. The *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, however, is based on a different concept of period and periodization that makes it possible to examine the early modern period as a whole across the transition to the Age of Revolutions, and to follow it through to the point that can be defined as the transition to the late modern period (which will remain the subject of a future encyclopedia project).

In the light of this thematic consideration, it became desirable to locate the watershed between early and late modern periods in the mid-19th century – while observing a brief transitional corridor to take account of phenomena of asynchronous development – at a time, then, in which the fabric of politics, culture, economy, and society was again undergoing radical change in the course of profound transformational impulses, and the central elements of late modernity were forming. […]

The era of political and social upheaval beginning in the second half of the 18th century can be characterized, following an interpretive model of Eric Hobsbawm and other historians that has become influential, as an age of “bourgeois” or “Atlantic” revolutions, thus an “Age of Revolutions.” Jacob Burckhardt introduced the concept of the age of revolutions to draw attention to a fracture line in historical development that had profound consequences for world history. The developments that took place during these years have been read as a “rupture of all living conditions,” constituting a watershed within the early modern period.

Of crucial importance in the interpretive concept of the Age of Revolutions is the parallel incidence of transformational political and economic impulses in civil society. In terms of political developments, the prelude to the American Revolution and the immediate aftermath of the Revolutions of 1848 are brought together in a single periodic concept that takes the historical perspective in an arc from revolution to restoration that is specific to the period. Seen from the standpoint of economic and social history, the Age of Revolutions spans a period marked in its early phase, for instance, by the transition to higher agricultural growth rates in Britain and some continental pioneer regions, and with accelerating rates of population increase, and at its end, among other factors, by the split between the bourgeois and proletarian movements in particular, as rival responses to the challenges of modern capitalism. The revolutionary movements of 1848, which marked the end of the revolutionary political impulse in the modern middle classes, appear in this context as the attempt to establish what was still largely an early liberal model of civil society, clearly distinct from the capitalist society and mass culture of the second half of the 19th century.

The basic conception of the encyclopedia as encompassing the entire early modern period including the Age of Revolutions is also supported by recent research on the English Revolutions of the 17th century and the Atlantic Revolutions of the 18th. To a far greater extent than previously, scholars today stress that there were close connections and parallels between the revolutionary cataclysms of the 18th century, especially the American Revolution, and the English Revolutions of the 17th century. […]

3 The location: European perspectives in a globalized world

As methodical instruments of historical interpretation, periodizations relate to particular locations and perspectives from
which a context of past events can be experienced and interpreted as a complex of historical meaning. In view of this locational specificity, the concept of the early modern period used here is not self-evident. Its perspective can be said to be a European one that clearly forms the basis too for the periodization depicted, which is largely derived from intra-European chronologies between the 15th and 19th century. The project, however, is in no way restricted to European history or the European perspective, but consciously takes account of the fact that the European world, at the beginning of the early modern period, was embarking on a multilayered relationship of interaction with "new" worlds beyond the European continent that increasingly took on global characteristics. The phenomena and developments associated with this are an important element of the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit and are reflected in articles specially devoted to them.

3.1 European focus
A European perspective means firstly that the encyclopedia takes account in its articles both of the overall common features of European history and of the features peculiar to national or regional developments. Distinctions within Europe must not, however, be presented either schematically as a mere summation of individual national perspectives, or in relation to some developmental model privileged as a norm, against which other developments can only be read as "deviations." Nor can they be presented comprehensively or with any claim to completeness. Rather, centers of intra-European focus must be set according to the importance and significance of particular national or regional developments to the subject under consideration in a particular article. In this way, the diversity of European history can be surveyed both comparatively, by the historical comparison of different routes of development, and by example through the discussion of paradigmatic cases that shed light on fundamental phenomena or overarching commonalities of European history. […]

3.2 Global perspectives
Even as European perspectives on historical research are today beginning to assert themselves as confinement to national history is rejected, those European perspectives are themselves incurring criticism from the other direction. Such criticism, formulated particularly clearly in the fields of international history and postcolonial studies, argues that a side-effect of the expansion of the historical concept to an overall European perspective is to lend renewed vigor to Eurocentricity, so that the exclusion from history of the world beyond Europe will continue or even resume. […]

The term Neuzeit arose when, in the Age of Discovery, Europe began to explore outwards into other parts of the world, and it largely periodizes this relationship between the European "center" and the extra-European "periphery" in recourse to watersheds and events that were relevant within Europe. To this extent, whether implicitly or explicitly, it follows the tendency of inflicting upon the history of regions not part of the European continent or the "Western world" the criteria of early modern European history and hence reducing them to mere footnotes in a European world history. Current demands for a decentering away from Europe thus raise the questions of whether a European view of the history of the early modern period is any longer justifiable at all in this light, and whether a conception of European history is possible that goes beyond its Eurocentric burden.

In view of these controversial issues, which also largely dictate current debates on "world history" and "global history," the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit maintains that the European perspective remains a heuristically valid approach to the history of the early modern period, because without
it, important initial conditions, processes, and consequences of the modern world, from the origins of modern statehood and the institutions of the state under the rule of law to the development of capitalism and a global economy organized according to market conditions the principles of methodical scholarship and the creation of a global communications system, could not be properly historically understood. The investigations of Max Weber into universal history can already be seen to have been motivated by the conviction that since the beginnings of the early modern period, it was from Europe, and for some time only from Europe, that those elements and factors were forming that would prove formative in the history of the world as a whole for the centuries that followed, and that became globalized in the course of their successful propagation. “The son of the modern European cultural world will examine the problems of universal history, unavoidably and justifiably, from the perspective of the following question: which chain of circumstances has led to the fact that exactly in the West, and in the West alone, cultural phenomena have appeared, which nonetheless – or at least as we like to think – lie in a line of development having universal significance and validity?”

Lest an orientation towards European history merely perpetuate a Eurocentric tradition of historical thought, however, the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit takes account of the fact that this era was also the gestation period of an increasingly interconnected world. That world can only be properly interpreted if extra-European perspectives complement the European reading of world history. […]

Processes of relation with and distinction from “alien” cultures and societies were of great and hitherto mostly underestimated importance in the emergence of early modern Europe. For this reason, the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit pays considerable attention to the following important themes: global communication, cultural contact, and reciprocal perceptions and relations of exchange; the organization of rule in the various forms and phases of colonialism; the import and export of raw materials, technologies, diseases, and environmental problems; cultural mixing, acculturation, and hybridization; the narratives and media of intercultural perception; circulation routes of ideas and goods; slavery and other forms of forced migration and population exchange; the emergence of world trade and global economic exchange relations. By taking into account such spheres of experience, it will be made apparent that the European perspective is a view of historical interpretation that, while in view of the far-reaching global consequences of European developments it is neither gratuitous nor simply one among many, nor does it paint the full picture of early modern history.

4 Content: subject areas and thematic emphases

Besides alphabetical order, the articles of the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit are also arranged in a thematic relation. They have been chosen, and emphases established, on the basis of conceptual considerations as to which perspectives should properly determine the organization and presentation of key phenomena of early modern history. At the outset of the planning process, ten subject areas were defined to mark out the complete purview of the Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit.

The description of these subject areas, which takes ca. 10 pages, is not included in this brochure. The subject areas are listed on the back cover. The complete text of this Preface can be consulted at brill.com/eemh.

Essen, February 2005
Friedrich Jaeger
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**Acoustics**

1 Introduction
2 Acoustics in 17th-Century Scholarly Systems
3 Acoustics in the century of Enlightenment

1 Introduction

The development of acoustics (originally the science of sound and its perception) is closely related to → music theory, → philosophy, and the practical expertise of musicians, → instrument makers, and experimentally-minded natural philosophies (→ Astronomy, cosmography). It represented a testing ground for the alliance of the free and mechanical arts (→ Artes liberales, → Artes mechanicae), for new experimental arrangements and semiotic methods (pulse protocol, frequency diagram, logarithm table, sound figures). Music and → musical instruments acted as links between → mathematics and the physical world. (For the physics-related aspects, see also → Acoustics, theory of.)

The Italian term virtuosi denoted all those who had mastered instruments. In the 17th century, the study of the nature of acoustics became an experimental science. The studio of the courtly Renaissance scholar consequently ceded its position of the venue for acoustic research to the Jesuit → college and the → academy, then to the → university, and finally, in the early 19th century, to the physics laboratory.

Acoustics made its presence felt in philosophical categories that were fiercely contested: power, oscillation, vibration, energy, and consonance were all concepts that resonated far beyond the sphere of musical acoustics itself. The prestige of the discipline was rooted in an early modern economics of the senses that valued hearing over seeing and understood acoustics as an aspect of an influential rhetoric of sound.

2 Acoustics in 17th-Century Scholarly Systems

Even before the Jesuit Kaspar Schott included acustica in his learned treatise *Magia universalis naturae et artis* (Würzburg 1657–1659; “Universal magic of nature and art” [8. 64–76]), Francis Bacon had reflected upon acoustique art, conjuring visionary “sound-houses” and contemplating the causes of acoustic effects. He thus opposed the numerological fixation of the Pythagorean and Boëthian tradition, insisting that classical mechanics did not adequately explain acoustic phenomena [3. 157–162]. Bacon, who built on the experiments of Giambattista della Porta, was in close contact with engineers and musicians who succeeded to a remarkable degree in exploiting acoustic effects, for example in the masque, a sensational spectacle featuring court actors (→ Festival). Object lessons in acoustics were given in musically-minded noble homes and scholarly circles. These laid the foundations for the popularization of acoustic knowledge at European academies in the late 17th century. Acoustics research programs were developed at London and Dublin. Thomas Hobbes, Robert Hooke, and Roger North used resonating systems as metaphors for the display of human → subjectivity and workings of the soul [4]. The new science of music had been established by Vincenzo Galilei and Marin Mersenne. In his empirical *Discorso* (Florence 1589),
Galilei contested the relevance of Pythagorean ratios (e.g., 2:1, 3:2) to an understanding of the phenomenon of consonance. This influenced the works of Isaac Beeckman, Descartes, and Vincenzo’s son Galileo Galilei on the identification of pitch and frequency. Mersenne (1588–1648) in the early 17th century was the first systematically to develop series of experiments on the phenomenon of consonance, and he formulated the law now named after him. He also discovered the existence of partials [2. 11–31]. He reconciled experimental procedures with both the Pythagorean axiom of universal harmony and mechanistic doctrines [1].

In Mersenne’s generation, strain was showing in the long-accepted principle of music perception that music is based on integral ratios. Ratios of measurable vibrations were now taking its place. Sound analysis was henceforth a function of (→ Analysis, mathematical). Yet even in 1650, Athanasius Kircher in his wide-ranging musicological treatise Musurgia universalis could still propose a comprehensive theory of acoustics that made sound and echo phenomena of → natural history. His applied acoustics was in the service of princely governmental practice (e.g. for listening devices) – and found its place too for modern eavesdropping purposes in Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon. The Counter-Reformation enacted specific acoustic measures that influenced the Baroque sound profile.

3 Acoustics in the century of Enlightenment

In 1701 Joseph Sauveur succeeded in demonstrating absolute pitch to the Académie in Paris. He discovered the overtone series as the essence of consonance. Sound was no longer an elementary event, and harmony was no longer reducible to integral proportions. Around 1720, the musicologist and composer Jean-Philippe Rameau proceeded from here to develop a functional harmony based on → chords and a theory of vibrating bodies based on overtones. Music, in the age of → rationalism, now regained its place in the cosmological context. Leonard Euler concerned himself with the phenomenon of consonance, seeking to explain it by frequency ratios. In the mid-18th century, Euler embarked on a debate with Jean Le Rond d’Alembert on the possibilities of calculus, with the problem of the vibrating string the central concern [7]. As Euler notated curves that no longer represented natural sonic phenomena but were arbitrary in origin, he anticipated non-calculus solutions that were applicable to acoustic phenomena. Contemporaries, meanwhile, found the formal structure of the freye Fantasie for keyboard of Euler’s contemporary C.P.E. Bach to be just as arbitrary and unpredictable. Observations from musical practice (see also → Organ music) and the tuning and temperament of instruments led to research on the complexity of vibrations and timbre. Daniel Bernoulli (1700–1782) speculated that non-sinusoidal waveforms were composed of multiple sine waves, and Jean-Baptiste Fourier proved as much in the early 19th century (so-called Fourier Series). The unconscious perceptions [5. 44–58, 163–165] noted since Leibniz, together with the new theories about the superimposition of overtones, led to a rehabilitation of sensory awareness as a source of knowledge, and to an understanding of music as sound rather than a mere manifestation of order. The very impossibility of notating superimpositions of vibrations accounted for the status of a medium that was evidently capable of transcending calculus and acoustic quantification to touch the soul. Music now was more than just physical vibrations: it was an event constituted only in sensibility as a perception of multiplicity (Moses Mendelssohn) and the intrinsic quality of the tone (Herder). Its medium of supreme rendition was the clavichord [6. 43–106]. The anthro-
pologization of acoustic categories was refined through → sensibility and → Romanticism. For Herder, the key precondition for aesthetic experience was sympathy. Until the time of Hermann von Helmholtz, therefore, there was still no association between physical acoustic cognition and aesthetic insight.

☞ Acoustics, theory of; Analysis, mathematical; Harmony; Music theory; Natural history; Timbre

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Sebastian Klotz

Ackerbürgerstadt

This term was devised by Max Weber to define an → urban typology already discernible in the Middle Ages on the basis of certain economic and social characteristics. An Ackerbürgerstadt was a → town in the legal-historical sense, thus a settlement possessing urban rights; but its inhabitants, besides pursuing → crafts and trades or earning their livelihood as suppliers of services, were engaged in → agriculture to a considerable extent. Critical for inclusion in this category of town is the extent of that agricultural involvement. While agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture etc. were undertaken to some extent as a subsidiary occupation in almost all towns of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods, in an Ackerbürgerstadt the agricultural sector represented the most important source of income for a substantial proportion of the town’s inhabitants. Isolated instances of the ownership of agricultural land do not suffice for it to be permissible or sensible to characterize a town as an Ackerbürgerstadt; evidence is needed that the population was capable of supplying a substantial proportion of its own food (→ Provisions, urban supply of), and that agricultural products, in the form of specialist crops such as wine, vegetables, or dye-plants, were produced for the → market.

The main problem in reliably identifying a town as an Ackerbürgerstadt is that sources capable of providing precise and quantifiable information on the extent and relevance of agricultural involvement on the part of town-dwellers are largely absent for the period before the 19th century. In view of this lack of sources, it is usually necessary to rely on indicators showing the role of agriculture in the context of the urban economy as a whole. These may be the extent of the ownership of draft cattle in urban → households, data for plots under agricultural use and sizes of landholdings, or indications of combined, cooperative activities on the part of townspeople pursuing agriculture.

An Ackerbürgerstadt would usually be a small or very small town that had available to it relatively extensive town lands and/or the necessary infrastructure for the cultivation of specialist crops. The craft activities pursued in these towns were of
an essentially uniform nature, and characterized by a combination of handcrafts and agriculture. The area supplied by the Ackerbürgerstadt by way of commerce was confined to the local urban environs. The social structure of this type of town was relatively homogeneous, although a social division between "farmers" as such, that is to say those inhabitants owning a substantial amount of land sufficient for their subsistence, and → day laborers or wage-laborers (→ Wage labor), primarily active in the agricultural sector, became more evident in the 18th century. The urban elite was dominated by → citizens, whose primary source of income lay in the agricultural sector. The functions of the majority of these towns as urban centers were only slight; they acted as local markets for the immediate environs, possessing a school and a church, and functioned at most as → county seats or as the seats of aristocratic ruling elites. In terms of built structures, the agricultural emphasis of the urban economy was recognizable by the development of urban farmsteads with storage facilities for the harvest and stalls for livestock, as can still be seen today in settlements such as Glurns in the South Tirol, Schildau in Saxony, and Deidesheim in the Pfalz (→ Court[monarchical]). In some instances, barn complexes also arose for the same purpose. The urban space of an Ackerbürgerstadt was relatively uncongested, with scattered gardens; houses often remained low in profile.

In the Early Modern Period, high proportions of this type of town were to be found above all in Hungary and extensive areas of Poland, Bohemia, and. They were present in significant numbers in the whole of Central Europe, but also occurred in the Dauphiné (south-eastern France) and in Scandinavia. Towns of the form described are virtually unknown in the Mediterranean region and in the urban concentrations of North-Western Europe; here other forms of link developed between towns and the agrarian economy.

In many regions of Central Europe, especially those of a strongly mercantile character, the number and significance of such towns appear to have been in decline from the Late Middle Ages onwards. Not until the 19th century, however, may it be assumed that this type of town increasingly lagged behind the general course of urban development. The loss of administrative functions, the lack of an impulse towards industrialization, and the frequent absence of transport links, led to stagnation. Contributing factors were also the loss of market functions and the decline in the importance of handcrafts, both of which elements had been fundamental to the urban centrality of the Ackerbürgerstadt.

☞ Agriculture; Bourgeoisie; Town; Urban typology

Bibliography


Katrin Keller

Acta eruditorum

In 1682, Otto Mencke, professor of philosophy at Leipzig, published the first German scholarly journal under the title Acta eruditorum (→ Periodical). It contained notices, summaries, and reviews of new publications in all areas of science. Acta eruditorum appeared monthly, but was provided with an
Index auctorum ac rerum at the end of each year and thus was bound into annual volumes. From 1689 on, supplement volumes were published to expand the coverage [8]. After Otto Mencke’s death, Acta eruditorum was first carried on by his son Johann Burkhard Mencke [10], and then by his grandson Friedrich Otto Mencke under the title Nova acta eruditorum. It was published by the two largest book dealers in Leipzig, Grosse and Gleditsch. After appearing continuously for a century, Acta eruditorum was discontinued in 1782. Acta eruditorum was modeled on the journals of foreign academic societies in the 17th century, above all the French Journal des Sçavans [9] published since 1665 and the Philosophical Transactions of the British Royal Society published already since 1665 by Henry Oldenbourg. All these scholarly journals were to some extent associated with the → learned correspondence of the time, in which an international exchange of scholarly news and especially publications was already being conducted. As this (half-) private communication made the transition to printed journals, international scholarly communication became more integrated and it accordingly became easier to disseminate news and scholarly criticism [8]. Leibniz, who himself later stood at the center of an enormous circle of correspondents, had already proposed a German scholarly journal in 1668 and – unsuccessfully – applied for an imperial privilege for that purpose. From the 1680s, a circle of scholars in Leipzig deliberated the idea and the financial and legal basis for such a journal. From the beginning, the future editor Otto Mencke was spokesman and motor behind the project. By building up an extensive correspondence and traveling to several European countries to make contacts, he secured the support of scholars at home and abroad. Mencke had a network of correspondents in almost seventy European cities and over thirty regular reviewers. Later contributors included not only philosophers like Leibniz and Wolff, but also especially natural scientists like Bernoulli, Huygens and Newton [8]; [7. 62f.]. The actual goal of Acta eruditorum was to present the findings of German scholarship to an international audience. The choice of the Latin language was related to this. While English, French, and Italian scholarly journals had already been published in their respective vernaculars, the editors of the journal regarded the German language in the 17th century as a serious obstacle to international reception. Moreover, a considerable proportion of scholarly work at the time was composed in → Latin. A total of 63% of the works discussed in Acta eruditorum down to 1707 were written in Latin. In terms of content, Acta eruditorum focused on the natural sciences; over 90% of the contributions concerned new publications in this field. The source value of Acta eruditorum is thus especially high also for the history of science. Acta eruditorum subsequently found several imitators. A large market for specialized scholarly → scientific journals rapidly developed from the early 18th century on. [6]. Thus, for instance, the famous constitutional lawyer Johann Jacob Moser published a law review as a student in the 1720s [5]. The title Acta eruditorum itself also was imitated. Beginning in 1712, Gottlieb Sigmund Corvinus published Deutsche Acta eruditorum, likewise with the Leipzig publisher Gleditsch [2]; in 1709, a satirical version of the journal [1] appeared under the ironic title Acta semi-eruditorum.

☞ Correspondence, learned; Scientific journal; Network; Periodical; Print media; Recension

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[1] Acta semi-eruditorum oder Kurtzer Auszug aus denen halb gelehrten Schriften und Chartequen mit welchen die Buchläden ausstaffiret: nebst einigen Judiciis was von dergleichen zu
Secondary Literature

Andreas Gestrich

Administration
☞ Local administration; Local authority; Military administration; Mining administration; Government; Urban administration

Administrative judiciary

An administrative judiciary (Administrativjustiz) is the court-like review of measures taken by the → police or the → government outside the ordinary → judiciary in the 19th century. Its roots lie in the gute Polizey ("good public order") of the 18th century, whereby Polizey cases were decided by Policey-Collegien, the so-called cameral judiciary (see → Kameralprozess) After the administrative reforms at the beginning of the 19th century, the duties of gute Polizey were assumed by the → government. The administrative judiciary now consisted of court-like judicial instances within the administration. Their task was to conduct expedited hearings regarding administrative measures that had been challenged by subjects or citizens. The term “judiciary,” however, should not be taken to suggest that the administrative judiciary conducted hearings in a way corresponding to ordinary → jurisdiction. Rather, it indicates legally obligatory scrutiny in contrast to administrative action. Thus, in Germany and in other European states, the administration was provided with its own ombudsmen independent of the regular judiciary. Depending on the form it took in individual states, the administrative judiciary was the responsibility of administrative authorities themselves (Baden), potentially with the involvement of → judges (Saxony), independent → local authorities with legally trained → civil servants (Hessen, similarly Austria) or mixed judicial and administrative authorities (Bavaria). Like the cameral judiciary of the 18th century, the administrative judiciary was intended to avoid the “crippling conventions of litigation” and “tedious procedures” of the ordinary courts. The administrative judiciary was not characterized by the procedural rules of the regular judiciary but rather by the delivery of rulings in the interest of expedient and efficient administration. At any rate, legal disputes with the administration in the first half of the 19th century were not decided by the ordinary courts. Efforts in this direction faltered, for example on account of French influence on the member states of the → Confederation of the Rhine. The administrative judiciary necessarily gave judicial functions to administrative authorities without clearly separating administration
and → judiciary. For distinguishing between the two areas, it was rather the object of the suit that was decisive: the administrative judiciary was competent insofar as public, that is, administrative measures were challenged. In conformity with the → monarchical principle that prevailed in the first half of the 19th century, the administrative judiciary ensured that administrative actions ultimately attributed to the monarch were removed from the control of the ordinary courts: “No judge can stand between those who command and those who obey, between those who give a ruling and those who seek one; otherwise the sovereign would not be a sovereign, and the subject not a subject” [1.21]. The administrative judiciary came under increasingly harsh criticism by the so-called theory of the judicial state, since it was not a judicial instance beholden to the principles of a judiciary based on the rule of law. Indeed, its expedited procedure, which neither permitted a concrete presentation of evidence nor presumed the equality of the parties before the law, and its lack of independence, which some states had guaranteed their judiciaries constitutionally, meant that the administrative judiciary lacked many of the key characteristics important to the liberal conception of a judiciary: independence from government administration and legal procedure according to the rule of law. In the interest of the → separation of powers, the doctrine of the judicial state called for the separation of the administration and judiciary both in terms of function and in terms of official authorities, and thus called for the abolition of the administrative judiciary and the transfer of lawsuits between the administration and citizens to the ordinary → courts of law. This demand was incorporated in the liberal constitutions of the latter half of the 19th century (e.g., § 182 of the Frankfurt Constitution). It was ultimately led to the establishment of → administrative jurisdiction, which created a separate jurisdiction that followed the same procedural principles as the ordinary courts.

☞ Administrative jurisdiction; Administrative law; Judiciary; Jurisdiction; Powers, separation of; Public law

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Sources

Secondary Literature

Louis Pahlow

Adoption

1 Origin and development
2 Change of function

1 Origin and development

The term adoption derives from Lat. adoptio; it denotes the establishment of
a parent-child relationship as a legal fiction: → kinship (→ Family) is based not on biological descent but on a formal legal act between the adopter and the adoptee. Adoption in the Roman legal sense was taken up and studied in the European countries north of the Alps in the period when Roman law was borrowed (→ Reception of ius commune), but the legal institution of adoption was not universally incorporated into and implemented in the laws codified on the basis of Roman law in the 15th and 16th centuries.

Adoption first became a significant phenomenon in the age of natural law (→ Philosophy of law and natural law). All legal codes adopted in European countries in the late 18th century and early 19th century describe and regulate the establishment of a parent-child relationship through a legal act in the sense of Roman law. In Prussia the → Allgemeines Landrecht für die preußischen Staaten of 1794 regulated the *Annahme an Kindesstatt* ("adoption of a child"; II 2 §§666ff.); in Bavaria the → Codex Maximilianus Bavaricus Civilis of 1756 provided for *Adoption oder Wahlkindshaft* ("adoption or voluntary filiation"; I 4 §5; I 5 §12); in Austria the → Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch of 1811 regulated the practice under the heading *Annahme an Kindesstatt* ("adoption of a child"; §§181ff.); in France the → Code Civil of 1804 contained regulations governing adoption (art. 343ff.); the → Badisches Landrecht of 1807, based on the *Code civil*, translated the French adoption as *Anwünschung* and *Annahme an Kindesstatt* (art. 343ff.).

Terminology in the major European codes of the modern period differed only slightly, the substance of the regulations was virtually identical. Adoption was based on an agreement between the adopter and the adoptee. State supervision was accomplished by requiring court approval or recognition of any adoption. The Prussian code stated explicitly that “persons of the female sex may also be adopted" (see also II 2 §674); the others assumed this tacitly. In contrast to today’s practice, circumstances governed by personal law, the law of inheritance, and the law of maintenance were limited to the relationship between the adoptive parent and the adopted child and did not include the kin of the adopter. Only marriage law (→ Marriage, contraction of) took some notice of adoption, to the extent that it represented an impediment to marriage between the adoptee and the other children of the adopter. In addition the adopted child was integrated onomastically into the family of the adopter by giving him or her the adopter's family name. Otherwise the kinship ties of the adopted child to his birth family remained essentially in place, with all their resulting rights and obligations.

2 Change of Function

Over the centuries, the functions of adoption have undergone fundamental change. In Roman antiquity, adoption made it possible to continue the cult of ancestors and household gods, to preserve the family name, and to pass on the family’s wealth. In the Christian era, the sacral function lapsed when it was no longer necessary to venerate various gods in the family tradition, but the economic and social function of adoption remained: to secure preservation and transmission of the family’s name and wealth and thus provide for the continuance of the family. These purposes account for the legal requirements imposed on adoption by the law codes of the modern European states. Adopters were required to have no children born in wedlock and to have reached an age (usually 50) that made biological reproduction unlikely. The requirement that the adoptee to be younger than the adopter (usually an age difference of at least 15 years
was required) was likewise based reason-
ably on the purpose of handing on the fam-
ily’s name and possessions.

The caritative aspect of adoption, central
today, was considered in the Christian era,
but in the modern laws governing adoption
it played a role totally subordinate to the
socio-economic interest of families in secur-
ing their continuance in the absence of bio-
logical descendents. Not until after World
War I did adoption develop in Europe into
an instrument of child welfare and a means
of satisfying the ideal desire for a child.
☞ Childhood; Family; Family law; Kinship

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Elisabeth Koch

Adventure novel

The term adventure novel was only coined
in the 1870s, at around the same time in
Romance medieval studies as the defini-
tion of 13th–15th century French “courtly
romances,” and replacing the older term
Abenteuerroman. A comparative study of
the terminological history to examine
subtleties and transformations in the terms
used in the field of adventure literature
remains to be made. In the strict sense, the
term adventure today is understood above
all to refer to the → novel of the 19th century
that belonged to the tradition of James Feni-
more Cooper, Alexandre Dumas, Eugène
Sue, Jules Verne, Karl May, Robert Louis Ste-
venson and the like [4]; [6]; [7]. In a broader
sense, it comprises not so much a generic
term as an umbrella term denoting texts
of → popular literature, characterized by a
more exciting, eventful plot by comparison
with the more emotionally complex roman-
tic and domestic novels.

The (generally male) protagonist must
prove himself in a series of extraordinary
and, to him, unforeseeable situations. This
frequently produces independent and inter-
changeable episodes that follow on from
each other, in many cases having nothing
but the figure of the hero in common. The
autobiographical narrative form lends itself
to the witnessing of adventurous careers.
Except where the story focuses on the vicis-
situdes of the world itself, the world of the
adventure is placed outside the sphere of
ordinary existence, hence the predilec-
tion in the adventure novel for voyages,
for distant and exotic locations (→ Exoti-
cism), for times long gone or in the future
or for hidden urban underworlds. Following
Ernst Bloch, scholars like Gert Ueding have
sought to rehabilitate the adventure novel,
Ueding seeing greater potential for social
change in the dominant strains of activity
and initiative seen in “trash” literature as
distinct from the emotional sentimentality
of “kitsch.” Before the 19th century in par-
cular, such literature generally harbors
satirical intent [8].

The historical development of the adven-
ture novel was determined less by reflec-
tion on poetics or literary criticism than by
demand from the paying → public. Depend-
ence on the → book market stimulated
firstly the greater use of new distribution
channels aimed at bulk sales (colportage,
lending → libraries, serialization, magazine series, film), and secondly a tendency towards the undemanding and disregard for the aesthetic. Relatively little is known of readers' reactions beyond rather stereotypical assumptions about trivial modes of reception. Criteria for success tend to be clearer for particular genres, less so for the umbrella term adventure novel.

Following the semantics of "adventure," three approximate phases can be distinguished in the history of the adventure novel after Antiquity. In the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, the scope of the term is seen to expand as its implications become devalued. The adventurer is displaced from the heart of society to its peripheries. The Knights of the Round Table become rogues and scoundrels (→ Picaresque novel), trying to make the best of all manner of strokes of good or bad luck, using means if not criminal, then certainly morally dubious (Lazarillo de Tormes, 1554; Mateo Aleman, Guzmán de Alfarache, 1599/1604; Hans J. Ch. von Grimmelshausen, Simplicius Simplicissimus, 1668). Standards for the protagonist’s conduct rise again with the Aventurier (Francisco de Quevedo, Buscón, 1626; Nicolaas Heinsius, De vermakelijke Avanturier, 1695) and → Robinsonade (Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, 1719) novels, which generally see them integrated into society at the end of the novel – generally thanks to an advantageous marriage.

The position of the subject was rehabilitated around 1800, as protagonists, acting with more autonomy, began to demonstrate an increasingly differentiated psychology of character. In the German-speaking world, the Romantic "robber novel" (Christian August Vulpius, Rinaldo Rinaldini, 1799) marked the transition from the Aventurier to the new, charismatic hero who would emerge in the novels of Cooper, Dumas, Sue, Verne, Charles Sealsfield, Sir John Retcliffe and Karl May. Their outstanding personal qualities, their loyal companions and their recourse to unusually capable horses, weapons, vehicles etc. made them ‘masters of the situation’ – although their opponents also participated in strategies of heroization.

The golden age of the adventure novel ended in the early 20th century. Genres such as the Western, science fiction, crime thrillers and war novels, not necessarily falling within the category of adventure novel, grew in public favor. At the same time, however, narrative patterns constitutive for the adventure novel, for instance the picaresque, have found their way into serious literature (Thomas Mann, Günter Grass) and postmodern texts invoke themes, plot structures and character types of the adventure novel.

☞ Novel; Picaresque novel; Popular literature; Reading society; Reader; Robinsonade

Bibliography


Holger Dainat
1 Terminology

The term “aeronautics” means literally “traveling by ship [Latin nautare] through the air [Latin aer].” Possibly inspired by mythological accounts, 14th-century proponents of Aristotelian physics (Albert of Saxony and Nicole d’Oresme) had already suggested the possibility that the accepted theory of the elements implied that a ship filled with a fiery substance could sail upon the sea of the air. The discussions of flying in the 15th and 16th centuries were focused entirely on the principle of → aviatics. Not until the second third of the 17th century, after the feasibility of flying had been shown to be an illusion, was the distinction of the Jesuit Francis cus Mendoza (1573–1626) between flying through the air like a bird (Latin avis) and sailing like a ship (Latin navis) adopted in rationalistic discussion (see fig. 1). Aeronautics, the theory behind the airship, would afterwards gain rapid acceptance: it incorporated the relevant advances in the realm of → physics and led relatively smoothly to the → balloon flights of the 1780s.

2 Jesuit plans for airship travel

Viewed from the confessional perspective, aeronautics – in contrast to the abortive ars volandi (“art of flying”) – was a largely “Catholic” project, possibly because it could build on Scholastic discussions and avoided any trace of → curiosity (Latin curiositas) not to mention pride (Latin superbia) through its apparent compatibility with classical physics. It is noteworthy that English flight theorists like John Wilkins in his Mathe matical Magick (1648) did cite Mendoza but continued to cling to the mindset of aviation. Even Robert Hooke made no advances in his Micrographia (1665).

The group around the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in Rome, however, began extended discussions on the navigability of the air. The Würzburg Jesuit Caspar Schott supported Mendoza’s view that the atmospheric sea is navigable where it borders on the ether. In the chapter Utrum navigari posit in aere (“Whether the Air is Navigible”) in his Magia naturalis (1658), he wrote that a body filled with ether can float on the region of the air in the same way as a metal vessel filled with air can float on water. The Spanish Jesuit Juan Caramuel Lobkowitz (1606–1682) treated the nautica aethereae and ars navigandi supra aerem in separate chapters.
The crowning conclusion of this Jesuit discussion of flight was provided by Francesco Lana di Terzi, who drew the definitive dividing line vis-a-vis the aviators in his 1670 compendium of inventions: he declared that flying like birds was impossible, while presenting plans for building an airship, citing the latest experiments of Evangelista Torricelli exploring atmospheric pressure. Unlike his Jesuit predecessors, Lana distanced himself from scholasticism and championed experimental physics: he reinterpreted culpable pride as creative daring. In his publication, dedicated to Emperor Leopold I, he summarized earlier discussions of flight by concluding that the airship as a whole must be made “lighter than air” by attached hollow spheres, enabling it to carry persons or even loads. Lana was the first to suggest that these “atmospheric floats” had to be empty of air – in other words, had to contain a vacuum. The existence of a vacuum, denied for dogmatic reasons by thinkers from Aristotle to Descartes, had been demonstrated experimentally by Otto von Guericke just a few years before.

3 Questions of implementation

Lana’s theory that hollow bodies emptied of air develop lift is physically correct. But air pressure presented a problem, because the evacuated hollow spheres – like Guericke’s “Magdeburg hemispheres” – had to be monstrous devices if they were to resist the pressure. That meant that they were unsuitable for flotation on the atmospheric sea. Lana conducted extensive calculations regarding the size and form of the ship and spheres, which he published in 1684 in his Magisterium naturae et artis, with detailed construction sketches. The overall sketch depicts an airship lifted into the air by four hollow spheres, made navigable by a sail and rudder (see fig. 2). This airship project was discussed throughout Europe (Aviatics).

In 1671 Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz concluded in his Hypothesis physica nova that the proposed mechanism would be feasible as soon as it became possible to produce a substance lighter than air. At the University of Altdorf in the same year, the physicist Johann Christoph Sturm wrote a theoretical work on the functioning of airships. In 1676 Philipp Lohmeier, a professor at Rinteln, published a dissertation De artificio navigandi per aerem. The Kiel polymath Daniel Georg Morhof surveyed all the early discussions of flying and aeronautics as well as erroneous views about air pressure and vacuum, concluding by describing aeronautics as presented by Lana. In 1679, finally, the members of the Royal Society
discovered Lana’s sensational plan, and Robert Hooke translated Lana’s proposals in the first volume of the Philosophical Collections. The response of Protestant Europe to the Jesuit Lana was exceptional: from the Royal Society through the Paris Journal des savants to the Acta eruditorum, the reaction was enthusiastic.

The only problem was that Lana’s airship was no more able to fly than Leonardo’s bird (Aviatics). Giovanni Alfonso Borelli declared the construction of evacuated lifting spheres physically impossible. Leibniz also, though he used the term aeronautics as a matter of course, found the walls of Lana’s spheres too thin. As early as the 1680s, this situation led to a series of satirical publications that represented the airship as a reality; the associated engravings all followed Lana’s model. In fact Leibniz’s prediction proved correct (see fig. 3).

With the development of gas chemistry, more specifically the discovery of hydrogen by Henry Cavendish, after 1766 there was in fact a substance that was lighter than air and could be enclosed in lifting spheres. In 1767 the chemist Joseph Black was already considering the possibility of inflating gut sacks with the gas and releasing them to rise in the air. In 1774 Joseph Priestley discovered oxygen, and shortly afterwards Antoine Laurent de Lavoisier defined air as a mixture of gases.

In the spring of 1782, three articles recalling the work of the Jesuits Schott and Lana appeared in the Journal de Paris. It was already clear to contemporaries that the development of aeronautics has reached a critical phase, for experiments with gas-filled lifting spheres were being conducted in several places. The Montgolfter brothers, heirs to a paper mill, read the articles on aeronautics carefully. Their attempt to produce hydrogen gas failed for technical reasons, and so they turned to experimenting with hot air. They were the first to achieve a successful balloon flight, realizing a plan that had been discussed for years and could capitalize on the technical resources now available for the first time. In retrospect, Enlightenment philosophers would count the dawn of aeronautics, together with the discovery of the lightning conductor and the end of witchcraft trials, among the great achievements of the century of the Enlightenment.

Aviatics; Balloon flight; Flight

Bibliography


Wolfgang Behringer
Affects

☞ Emotion

Affects, doctrine of

1 Concept
2 Art
3 Music

1 Concept

The doctrine of affects is concerned with the workings of external reality on the human psyche, and, in turn, on the human body. From Greek Antiquity until the late 18th century, it was one of the key aesthetic theories of the → fine arts, especially → rhetoric, the dramatic arts and → poetics, → music, and the fine arts. The doctrine subjects the arts to a certain level of ethical and social claims, especially the claim, going back to Aristotle’s thoughts regarding catharsis, that the arts affect the emotions.

2 Art

From the beginning of Modern-Period → art theory, the doctrine of affects was one of the central concepts in aesthetic discourse regarding the workings of the arts. In respect of the actio (“performance”) of rhetoric, the doctrine related primarily to mimetic potential (→ Mimesis), especially in the representation of human emotions by means of → mime and → gesture [12], and more rarely at various other stylistic levels (Lat. modi) [11]. On the basis of the doctrine adopted by rhetoricians of the ancient world, especially Quintilian and Cicero, L.B. Alberti (1404–1472) required that events depicted should show human beings in the grip of extreme emotional turmoil, so as to arouse similar emotions in the onlooker. At the same time, he recommended that the spectacle include a figure charged with informing the audience of the action at a similarly emotional level [1. 78–82]. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), in the context of the → Paragone in respect of the arts, maintained that the visual impression is the most immediate in relation to other impressions of the senses, and the least liable to deceive [2.6]. The development of art in the 16th century was marked by a tension between the ideal of gratia (“grace”) and the contrary concept of terribilità, championed by G. Vasari (1511–1574) on the model of Michelangelo, and associated with the concept of pathos found in the doctrine of affects espoused by the ancients [9]. In opposition to Vasari’s primacy of drawing, Venetian writers in particular linked the emotional effect of → painting primarily to the aspect of color [3] (→ Painting technique). G.P. Lomazzo (1538 to ca. 1590) investigated the movements of the human body with a view to their supposedly god-given expressive content [7]. In respect of artistic theory, F. Junius (1589–1677) based the doctrine of affects on a comprehensive evaluation of ancient textual sources [5]. In the 17th century, artistic theory turned more markedly to Aristotle’s theory of the drama. Anecdotes from the lives of artists lay an increased emphasis on the idea of pathos, one requirement being that artists should themselves embrace the emotion to be represented [12. 73–77]. The physical manifestations of the emotions were extensively discussed at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris under the concept of expression des passions[10]. The attempt by Ch. Le Brun (1619–1690) to establish the laws of facial expression in this context did not lead to the textbook-like conception he had desired [6]. Le Brun’s direct use of Descartes’ doctrine of affects in this connection was extraordinarily influential; Descartes gave first place among the emotions to admiration (“amazement, wonder”), asserting that admiration preceded attachment or aversion [12. 114–122]. The arousal of amazement, which had played a central role in the literature of art from the beginning, became a vital aspect
of the aesthetic of the Baroque. The idea of the universality of the physical expression of the emotions gave rise to the conception of the fine arts as a universal language [12. 77–82]. N. Poussin (1594–1665) applied the *modi* of musical theory (see below, 3.) to the fine arts; it is, however, uncertain whether a specific theory lay behind this approach [11]. Shaftesbury (1671–1713) placed the representation of the emotions expressly at the service of moral education [8]. With J.-B. Dubos (1670–1742), the aesthetics of effect became the constitutive element of → art criticism; → painting employed natural signs and symbols that were intuitively grasped by the observer and thus had a direct effect on the soul [4]. During the course of the 18th century, the development of a bourgeois → ethics and → aesthetics led to the replacement of the concept of emotion by that of sentiment or → emotion. Whereas emotion had been seen as being linked directly to physical expression, sentiment and feeling were located in the innermost being, so that the body was presented as the covert bearer of the state of the soul. The tension between inner sentiment and physical expression became a topic of discussion in the second half of the 18th century, most relevantly in relation to the Laocoön sculpture, on the part especially of J.J. Winckelmann, G.E. Lessing, and J.W. von Goethe, who interpreted it respectively in terms of ethics, genre (→ Genre; → Genre), and the aesthetics of autonomy (→ Autonomy aesthetic) [12. 165–177].

☞ Emotion; Art theory; Mimesis; Rhetoric; Style

Bibliography

Sources


Secondary literature


Ulrich Rehm

3 Music

3.1 Number theory, ethical doctrine, and the characters of musical Keys

3.2 Physiological explanatory model

3.3 The aesthetic of imitation and the musical representation of emotion

3.1 Number theory, ethical doctrine, and the characters of musical keys

That → music was credited early on with the power to affect the spiritual lives of humans in an arousing or calming manner has left clear traces, not least in myths such as the
story of Orpheus. If, at first, belief in magical processes served as an explanatory model in this respect, there developed in Greece an ethical doctrine of music, first theoretically defined towards the end of the 5th century BCE by Damon, and taken up by Plato and Aristotle. Central to this doctrine was the Pythagorean theory of an inter- relation between music and the → soul on the basis of all-embracing numerical laws, in such a way that the numerically definable proportions of an interval, depending upon its degree of closeness to unison (1:1), could be made responsible for the harmonization or emotional destabilization of the human psyche. The length of time that this conception remained integral to the doctrine of affects as it applied to music may be gauged by the vehemence that the composer and musical theorist J. Mattheson was still able to bring to his polemic against “arithmetic” as the “foundation” of music in his Vollkommener Capellmeister (“Complete bandleader”) of 1739.

Early Modern → music theory as an element in the quadrivium → Artes liberales held fast to this numerical doctrine, at the same time using it to explain the emotionally and ethically effective components of music. In the ancient tradition, particular keys were assigned to corresponding emotional areas, an effect that was concisely expressed by, among others, the musical theorist R. de Pareja (Musica practica, 1482), who associated the four authentic church modes with the four → temperaments of Galen’s → humoralism. A comparable “modal characteristic” for the extended system of the twelve modi (church modes) can be found in H. Glarean’s Dodekachordon of 1547, while G. Zarlino (Le istitutioni harmoniche, 1558), in the context of his theories of consonance and triads, linked joyful emotions to intervals without a semitone (e.g. the major third), sadness to intervals with a semitone (e.g. the minor third). In the age of Tonality → Tonal systems, such semantic attributions were not restricted to the two modes and their constitutive sets of intervals, but were assigned to all major and minor modes, with nuances of meaning that at times appear arbitrary [8], most prominently, perhaps, in Charakteristikstück der Töne (“Affective key characteristics”) from C.F.D. Schubart’s Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst (“Ideas towards an aesthetic of the art of sound”), published posthumously in 1806.

3.2 Physiological explanatory model
A. Kircher, who, in 1650, proposed in his Musurgia universalis a comprehensive doctrine of affects as a theory of musica pathetica (in the sense of emotional arousal), illustrating this with actual works by various composers, and comparing the analogy between music and the soul with the sympathy (harmony) between two strings that vibrate at the same rate as soon as one of them is struck. Kircher predicated this theory on the idea of animal spirits (spiritus animales), assuming that a parallel might be established on the basis of a naturally given interrelationship between their motion (motus animalis) and a process of music (motus harmonicus) regulated by numeric relationships [4]; however, in the 18th century weight was given to the conception that nervous functions were generally to be understood in terms of the vibration of elastic threads. This introduced the possibility of directly relating the process by which music produces emotion to the law of resonance. J.G. Herder in his Viertes Kritisches Wäldchen (“Fourth critical grove”; 1769) was one of those who described the auditory nervous system as a strung instrument that takes up the vibrations of each resounding tone, and produces corresponding motions of the soul in accordance with the principle of resonance. English-speaking authors from the mid-18th century onwards, including Edmund Burke, James Beattie, and Daniel Webb, also tended to explain the
emotional effect of music on a more or less physical basis, as the transformation of a nervous resonance triggered by sounds; the central postulate of an imitation of nature (→ Mimesis) thus largely lost its validity.

3.3 The aesthetic of imitation and the musical representation of emotion
While the assumption of an identity between sound and sentiment, based on the principle of resonance, at the same time prepared the ground for the recognition of purely instrumental music, until the mid-18th century the doctrine of affects was subject to the primacy of the requirement for → composers to represent in music the emotion named or described in a given textual model (Lat. affectus exprimere). Here, the emotion in question was seen as an objectifiable exemplary type to which particular musical formulae, phrases, and expressive means were assigned. Emotions of mourning, for example, were normally expressed by drawn-out notes, slow tempi, minor keys, and close intervals, thought to exert an inhibiting effect on the animal spirits (spiritus animales), along with frequent use of dissonances and false relations (Lat. relationes non harmonicae).

To this was added a repertoire of figures drawn from → rhetoric[1], which, as departures from the norm, and by such means as conscious offenses against the rules governing part-writing and the handling of dissonance, were able to validate the intensity of strong emotions, and give greater plasticity to particular aspects of the text. The development of a canon of musical-rhetorical figures was closely connected with compositional practice in respect of the Italian → Madrigal, whose texts, which frequently treated pain and sorrow, were seen as offering a licence for the particularly blatant commission of such offenses in the service of the musical representation of emotion. Premises such as these gave rise in about 1600 to the concept of song-like declamation (Italian recitare cantando), supposedly modelled on ancient tragedy, and designed to give musical expression to emotional states by imitating the tone of voice (imitazione del parlare) associated with them; this was to form the basis of the new genre of → opera.

While pronounced emotional variation in music for the voice was always legitimized by the text, instrumental music was restricted until far into the 18th century by the view that the object of its imitation was too ill-defined to be understood by the listener; this moved the Thomaskantor J. Kuhnau to add explanatory notes to his Musicalische Vorstellung einiger Biblischer Historien in 6 Sonaten ("Musical presentation of some biblical stories in 6 sonatas"; 1700). G.E. Lessing, in his Hamburgische Dramaturgie of 1767, decreed with reference to J.A. Scheibe that the Anfangssymphonie (musical overture) to a play should on no account express conflicting passions, but should concentrate on one sole emotion together with its various gradations. C.P.E. Bach, on the other hand, made constant, rapid changes within the emotional flow the central stipulation for pianistic performance, furthermore postulating, in the vein of Horace, that, in order to be able to move his listeners, the musician must himself be moved (Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen ["Essay on the true manner of playing the piano"], 1753/1762) [3]. In this much-cited dictum can be discerned the replacement of the above-mentioned affectus exprimere by an ideal of subjective sentimental expression that, again, presupposes the recognition of music’s lack of semantic clarity as the cause of the peculiar quality of its emotional effect [5]. Herder, for example, considered the fact that music is unable to present the intellect with clear ideas to be a condition of its immediate comprehensibility to the → emotions; which, in the final analysis, was tantamount to a renunciation of a rationally-grounded doctrine of affects.
Even though the objective representation of sharply defined emotions was transformed by the → musical aesthetics of the late 18th century into subjective "expression of sentiment" [6], the principle that music is bound up with human passions remained largely unaffected. As early as 1800, however, F. Schiller, C.G. Körner, and C.F. Michaelis, under the influence of I. Kant, elaborated an → aesthetics of the musical artwork in which influencing the listener featured no longer as a goal, but as a danger to ethical and moral freedom that could be countered only by the primacy of form on the one hand, and disinterested appreciation on the other. E. Hanslick gave pointed expression to this thought in 1854, in his text *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* ("On the musically beautiful"), with the thesis that it was no purpose of music to represent feelings, or to arouse them in the listener; music comprised nothing other than forms of sound in motion ("tönend bewegte Formen"); → Absolute music). At the beginning of the 20th century, however, it was precisely on the basis of opposition to Hanslick's aesthetic that H. Kretzschmar gave voice to the demand that account should again be taken of the doctrine of affects as the cornerstone of a future musical aesthetic [7]. Discussion continues as to which of the two competing approaches should be given preeminence.


**Affinity, chemical**

An early concept to explain chemical bonding, affinity described substances’ desire to bond with one another. Experiences from commercial chemical practices in the 17th century were thus brought together in a theoretical concept [5], at first explained in animistic or mechanistic terms, then from Isaac Newton onwards in terms of a substance-specific bonding “force.” Convincing of the lawful unity of nature, Newton had proposed in his *Principia mathematica scientiae naturalis* (1687) that all natural phenomena should be attributable to forces of attraction and repulsion between bodies. In his 1717 *Opticks*, he formulated a program of research for a quantifiable physics of the masses, forces, and motions in the submicroscopic sphere in analogy to → celestial mechanics. This vision, later known as the “Newtonian dream,” set the tone for chemistry throughout the 18th century (→ Chemical sciences) [7]. The aim
was to transform a qualitative science conducted in the spirit of natural history into a mathematical discipline of microphysics (→ Newtonianism).

However, attempts to formulate the concept of affinity as a force related to distance using the analogy of gravitation (→ Weight; e.g. Roger Joseph Boscovich in 1758), or to measure chemical affinity through short-range adhesion forces, as scientists were attempting in France, produced no usable results.

A more promising avenue, therefore, seemed to be to infer the reactive “desire” of substances from the course of chemical reactions. Key model systems were precipitations of → salts from solutions accomplished by the addition of other salts. This produced series of substances that were driven out of their compounds by other substances. The *Tables de rapport* by Etienne François Geoffroy (1718) founded the type of the “affinity table.” The theory of chemical affinity reached its zenith in 1775 with the 1775 *Disquisitio de attractionibus electivis* (“Dissertation on Elective Attractions”) by the Swedish chemist Torbern Bergman.

The guiding principle of all affinity tables was the topological ordering of substances on the basis of their chemical analogy, the position within a column indicating the relative measure of the bonding tendency of each substance. Although these methods only produced a relative reactivity, dependent on the type of reaction, that was known as “elective affinity” (Latin *attractio electiva*), many researchers were convinced that they could proceed to derive absolute, substance-specific affinity values that, at least in principle, should enable forecasts of chemical reactions. Only then would chemistry advance from “systematic art” to “real science,” as Immanuel Kant noted in his *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft* (“Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science”), referring in 1786 explicitly to affinity theory. The popularity of the theory of affinity not least attested by the use of this technical chemical concept as the title and compositional principle for Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (“Elective Affinities”) in 1809 [1].

By 1800, however, the dream of quantifiable affinities had yielded to increasing disillusion. The Parisian chemist Claude Louis Berthollet had demonstrated that the course of chemical reactions also depended on the concentration of reactants, and consequently never exclusively on a substance’s intrinsic “desire to bond.” The hope of quantifying chemical reactivity for specific substances as an effect of forces between particles, and hence of transforming chemistry from a qualitative to a quantitative science, had proved impossible.

The quantification of chemistry began in the first half of the 19th century with John Dalton’s theory of → atomism, as the concept of affinity gave way to the electrochemical theory of chemical bonding. The experimental studies by Humphry Davy in London and Jöns Jakob Berzelius’ bonding theory of electrochemical dualism in Stockholm seemed to explain the “desire” of particular atoms or groups of atoms to form stable compounds on the basis of their respective positive and negative charges [6]. Later, in enthusiasm for the new concept of → energy, attempts were made to determine affinity thermodynamically by measuring the amount of heat liberated during a reaction. Although it had long become clear that the factors influencing the course of a chemical reaction are far too complex for a single concept of affinity to explain them, the original chemical technical term itself continues to be used, not only in chemistry and biochemistry, but also and above all in figurative senses.
Agrarian individualism

The concept agrarian individualism, coined by Marc Bloch, the leading French agrarian historian between the First World War and the Second [2], describes the endpoint of agricultural development after the early modern → agricultural revolution. Agrarian individualism designates the abandonment of all collective forms of land cultivation in favor of unlimited individual use with full private ownership (→ Property). The preconditions of agrarian individualism were the enclosure of the → common land and the abolition of all servitudes and other collective agricultural regulations (→ Agrarian constitution). Independent units of production were created by breaking up commons (→ Cadastral area). According to the model of development behind the concept of agrarian individualism, which itself is based on liberal → Enlightenment ideas, all forms of collective cultivation are serious obstacles to growth and must be utterly rooted out, so that every individual (→ Individuality) may reach his full potential free from any collective constraints. Collective cultivation and profit-oriented “rational” → agriculture and agricultural growth are considered incompatible. From this perspective, agrarian individualism and the “traditional” economy are two fundamentally different, incompatible practices. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was thought that their differences extended far beyond economic matters and were firmly fixed in the mentality, culture, and worldview of peasant society in particular. In Bloch’s view, it was centuries-old peasant “traditionalism” with its enormous capacity to resist change that stood in the way of the development of early modern agrarian individualism. Accordingly, it was impossible for → peasants to be the social bearers of agrarian individualism and development; on the contrary, commercially oriented large landholders – either of an urban...
background or poorly integrated into the village community – pioneered agrarian individualism (→ Agrarian capitalism). In the best-case scenario, peasants might belatedly modernize, but normally they came under massive pressure from outside, experienced high social costs, and underwent painful learning processes. Agrarian individualism could emerge only in opposition to peasant society, not from it. The high social cost of dismantling established agrarian structures was justified by the enormous gains in growth brought about by agrarian individualism, which made it possible to feed the growing → population and paved the way for → industrialization [3.197–234]. Bloch’s argument stands in the tradition of the European Enlightenment, liberal agrarian reformers, and economic thinkers from Adam Smith and Karl Marx to Werner Sombart and Max Weber [8]; [4]; [6]. The history of the rise of agrarian individualism has been rewritten since the 1960s. Numerous historical and developmental economic studies have proven that the sharp division between the collectively organized peasant or “traditional” sector and the individualistic, profit-oriented entrepreneurial or “modern” sector is untenable. First, the early modern peasant economy proved to be far more flexible than previously assumed; second, peasants normally were not passive victims of agrarian individualism, but rather actively shaped it with their own specific economic and social strategies. The dynamic progress of early modern agrarian development – accompanied by a gradual transition to agrarian individualism – occurred alongside peasant agrarian structures and for long periods within the framework of the peasant economy. The introduction of new → crop rotation and cultivation systems that characterized the early modern → agricultural revolution. Most agricultural → innovations were made in conditions of collective cultivation. The present consensus is that collective economy, on the one hand, and the → market and growth on the other are not contradictory per se, but rather complementary [1]; [5]; [7]. The triumph of agrarian individualism from within the peasant economy remains to be studied.

☞ Agrarian capitalism; Agricultural revolution; Agriculture

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Michael Kopsidis

Agrarian capitalism

The term “agrarian capitalism”, like → agricultural revolution, may be ascribed to Karl Marx. In his book Capital, he characterizes the class of tenant farmers that arose in England in the 15th and 16th centuries
Agrarian capitalism

(Lease) as “agrarian capitalists”, and agricultural bookkeeping as a distinguishing feature of “capitalist agriculture” [1. 135ff.]; it is also in this context that he turns his attention to the “genesis of capitalist ground rent”. Marx related the concept of agrarian capitalism both to a system of agricultural management oriented towards profit and to an agrarian economy oriented towards the maximization of yields. In this connection, the German agronomist A. D. Thaer had already focused on the commercial theme in his magnum opus Die rationelle Landwirtschaft (1809), where he had described agriculture as ein Gewerbe (an industry or trade) oriented towards profit, and thus obliged to pursue profitability as its only principle [2.3]. However, neither he nor the authors of relevant agricultural textbooks (Agricultural sciences) who followed him used the term “agrarian capitalism.” They nevertheless drew agriculturalists’ attention to the necessity of balance sheets and business plans. On the other hand, exponents of German national economics at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, such as Max Weber and Werner Sombart, were influenced by Marx in their adoption of the concept of “early capitalism” in order to reconstruct the change in economic and social forms between the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, and define more closely the function of the agrarian economy. In a 1906 study of contemporary conditions, Weber used the term “agrarian capitalism” to clarify fundamental differences in economic behavior and social status between the continental Bauer (Peasant) and farmers in England and the USA, basing his analysis on relevant legal, economic, and social considerations (Agrarian constitution) [3]. The analyses presented by Marx, Weber, and Sombart regarding the transformation of European economic and social forms in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period were still a frequent point of departure for international historical research in the 1970s. One issue was the extent to which transatlantic trade and the establishment of colonies in the 16th century (World economy) favored the emergence of agrarian capitalist conditions of production in England, the Netherlands, and France [13] (Atlantic world). The broad absence of agrarian capitalism in France and in German territories outside the large eastern estates was explained in terms of the dominance of absolutist systems of rule, a heavy burden of taxes and duties (Tax), and the refeudalization of agrarian conditions to the disadvantage of peasants bound by obligations in terms of services and charges. Associated assessments of the conditions of agrarian capitalism gave rise to a multifaceted debate [4]; [12. 203ff.], which has again played a substantial role in more recent analysis of the specifics of agrarian capitalism in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Northern France [6]. Some studies in the former German Democratic Republic questioned whether the aristocratic estate economy (Gutsherrschaft) in Eastern Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries could be described as agrarian capitalist. The mostly non-aristocratic tenant farmers on demesnes and large estates in both Prussia and the Paris Basin have nevertheless continued to receive academic attention as representatives of agrarian capitalism and agrarian individualism in the 18th century [11]. More recently, the market integration of medium- and large-scale peasant farmers in the 18th and early 19th centuries in many regions of Germany and Switzerland has also been the subject of extensive investigation [9]; [8]; [10]; [7]. This branch of research gives much weight to the assessment of the finance-related records of individual peasant farmers (Schreibebücher: “journals”). As it is possible to discern at least a simple form of accounting in particular areas of activity, these types of economic behavior are
described as proto agrarian-capitalist [7], a categorization that is yet to find broad academic acceptance.

☞ Agrarian individualism; Agricultural markets; Agricultural revolution; Agriculture; Peasant

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Secondary Literature

Frank Konersmann

Agricultural credit

Agricultural credit was a common phenomenon in the rural societies of the modern period [3, 339, 343];  [6,1340]. Short-term payment deferrals took into account the circumstance that the financial resources of → peasants were subject to seasonal fluctuations [4,285]. The sources refer primarily to long-term agricultural credit. National or territorial regulations governed the general system. In the Holy Roman Empire, → interest was generally set at around 5% by the 15th century; this percentage was made mandatory in the Empire in the 16th century [1,6]; [3,331] and in France in the 17th [7, 91–95]. Variations of ±1% were tolerated. In principle credit had to be secured by assets, but regulations and practice varied greatly from region to region. In Württemberg promissory notes were registered by the local administrative office [3, 331–333], in the more urban areas of France and the Swiss Confederation, → notaries had this responsibility [3,332]. This practice could not always prevent over-indebtedness [5,165]. We do not know how the legally defined limitation on extending credit to the holders of bad → peasant property rights [1,9]; [3,330] worked in practice. The circle of lenders was heterogeneous. In the county of the Fuggers on the Danube, at the end of the 16th century the majority of the lenders
were local [5.167], the same was true in the village of Ebikon near Lucerne in the 17th century [6.1347]. Given the function of agricultural credit in the life cycle, in many regions the majority of the lenders belonged to the older generation [3.335]; [7. 54f.]; [8.189]. We also find clergy and local officials as lenders. In some regions, Jewish lenders were a significant presence, e.g. in the Wetterau since the 16th century and in Alsace in the 18th century [2. 1414–1416]. In the urbanized regions of France, the office of a notary still served as a collection and disbursement center for money in the 19th century. In addition the → village community and above all local churches [12. 163–167] made funds available that were also accessible to small landholders [11.38]. → Smallholders could also obtain credit from full farmers, who provided help with draft animals (→ Harness) as well [2.1306]. In such cases, credit was both secured and mitigated by the patronage relationship. Such relationships could evolve differently in the context of the family. In 16th-century Upper Austria, the amply attested advances that were provided to proprietors of farms by non-inheriting siblings were simply extended wages or compensation [8. 189, 197]. Urban citizens made funds available primarily where there were close → town and country relations, as in parts of the Swiss Confederation [6.1346]. Only very slowly did institutional credit replace personal credit. The cooperative credit institutions established in Prussia after 1770 supported only → large scale land ownership by issuing mortgage bonds, and the savings banks that began to multiply in the last quarter of the 18th century were hesitant to extend agricultural credit. Most of the specialized → Hypothekenbanken and → credit unions with a rural clientele did not emerge until the agrarian reforms of the early 19th century or later. The transregional ubiquity of credit relationships is due to the presence of similar causes [3.349], including life-cycle events (inheriting a farm, compensating siblings, raising children) [6.1354]. In the vicinity of Maubeuge, a town in northern France, this meant that a large percentage of borrowers in the 18th century were under the age of 30 [7.59]. Sudden unexpected hardships constituted another complex of causes [12.166]. In the county of Hohenlohe, numerous petitions for extension of payment and other forms of credit show that cases of hardship became more frequent between 1560 and 1625, especially among smallholders, as a result of crop failures, price increases, and → tax, against the background of population increase and the “→ Little Ice Age” [10. 171f.]. The appreciable increase in indebtedness in many parts of the Swiss Confederation in the same period, however, can be traced to increasing creditworthiness in the context of a favorable → agricultural markets. In the Swiss regions where land was divided equally among male heirs, it has been shown that as the population grew funds were used to buy land and create farmsteads [6.1340].

☞ Bank; Credit; Interest (banking); Society (community)

Bibliography

Agrarian crisis, late medieval

1 Concept and review of scholarship
2 Historical background

1 Concept and review of scholarship

The theory of a late medieval agrarian crisis is a widespread concept in the economic assessment and chronological definition of the Late Middle Ages (1350–1450). It was based originally on the theories of Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo, representatives of the classical school of economics. It also influenced M. Postan’s studies of economic history [10] and E. Le Roy Ladurie’s interpretation of European history as a whole on the basis of agricultural markets [8]. The theory of W. Abel, which shaped academic discussion of the agrarian crisis both in Germany and abroad, was based on four premises: (1) stagnant population growth, (2) decrease in rural villages, (3) reduced agricultural production, and (4) declining agricultural prices [2]. For decades Abel’s theory found broad acceptance among students of agricultural history.

In 1976 G. Bois published a regional study of the economic development of eastern Normandy between the 14th and 16th centuries that partially modified Abel’s theory [3]. Abel had ascribed particular significance to the declining ground rents of the landlords; Bois supplemented assessment of the ground rents by including feudal rents, familiar from Marxist theory, thus attempting to provide a more plausible explanation of the dynamics of processes of economic contraction. Critical voices have been raised against the global concept of an agrarian depression and a general crisis of the Late Medieval economy, especially as a consequence of individual sectoral and regional studies. Abel’s global model therefore needs additional critical correction.

2 Historical background

The 14th and 15th centuries were characterized by a sharp decline in → population. The demographic drop began in the early 14th century and was aggravated significantly by several waves of → plague after the mid-14th century. In the first great pandemic, between 1347 and 1351, in most countries roughly a quarter of the population fell victim to the plague. The several waves of the plague struck individual countries and regions with varying intensity, but taken together had such long-term impact that they had profound consequences for the social and economic state of Europe. In Germany and its European neighbors, the population decline brought a substantial reduction in the number of farms, villages, and cultivated fields, so that the geography of many landscapes was characterized by → abandoned settlements.

As a measure of the prevalence – varying
from place to place – of abandoned villages in a given region, settlement geographers have introduced the term “abandonment quotient,” the ratio of abandoned sites to the total number of settlements. Further intensive studies are needed to arrive at a reliable overall view.

In addition to the population decline, migration also hasten the abandonment of many settlements. The departing peasants moved to neighboring towns or villages with more favorable economic conditions. Beginning in the second half of the 14th century, the steep population decline and the reduced demand for grain led to a lengthy decline in the price of grain (Agricultural prices). Since the grain supply did not decrease in proportion to the reduced demand, a surplus developed, with a long period of depressed prices. Until the end of the 15th century, the trend was downward; prices did not begin to rise until the early 16th century. Unlike agricultural produce, industrial products kept their relatively high price in the 15th century, so that a clear price gap emerged between agricultural and industrial products. Because of a labor shortage, the decline in the price of grain was accompanied by a rise in wages, so that agricultural producers had to contend with rising costs. A population increase led to renewed agricultural prosperity in the 16th century.

Agricultural markets; Agricultural prices; Agriculture

Bibliography


Werner Rösener

Agricultural pioneer

Agricultural production in Central Europe, in contrast to England and the Netherlands, was marked by the three-field system with extensive fallow land and brought in only modest harvest. Extensive common land inhibited intensive land use. Feudal, natural, and technological conditions imposed further limitations on the development of agriculture. While agriculture began to modernize in England in broad sweeps already in the 18th century (Agricultural revolution), individual initiative had greater significance in implementing agricultural changes in Germany. Since the 1990s, the concept of the agricultural pioneer is applied to people of different status (noble, bourgeois, peasant) who spurred the development of agriculture.

Noble and princely houses, especially women, attended to agrarian matters already in the 16th century. Thus Maria of Jever (1500–1575) is associated with better
Agricultural Pioneer 27

protection of from the North Sea. Anna of Saxony (1532–1585) promoted the education of the rural population and the cultivation of gardens and wine, developed new ideas about processing milk and animal husbandry, and in 1575 was entrusted by her husband, Elector August I of Saxony, with the administration of the electorate’s estates [2]. Among those in attendance on Anna was Abraham von Thumbshirm. He and other representatives of Hausväterliteratur such as Conrad Heresbach (1496–1576), Johann Coler (1566–1639), and later Wolf Helmhard von Hohberg (1612–1688) informatively described the current possibilities of agricultural production in widely published works, but did not propagate changes[4].

The introduction of a new plant such as the potato, in contrast, represented an innovation. The farmer Hans Roggler from Vogtland was one of the first who from 1647 began to cultivate potatoes in Germany. The crop first became widely accepted in the following decades, supplied especially by Italy and the Netherlands. One distribution point was Nuremberg, from where the Waldensians Antoine Seignoret and Henri Arnauld imported the potato to Württemberg around 1700. As times improved, the potato became less important, but spread again in the lean years from 1770 to 1772 [6].

Besides potatoes, contemporaries considered clover a symbol of modern agriculture. Clover cultivation was first propagated especially by the so-called experimental economists, who put their experiences up for discussion in numerous publications; in contrast to the Hausväter, their goal was to overturn traditional practices. The most famous of them was Schaubart, whom Emperor Joseph II elevated in 1784 to “Nobleman of the Cloverfield” for his merits [4].

Inspired by English agriculture the counts of Kamecke had the agriculturalist Christopher Brown introduce the “English model” based on crop rotation on their estates in Brandenburg in 1767/68 (the Norfolk crop rotation system; → Agricultural revolution). In the service of Frederick the Great, Brown extended his attempts to royal demesnes [5].

Starting in 1788, Helene Charlotte von Lestwitz (von Friedland after marriage) carried out an exemplary program of technological and social reform on the land of the Friedland lordship in Brandenburg. Her daughter Henriette Charlotte continued the work together with her husband, Peter Alexander von Itzenplitz, there and in Groß-Behnitz in Havelland [2]; [3]. These estate owners maintained close contact with the most significant agricultural pioneer in Germany, Albrecht Daniel Thaer. Thaer had studied English agricultural literature and agrarian practices in Celle since the 1790s. His Einleitung zur Kenntniß der englischen Landwirtschaf (Introduction for familiarity with English agriculture) made him well-known. Starting in 1804, he created a model farm on the estate Möglin east of Berlin, where he experimented with different crop-rotation methods (→ Crop rotation). In 1806, he opened the Möglin Agricultural Institute (from 1819, the Royal Prussian Academy of Agriculture) and published his Grundzüge der rationellen Landwirtschaft (Principles of rational agriculture) in 1810–1812, which made him the leading scholar of German agriculture. In southern Germany, Johann Nepomuk Schwerz (1759–1844), was similarly significant. Schwerz was interested in medium-sized operations rather than large-scale agriculture; his model in this was the Netherlands. In 1818, he became director of the new agricultural institute in Höhenheim near Stuttgart [4]. Johann Gottlieb Koppe (1782–1862) improved the process of sugar production, from planting beets to refining, in the Oderbruch region. From 1810 on, Johann Heinrich von Thünen operated the Tellow estate in Mecklenburg as a model estate. In his 1826 work Der isolirte Staat (The isolated state), he presented a model of agriculture in the territory of a state [1]. Thünen’s active years already fell in a time when feudal barriers had fallen and mineral
fertilization (→ Manuring) had opened up new opportunities [4].

☞ Agrarian reforms; Agricultural revolution; Agricultural sciences; Agriculture

Bibliography


Heinrich Kaak

Agrarian reforms

1 Concept
2 Agriculture in the debates of the Enlightenment
3 Protagonists
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5 Implementation
6 Consequences

1 Concept

The term “agrarian reform” encompasses all public regulations that contributed to abolishing the complex economic system that had existed since the High Middle Ages that had tied the feudal collection of surpluses produced by peasants to collectively organized agriculture and → village life. The most prominent agrarian reform is the abolition of serfdom, which was intended to create a society of free landowners in the countryside. This reform was complemented by the privatization of commons and marches (→ Common land, enclosure of), the cancelation of third-party entitlements on private property (so-called servitudes, such as sheep-runs, gleanings and “Stoppelhude” on harvested fields, gathering wood, grazing, and raking leaves in forests), as well as the end of communal use of → cadastral area (obligatory strip farming in the context of the three-field system).

Agrarian reform ended the previously predominant relationship of dependency that had existed between usually noble or seigniorial landlords and the rural peasant population in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (→ Landowner). In contrast to France, where this process took place during the → French Revolution (1789) in most European states agrarian reform took hold gradually between the last third of the 18th century and middle of the 19th century, and in the territory of the Russian Empire not until after 1861. Agrarian reforms were usually integrated into comprehensive programs to reform the state, economy, and society. The reformers’ goals were to increase agricultural production by removing obstacles to innovation, raising tax revenue from the rural population, and suppressing intermediate forms of rule. Agrarian reform thus constitutes the legal and socio-economic heart of the transformation of the society of estates (→ Estates, society of) into modern ownership societies [1]; [3].

2 Agriculture in the debates of the enlightenment

Already in the early 18th century, the advocates of → cameralism wanted to improve the production conditions of the agricultural economy by abolishing socage socage.
They had recognized that socage labor was comparatively unproductive and therefore made numerous attempts to change the property status of →peasants, who stood immediately under seigniorial land administration, into one based on long-term lease or fixed interest without additional obligations of service (→ Peasant property rights). These initiatives began to emerge in Brandenburg as early as the beginning of the 18th century, but were undermined either by the peasants’ lack of capital and consequent inability to satisfy their former duties with regular payments or by political resistance at court or within the cameral administration. Where long-term leases were given out on → demesnes as in Hanover and Prussia, the tenants (→ Lease) themselves often successfully resisted the abolition of peasant socage, because such a measures would have entailed high investments on their part.

Not until grain prices rose dramatically in the late 18th century (→ Agricultural prices) did improved general economic conditions provide a better basis for such reforms: peasants who produced surpluses were able to purchase their freedom from duties and acquire titles of ownership to their farmsteads. In the light of rising revenues, even the accumulation of capital was no longer the obstacle it had once been for large-scale grain producers on estates (→ Estate) and demesnes. The argument that involuntary, forced peasant labor reduced productivity thus became more plausible. The new conception of man in the late → Enlightenment and the new understanding of political → economy in the late 18th century also contributed. →Serfdom came to be regarded as immoral even among the privileged classes. According to this way of thinking, every individual should be permitted to strive for success in a liberalized economic system that was established by abolishing class privileges, trade monopolies, guild regulations, and other limitations on the freedom of choice (→ Liberalism). Advocates of reform argued that the abolishment of legal obstacles would spur the economy forward [5].

3 Protagonists

The driving force behind agrarian reform was initially academic and bourgeois milieus across Europe in the 18th century that began to take interest in → agricultural problems. Some scholars even call this an agrarian movement. By way of economic societies, first established in Scotland in 1729, and increasingly founded in German territories in the second half of the 18th century, these discussions began to influence reform-minded officials in enlightened-absolutist administrations (→ Government). In the early 19th century, reform officials such as Stein and Hardenberg in Prussia or Montgelas Bavaria helped to implement agrarian reforms [12]. The role of the rural population in agrarian reform is the subject of controversy. Peasants did not participate at all in the public discussion in the second half of the 18th century. Rural unrest in the Habsburg territories from the 1760s led to the establishment of an official commission for the regulation of socage burdens (Hungary 1766 and 1785, Austria-Silesia 1766/67, Bohemia and Moravia 1774/75) [15]. Widespread peasant unrest after 1789 and rebellions in Saxony in 1790 and Silesia in 1794 increased pressure for reform. The participation of the rural population in the → revolutions of 1830 and 1848/49 set the stagnant reform process again in motion. Even though the execution of the reform program had long been on the agenda of the liberals now in power, its rapid and permanent implementation can be understood only before the background of rural unrest.

4 Research history

The first works on agrarian reform in Germany, Austria, and Russia were limited to
the exposition of legal norms, usually combined with demands that legislators change certain aspects of one form or another. These publications should therefore be considered part of the topical political literature of the day. Agrarian reform indeed remained a political issue, also when the national economic policy in the German Empire and later historians began to address the subject. Until recently, current political questions gave impetus to research on agrarian reform. This enlivened the scholarly debate, but its findings were marked by presumptions. This is also true of the groundbreaking work of Georg Friedrich Knapp on agrarian reform in the eastern heartland of Prussia [11]. Although Knapp’s concept of “Bauernbefreiung” (the abolition of serfdom) emphasized the emancipational side of agrarian reform, his work paints a gloomy picture of its social consequences: peasants were left to the whims of their lords, many were driven from their farmsteads, and their land was annexed by large estates. Agrarian reform accordingly came to be viewed as the birth of the rural proletariat; in this way, Knapp addressed the sociopolitical problem that inspired his research.

For a long time, Knapp’s picture of Prussia was considered normative for all Germany. The agrarian historiography of the DDR took this approach further by postulating, with Lenin, a distinct, but essentially uniform “Prussian way” from feudalism to capitalism for Germany, while France went down the revolutionary path in the interest of the bourgeoisie (→ Middle class); [16]. In Western Germany, however, historians long adhered to the tradition of the “Borussian” view that had dominated since the late 19th century. According to this view, agrarian reform constituted an important element of Prussian political and social reform. After the devastating defeat at the hands of Napoleon in fall 1806, the reforms introduced by farsighted statesmen had ushered in the revival of Prussia, which ultimately made possible the founding of the empire in 1870/71 [13]. The reforms of the Confederation of the Rhine (→ Rhine, Confederation of the) in western Germany, in contrast, went unnoticed because they were considered derivative. Not until the 1970s was this historical picture substantially revised [4] thanks to pilot studies on Württemberg [10], Bavaria [8], the Kingdom of Westphalia [2] and the territories west of the Rhine incorporated into France [15]. Even before 1989, eastern and western German scholars increasingly concurred in viewing Germany at the crossroads of highly diverse European developments.

5 Implementation

As a result of agrarian reform, peasants obtained complete control over their own persons and ownership of their farmsteads. The obligations that peasants owed their lords on account of serfdom were abolished generally without compensation. Only seldom, however, were other forms of → socage and services (→ Services, peasant) abolished without indemnity. Instead, they were regarded as obligations in rem and regulated according to the law of debt instead of tenancy. Peasants consequently were forced to make compensation for these obligations. That might be done by surrendering part of their agricultural land, but in most cases the lords’ rights were converted into an equivalent amount of capital, which could be amortized by a one-time payment or by credit-like installments with interest. Yearly rates might temporarily surpass the original feudal rates. Contemporaries in German-speaking areas thus appropriately called agrarian reform “Lastenablösung” (“burden repayment”).

Implementation of agrarian reform varied widely in the German territories and European states according to their → agrarian constitution and willingness for political
reform. Three phases may be identified: (1) the second half of the 18th century, when the agrarian movement began, the reform program was formulated, and the first measures implemented; (2) the period between 1789 and the early 1820s, when advocates of reform gained impetus from direct French influence, comparison of their system with Napoleonic France, or economic pressure and were able to realize several of their plans; and (3) the period between ca. 1820 and the mid-19th century, which was characterized initially by stagnation but ended with the accelerated completion of the reform process in consequence to the revolutions of 1830 and 1848/49.

While the reforms carried out in western Schleswig-Holstein already in the 18th century [17] should be viewed in the context of the peasant-friendly policy of Denmark, the German territories west of the Rhine together with the southern Netherlands, between 1794 and 1813, followed the revolutionary course taken by France. The Prussian monarchy had unsuccessfully attempted to abolish heavily criticized personal dependencies already at the beginning of the 18th century and again in 1763 with the abolition of the forced labor by → servants in husbandry on the → demesnes of Eastern Prussia and Lithuania. In 1781, Joseph II abolished serfdom in Habsburg lands; the physiocratically minded Margrave Karl Friedrich followed suit in Baden in 1783 [19].

Forms of personal servitude were not completely eliminated until the second reform phase. In Prussia, this process unfolded differently for subjects on royal → demesnes and those on private → manots. Between 1763 and 1807, the hereditary subservience (→ Serfdom) of peasants on demesnes was abolished, and with the famous Edict of October 1807, peasants who were tied to the soil under a private estate owner (→ Guts-Herrschaft) were also freed. In the Napoleonic model states of Berg and Westphalia and in many other member states of the Confederation of the Rhine, the abolition of serfdom was among the first measures of agrarian reform: in Bavaria, Berg, and Westphalia in 1808, and in Hesse-Darmstadt in 1809/11. In territories annexed by France in 1806, the reservations of → Standesherrn delayed the process; regulations that resulted in the final abolition of serf fees were not introduced here until 1817 and 1820, and not until 1836 in Württemberg. Admittedly, in southern and western Germany, serfdom had little significance – aside from its political significance – beyond modest obligatory fees.

After an early start, the abolition of → socage was a protracted process in the German territories. In Prussia, compulsory services were transmuted into obligatory payments on all royal demesnes in 1799; on the commercialized estates (→ Estate) socage labor had long ago been replaced by → wage labor. The Edict of October 1807 eliminated obligatory peasant services for the → nobility; in 1811, compulsory service abolished for the so-called “Lassbauer” (peasants who did not own a farmstead) and they were permitted to acquire property. The progressive Margrave Karl Friedrich of Baden had already reduced his subjects’ socage obligations in the late 18th century, but seigniorial socage was not abolished completely until 1831, and in 1832 it became possible to redeem socage for Standesherrn. Also in Württemberg the process of converting socage into payments, which began in 1775, did not end until 1836 when legislation granted the option of satisfying services by making a cash payment. In Bavaria low grain prices delayed the conversion of services into cash payments, which had become legally possible in 1825/26; here, the last obligatory services were not abolished until 1848 – now without compensation. In Austria, Joseph II had already abolished socage on cameral estates in 1783; an effort to apply this measure to noble
estates in 1789, though, failed. Here too, the final conversion of services into payments would wait until 1848.

The conversion of socage obligations into payments was closely related to the transfer of ownership of the land to peasant producers, because both services and fees derived from the loan relationship between peasants and their landlord or, respectively, their Gutsherr (→ Peasant property rights). The dizzying variety of different loan and property rights resulted in widely varying forms of property conveyance. In contrast to England, where peasants surrendered their share of rights to the soil in return for money and generally continued to work the land as tenants (→ Lease), peasants in Germany predominantly became the full owners of their farmsteads and had to indemnify their former lords for the loss of their property rights. The amount of these indemnities usually were eighteen to twenty-five times the yearly seigniorial dues. Baden led the pack here, too, establishing peasants’ right to redeem their obligations by a payment of twenty-five times the annual sum. Outside of Prussia, it took the revolutionary unrest of 1830 and 1848 for peasants to win bearable conditions for the redemption of their fees and services. The process also was helped along by the founding of redemption banks without which – given the widespread lack of capital – the swift redemption of feudal burdens would have been inconceivable. Most payments to redeem peasant obligations were made in the fifty years between 1830 and 1880 and are estimated to have reached the enormous sum for contemporary standards of four to five billion Marks with an additional seven billion marks in interest [9].

Agrarian reform in Prussia occupies an intermediate position between the southern, western, and central German states, on the one hand, and England, on the other. After Prussian demesne peasants could acquire ownership rights to their land in exchange for financial compensation in 1808, peasants of the nobility were granted, in addition to unfavorable property rights, the ability to become the proprietors of their farmsteads (→ Court [monarchical]). The Declaration of 1816, however, restricted peasants “capable of regulation” (regulierungsfähig) to farmsteads that relied on draft animals (→ Harness). The redemption decree of 1821 extended the applicability of agrarian reform to the numerous peasants in a more favorable legal position who merely were dependent on a landlord (→ Landowner). Finally, in consequence to the revolution of 1848/49, in 1850 the remaining crofters were brought under regulation. According to the regulatory edict, peasants had to surrender from a third to a half of their land to their respective Gutsherr, depending on the law of inheritance. This forfeiture of land, however, could be replaced by the payment of compensation or rents, but during the depressed years between 1820 and 1840, when the redemption of burdens made good progress in Prussia, peasants often did better to give up the land rather than their operating capital (→ Agricultural markets).

6 Consequences

In many respects, the consequences of agrarian reform met its initiators’ expectations. The breakthrough of the capitalistic principle in the rural economy mobilized economic resources and, through intensified use of the factors → soil, → work, and capital, raised revenues considerably (→ Agrarian capitalism). In northern and eastern Germany, the enclosure and division of the commons (→ Common land, enclosure of) led to significant growth of cultivable land. Precisely in regions where peasants had previously been subject to strong seigniorial forces, the reforms seem to have made possible an appreciable development of a “rational” → agriculture (→ Agricultural pioneer).
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