Encyclopedia of

HISTORIANS

AND

HISTORICAL WRITING

Volume 2

Taylor & Francis

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Encyclopedia of

HISTORIANS

AND

HISTORICAL WRITING

Volume 2
M–Z

Editor
KELLY BOYD

First published 1999 by Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers

Published 2019 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Encyclopedia of historians and historical writing
1. Historians – Encyclopedias
I. Boyd, Kelly
907.2'02

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data is available.

Typeset by The Florence Group, Stoodleigh, Devon

Cover design by Philip Lewis

ISBN 13: 978-1-884964-33-6 (hbk) (vol II)

CONTENTS

Alphabetical List of Entries	vii
Thematic List: Entries by Category	xv
Chronological List of Historians	xxvii
 Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing, M–Z	 743
 Title Index	 1357
Further Reading Index	1411
Notes on Advisers and Contributors	1539

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENTRIES

VOLUME I

Lord Acton
Henry Adams
A.E. Afigbo
Africa: Central
Africa: Eastern and Southern
Africa: North and the Horn
Africa: West
African American History
African Diaspora
Agrarian History
Jacob F. Ade Ajayi
Raja Ali Haji
Louis Althusser
Stephen E. Ambrose
America: Pre-Columbian
Ammianus Marcellinus
Benedict Anderson
Perry Anderson
Charles McLean Andrews
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
Annales regni Francorum
Annales School
Anthropology, Historical
Arai Hakuseki
Archaeology
Argentina
Philippe Ariès
Art History
Astrology
Australia
Austro-Hungarian Empire
James Axtell
Emmanuel Ayankami Ayande

Babad
Bernard Bailyn
The Balkans
Ban Gu
George Bancroft
Ömer Lütfi Barkan

Hans Baron
Salo Wittmayer Baron
Geoffrey Barraclough
Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd
Jorge Basadre
Walter Bauer
John C. Beaglehole
C.E.W. Bean
Charles A. Beard and Mary Ritter Beard
Carl L. Becker
Bede
Begriffsgeschichte
Karl Julius Beloch
Isaiah Berlin
Martin Bernal
Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī
Geoffrey Blainey
Marc Bloch
Jerome Blum
A. Adu Boahen
Gisela Bock
Jean Bodin
The Body
Jean Bolland
Herbert E. Bolton
Daniel J. Boorstin
Woodrow Borah
Pierre Bourdieu
C.R. Boxer
Karl Dietrich Bracher
Randolph L. Braham
Fernand Braudel
Brazil
James Henry Breasted
Robert Brenner
Asa Briggs
Britain: Anglo-Saxon
Britain: 1066–1485
Britain: 1485–1750
Britain: since 1750
British Empire
Martin Broszat

- Pierre Broué
 Peter Brown
 Edward G. Browne
 Otto Brunner
 Henry Thomas Buckle
 Bugis and Makasar (Sulawesi) Chronicles
 Rudolf Bultmann
 Jacob Burckhardt
 Peter Burke
 Robert Ignatius Burns
 J.B. Bury
 Business History
 Herbert Butterfield
 Byzantium

 Julius Caesar
 Claude Cahen
 Helen Cam
 Cambridge Group
 William Camden
 Averil Cameron
 Canada
 Delio Cantimori
 Fernando Henrique Cardoso
 Thomas Carlyle
 E.H. Carr
 Raymond Carr
 Cassiodorus
 Ernst Cassirer
 Cassius Dio
 Américo Castro
 Catholicism/Catholic Church
 Central America
 Central Asia: since 1850
 Central Europe
 Federico Chabod
 Owen Chadwick
 Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.
 Roger Chartier
 K.N. Chaudhuri
 Chen Yinke
 C.R. Cheney
 François Chevalier
 Childhood
 China: Ancient (c.1500–221 BCE)
 China: Early and Middle Imperial
 (221 BCE–959 CE)
 China: Late Imperial (960–1911)
 China: Modern (since 1911)
 China: Historical Writing, Ancient
 (c.1100–221 BCE)
 China: Historical Writing, Early and Middle
 Imperial (221 BCE–959 CE)
 China: Historical Writing, Late Imperial
 (960–1911)
 Christianity
 Carlo M. Cipolla
 J.H. Clapham
 Alice Clark
 Manning Clark

 Richard Cobb
 Alfred Cobban
 G.D.H. Cole
 R.G. Collingwood
 Henry Steele Commager
 John R. Commons
 Comparative History
 Computers and Computing, History of
 Computing and History
 Auguste Comte
 Consumerism and Consumption
 Werner Conze
 Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch
 Alain Corbin
 Daniel Cosío Villegas
 Nancy F. Cott
 Counter-Reformation
 Donald Grant Creighton
 Crime and Deviance
 Benedetto Croce
 Alfred W. Crosby, Jr.
 Crusades
 Cuba
 Cultural History
 Merle Curti
 Philip D. Curtin

 Robert Darnton
 David Daube
 Leonore Davidoff
 Basil Davidson
 Norman Davies
 R.W. Davies
 David Brion Davis
 Natalie Zemon Davis
 Angie Debo
 Renzo De Felice
 Carl N. Degler
 Hans Delbrück
 Léopold Delisle
 Jean Delumeau
 Demography
 Greg Dening
 Francesco De Sanctis
 Design History
 Isaac Deutscher
 Jan de Vries
 Bernal Díaz del Castillo
 A.G. Dickens
 Wilhelm Dilthey
 Diodorus Siculus
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus
 Cheikh Anta Diop
 Diplomatic History/International Relations
 Documentary Film
 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz
 Alfons Dopsch
 Dress
 J.G. Droysen
 Simon Dubnov

W.E.B. Du Bois
 Georges Duby
 Pierre Duhem
 William A. Dunning
 R.C. Dutt
 H.J. Dyos

East Central Europe
 Eastern Orthodoxy
 Richard Maxwell Eaton
 Wolfram Eberhard
 W.J. Eccles
 Ecclesiastical History
 Ecology
 Economic History
 Egypt: Ancient
 Egypt: since the 7th Century CE
 Einhard
 Stanley Elkins
 J.H. Elliott
 G.R. Elton
 Friedrich Engels
 Enlightenment Historical Writing
 Edith Ennen
 Environmental History
 Erik H. Erikson
 Ethnicity and "Race"
 Ethnohistory
 Europe: Modern
 European Expansion
 Eusebius of Caesarea

John K. Fairbank
 The Family
 Lucien Febvre
 Steven Feierman
 Feminism
 Feudalism
 Film
 M.I. Finley
 Fritz Fischer
 Ludwig Fleck
 Robert William Fogel
 Eric Foner
 Philip S. Foner
 Michel Foucault
 John Foxe
 France: to 1000
 France: 1000–1450
 France: 1450–1789
 France: French Revolution
 France: since the Revolution
 John Hope Franklin
 Guy Frégault
 Sigmund Freud
 Gilberto Freyre
 Jean Froissart
 Frontiers
 J.A. Froude
 Robert Fruin

Erik Fügedi
 François Furet
 J.S. Furnivall
 Numa Fustel de Coulanges

Lothar Gall
 John Gallagher
 F.L. Ganshof
 Garcilaso de la Vega
 Samuel Rawson Gardiner
 Eugenio Garin
 Johann Christoph Gatterer
 Peter Gay
 Clifford Geertz
 Gender
 Eugene D. Genovese
 Gino Germani
 Germany: to 1450
 Germany: 1450–1800
 Germany: 1800–1945
 Germany: since 1945
 Pieter Geyl
 Pietro Giannone
 Edward Gibbon
 Charles Gibson
 Wilhelm von Giesebrecht
 Felix Gilbert
 Etienne Gilson
 Carlo Ginzburg
 Paolo Giovio
 Lawrence Henry Gipson
 Jacques Léon Godechot
 S.D. Goitein
 Eric Goldman
 E.H. Gombrich
 Mario Góngora
 Pablo González Casanova
 Sarvepalli Gopal
 Linda Gordon
 Heinrich Graetz
 Antonio Gramsci
 Greece: Ancient
 Greece: Modern
 Alice Stopford Green
 Jack P. Greene
 Gregory of Tours
 Patricia Grimshaw
 Lionel Groulx
 Stéphane Gsell
 Gu Jiegang
 Ranajit Guha
 Francesco Guicciardini
 Pierre Guichard
 François Guizot
 Gunki monogatari
 Aron Gurevich
 Herbert G. Gutman
 H.J. Habakkuk
 Jürgen Habermas

Oskar Halecki
 Elie Halévy
 Johannes Haller
 Tulio Halperín-Donghi
 J.L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond
 Oscar Handlin
 Lewis Hanke
 John D. Hargreaves
 Fritz Hartung
 Louis Hartz
 Charles Homer Haskins
 Karin Hausen
 Hayashi School
 Eli F. Heckscher
 G.W.F. Hegel
 J.L. Heilbron
 Louis Henry
 J.G. Herder
 Herodotus
 J.H. Hexter
 Raul Hilberg
 Christopher Hill
 Andreas Hillgruber
 Rodney Hilton
 Darlene Clark Hine
 Otto Hintze
 Historical Geography
 Historical Maps and Atlases
 Historiology/Philosophy of Historical Writing
 History from Below
 History Workshop
 E.J. Hobsbawm
 Marshall G.S. Hodgson
 Richard Hofstadter
 S.B. de Holanda
 W.S. Holdsworth
 Raphael Holinshed
 Holocaust
 Holy Roman Empire
 Homosexuality
 Morton J. Horwitz
 Albert Hourani
 Michael Howard
 Olwen H. Hufton
 Kathleen Hughes
 Thomas P. Hughes
 Johan Huizinga
 David Hume
 Lynn Hunt

 ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr
 Ibn Khaldūn
 Reynaldo Clemeña Iletto
 John Iliffe
 Imperial History
 Halil Inalcık
 India: since 1750
 Indian Ocean Region
 Indigenous Peoples
 Industrial Revolution

Harold A. Innis
 Intellectual History/History of Ideas
 Intelligence and Espionage
 Iran: since 1500
 Ireland
 Islamic Nations and Cultures
 Charles P. Issawi
 Italy: Renaissance
 Italy: since the Renaissance

 C.L.R. James
 Johannes Janssen
 Japan
 Japanese Chronicles
 Barbara Jelavich and Charles Jelavich
 Merrill Jensen
 Jewish History
 James Joll
 A.H.M. Jones
 Gareth Stedman Jones
 Winthrop D. Jordan
 Josephus
 Charles-André Julien

 Ernst H. Kantorowicz
 N.M. Karamzin
 Ahmad Kasravi
 Jacob Katz
 A.P. Kazhdan
 Elie Kedourie
 John Keegan
 Eckart Kehr
 Joan Kelly-Gadol
 Paul M. Kennedy
 Linda K. Kerber
 Alice Kessler-Harris
 V.G. Kiernan
 Kitabatake Chikafusa
 V.O. Kliuchevskii
 David Knowles
 Jürgen Kocka
 Leszek Kołakowski
 Gabriel Kolko
 Anna Komnene
 Kong-zi [Confucius]
 Claudia Koonz
 M.F. Köprülü
 Korea
 D.D. Kosambi
 Reinhart Koselleck
 Paul Oskar Kristeller
 Bruno Krusch
 Jürgen Kuczynski
 Thomas S. Kuhn
 Witold Kula

 Labor History
 Ernest Labrousse
 Walter LaFeber
 Marilyn Lake

Karl Lamprecht
 David S. Landes
 Abdallah Laroui
 Bartolomé de Las Casas
 Christopher Lasch
 Latin America: Colonial
 Latin America: National (since 1810)
 Ernest Lavis
 Asunción Lavrin
 Henry Charles Lea
 W.E.H. Lecky
 Georges Lefebvre
 Legal History
 Leisure
 Joachim Lelewel
 Miguel León-Portilla
 Le Quy Don
 Gerda Lerner
 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie
 William E. Leuchtenburg
 Ricardo Levene
 Lawrence W. Levine
 Evariste Lévi-Provençal
 Wilhelm Levison
 Moshe Lewin
 Bernard Lewis
 David Levering Lewis
 Karl Leyser
 Liang Qichao
 Arthur S. Link
 Literature and History
 Leon F. Litwack
 Liu Zhiji
 Livy
 Local History
 Robert S. Lopez
 Arthur O. Lovejoy
 Paul E. Lovejoy
 Low Countries
 A.R.M. Lower
 Alf Lüdtke
 F.S.L. Lyons

VOLUME 2

Ma Huan
 Jean Mabillon
 C.A. Macartney
 Thomas Babington Macaulay
 Ernst Mach
 Niccolò Machiavelli
 Denis Mack Smith
 Marshall McLuhan
 William H. McNeill
 Alfred Thayer Mahan
 F.W. Maitland
 Malay Annals
 James C. Malin
 Giovanni Domenico Mansi
 Alessandro Manzoni

José Antonio Maravall
 Henrik Marczali
 Maritime History
 Shula Marks
 Marriage
 Michael R. Marrus
 Lauro Martines
 Maruyama Masao
 Karl Marx
 Marxist Interpretation of History
 Masculinity
 Tim Mason
 Henri Maspero
 Louis Massignon
 Albert Mathiez
 Garrett Mattingly
 Arno J. Mayer
 Ali A. Mazrui
 Media
 Medicine, History of
 Medieval Chronicles
 Medieval Historical Writing
 Roy Medvedev
 August Meier
 Friedrich Meinecke
 Memory
 Ramón Menéndez Pidal
 Mentalities, History of
 Carolyn Merchant
 Robert K. Merton
 Metahistory
 Mexico
 Eduard Meyer
 Jules Michelet
 Middle East: Medieval
 Migration
 Military History
 Pavel Miliukov
 Perry Miller
 Susanne Miller
 S.F.C. Milsom
 Mito School
 Bartolomé Mitre
 Arnaldo Momigliano
 Hans Mommsen
 Theodor Mommsen
 Wolfgang J. Mommsen
 Mongol Empire
 Montesquieu
 David Montgomery
 T.W. Moody
 Barrington Moore, Jr.
 Manuel Moreno Fraginals
 Edmund S. Morgan
 Samuel Eliot Morison
 W.L. Morton
 George L. Mosse
 John Lothrop Motley
 Roland Mousnier
 Lewis Mumford

L.A. Muratori
Musicology

Mustafa Naima
Naitō Torajirō
Lewis Namier
Napoleonic Wars (1800–1815)
Gary B. Nash
Nationalism
Native American History
Natural Sciences, Historical
Naval History
Near East: Ancient
Joseph Needham
Allan Nevins
New Zealand
B.G. Niebuhr
Lutz Niethammer
Friedrich Nietzsche
Niida Noboru

Dimitri Obolensky
Edmundo O’Gorman
Bethwell A. Ogot
Roland Oliver
Oral History
Orderic Vitalis
Orientalism
Margaret A. Ormsby
Fernando Ortiz
Herbert Levi Osgood
George Ostrogorsky
Otsuka Hisao
Otto of Freising
Ottoman Empire
Fernand Ouellet
Frank Lawrence Owsley
Mona Ozouf

Pacific/Oceanic History
Elaine Pagels
Nell Irvin Painter
František Palacký
Erwin Panofsky
Matthew Paris
Geoffrey Parker
Francis Parkman
Vernon Louis Parrington
Josef Pekař
Paul Pelliot
Louis A. Pérez, Jr.
Edward Pessen
Nikolaus Pevsner
Ulrich Bonnell Phillips
Philosophy of History
Piero Pieri
Franca Pieroni Bortolotti
Ivy Pinchbeck
Richard Pipes
Henri Pirenne

S.F. Platonov
T.F.T. Plucknett
J.H. Plumb
Plutarch
J.G.A. Pocock
Poland: to the 18th Century
Poland: since the 18th Century
Karl Polanyi
Léon Poliakov
Political and Constitutional History
Polybius
Karl Popper
Popular History
Alessandro Portelli
M.M. Postan
Postcolonialism
Postmodernism
David M. Potter
Eileen Power
Caio Prado Júnior
Raúl Prebisch
Prehistory
William H. Prescott
Giuliano Procacci
Procopius
Prosopography
Protestantism
Francis Paul Prucha
Michael Psellos

Quantitative Method
David B. Quinn

Leon Radzinowicz
Marc Raeff
Terence O. Ranger
Raden Ngabei Ranggawarsita
Nur ud-Din ar-Raniri
Leopold von Ranke
Fazlallah Rashid al-Dīn
Guillaume-Thomas Raynal
The Reformation
Religion
Religion(s), Comparative History of
Renaissance Historical Writing
Pierre Renouvin
Rhetoric and History
Gerhard A. Ritter
James Harvey Robinson
David Rock
Maxime Rodinson
Walter Rodney
José Honório Rodrigues
Roger of Wendover
Roman Empire
Rosario Romeo
José Luis Romero
Fritz Rörig
Arthur Rosenberg
Charles E. Rosenberg

Hans Rosenberg
 M.I. Rostovtzeff
 W.W. Rostow
 Joseph Rothschild
 Sheila Rowbotham
 George Rudé
 Steven Runciman
 Conrad Russell
 Russia: Medieval
 Russia: Early Modern (1462–1689)
 Russia: Modern (since 1690)
 Russia: Russian Revolution

Edward W. Said
 Sallust
 Gaetano Salvemini
 Raphael Samuel
 Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz
 Gaetano de Sanctis
 Paolo Sarpi
 George Sarton
 Carl O. Sauer
 Friedrich Karl von Savigny
 Saxo Grammaticus
 Simon Schama
 Theodor Schieder
 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
 August Ludwig von Schlözer
 Franz Schnabel
 Carl E. Schorske
 Percy Ernst Schramm
 Science, History of
 James R. Scobie
 Scotland
 Anne Firor Scott
 James C. Scott
 Joan Wallach Scott
 R.W. Scribner
 Scriptores Historiae Augustae
 J.R. Seeley
 Maurice Séguin
 Charles Seignobos
 John Selden
 Ellen Churchill Semple
 Hugh Seton-Watson
 R.W. Seton-Watson
 Sexuality
 Shigeno Yasutsugu
 Shiratori Kurakichi
 Henry E. Sigerist
 Sima Guang
 Sima Qian
 François Simiand
 A.W.B. Simpson
 Keith Sinclair
 Quentin Skinner
 Slavery: Ancient
 Slavery: Modern
 Henry Nash Smith
 Merritt Roe Smith

Carroll Smith-Rosenberg
 Snorri Sturluson
 Albert Soboul
 Social History
 Sociology and History
 S.M. Solov'ev
 South Africa
 Southeast Asia
 R.W. Southern
 Spain: Islamic
 Spain: to 1450
 Spain: Imperial
 Spain: Modern (since 1808)
 Jonathan D. Spence
 Oswald Spengler
 Sport, History of
 Paolo Spriano
 Julia Cherry Spruill
 Heinrich von Srbik
 Kenneth M. Stampp
 The State
 Leften Stavros Stavrianos
 Stanley J. Stein
 F.M. Stenton
 Lawrence Stone
 William Stubbs
 Subaltern Studies
 Karl Sudhoff
 Suetonius
 Peter F. Sugar
 Sweden
 Switzerland
 Heinrich von Sybel
 Ronald Syme
 Gyula Szekfű
 Tacitus
 Ronald Takaki
 Frank Tannenbaum
 R.H. Tawney
 A.J.P. Taylor
 Technology
 Owsei Temkin
 Romila Thapar
 Theatre
 Augustin Thierry
 Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg
 Joan Thirsk
 Hugh Thomas
 Keith Thomas
 E.P. Thompson
 F.M.L. Thompson
 Leonard Thompson
 Samuel E. Thorne
 Thucydides
 Charles Tilly
 Louise A. Tilly
 Alexis de Tocqueville
 Tsvetan Todorov
 Arnold J. Toynbee

- Heinrich von Treitschke
 G.M. Trevelyan
 Hugh Trevor-Roper
 Bruce G. Trigger
 Ernst Troeltsch
 Frederick Jackson Turner
 Victor Turner

 Berthold L. Ullman
 Walter Ullmann
 Laurel Thatcher Ulrich
 United States: Colonial
 United States: American Revolution
 United States: 19th Century
 United States: 20th Century
 United States: Historical Writing, 20th Century
 Universal History
 Urban History

 Alfred Vagts
 Jan Vansina
 Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen
 A.A. Vasiliev
 Velleius Paterculus
 Franco Venturi
 Polydore Vergil
 George Vernadsky
 Jean-Pierre Vernant
 Giambattista Vico
 Vietnam
 Vietnamese Chronicles
 Giovanni Villani
 Pasquale Villari
 Paul Vinogradoff
 Voltaire
 Michel Vovelle

 Georg Waitz
 Judith R. Walkowitz
 Immanuel Wallerstein
 Wang Fuzhi
 Alan Watson
 W. Montgomery Watt
 Beatrice Webb and Sidney Webb
 Eugen Weber
 Hermann Weber

 Max Weber
 C.V. Wedgwood
 Hans-Ulrich Wehler
 Julius Wellhausen
 William Whewell
 Whig Interpretation of History
 Hayden V. White
 Lynn White, Jr.
 Widukind of Corvey
 Robert H. Wiebe
 Ulrich von Wilamovitz-Möllendorff
 William of Malmesbury
 William of Tyre
 Eric Williams
 Raymond Williams
 William Appleman Williams
 Charles H. Wilson
 J.J. Winckelmann
 Women's History: Africa
 Women's History: African American
 Women's History: Asia
 Women's History: Australia and New Zealand
 Women's History: Europe
 Women's History: India
 Women's History: Latin America
 Women's History: North America
 G.A. Wood
 Gordon S. Wood
 Carter G. Woodson
 C. Vann Woodward
 World History
 World War I
 World War II
 Donald Worster
 E.A. Wrigley

 Xenophon

 Muhammad Yamin
 Frances A. Yates

 P.A. Zaionchkovskii
 Jurjī Zaydān
 Theodore Zeldin
 Zhang Xuecheng
 Howard Zinn

THEMATIC LIST

Entries by Category

REGIONS AND PERIODS

Africa	4) Eastern and Central
Ancient World	5) France
Asia	6) Germany
1) China	7) Ireland
2) India	8) Italy
3) Japan and Korea	9) Low Countries
4) Middle East	10) Russia and Central Asia
5) Southeast Asia and Australasia	11) Scandinavia
Byzantium	12) Spain and Portugal
Europe	North and South America
1) Medieval	1) Canada
2) Early Modern and Modern	2) Latin America
3) Britain	3) United States

TOPICS

Art History	Military History
Cultural History	Periods, Themes, Branches of History
Demographic History	Political History
Diplomatic History	Religion
Economic History	Science, Medicine, Technology, and Ecology
Intellectual History	Social History
Jewish History	Theories and Theorists
Legal History	Women's and Gender History

REGIONS AND PERIODS

Africa

Afigbo, A.E.
 Africa entries
 African Diaspora
 Ajayi, Jacob F. Ade
 Ayandele, Emmanuel Ayankami
 Bernal, Martin
 Boahen, A. Adu
 Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine
 Davidson, Basil
 Diop, Cheikh Anta

Egypt: since the 7th Century CE
 Feierman, Steven
 Gallagher, John
 Gsell, Stéphane
 Hargreaves, John D.
 Iliffe, John
 Julien, Charles-André
 Laroui, Abdallah
 Lovejoy, Paul E.
 Marks, Shula

Mazrui, Ali A.
 Ogot, Bethwell A.
 Oliver, Roland
 Ranger, Terence O.
 Rodney, Walter
 South Africa
 Thompson, Leonard
 Vansina, Jan

Ancient World

Ammianus Marcellinus
 Bauer, Walter
 Beloch, Karl Julius
 Bernal, Martin
 Breasted, James Henry
 Brown, Peter
 Caesar, Julius
 Cassiodorus
 Cassius Dio
 Daube, David
 Diodorus Siculus
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus
 Droysen, J.G.
 Egypt: Ancient
 Eusebius of Caesarea

Finley, M.I.
 Fustel de Coulanges, Numa
 Gibbon, Edward
 Greece: Ancient
 Herodotus
 Jones, A.H.M.
 Josephus
 Livy
 Meyer, Eduard
 Momigliano, Arnaldo
 Mommsen, Theodor
 Near East: Ancient
 Niebuhr, B.G.
 Plutarch
 Polybius

Roman Empire
 Rostovtzeff, M.I.
 Sallust
 Sanctis, Gaetano de
 Scriptores Historiae Augustae
 Suetonius
 Syme, Ronald
 Tacitus
 Thucydides
 Velleius Paterculus
 Vernant, Jean-Pierre
 Watson, Alan
 Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Ulrich von
 Xenophon

Asia : 1) China

Ban Gu
 Chen Yinke
 China entries
 China: Historical Writing entries
 Eberhard, Wolfram
 Fairbank, John K.
 Gu Jiegang

Kong-zi
 Liang Qichao
 Liu Zhiji
 Ma Huan
 Maspero, Henri
 Mongol Empire
 Naitō Torajirō

Needham, Joseph
 Pelliot, Paul
 Sima Guang
 Sima Qian
 Spence, Jonathan D.
 Wang Fuzhi
 Zhang Xuecheng

Asia: 2) India

Bīrūnī, Abū Rayhān al-
 Chaudhuri, K.N.
 Dutt, R.C.

Eaton, Richard Maxwell
 Gopal, Sarvepalli
 Guha, Ranajit

India: since 1750
 Kosambi, D.D.
 Thapar, Romila

Asia: 3) Japan and Korea

Arai Hakuseki
 Boxer, C.R.
 Gunki monogatari
 Hayashi School
 Japan

Japanese Chronicles
 Kitabatake Chikafusa
 Korea
 Maruyama Masao
 Mito School

Niida Noboru
 Otsuka Hisao
 Shigeno Yasutsugu
 Shiratori Kurakichi

Asia: 4) Middle East

Bartol'd, Vasilii Vladimirovich
 Browne, Edward G.
 Byzantium
 Cahen, Claude
 Eberhard, Wolfram
 Hodgson, Marshall G.S.
 Hourani, Albert
 Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn
 Ibn Khaldūn

Inalcık, Halil
 Iran:: since 1500
 Issawi, Charles P.
 Kasravi, Ahmad
 Kedourie, Elie
 Köprülü, M.F.
 Lewis, Bernard
 Massignon, Louis
 Middle East: Medieval

Naima, Mustafa
 Near East: Ancient
 Ottoman Empire
 Rashīd al-Dīn, Fazlallah
 Rodinson, Maxime
 Said, Edward
 Watt, W. Montgomery
 Zaydān, Jurjī

Asia: 5) Southeast Asia and Australasia

Ali Haji, Raja
 Anderson, Benedict
 Australia
 Babad
 Beaglehole, John C.
 Bean, C.E.W.
 Blainey, Geoffrey
 Bugis and Makasar Chronicles
 Clark, Manning

Dening, Greg
 Furnivall, J.S.
 Grimshaw, Patricia
 Iletto, Reynaldo Clemeña
 Indian Ocean Region
 Lake, Marilyn
 Le Quy Don
 Malay Annals
 New Zealand

Pacific/Oceanic History
 Rangawarsita, Raden Ngabei
 Raniri, Nur ud-Din ar-
 Scott, James C.
 Southeast Asia
 Vietnam
 Vietnamese Chronicles
 Wood, G.A.
 Yamin, Muhammad

Byzantium

Brown, Peter
 Bury, J.B.
 Byzantium
 Cameron, Averil

Kazhdan, A.P.
 Komnene, Anna
 Obolensky, Dimitri
 Ostrogorsky, George

Procopius
 Psellos, Michael
 Runciman, Steven
 Vasiliev, A.A.

Europe: 1) Medieval

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
 Annales regni Francorum
 Barraclough, Geoffrey
 Bede
 Bloch, Marc
 Bolland, Jean
 Burns, Robert Ignatius
 Byzantium
 Cam, Helen
 Camden, William
 Castro, Américo
 Cheney, C.R.
 Crusades
 Delisle, Léopold
 Duby, Georges
 Einhard
 Froissart, Jean
 Ganshof, F.L.
 Giesebrecht, Wilhelm von
 Gilson, Etienne
 Gregory of Tours
 Guichard, Pierre
 Gurevich, Aron

Haller, Johannes
 Haskins, Charles Homer
 Hilton, Rodney
 Holy Roman Empire
 Hughes, Kathleen
 Huizinga, Johan
 Janssen, Johannes
 Kantorowicz, Ernst H.
 Knowles, David
 Krusch, Bruno
 Lea, Henry Charles
 Lévi-Provençal, Evariste
 Levison, Wilhelm
 Leyser, Karl
 Lopez, Roberto S.
 Mabillon, Jean
 Maitland, F.W.
 Medieval Chronicles
 Medieval Historical Writing
 Muratori, L.A.
 Orderic Vitalis
 Otto of Freising
 Paris, Matthew

Pirenne, Henri
 Postan, M.M.
 Power, Eileen
 Roger of Wendover
 Rösig, Fritz
 Salvemini, Gaetano
 Savigny, Friedrich Karl von
 Saxo Grammaticus
 Schramm, Percy Ernst
 Snorri Sturluson
 Southern, R.W.
 Switzerland
 Thietmar
 Thorne, Samuel E.
 Ullmann, Walter
 Vernadsky, George
 Villani, Giovanni
 Waitz, Georg
 White, Lynn, Jr.
 Widukind of Corvey
 William of Malmesbury
 William of Tyre

Europe: 2) Early Modern and Modern

Blum, Jerome
Boxer, C.R.
Braudel, Fernand
Brenner, Robert
Broué, Pierre
Burckhardt, Jacob
Burke, Peter
Carr, E.H.
Chartier, Roger
Cipolla, Carlo M.
Darnton, Robert
Davies, Norman
Davies, R.W.
Davis, Natalie Zemon
Delbrück, Hans
Delumeau, Jean
Deutscher, Isaac
de Vries, Jan
Dickens, A.G.
Elliott, J.H.
Enlightenment Historical Writing
Europe: Modern

European Expansion
Froude, J.A.
Fruin, Robert
Gallagher, John
Gay, Peter
Geyl, Pieter
Gilbert, Felix
Ginzburg, Carlo
Giovio, Paolo
Greece: Modern
Guicciardini, Francesco
Hobsbawm, E.J.
Howard, Michael
Hufton, Olwen H.
Hunt, Lynn
Joll, James
Kelly-Gadol, Joan
Kennedy, Paul M.
Kristeller, Paul Oskar
Machiavelli, Niccolò
McNeill, William H.
Mahan, Alfred Thayer

Marrus, Michael R.
Mattingly, Garrett
Mayer, Arno J.
Mosse, George L.
Motley, John Lothrop
Parker, Geoffrey
Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas
Renaissance Historical Writing
Robinson, James Harvey
Rostow, W.W.
Schama, Simon
Schorske, Carl E.
Scott, Joan Wallach
Scribner, R.W.
Switzerland
Thorne, Samuel E.
Ullman, Berthold L.
Venturi, Franco
Vergil, Polydore
Wallerstein, Immanuel
Wedgwood, C.V.
Yates, Frances A.

Europe: 3) Britain

Acton, Lord
Anderson, Perry
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
Bede
Briggs, Asa
Britain entries
British Empire
Buckle, Henry Thomas
Butterfield, Herbert
Cam, Helen
Camden, William
Carlyle, Thomas
Carr, E.H.
Chadwick, Owen
Cheney, C.R.
Clapham, J.H.
Clark, Alice
Cole, G.D.H.
Davidoff, Leonore
Dickens, A.G.
Dyos, H.J.
Elton, G.R.
Engels, Friedrich
Foxe, John
Froude, J.A.
Gallagher, John
Gardiner, Samuel Rawson
Habakkuk, H.J.

Halévy, Elie
Hammond, J.L. and Barbara
Hexter, J.H.
Hill, Christopher
Hilton, Rodney
Hobsbawm, E.J.
Holdsworth, W.S.
Holinshed, Raphael
Howard, Michael
Hughes, Kathleen
Hume, David
Jones, Gareth Stedman
Knowles, David
Landes, David
Macaulay, Thomas Babington
Maitland, F.W.
Milsom, S.F.C.
Namier, Lewis
Paris, Matthew
Pinchbeck, Ivy
Plucknett, T.F.T.
Plumb, J.H.
Pocock, J.G.A.
Radzinowicz, Leon
Roger of Wendover
Rostow, W.W.
Rowbotham, Sheila
Russell, Conrad

Samuel, Raphael
Scotland
Seeley, J.R.
Selden, John
Skinner, Quentin
Southern, R.W.
Stenton, F.M.
Stone, Lawrence
Stubbs, William
Tawney, R.H.
Taylor, A.J.P.
Thirsk, Joan
Thomas, Keith
Thompson, E.P.
Thompson, F.M.L.
Thorne, Samuel E.
Trevelyan, G.M.
Trevor-Roper, Hugh
Vergil, Polydore
Walkowitz, Judith R.
Webb, Beatrice and Sidney
Wedgwood, C.V.
William of Malmesbury
Williams, Raymond
Wilson, Charles H.
Wrigley, E.A.

Europe: 4) Eastern and Central

Austro-Hungarian Empire
The Balkans
Barkan, Ömer Lütfi
Blum, Jerome
Brunner, Otto
Central Europe
Davies, Norman
East Central Europe
Fügedi, Erik

Halecki, Oskar
Jelavich, Barbara and Charles
Kořakowski, Leszek
Kula, Witold
Lelewel, Joachim
Macartney, C.A.
Marczali, Henrik
Palacký, František
Pekař, Josef

Poland entries
Polanyi, Karl
Rothschild, Joseph
Seton-Watson, Hugh
Seton-Watson, R.W.
Srbik, Heinrich von
Stavrianos, Leften Stavros
Sugar, Peter F.
Szekfű, Gyula

Europe: 5) France

Annales regni Francorum
Ariès, Philippe
Bloch, Marc
Bodin, Jean
Chartier, Roger
Cobb, Richard
Cobban, Alfred
Corbin, Alain
Darnton, Robert
Davis, Natalie Zemon
Delisle, Léopold
Delumeau, Jean
Duby, Georges
Einhard
Febvre, Lucien
Foucault, Michel
France entries

Froissart, Jean
Furet, Francois
Fustel de Coulanges, Numa
Gilson, Etienne
Godechot, Jacques Léon
Gregory of Tours
Guizot, François
Henry, Louis
Hufton, Olwen H.
Hunt, Lynn
Labrousse, Ernest
Lavissee, Ernest
Lefebvre, Georges
Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel
Marrus, Michael R.
Mathiez, Albert
Michelet, Jules

Mousnier, Roland
Ozouf, Mona
Renouvin, Pierre
Rudé, George
Scott, Joan Wallach
Seignobos, Charles
Simiand, François
Soboul, Albert
Thierry, Augustin
Tilly, Charles
Tilly, Louise A.
Tocqueville, Alexis de
Voltaire
Vovelle, Michel
Weber, Eugen
Zeldin, Theodore

Europe: 6) Germany

Barraclough, Geoffrey
Bock, Gisela
Bracher, Karl Dietrich
Broszat, Martin
Conze, Werner
Delbrück, Hans
Dopsch, Alfons
Droysen, J.G.
Engels, Friedrich
Ennen, Edith
Fischer, Fritz
Gall, Lothar
Gatterer, Johann Christoph
Germany entries
Giesebrecht, Wilhelm von
Haller, Johannes
Hartung, Fritz
Hausen, Karin
Hillgruber, Andreas

Hintze, Otto
Janssen, Johannes
Joll, James
Kehr, Eckart
Kocka, Jürgen
Koonz, Claudia
Koselleck, Reinhart
Krusch, Bruno
Kuczynski, Jürgen
Lamprecht, Karl
Levison, Wilhelm
Lüdtke, Alf
Mason, Tim
Meinecke, Friedrich
Miller, Susanne
Mommsen, Hans
Mommsen, Wolfgang J.
Mosse, George L.
Niethammer, Lutz

Otto of Freising
Ranke, Leopold von
Ritter, Gerhard A.
Rösig, Fritz
Rosenberg, Arthur
Rosenberg, Hans
Schieder, Theodor
Schnabel, Franz
Schramm, Percy Ernst
Scribner, R.W.
Sudhoff, Karl
Sybel, Heinrich von
Thietmar
Treitschke, Heinrich von
Vagts, Alfred
Waitz, Georg
Weber, Hermann
Wehler, Hans-Ulrich
Widukind of Corvey

Europe: 7) Ireland

Froude, J.A.
Green, Alice Stopford

Ireland
Lecky, W.E.H.

Lyons, F.S.L.
Moody, T.W.

Europe: 8) Italy

Baron, Hans
Cantimori, Delio
Chabod, Federico
Cipolla, Carlo M.
Croce, Benedetto
De Felice, Renzo
De Sanctis, Francesco
Garin, Eugenio
Giannone, Pietro
Gilbert, Felix
Ginzburg, Carlo

Giovio, Paolo
Gramsci, Antonio
Guicciardini, Francesco
Italy entries
Kelly-Gadol, Joan
Machiavelli, Niccolò
Mack Smith, Denis
Manzoni, Alessandro
Martines, Lauro
Momigliano, Arnaldo
Pieri, Piero

Pieroni Bortolotti, Franca
Portelli, Alessandro
Procacci, Giuliano
Renaissance Historical Writing
Romeo, Rosario
Salvemini, Gaetano
Sarpi, Paolo
Spriano, Paolo
Ullman, Berthold L.
Villani, Giovanni
Villari, Pasquale

Europe: 9) Low Countries

de Vries, Jan
Fruin, Robert
Geyl, Pieter

Low Countries
Motley, John Lothrop
Parker, Geoffrey

Pirenne, Henri
Schama, Simon

Europe: 10) Russia and Central Asia

Bartol'd, Vasilii Vladimirovich
Blum, Jerome
Carr, E.H.
Central Asia
Davies, R.W.
Deutscher, Isaac
Karamzin, N.M.

Kliuchevskii, V.O.
Lewin, Moshe
Medvedev, Roy
Miliukov, Pavel
Pipes, Richard
Platonov, S.F.
Poliakov, Léon

Raeff, Marc
Russia entries
Solov'ev, Sergei
Vasiliev, A.A.
Vernadsky, George
Vinogradoff, Paul
Zaionchkovskii, P.A.

Europe: 11) Scandinavia

Gurevich, Aron
Heckscher, Eli F.

Saxo Grammaticus
Snorri Sturluson

Sweden

Europe: 12) Spain and Portugal

Boxer, C.R.
Braudel, Fernand
Burns, Robert Ignatius
Carr, Raymond
Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio

Elliott, J.H.
Guichard, Pierre
Lea, Henry Charles
Lévi-Provençal, Evariste
Maravall, José Antonio

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón
Parker, Geoffrey
Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio
Spain entries
Thomas, Hugh

North and South America: 1) Canada

Canada
Creighton, Donald Grant
Eccles, W.J.
Frégault, Guy

Groulx, Lionel
Innis, Harold A.
Lower, A.R.M.
Morton, W.L.

Ormsby, Margaret A.
Ouellet, Fernand
Séguin, Maurice
Trigger, Bruce G.

North and South America: 2) Latin America

Argentina
 Basadre, Jorge
 Bolton, Herbert E.
 Borah, Woodrow
 Boxer, C.R.
 Brazil
 Castro, Américo
 Central America
 Chevalier, François
 Cosío Villegas, Daniel
 Cuba
 Díaz del Castillo, Bernal
 Freyre, Gilberto
 Garcilaso de la Vega
 Germani, Gino

Gibson, Charles
 Góngora, Mario
 González Casanova, Pablo
 Halperín-Donghi, Tulio
 Hanke, Lewis
 Holanda, S.B. de
 Las Casas, Bartolomé de
 Latin America entries
 Lavrin, Asunción
 León-Portilla, Miguel
 Levene, Ricardo
 Mexico
 Mitre, Bartolomé
 Moreno Fragnals, Manuel
 O'Gorman, Edmundo

Ortiz, Fernando
 Pérez, Louis A., Jr.
 Prado Júnior, Caio
 Prebisch, Raúl
 Prescott, William H.
 Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas
 Rock, David
 Rodrigues, José Honório
 Romero, José Luis
 Scobie, James R.
 Stein, Stanley J.
 Tannenbaum, Frank
 Varnhagen, Francisco Adolfo de
 Williams, Eric

North and South America: 3) United States

Adams, Henry
 African American History
 African Diaspora
 Ambrose, Stephen E.
 Andrews, Charles McLean
 Axtell, James
 Bailyn, Bernard
 Bancroft, George
 Beard, Charles A. and Mary Ritter Beard
 Becker, Carl L.
 Boorstin, Daniel J.
 Chandler, Alfred D., Jr.
 Commager, Henry Steele
 Commons, John R.
 Cott, Nancy F.
 Crosby, Alfred W., Jr.
 Curti, Merle
 Curtin, Philip D.
 Davis, David Brion
 Debo, Angie
 Degler, Carl N.
 Du Bois, W.E.B.
 Dunning, William A.
 Elkins, Stanley
 Fogel, Robert William
 Foner, Eric
 Foner, Philip S.
 Franklin, John Hope
 Genovese, Eugene D.
 Goldman, Eric
 Gordon, Linda
 Greene, Jack P.

Gutman, Herbert G.
 Handlin, Oscar
 Hartz, Louis
 Hine, Darlene Clark
 Hofstadter, Richard
 Horwitz, Morton J.
 Hughes, Thomas P.
 Jensen, Merrill
 Jordan, Winthrop D.
 Kerber, Linda K.
 Kessler-Harris, Alice
 Kolko, Gabriel
 LaFeber, Walter
 Lasch, Christopher
 Lerner, Gerda
 Leuchtenburg, William
 Levine, Lawrence W.
 Lewis, David Levering
 Link, Arthur S.
 Litwack, Leon F.
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer
 Malin, James C.
 Meier, August
 Merchant, Carolyn
 Miller, Perry
 Montgomery, David
 Morgan, Edmund S.
 Morison, Samuel Eliot
 Mumford, Louis
 Nash, Gary B.
 Nevins, Allan
 Osgood, Herbert Levi

Owsley, Frank Lawrence
 Painter, Nell Irvin
 Parkman, Francis
 Parrington, Vernon Louis
 Pessen, Edward
 Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell
 Potter, David M.
 Prucha, Francis Paul
 Quinn, David B.
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr.
 Scott, Anne Firor
 Semple, Ellen Churchill
 Smith, Henry Nash
 Smith, Merritt Roe
 Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll
 Spruill, Julia Cherry
 Stamp, Kenneth M.
 Takaki, Ron
 Tocqueville, Alexis de
 Turner, Frederic Jackson
 Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher
 United States entries
 United States: Historical Writing,
 20th Century
 Wiebe, Robert H.
 Williams, William Appleman
 Wood, Gordon S.
 Woodson, Carter G.
 Woodward, C. Vann
 Worster, Donald
 Zinn, Howard

TOPICS

Art History

Art History
Burckhardt, Jacob
Gombrich, E.H.

Huizinga, Johan
Panofsky, Erwin
Pevsner, Nikolaus

Schama, Simon
Winckelmann, J.J.

Cultural History

Anthropology, Historical
Art History
The Body
Bourdieu, Pierre
Braudel, Fernand
Burckhardt, Jacob
Burke, Peter
Chartier, Roger
Chevalier, François
China: Modern
Consumerism and Consumption
Corbin, Alain
Cultural History
Darnton, Robert
Davis, David Brion

Davis, Natalie Zemon
Europe: Modern
Freyre, Gilberto
Garin, Eugenio
Gay, Peter
Ginzburg, Carlo
Hanke, Lewis
Herder, J.G.
Huizinga, Johan
Hunt, Lynn
Intellectual History
Köprülü, M.F.
Lamprecht, Karl
Mentalities, History of
Miliukov, Pavel

Mosse, George L.
Mumford, Lewis
Ozouf, Mona
Ranger, Terence O.
Schorske, Carl E.
Soboul, Albert
Theatre
Thomas, Keith
Thompson, E.P.
Vico, Giambattista
Vovelle, Michel
Williams, Raymond
Zeldin, Theodore

Demographic History

Annales School
Cambridge Group
Cipolla, Carlo M.

Demography
de Vries, Jan
Henry, Louis

Migration
Wrigley, E.A.

Diplomatic History

Ambrose, Stephen E.
Annales regni francorum
Butterfield, Herbert
Carr, E.H.
Chabod, Federico
Diplomatic History
Droysen, J.G.
Elliott, J.H.
Europe: Modern

Fischer, Fritz
Gilbert, Felix
Intelligence and Espionage
Jelavich, Barbara and Charles
Kedourie, Elie
Kennedy, Paul M.
Kolko, Gabriel
LaFeber, Walter
Mattingly, Garrett

Mayer, Arno J.
Motley, John Lothrop
Ranke, Leopold von
Renouvin, Pierre
Rodrigues, José Honório
Taylor, A.J.P.
Vagts, Alfred
Williams, William Appleman

Economic History

Beard, Charles A. and Mary Ritter Beard
Business History
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique
Cipolla, Carlo M.
Cole, G.D.H.
Economic History

Hammond, J.L. and Barbara
Hill, Christopher
Hilton, Rodney
Hobsbawm, E.J.
Industrial Revolution
Otsuka Hisao

Polanyi, Karl
Postan, M.M.
Power, Eileen
Tawney, R.H.
Thompson, E.P.
Vinogradoff, Paul

Intellectual History

Berlin, Isaiah
 Dilthey, Wilhelm
 Foucault, Michel
 Intellectual History

Lovejoy, Arthur O.
 Meinecke, Friedrich
 Pocock, J.G.A.
 Skinner, Quentin

Weber, Max
 White, Hayden V.

Jewish History

Baron, Salo Wittmayer
 Braham, Randolph L.
 Dubnov, Simon
 Goitein, S.D.

Graetz, Heinrich
 Hilberg, Raul
 Holocaust
 Jewish History

Josephus
 Katz, Jacob
 Marrus, Michael R.

Legal History

Bodin, Jean
 Daube, David
 Góngora, Mario
 Hargreaves, John D.
 Holdsworth, W.S.
 Horwitz, Morton J.

Legal History
 Maitland, F.W.
 Milsom, S.F.C.
 Plucknett, T.F.T.
 Radzinowicz, Leon
 Savigny, Friedrich Karl von

Simpson, A.W.B.
 Sinclair, Keith
 Vinogradoff, Paul
 Watson, Alan

Military History

Delbrück, Hans
 Howard, Michael
 Keegan, John
 Kennedy, Paul M.
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer

Mattingly, Garrett
 Military History
 Napoleonic Wars
 Naval History
 Pieri, Piero

Schramm, Percy Ernst
 Thorne, Samuel E.
 Vagts, Alfred

Periods, Themes, Branches of History

African American History
 African Diaspora
 Agrarian History
 America: Pre-Columbian
 Archaeology
 Art History
 Astrology
 The Body
 Business History
 Childhood
 Comparative History
 Computers and Computing, History of
 Computing and History
 Consumerism and Consumption
 Counter-Reformation
 Crime and Deviance
 Crusades
 Cultural History
 Demography
 Design History
 Diplomatic History
 Documentary Film
 Dress
 Eastern Orthodoxy
 Ecclesiastical History
 Ecology
 Economic History
 Environmental History
 Ethnicity
 Ethnohistory
 European Expansion
 The Family
 Feminism

Feudalism
 Film
 Frontiers
 Gender
 Historical Geography
 Historical Maps and Atlases
 Historiology
 History Workshop
 Holocaust
 Homosexuality
 Imperialism
 Indian Ocean Region
 Indigenous Peoples
 Industrial Revolution
 Intellectual History
 Intelligence and Espionage
 Islamic Nations and Cultures
 Labor History
 Legal History
 Leisure
 Literature and History
 Local History
 Maritime History
 Marriage
 Marxist Interpretation of History
 Masculinity
 Media
 Medicine, History of
 Memory
 Mentalities, History of
 Metahistory
 Migration
 Military History

Musicology
 Napoleonic Wars
 Nationalism
 Native American History
 Natural Sciences, Historical
 Naval History
 Oral History
 Orientalism
 Orthodoxy, Eastern
 Pacific/Oceanic History
 Philosophy of History
 Political and Constitutional History
 Popular History
 Prehistory
 Prosopography
 Protestantism
 Quantitative Method
 The Reformation
 Religion
 Religions, Comparative History of
 Rhetoric and History
 Science, History of
 Sexuality
 Slavery entries
 Social History
 Sociology and History
 Sport, History of
 The State
 Theatre
 Urban History
 World History
 World War I
 World War II

Political History

Althusser, Louis
 Beard, Charles A. and Mary Ritter Beard
 Elton, G.R.
 Foner, Eric
 Furet, François
 Genovese, Eugene D.
 Guizot, François
 Jones, Gareth Stedman
 Hartz, Louis

Hofstadter, Richard
 Legal History
 Leuchtenburg, William
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington
 Maitland, F.W.
 Namier, Lewis
 Pocock, J.G.A.
 Political and Constitutional History
 Russell, Conrad

Schama, Simon
 Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr.
 Seeley, J.R.
 Skinner, Quentin
 The State
 Stubbs, William
 Trevelyan, G.M.

Religion

Bauer, Walter
 Bolland, Jean
 Brown, Peter
 Bultmann, Rudolf
 Catholicism/Catholic Church
 Chadwick, Owen
 Cheney, C.R.
 Christianity
 Counter-Reformation

Delumeau, Jean
 Dickens, A.G.
 Eastern Orthodoxy
 Foxe, John
 Janssen, Johannes
 Lea, Henry Charles
 Mansi, Giovanni Domenico
 Pagels, Elaine
 Protestantism

Ranke, Leopold von
 The Reformation
 Religion
 Religions, Comparative
 Sarpi, Paolo
 Troeltsch, Ernst
 Ullmann, Walter
 Wellhausen, Julius

Science, Medicine, Technology, and Ecology

Crosby, Alfred W., Jr.
 Dilthey, Wilhelm
 Duhem, Pierre
 Fleck, Ludwig
 Garin, Eugenio
 Heilbron, J.L.
 Hughes, Thomas P.
 Kuhn, Thomas S.
 Mach, Ernst
 Malin, James C.

Medicine, History of
 Merchant, Carolyn
 Merton, Robert K.
 Mumford, Lewis
 Needham, Joseph
 Rosenberg, Charles E.
 Sarton, George
 Sauer, Carl O.
 Science, History of
 Semple, Ellen Churchill

Sigerist, Henry E.
 Smith, Merritt Roe
 Sudhoff, Karl
 Technology
 Temkin, Owsei
 Trigger, Bruce G.
 Vico, Giambattista
 Whewell, William
 White, Lynn, Jr.
 Worster, Donald

Social History

Althusser, Louis
 Annales School
 Bloch, Marc
 Braudel, Fernand
 Cobb, Richard
 Cole, G.D.H.
 Conze, Werner
 Corbin, Alain
 Gutman, Herbert G.
 Hammond, J.L. and Barbara
 Hill, Christopher
 Hilton, Rodney
 History Workshop

Hobsbawm, E.J.
 Hunt, Lynn
 Lamprecht, Karl
 Lefebvre, Georges
 Marx, Karl
 Marxist Interpretation of History
 Mathiez, Albert
 Montgomery, David
 Pinchbeck, Ivy
 Plumb, J.H.
 Power, Eileen
 Scott, Joan Wallach
 Seignobos, Charles

Simiand, François
 Soboul, Albert
 Social History
 Tawney, R.H.
 Thomas, Keith
 Thompson, E.P.
 Thompson, F.M.L.
 Tilly, Charles
 Trevelyan, G.M.
 Webb, Beatrice and Sidney
 Weber, Max

Theories and Theorists

Althusser, Louis
 Anderson, Benedict
 Anderson, Perry
 Annales School
 Anthropology, Historical
 Ariès, Philippe
 Barraclough, Geoffrey
 Begriffsgeschichte
 Berlin, Isaiah
 Bernal, Martin
 Bloch, Marc
 Bodin, Jean
 Bourdieu, Pierre
 Braudel, Fernand
 Buckle, Henry Thomas
 Burckhardt, Jacob
 Butterfield, Herbert
 Cambridge Group
 Cardoso, Fernando Henrique
 Carlyle, Thomas
 Carr, E.H.
 Cassirer, Ernst
 Chandler, Alfred D., Jr.
 Chartier, Roger
 Cipolla, Carlo M.
 Collingwood, R.G.

Comte, Auguste
 Croce, Benedetto
 Denning, Greg
 Dilthey, Wilhelm
 Engels, Friedrich
 Erikson, Erik H.
 Foucault, Michel
 Freud, Sigmund
 Gatterer, Johann Christoph
 Gay, Peter
 Geertz, Clifford
 Gramsci, Antonio
 Habermas, Jürgen
 Hegel, G.W.F.
 Henry, Louis
 Herder, J.G.
 History from Below
 James, C.L.R.
 Kiernan, V.G.
 Kong-zi
 Lovejoy, Arthur O.
 McLuhan, Marshall
 Marx, Karl
 Montesquieu
 Moore, Barrington, Jr.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich

Popper, Karl
 Postcolonialism
 Postmodernism
 Ranke, Leopold von
 Rhetoric and History
 Said, Edward W.
 Schlözer, August Ludwig von
 Schorske, Carl E.
 Scott, James C.
 Simiand, François
 Spengler, Oswald
 Subaltern Studies
 Tilly, Charles
 Todorov, Tsvetan
 Toynbee, Arnold J.
 Turner, Victor
 Universal History
 Villari, Pasquale
 Voltaire
 Vovelle, Michel
 Weber, Max
 Whig Interpretation of History
 White, Hayden V.
 Williams, Raymond

Women's and Gender History

Bock, Gisela
 Clark, Alice
 Cott, Nancy F.
 Davidoff, Leonore
 Davis, Natalie Zemon
 Gordon, Linda
 Grimshaw, Patricia
 Hausen, Karin
 Hine, Darlene Clark
 Hufton, Olwen H.

Kelly-Gadol, Joan
 Kerber, Linda K.
 Kessler-Harris, Alice
 Koonz, Claudia
 Lake, Marilyn
 Lavrin, Asunción
 Lerner, Gerda
 Painter, Nell Irvin
 Pieroni Bortolotti, Franca
 Pinchbeck, Ivy

Rowbotham, Sheila
 Scott, Anne Firor
 Scott, Joan Wallach
 Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll
 Spruill, Julia Cherry
 Tilly, Louise A.
 Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher
 Walkowitz, Judith R.
 Women's History entries

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF HISTORIANS

551–479 BCE	Kong-zi [Confucius]	1276–1348	Giovanni Villani
c.484–after 424 BCE	Herodotus	1293–1354	Kitabatake Chikafusa
c.460/455–c.399 BCE	Thucydides	1332–1406	Ibn Khaldūn
c.428–c.354 BCE	Xenophon	c.1337–after 1404	Jean Froissart
c.200–c.118 BCE	Polybius	<i>fl.</i> 1413–33	Ma Huan
c.145–c.87 BCE	Sima Qian	1469–1527	Niccolò Machiavelli
c.104–c.20 BCE	Diodorus Siculus	1470(?)–1555(?)	Polydore Vergil
100–44 BCE	Julius Caesar	1474–1566	Bartolomé de Las Casas
86–35 BCE	Sallust	1483–1540	Francesco Guicciardini
c.60–after 7 BCE	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	c.1486–1552	Paolo Giovio
59 BCE–c.17 CE	Livy	c.1492–1584	Bernal Díaz del Castillo
c.20/19 BCE–after 30 CE	Velleius Paterculus	1516–1587	John Foxe
c.32–92 CE	Ban Gu	1529/30–1596	Jean Bodin
37/8–c.94 CE	Josephus	1539–1616	Garcilaso de la Vega
before 50–after 120 CE	Plutarch	1551–1623	William Camden
c.56–after 118 CE	Tacitus	1552–1623	Paolo Sarpi
c.70–c.140 CE	Suetonius	<i>fl.</i> 1560–80	Raphael Holinshed
c.150–235 CE	Cassius Dio	1584–1654	John Selden
c.265–339 CE	Eusebius of Caesarea	1596–1665	Jean Bolland
c.330–c.395 CE	Ammianus Marcellinus	1619–1692	Wang Fuzhi
c.487–c.585	Cassiodorus	1632–1707	Jean Mabillon
c.500–after 542	Procopius	1655–1716	Mustafa Naima
538/9–594/5	Gregory of Tours	1657–1725	Arai Hakuseki
661–721	Liu Zhiji	d. 1658	Nur ud-Din ar-Raniri
c.672/3–735	Bede	1668–1744	Giambattista Vico
c.770–840	Einhard	1672–1750	L.A. Muratori
c.925–after 973	Widukind of Corvey	1676–1748	Pietro Giannone
973–c.1050	Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī	1689–1755	Montesquieu
975–1018	Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg	1692–1769	Giovanni Domenico Mansi
1018–after 1081	Michael Psellos	1694–1778	Voltaire
1019–1086	Sima Guang	1711–1776	David Hume
1075–1142/3	Orderic Vitalis	1713–1796	Guillaume-Thomas Raynal
1083–c.1153/4	Anna Komnene	1717–1768	J.J. Winckelmann
c.1090–c.1143	William of Malmesbury	c.1726–c.1784	Le Quyn Don
c.1114–1158	Otto of Freising	1729–1799	Johann Christoph Gatterer
c.1130–1186	William of Tyre	1735–1809	August Ludwig von Schlözer
1160–1233	ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr	1737–1794	Edward Gibbon
1178/9–1241	Snorri Sturluson	1738–1801	Zhang Xuecheng
<i>fl.</i> 1185–1208	Saxo Grammaticus	1744–1803	J.G. Herder
c.1200–c.1259	Matthew Paris	1766–1826	N.M. Karamzin
d. 1236	Roger of Wendover	1770–1831	G.W.F. Hegel
1247–1318	Fazlallah Rashīd al-Dīn	1776–1831	B.G. Niebuhr

1779-1861	Friedrich Karl von Savigny	1853-1938	Karl Sudhoff
1785-1873	Alessandro Manzoni	1854-1929	Karl Julius Beloch
1786-1861	Joachim Lelewel	1854-1942	Charles Seignobos
1787-1874	François Guizot	1854-1925	Paul Vinogradoff
1794-1866	William Whewell	1855-1930	Eduard Meyer
1795-1881	Thomas Carlyle	1855-1918	Herbert Levi Osgood
1795-1886	Leopold von Ranke	1856-1939	Sigmund Freud
1795-1856	Augustin Thierry	1856-1915	Karl Lamprecht
1796-1859	William H. Prescott	1856-1940	Henrik Marczali
1798-1857	Auguste Comte	1857-1922	William A. Dunning
1798-1874	Jules Michelet	1857-1940	Bruno Krusch
1798-1876	František Palacký	1858-1943	Beatrice Webb
1800-1891	George Bancroft	1859-1943	Pavel Miliukov
1800-1859	Thomas Babington Macaulay	1859-1947	Sidney Webb
1802-1873	Raden Ngabei Ranggawarsita	1860-1941	Simon Dubnov
1805-1859	Alexis de Tocqueville	1860-1933	S.F. Platonov
1808-1884	J.G. Droysen	1861-1927	J.B. Bury
c.1809-c.1870	Raja Ali Haji	1861-1916	Pierre Duhem
1813-1886	Georg Waitz	1861-1940	Otto Hintze
1814-1889	Wilhelm von Giesebrecht	1861-1932	Frederick Jackson Turner
1814-1877	John Lothrop Motley	1861-1914	Jurjī Zaydān
1816-1878	Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen	1862-1926	Edward G. Browne
1817-1883	Francesco De Sanctis	1862-1945	John R. Commons
1817-1891	Heinrich Graetz	1862-1954	Friedrich Meinecke
1817-1903	Theodor Mommsen	1862-1935	Henri Pirenne
1817-1895	Heinrich von Sybel	1863-1943	Charles McLean Andrews
1818-1897	Jacob Burckhardt	1863-1936	James Harvey Robinson
1818-1894	J.A. Froude	1863-1932	Ellen Churchill Semple
1818-1883	Karl Marx	1864-1932	Stéphane Gsell
1820-1895	Friedrich Engels	1864-1920	Max Weber
1820-1879	S.M. Solov'ev	1865-1935	James Henry Breasted
1821-1862	Henry Thomas Buckle	1865-1947	Johannes Haller
1821-1906	Bartolomé Mitre	1865-1942	Shiratori Kurakichi
1823-1899	Robert Fruin	1865-1923	Ernst Troeltsch
1823-1893	Francis Parkman	1865-1928	G.A. Wood
1825-1909	Henry Charles Lea	1866-1952	Benedetto Croce
1825-1901	William Stubbs	1866-1934	Naitō Torajirō
1826-1910	Léopold Delisle	1867-1953	A.A. Vasiliev
1827-1917	Pasquale Villari	1868-1953	Alfons Dopsch
1827-1910	Shigeno Yasutsugu	1868-1963	W.E.B. Du Bois
1829-1902	Samuel Rawson Gardiner	1869-1930	Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd
1829-1891	Johannes Janssen	1869-1968	Ramón Menéndez Pidal
1830-1889	Numa Fustel de Coulanges	1870-1953	Herbert E. Bolton
1833-1911	Wilhelm Dilthey	1870-1937	Elie Halévy
1834-1902	Lord Acton	1870-1937	Charles Homer Haskins
1834-1895	J.R. Seeley	1870-1937	Josef Pekař
1834-1896	Heinrich von Treitschke	1870-1952	M.I. Rostovtzeff
1838-1918	Henry Adams	1870-1957	Gaetano de Sanctis
1838-1903	W.E.H. Lecky	1871-1944	W.S. Holdsworth
1838-1916	Ernst Mach	1871-1929	Vernon Louis Parrington
1840-1914	Alfred Thayer Mahan	1872-1949	J.L. Hammond
1841-1911	V.O. Kliuchevskii	1872-1945	Johan Huizinga
1842-1922	Ernest Lavisse	1873-1945	Carl L. Becker
1844-1900	Friedrich Nietzsche	1873-1946	J.H. Clapham
1844-1918	Julius Wellhausen	1873-1961	Barbara Hammond
1847-1929	Alice Stopford Green	1873-1929	Liang Qichao
1848-1929	Hans Delbrück	1873-1962	Arthur O. Lovejoy
1848-1909	R.C. Dutt	1873-1957	Gaetano Salvemini
1848-1931	Ulrich von Wilamovitz-Möllendorff	1873-1935	François Simiand
1850-1906	F.W. Maitland	1874-1948	Charles A. Beard

1874-1945	Ernst Cassirer	1892-1982	E.H. Carr
1874-1934	Alice Clark	1892-1968	Erwin Panofsky
1874-1959	Georges Lefebvre	1892-1986	Alfred Vagts
1874-1932	Albert Mathiez	1893-1980	Gu Jiegang
1875-1950	Carter G. Woodson	1893-1979	James C. Malin
1876-1958	Mary Ritter Beard	1893-1974	Piero Pieri
1876-1947	Wilhelm Levison	1893-1974	Pierre Renouvin
1876-1962	G.M. Trevelyan	1893-1984	Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz
1877-1960	Walter Bauer	1893-1969	Frank Tannenbaum
1877-1934	Ulrich Bonnell Phillips	1894-1952	Harold A. Innis
1878-1956	Lucien Febvre	1894-1956	Evariste Lévi-Provençal
1878-1960	J.S. Furnivall	1894-1970	Percy Ernst Schramm
1878-1967	Lionel Groulx	1895-1989	Salo Wittmayer Baron
1878-1945	Paul Pelliot	1895-1980	F.L. Ganshof
1878-1951	Heinrich von Srbik	1895-1963	Ernst H. Kantorowicz
1879-1968	C.E.W. Bean	1895-1988	Ernest Labrousse
1879-1952	Eli F. Heckscher	1895-1978	C.A. Macartney
1879-1951	R.W. Seton-Watson	1895-1990	Lewis Mumford
1880-1971	Lawrence Henry Gipson	1896-1961	Ludwig Fleck
1880-1936	Oswald Spengler	1896-1974	David Knowles
1880-1967	F.M. Stenton	1897-1996	Merle Curti
1880-1962	R.H. Tawney	1897-1965	T.F.T. Plucknett
1881-1969	Fernando Ortiz	1898-1982	Otto Brunner
1882-1952	Fritz Rörig	1898-1976	Daniel Cosío Villegas
1882-1965	Berthold L. Ullman	1898-1982	Ivy Pinchbeck
1883-1967	Fritz Hartung	1899-1981	M.M. Postan
1883-1945	Henri Maspero	1899-1986	Julia Cherry Spruill
1883-1962	Louis Massignon	1899-1981	Frances A. Yates
1883-1955	Gyula Szekfű	1900-1988	Hans Baron
1884-1976	Rudolf Bultmann	1900-1979	Herbert Butterfield
1884-1978	Etienne Gilson	1900-1987	Gilberto Freyre
1884-1956	George Sarton	1900-1980	S.D. Goitein
1885-1968	Helen Cam	1900-1962	Garrett Mattingly
1885-1972	Américo Castro	1900-1995	Joseph Needham
1885-1959	Ricardo Levene	1901-1971	John C. Beaglehole
1886-1944	Marc Bloch	1901-1960	Federico Chabod
1886-1964	Karl Polanyi	1901-1968	Alfred Cobban
1887-1966	Pieter Geyl	1901-1989	C.L.R. James
1887-1976	Samuel Eliot Morison	1901-1986	Raúl Prebisch
1887-1966	Franz Schnabel	1902-1985	Fernand Braudel
1887-1973	George Vernadsky	1902-1998	Henry Steele Commager
1888-1960	Lewis Namier	1902-1979	Donald Grant Creighton
1888-1967	Gerhard A. Ritter	1902-1994	Erik H. Erikson
1889-1959	G.D.H. Cole	1902-1982	S.B. de Holanda
1889-1943	R.G. Collingwood	1902-1933	Eckart Kehr
1889-1988	A.R.M. Lower	1902-1976	George Ostrogorsky
1889-1940	Eileen Power	1902-1983	Nikolaus Pevsner
1889-1943	Arthur Rosenberg	1902-1994	Karl Popper
1889-1975	Carl O. Sauer	1902-	Owsei Temkin
1889-1975	Arnold J. Toynbee	1903-1980	Jorge Basadre
1890-1988	Angie Debo	1903-	Steven Runciman
1890-1946	Ahmad Kasravi	1903-1989	Ronald Syme
1890-1966	M.F. Köprülü	1903-1962	Muhammad Yamin
1890-1971	Allan Nevins	1904-	C.R. Boxer
1890-1956	Frank Lawrence Owsley	1904-1966	Delio Cantimori
1890-1969	Chen Yinke	1904-1970	A.H.M. Jones
1891-1937	Antonio Gramsci	1904-	Jacob Katz
1891-1973	Oskar Halecki	1904-1997	Jürgen Kuczynski
1891-1989	Charles-André Julien	1904-1966	Niida Noboru
1891-1957	Henry E. Sigerist	1904-1988	Hans Rosenberg

1904-1983	P.A. Zaionchkovskii	1912-	R.W. Southern
1905(?) - 1979	Ömer Lütfi Barkan	1912-	Kenneth M. Stamp
1905-1991	Felix Gilbert	1913-1993	Jerome Blum
1905-1993	Lewis Hanke	1913-	V.G. Kiernan
1905-1980	Merrill Jensen	1913-	Barrington Moore, Jr.
1905-	Paul Oskar Kristeller	1913-1987	José Honório Rodrigues
1905-1963	Perry Miller	1913-	Leften Stavros Stavrianos
1906-1987	C.R. Cheney	1914-1984	Philippe Ariès
1906-1995	Edmundo O'Gorman	1914-	Daniel J. Boorstin
1906-	Leon Radzinowicz	1914-	François Chevalier
1906-1986	Henry Nash Smith	1914-	Basil Davidson
1906-1990	A.J.P. Taylor	1914-1996	Maruyama Masao
1907-1967	Isaac Deutscher	1914-1982	Albert Soboul
1907-	Edith Ennen	1914-	Hugh Trevor-Roper
1907-1991	John K. Fairbank	1914-	Franco Venturi
1907-1989	Jacques Léon Godechot	1914-	Jean-Pierre Vernant
1907-1966	D.D. Kosambi	1914-1991	Charles H. Wilson
1907-1984	T.W. Moody	1915-1991	Manning Clark
1907-1993	Roland Mousnier	1915-	John Hope Franklin
1907-1996	Otsuka Hisao	1915-1989	Eric Goldman
1907-1990	Caio Prado Júnior	1915-1985	Mario Góngora
1907-	Samuel E. Thorne	1915-	H.J. Habakkuk
1907-1987	Lynn White, Jr.	1915-	Oscar Handlin
1908-1984	Geoffrey Barraclough	1915-1993	Albert Hourani
1908-	Fritz Fischer	1915-	Susanne Miller
1908-1987	Arnaldo Momigliano	1915-	Maxime Rodinson
1908-1980	W.L. Morton	1915-	Carl E. Schorske
1908-1984	Theodor Schieder	1916-	Owen Chadwick
1908-	C. Vann Woodward	1916-1993	Erik Fügedi
1909-1997	Isaiah Berlin	1916-	Rodney Hilton
1909-1991	Claude Cahen	1916-1970	Richard Hofstadter
1909-	David Daube	1916-	Halil Inalcık
1909-	Antonio Domínguez Ortiz	1916-	Charles P. Issawi
1909-1989	Wolfram Eberhard	1916-1988	Witold Kula
1909-	Eugenio Garin	1916-	Bernard Lewis
1909-	E.H. Gombrich	1916-	Edmund S. Morgan
1909-1996	Margaret A. Ormsby	1916-	W.W. Rostow
1909-	David B. Quinn	1916-1984	Hugh Seton-Watson
1909-1977	José Luis Romero	1916-	Leonard Thompson
1909-	W. Montgomery Watt	1917-1996	Richard Cobb
1910-1986	Werner Conze	1917-	W.J. Eccles
1910-	A.G. Dickens	1917-	E.J. Hobsbawm
1910-1994	Philip S. Foner	1917-	William H. McNeill
1910-1996	J.H. Hexter	1917-	Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
1910-1986	Robert S. Lopez	1918-1990	Louis Althusser
1910-	Robert K. Merton	1918-	Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.
1910-1997	Léon Poliakov	1918-1977	Guy Frégault
1910-1971	David M. Potter	1918-1994	James Joll
1910-1993	George Rudé	1918-	George L. Mosse
1910-1983	Walter Ullmann	1918-	Dimitri Obolensky
1910-1997	C.V. Wedgwood	1918-1984	Maurice Séguin
1911-1979	Gino Germani	1919-	Raymond Carr
1911-1991	Louis Henry	1919-1996	Georges Duby
1911-1980	Marshall McLuhan	1919-1980	John Gallagher
1911-1986	José Antonio Maravall	1919-1986	Louis Hartz
1911-	J.H. Plumb	1919-	Lawrence Stone
1911-1981	Eric Williams	1919-	Peter F. Sugar
1912-	Woodrow Borah	1920-1985	Charles Gibson
1912-1986	M.I. Finley	1920-	Gerda Lerner
1912-	Christopher Hill	1920-1992	Karl Leyser

1920-	Arthur S. Link	1926-1989	Martin Broszat
1920-	Denis Mack Smith	1926-	Robert William Fogel
1920-	Manuel Moreno Fraginals	1926-1984	Michel Foucault
1920-1992	Edward Pessen	1926-	Clifford Geertz
1920-	Stanley J. Stein	1926-	Tulio Halperín-Donghi
1920-1983	Victor Turner	1926-	Raul Hilberg
1921-	Asa Briggs	1926-1977	Kathleen Hughes
1921-	Robert Ignatius Burns	1926-1992	Elie Kedourie
1921-	Carl N. Degler	1926-	Miguel León-Portilla
1921-1978	H.J. Dyos	1926-	Arno J. Mayer
1921-1994	G.R. Elton	1926-	Fernand Ouellet
1921-	Moshe Lewin	1926-	Giuliano Procacci
1921-	Francis Paul Prucha	1927-	David Brion Davis
1921-	Anne Firor Scott	1927-1997	François Furet
1921-1990	William Appleman Williams	1927-	Leszek Kołakowski
1921-1988	Raymond Williams	1927-	Lauro Martines
1922-	Bernard Bailyn	1927-	David Montgomery
1922-	Karl Dietrich Bracher	1928-	Natalie Zemon Davis
1922-	Randolph L. Braham	1928-1985	Herbert G. Gutman
1922-	Carlo M. Cipolla	1928-1982	Joan Kelly-Gadol
1922-	Philip D. Curtin	1928-	Hermann Weber
1922-	Pablo González Casanova	1928-	Hayden V. White
1922-	Ranajit Guha	1929-	Jacob F. Ade Ajayi
1922-1968	Marshall G.S. Hodgson	1929-1996	Renzo De Felice
1922-	Michael Howard	1929-	Jürgen Habermas
1922-	Charles Jelavich	1929-	Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie
1922-1997	A.P. Kazhdan	1929-	Leon F. Litwack
1922-1996	Thomas S. Kuhn	1929-	Bethwell A. Ogot
1922-	William E. Leuchtenburg	1929-	Terence O. Ranger
1922-1993	Keith Sinclair	1929-1981	James R. Scobie
1922-	Joan Thirsk	1929-	Charles Tilly
1922-	Howard Zinn	1929-	Jan Vansina
1923-	Jean Delumeau	1930-	Geoffrey Blainey
1923-1985	Cheikh Anta Diop	1930-	Pierre Bourdieu
1923-	Peter Gay	1930-	J.H. Elliott
1923-	Sarvepalli Gopal	1930-	Eugene D. Genovese
1923-	Thomas P. Hughes	1930-	Hans Mommsen
1923-1995	Barbara Jelavich	1930-	Wolfgang J. Mommsen
1923	Reinhart Koselleck	1930-	Louise A. Tilly
1923-1983	F.S.L. Lyons	1930-	Immanuel Wallerstein
1923-	August Meier	1930-	Robert H. Wiebe
1923-	S.F.C. Milsom	c.1930s	Asunción Lavrin
1923-	Roland Oliver	c.1930s	Mona Ozouf
1923-	Richard Pipes	1931-	Fernando Henrique Cardoso
1923-	Marc Raeff	1931-	Alfred W. Crosby, Jr.
1924-	Aron Gurevich	1931-	Greg Denning
1924-	John D. Hargreaves	1931-	Jack P. Greene
1924-	David S. Landes	1931-	Winthrop D. Jordan
1924-	J.G.A. Pocock	1931-	Joseph Rothschild
1924-1987	Rosario Romeo	1931-	A.W.B. Simpson
1924-1993	E.P. Thompson	1931-	Romila Thapar
1925-	R.W. Davies	1931-	Hugh Thomas
1925-	Stanley Elkins	1931-	Hans-Ulrich Wehler
1925-1989	Andreas Hillgruber	1931-	E.A. Wrigley
1925-	Roy Medvedev	1932-	A. Adu Boahen
1925-1985	Franca Pieroni Bortolotti	1932-	Leonore Davidoff
1925-1988	Paolo Spriano	1932-	Gabriel Kolko
1925-	F.M.L. Thompson	1932-1994	Christopher Lasch
1925-	Eugen Weber	1933-	Walter LaFeber
1926-	Pierre Broué	1933-	Abdallah Laroui

1933-	Lawrence W. Levine	1939-	Lutz Niethammer
1933-	Ali A. Mazrui	1939-	Ronald Takaki
1933-	Gary B. Nash	1939-	Tsvetan Todorov
1933-	Keith Thomas	1940-	Averil Cameron
1933-	Michel Vovelle	1940-	Richard Maxwell Eaton
1933-	Alan Watson	1940-	Steven Feierman
1933-	Gordon S. Wood	1940-	Linda Gordon
1933-	Theodore Zeldin	1940-	Linda K. Kerber
1934-	K.N. Chaudhuri	1940-1990	Tim Mason
1934-	J.L. Heilbron	1940-	Quentin Skinner
1934-	John Keegan	1940-	Merritt Roe Smith
1934-1996	Raphael Samuel	c.1940s	Claudia Koonz
1935-	Peter Brown	1941-	James Axtell
1935-	Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch	1941-	Alice Kessler-Harris
1935-	Edward W. Said	1941-	Jürgen Kocka
1936-	Stephen E. Ambrose	1941-	Michael R. Marrus
1936-	Benedict Anderson	1941-	Joan Wallach Scott
1936-	Emmanuel Ayankami Ayandele	1941-1998	R.W. Scribner
1936-	Alain Corbin	1941-	Donald Worster
1936-	Lothar Gall	1942-	Gisela Bock
1936-	David Levering Lewis	1942-	Gareth Stedman Jones
1936-	Shula Marks	1942-	Nell Irvin Painter
1936-	Carolyn Merchant	1942-	Alessandro Portelli
1936-	Charles E. Rosenberg	1942-1980	Walter Rodney
1936-	James C. Scott	1943-	Robert Brenner
1936-	Carroll Smith-Rosenberg	1943-	Jan de Vries
1936-	Jonathan D. Spence	1943-	Eric Foner
1937-	A.E. Afigbo	1943-	Paul E. Lovejoy
1937-	Martin Bernal	1943-	Alf Lüdtke
1937-	Peter Burke	1943-	Elaine Pagels
1937-	Conrad Russell	1943-	Geoffrey Parker
1937-	Bruce G. Trigger	1943-	Louis A. Pérez, Jr.
1938-	Perry Anderson	1943-	Sheila Rowbotham
1938-	Patricia Grimshaw	1945-	Roger Chartier
1938-	Karin Hausen	1945-	Nancy F. Cott
1938-	Morton J. Horwitz	1945-	Lynn Hunt
1938-	Olwen H. Hufton	1945-	Paul M. Kennedy
1938-	Laurel Thatcher Ulrich	1945-	David Rock
1939-	Robert Darnton	1945-	Simon Schama
1939-	Norman Davies	1945-	Judith R. Walkowitz
1939-	Carlo Ginzburg	1946-	Reynaldo Clemeña Iletto
1939-	Pierre Guichard	1947-	Darlene Clark Hine
1939-	John Iliffe	1949-	Marilyn Lake

M

Ma Huan fl. 1413–33

Chinese traveler, interpreter, and journalist

The diarist Ma Huan is remembered chiefly for his participation in one of the greatest but least heralded achievements of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) – the launching of an unprecedentedly ambitious series of maritime expeditions between the years 1405 and 1433. The leader of these expeditions was the grand eunuch-admiral Zheng He. Ma Huan became attached to the voyages by imperial decree because of his reputed knowledge of Arabic and Persian languages. He accompanied Zheng He's fleet on three of its seven expeditions across the "Western Ocean" – the fourth, in 1413–15; the sixth, in 1421–22; and the seventh, in 1431–33.

The most impressive fact about the Ming naval expeditions was their astonishing scale. Zheng He's flotillas, each of which had more than 25,000 men, comprised the largest peaceful expeditions ever launched by the Chinese traditional empire. Over the course of the seven voyages, the immense Chinese ships (the largest of which perhaps approached 300 feet in length) landed at all the major territories of the Indian Ocean and even called at the Arabian ports of Hormuz and Jidda as well as at several ports along the northeastern coast of Africa, as far south as modern-day Kenya's Malindi.

Immediately upon his return from his first expedition in 1415, Ma Huan arranged the notes of his observations in the form of the book *Yingyai shenglan* (*Ying-yai sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*, 1433, 1970), to which he added much more material from his two subsequent expeditions. Ma Huan was probably at least 25 years old when he received his first assignment in 1413. Thus, when his book was finally published in 1451, Ma Huan, if still alive, was possibly 80 years old.

Ma Huan's is neither the only account of Zheng He's expeditions nor even the first. Earlier reports were assembled by his contemporaries Gong Zhen and Fei Xin, both of whom accompanied Ma Huan on the seventh and last expedition. But Ma Huan's account is by far the lengthiest – being twice as long as Fei Xin's – and the most thorough. It provides information drawn from visits to 21 "countries" under nearly as many separate headings. While his work, like those of his fellow authors, contains many mistakes and distortions, Ma Huan's observations are, by and large, offered in relative fairness and with the least degree of prejudice. We are also indebted to Ma Huan for furnishing us with logistical details

of the expeditions that are to be found nowhere else. From his account alone, for instance, we learn that squadrons were specifically detached from main fleet of each expedition and dispatched on subsidiary voyages to prescribed sites.

Through its descriptions of foreign lands like Java, Malacca, the Nicobar, Maldive, and Laccadive islands, Sri Lanka, and the port of Mogadishu in Somalia, Ma Huan's *Overall Survey* not only affords us information about places and peoples never before visited or commented on by the Chinese but also not yet encountered by European travelers. However, the single most important explanation that is absent from Ma Huan's account (as well as those of all others) is why the expeditions were undertaken in the first place. Religion was clearly a personal impetus for both Zheng He and Ma Huan. As devout Muslims, both men naturally desired to make the meritorious pilgrimage to Mecca, though it is questionable whether either ever succeeded. One of the main responsibilities of the fleets – which were after all led by "treasure ships" – was to secure exotic objects, animals, spices, and other curiosities for the personal amusement of the Chinese throne. But it would hardly seem necessary to send missions of such grand size to accomplish this particular task. In short, the most plausible motivation for the expeditions seems to have been quasi-diplomatic and closely linked to Chinese notions of a hierarchical world order. The mobilization of such huge spectacles of seapower, sent to what were then so many unknown corners of the world, clearly enhanced the prestige of the Ming emperors Yongle (1403–24) and Xuande (1426–35) who were responsible for them. Yongle – who authorized the first six missions – was especially expansionist-minded and though the missions were expressly non-belligerent, one aim of such enormous displays of Chinese seapower was no doubt to awe the foreign monarchs visited, commit them to the reciprocal exchange of tribute gifts, and extract from them either real or nominal acknowledgments of the suzerainty of the Chinese emperor.

Despite its flaws, the value of Ma Huan's *Overall Survey* remains incontestable. Its misinformation and occasional flights into fantasy notwithstanding, Ma Huan's Chinese record supplies much reliable, firsthand data on customs and conditions prevailing among the peoples of southern Asia, the Arabian peninsula, and the eastern coastline of Africa some eighty years before the Portuguese observations attributed to Vasco da Gama. The great pity is perhaps that the early investigation of these unknown regions by Chinese explorers did not continue beyond a single generation. The remarkable Ming voyages were terminated because of their expense, their non-productivity, and the

consuming desire of the dominating literati class to undermine any achievements that glorified their perennial eunuch enemies. Thereafter, China's dynastic rulers never again launched ships for the purpose of promoting cultural exploration or interchange.

DON J. WYATT

Biography

Attached to Zheng He's imperial voyages, 1413-15; 1421-22; and 1431-33.

Principal Writings

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Mabillon, Jean 1632-1707

French document collector and critic

Soon after his ordination to the priesthood in the Benedictine order, Jean Mabillon was assigned to the order's house at Saint-Germain-des-Prés which boasted one of the best libraries in Europe, a circle of scholars which included Luc d'Achéry, Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, Thierry Ruinart, and others, as well as weekly gatherings of scholars and connoisseurs the likes of Bossuet and Colbert. Within three years he had completed the project of editing the complete works of Bernard of Clairvaux, an edition he would revise in 1690 and 1701 and which remained the standard until the middle of the 20th century. He also began assisting d'Achéry in a collection of the lives of saints of the Benedictine order for which he wrote brilliant prefaces and critical essays and which was published in nine volumes from 1668 to 1701. Forced to defend the excellent critical apparatus of the early volumes against attacks from within his order, Mabillon wrote a spirited defense of his historical methods and prevailed on his order to vindicate him. This exercise served him in good stead when the Bollandist Daniel Papebroch claimed that the Benedictine charters of St. Denis were not authentic. In response, Mabillon published in 1681 his *De re diplomatica* (The Science of Diplomatic), which, in elaborating and justifying a sounder set of methodological principles than Papebroch's for determining the date and authenticity of medieval manuscripts and charters, virtually created the discipline of diplomatics and the scientific study of Latin paleography. The book was a text for two centuries

and some of its principles remain key to the study of medieval paleography to this day. Marc Bloch called the year 1681 "a truly great one in the history of the human mind, for the criticism of documents of archives was definitely established." Mabillon contended that documents must be carefully scrutinized not merely for specific verbal formulae, as Papebroch was wont to do, but for general style, provenance, external and internal clues to age, orthography, etc. He presented a taxonomy of charters, discussions, and examples of different scripts, materials, formulae, seals, and an entire volume of chronologically arranged documents as exemplars. Papebroch conceded the superiority of Mabillon's scholarship.

This modest man was dogged by controversies that had the fortunate effect of eliciting from him distinguished contributions to the development of rigorous and sophisticated historical methods. When the Trappist reformer Armand de Rancé asserted that study played no essential part in monastic spirituality, Mabillon replied with his 1691 *Traité des études monastiques* (Treatise on Monastic Studies) that not only justified study as a mode of worship but prescribed a curriculum that included study of the documentary and traditional sources of theology as well as sacred and secular history. In another instance, controversy over a spurious relic led to his writing a 1698 dissertation on the cult of unknown saints, which explored the problems of authentication of the lives of saints and their relics.

These and other of Mabillon's considerable researches, such as his pioneer works in liturgical history, *De liturgia gallica* (On the Gallican Liturgy, 1685) and *Musaeum Italicum* (The Italian Library, 1687-89), and his *Annales ordinis sancti Benedicti* (Annals of the Benedictine Order), which he began publishing in 1703, were immeasurably improved by the three great journeys he undertook in search of manuscript resources: to Burgundy in 1682; Germany, Austria, and Switzerland in 1683; and to Italy in 1685-86. On the last of these, financed by the royal purse, he spent 6096 francs purchasing 2192 manuscripts and books to send back to France. Lesser bibliographical journeys took him at various times to Flanders, Alsace and Lorraine, Tours and Angers, and Champagne and Normandy. As a result, he achieved a breadth and depth of historical knowledge rare in his own, or indeed any, age.

Oblivious to his physical surroundings except when discomfort hindered his work, indifferent to the monuments of pagan antiquity, Mabillon was unexcelled in his knowledge of the 7th through 12th centuries, though uninformed about earlier and later ages. His contributions to textual criticism were crucial to the development of historical method.

JOSEPH M. MCCARTHY

See also Catholicism; France: to 1000; France: 1000-1450; Historiology; Knowles

Biography

Born Saint-Pierremont, 23 November 1632. Studied at Reims; master of arts, 1652. Entered the Order of Saint Benedict, 1654; ordained a priest, 1660. Assisted in editing the works of Bernard of Clairvaux and in collecting documents relative to saints of his order, organizing the search of manuscript depositories in western Europe. Admitted to the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, 1701. Died Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 27 December 1707.

Principal Writings

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- With Thierry Ruinart, *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti* (Acts of the Benedictine Saints), 9 vols., 1668–1701
- Vetera analecta* (Collections of Ancient Writings), 4 vols., 1675–78
- De re diplomatica* (The Science of Diplomatic), 1681
- De liturgia gallica* (On the Gallican Liturgy), 3 vols., 1685
- Itinerarium Burgundicum, Itinerarium Germanicum* (The Burgundian Journey, The German Journey), 1685
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- Traité des études monastiques* (Treatise on Monastic Studies), 1691
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Macartney, C.A. 1895–1978

British historian of Eastern Europe

For most of the 20th century C.A. Macartney was the principal western historian of the Danube region at a time when the region was being racked with change. His interests ranged from the early medieval period to the Habsburg empire, and culminated in his engagement with the reshaping of Central and Eastern Europe in the post-Habsburg period. Macartney's interest sprang from his experiences during World War I, when he volunteered for service in the army and rejected a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, from which he had recently received his degree. After the war his credentials resulted in his posting to Vienna as vice-consul, then to the League of Nations in Geneva. He began to write on the region before returning to academic life in 1936 as a research fellow at Oxford University. His expertise was also used by the Foreign Office during World War II.

Macartney's first book, *The Social Revolution in Austria* (1926), dealt with conditions in postwar Austria, and drew upon his considerable knowledge of the country. His next work, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century* (1930), focused its attention on the problem of the Magyars' migration in this crucial period of their history, using as its basis an analysis of Greek and Arabic sources in order to understand the peculiarities of the future Hungarian oligarchic political system, a theme that his *Hungary* (1934), continued to pursue. *Hungary and Her Successors* (1937) was a comprehensive analysis of the nationalities question in the region, and was a work in which Macartney supported the claims of the losers of the post-1918 settlements. He regarded the Treaty of Trianon, which had handed over nearly one third of Hungary's population to the successor states, as unfair, and advocated border revisions to redress the balance. His hungarophile attitude did not, however, cause him to lose sight of the wider problems of contemporary European security, a subject discussed in *Problems of the Danube Basin* (1942).

Macartney's 2-volume *October Fifteenth* (1961, 1st edition as *A History of Hungary, 1929–1945*) dealt with German-Hungarian relations in the 15 years leading to the thwarted attempt by the regent to end the alliance with Hitler. It contained illuminating portraits of the principal personalities

and is regarded as the principal western language history of Hungarian politics in the 1930s. Macartney's *magnum opus* is perhaps also his best known work. *The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918* (1968) is a comprehensive narrative account of the political and social history of the empire, although it has been criticized for focusing its attention upon the German and Hungarian elements that made up the population, at the expense of the Slavs. Despite this mild criticism, it is a huge achievement, and stands as a fitting monument to its author.

MICHAEL ALMOND-WELTON

See also Central Europe; Germany: 1450–1800; Seton-Watson, R.

Biography

Carlile Aylmer Macartney. Born in Kent, 24 January 1895. Educated at Winchester College; Trinity College, Cambridge. Served in the British Army, 1914–18. Acting British vice-consul, Vienna, 1921–25; staff member, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1926–28; Intelligence Department, League of Nations Union, 1928–36; and Research Department, Foreign Office, 1939–46. Research fellow, All Souls College, Oxford, 1936–65; taught at Edinburgh University, 1951–57. Married Nedella Mamarchev. Died 18 June 1978.

Principal Writings

The Social Revolution in Austria, 1926
The Magyars in the Ninth Century, 1930
Refugees: The Work of the League, 1931
World Labour Problems, 5 vols., 1932–36
Hungary, 1934
National States and National Minorities, 1934
 With Maurice Fanshawe, *What the League Has Done*, 1920–1932, 1936
Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and Its Consequences, 1919–1937, 1937
Studies on the Earliest Hungarian Historical Sources, 3 vols., 1938–51
Problems of the Danube Basin, 1942
The Medieval Hungarian Historians: A Critical and Analytical Guide, 1953
A History of Hungary, 1929–1945, 2 vols., 1956–57; 2nd edition as *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary, 1929–1945*, 2 vols., 1961
Hungary: A Short History, 1962
Independent Eastern Europe: A History, 1962
The Habsburg Empire, 1790–1918, 1968; revised abridgement as *The House of Austria: The Later Phase, 1790–1918*, 1978
Maria Theresa and the House of Austria, 1969
 Editor, *The Habsburg and Hohenzollern Dynasties in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1970

Macaulay, Thomas Babington 1800–1859

British historian

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born in 1800, the eldest child of Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838), of Scots Presbyterian descent, a leader of the Evangelical Clapham Sect and anti-slavery campaigner. An infant prodigy who wrote an epitome of a universal history, Macaulay went up to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1818, where he was converted from his family Toryism to Whiggery. His honors included a college prize essay on the hero of his later *History of England*, William III.

Macaulay was elected a fellow of Trinity in 1824, and became a barrister in 1826. His first great literary triumph was an article in 1825 on Milton in the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, in which he had already perfected his incomparable prose style, with its “Ciceronian antithesis and Augustan balance,” stirring rhythms, surface glitter, and dogmatic tone. He attacked the Tories Robert Southey and John Wilson Croker in the *Edinburgh*, and as MP for Calne, made his famous speech in 1831 in defence of the First Reform Bill. In 1832 he was returned for Leeds, but then became a member of the Supreme Council of India from 1834, where he recommended an educational system based on English rather than Oriental studies, and drafted an Indian criminal code.

In 1839, Macaulay was elected MP for Edinburgh and became secretary at war in the Whig administration. In 1842 came the triumphant publication of his *Lays of Ancient Rome* and in 1843 the first official edition of his collected *Essays*. Like his battle poems “Ivry” and “The Battle of Naseby,” the *Lays* drew on his immense classical erudition and his Italian journey of 1838–39 for their re-creation of Roman republican balladry, in vigorous, technically faultless verse. The essays, ostensibly book reviews, transcend the works that occasioned them: those on English themes are a major contribution to the study of 17th- and 18th-century history and literature, partly making up for the closure of the later *History of England* in 1702. They tend to a one-sided view of the English past: Protestants, Puritans, and Whigs were right, while Catholics, Cavaliers, Tories, and High Churchmen were wrong. Yet Macaulay had a tenderness for a good man on the wrong side. His romantic vision of social history was inspired by the High Tory Sir Walter Scott; his love of historic grandeur appears in the depiction of the Catholic church in his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, where his belief in progress disappears in the image of a future New Zealand Maori standing on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

Macaulay was defeated at the hustings in Edinburgh in 1847, and though Edinburgh returned him unopposed in 1852, his gradual withdrawal from politics enabled him to concentrate on his *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, which he conceived in 1838 as lying between the Whig achievements of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Reform Bill of 1832. The first two volumes were published to great critical and popular acclaim in 1849. The first chapter of volume 1 surveys English history to 1660, the second deals with the reign of Charles II, and the third paints a famous social portrait of England in 1685. The narrative then slows to a snail's pace, and only reaches William III's death in 1702. Macaulay used the work of other Whig scholars: the forty volumes of papers transcribed from continental archives for Sir James Mackintosh and the French ambassador Barillon's despatches copied for Charles James Fox and loaned to him by his friend Lord Holland. Yet Macaulay's Whiggery was that of the militant middle, between radical and Tory, as the Church of England stood between Rome and Dissent, as the Marquess of Halifax “trimmed” between Whigs and Tories, and as William was (in the words of Macaulay's Trinity prize essay) “a sovereign, yet the champion of liberty; a revolutionary leader, yet the supporter of social order.” The third and fourth volumes of the *History* appeared in 1855, the fifth posthumously in 1861, edited by Macaulay's sister Hannah, Lady Trevelyan.

Macaulay combined a robust Georgian rationalism with a Romantic imagination. His Whiggery was magnified by his biographer George Otto Trevelyan, who mangled his letters for literary convenience, but supplied a brilliant and indispensable picture of the man. His defect was stridency: he was too sure of everything. Charles Williams said that "His only real instrument was the trumpet; his only good colour was purple." Carlyle thought his style like living under Niagara; Lytton Strachey mocked its metallic exactness and its fatal efficiency as "one of the most remarkable products of the Industrial Revolution." G.P. Gooch called Macaulay "the greatest of party writers, not the greatest of historians." Like a caricaturist, he heightened the villainy of his villains, James II and John Churchill, and the heroism of his heroes like William III. His optimistic Victorian vision is no more, suggesting that his *History* has dated as badly as the Victorian prejudices that informed it. Herbert Butterfield's polemic against Whig historiography is a warning against such prejudices, and the attempts by Marxists and the school of Sir Lewis Namier to expel idealism from history are fatal to Macaulay's heroic conception of a humanity moved by principle as well as interest. On points such as his assault on the Quaker William Penn, he was wrong and impervious to criticism.

Yet he was too interested in the complexity of personality and in the cunning twists in his story to be a consistent partisan. His pioneering ventures into social history, as in his use of broadsides and street balladry, have borne an enormous fruit in our own time, while his universal humanity usually raises his writing above Whig confessionism. In its literary brilliance, its panoramic sweep, its mastery of sources from state papers to penny pamphlets hitherto assumed to be beneath the dignity of Clio, it remains compulsively readable, and sets standards of clarity, accessibility, and narrative skill at which modern scholars can only wonder.

SHERIDAN GILLEY

See also Britain: 1066–1485; Europe: Modern; Gardiner; Literature; Niebuhr; Political; Popular; Trevelyan; Whig

Biography

Born Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, 25 October 1800. Educated privately; at Trinity College, Cambridge, BA 1822, MA 1825; fellow, 1824–31. Called to the Bar, 1826. Member of Parliament, 1830–34, 1839–47, 1852–56. Legal adviser to the Supreme Council of the East India Company, Calcutta, 1834–38. Created Baron Macaulay of Rothley, 1857. Died Kensington, 28 December 1859.

Principal Writings

Critical and Historical Essays Contributed to the Edinburgh Review, 1843
The History of England from the Accession of James II, 5 vols., 1849–61

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Mach, Ernst 1838–1916

Austrian physicist

Ernst Mach, for whom Mach-bands and the measure of supersonic speed are named, was a noted physicist and philosopher. He also was interested in the history of physics. Mach was a positivist who restricted true science to the search for general laws through empirical experiments, and a phenomenalist, for whom observation only reflected the sensory experiences of scientists instead of absolute reality. As a result Mach believed scientists should simply describe and relate these experiences, and not speculate, pitting him against the dominance in physics of Newtonian mechanics and atomic theory, which were both based on theoretical deduction.

Mach studied the history of physics to understand how people acquired scientific concepts, and to convince others that the prominence of Newtonian physics was the result of contingency. He also took his role as teacher of physics uncommonly seriously, and worried that the prevailing method of introducing physics through logical abstractions repelled college students. He showed them how past scientists had grappled with a problem, in order to sustain their interest and spur their understanding, until they were ready to tackle abstractions. Most of his works were primarily intended for students. They were widely read at German-speaking universities from the 1880s to World War I, and also by the general public.

In his first major work, *Die Geschichte und die Wurzel des Satzes der Erhaltung der Arbeit* (1872; *History and Root of the Principle of the Conservation of Energy*, 1911), Mach disputed the contention of Hermann von Helmholtz and Rudolf Clausius that Rudolf Mayer's 1842 statement of the first thermodynamic law showed the deductive prowess of Newtonian physics, arguing that its general principle had been known since early times. The structure of his other works was similar: to show that a given principle, presented as new pinnacle of truth, had been known in some form much earlier, and that other theories about it had been made into paradigms through misreadings and chance, and later rejected not so much

out of superior insight as from the same random factors that had elevated it. In *Die Mechanik in ihrer Entwicklung: historisch-kritisch dargestellt* (1883; *The Science of Mechanics*, 1911), Mach suggested that a close reading of Newton showed that he had believed in absolute reality much less than his followers claimed. As Mario Bunge and John Blackmore have noted, Mach had misread Newton. He also argued against the reification of mechanics and atomic theory in other fields of physics in *Die Prinzipien der Wärmelehre* (1896; *Principles of the Theory of Heat*, 1986), *Die Prinzipien der physikalischen Optik* (finished in 1913, published in 1921; *Principles of Physical Optics*, 1926), and *Kultur und Mechanik* (Culture and Mechanics, 1915). More explicitly philosophical were *Beiträge zur Analyse der Empfindungen* (1886; *Contributions to the Analysis of the Sensations*, 1887), and *Erkenntnis und Irrtum* (1905; *Knowledge and Error*, 1976), which showed parallels to Buddhist thinking.

Though his works were styled “historical-critical,” and despite his reputation as historian of science, Mach was not a historian. He always clearly stated that he wrote about contemporary physics. In *Theory of Heat* he stressed: “Although a great many sources have been used, one should not expect in this work the results of archival research. The focus is much more on the coherence and growth of thought than on interesting curiosities.” Uninspired by the particulars of history of science or individual scientists, he did no work in archives, contributed little new material, and raised no debates among historians. He simply cited from scientific writings to narrate the transmission of ideas.

Yet Mach wrote at a time when historical influences on scientific knowledge were neglected by scientists, and he wrote well. As the physicist Selig Brodetsky declared in 1926, he had made reading the rise and fall of ideas “as fascinating as a romance.” Albert Einstein stressed in 1916 how much his textbooks “had great influence on our generation of natural scientists.” They fostered interest in physics among generations of students, and inspired physicists such as the French Pierre Duhem and the Japanese Ayao Kuwaki; both of whom became noted historians of science.

Mach applied his contemplative and undogmatic philosophy of science to life in general. He was an atheist, who denied the objective existence of human ego or immortal soul. His works, translated into English, Russian, and other languages, made him by 1900 a thinker of world renown. His popularity waned after World War I, partly because his central assumption, that sensations were absolute, was found to be incorrect. His legacy was indirect, through his influence on thinkers as diverse as Sigmund Freud, William James, Sinhalese Buddhists, Bolshevik leaders such as Alexander Bogdanov, and Ludwig Wittgenstein.

Mach's writings helped speed the demise of Newtonian mechanics as the paradigm in physics, but his opposition to atomic theory delayed its acceptance in Central Europe. The acceptance of the theory served to undercut his influence as philosopher of science. But he raised awareness about the transiency of scientific knowledge, and popularized interest in the history of science at a time when little attention was paid to it. Though Mach was not a great academic historian, he was a great teacher of history. And in the past two decades the rise of postmodern distrust in the triumphalism of the materialist

conception of Western science has revived interest, especially in Central Europe, in the gentle approach to knowledge of this Sudeten German scientist.

THOMAS REIMER

See also Duhem; Heilbron

Biography

Born Chirlitz-Turas, near Brno, Moravia (now in Czech Republic), 18 February 1838. Educated at home to age 14, attended high school briefly, then studied at University of Vienna, PhD in physics, 1860. Taught mechanics and physics, Vienna, 1860–64; professor of mathematics, University of Graz, 1864–67; professor of experimental physics, Charles University, Prague, 1867–95; professor of inductive philosophy, University of Vienna, from 1895; suffered a stroke, 1897, and retired 1901. Entered Austrian Parliament, 1901. Married Ludovica [Luise] Marussig, 1867 (4 sons, 1 daughter). Died Vaterstetten, near Haar, Germany, 19 February 1916.

Principal Writings

Die Geschichte und die Wurzel des Satzes der Erhaltung der Arbeit, 1872; in English as *History and Root of the Principle of the Conservation of Energy*, 1911
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Machiavelli, Niccolò 1469–1527

Florentine humanist historian

By the end of August 1520 Niccolò Machiavelli had finished his brief biography of Castruccio Castracani, written over a few weeks in free moments on an embassy to Lucca. Reminiscent of Plutarch, it consciously echoed Diodorus Siculus and Diogenes Laertius. Machiavelli essentially rewrote in classical guise one main source, *Castruccio Castracani vita* by the Luccese jurist Niccolò Tegrini (first printed in 1496), and culled information from Villani's *Chronicle*, incorporating sentiments borrowed from Livy and from the *Cyropaedia* (*On the Education of Cyrus*) of Xenophon in Jacopo Poggio's Latin translation. The theme selected was innocuous in terms of both the Medici and Florence, and Machiavelli's purpose in composing the work had been to furnish testimony of his potential as a historian; sending it to friends of influence in Florence he declared it to be "a model for history." Two months later he achieved his objective in becoming official historiographer of Florence. He took his consequent *Istorie fiorentine* (*The History of Florence*), which ended with the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492, to Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici) in Rome, presenting it probably early in June 1525. Yet 40 years ago Ferdinand Schevill in his *Six Historians*, one of whom was Machiavelli, paradoxically opened the relevant chapter with "Machiavelli was not a historian," explaining that "what he offers as history is largely free invention, lacking a solid indispensable substructure of tested events." It is a mistake to judge Machiavelli's history against a present-day definition; rather, Schevill should have considered his work in the context of what was deemed history in the Italian Renaissance. To his contemporaries Machiavelli was a historian.

Moreover, there is a caveat in making an assessment of Machiavelli's writings. Within a few years of his death there had come into being the pejorative adjective "machievellian," meaning expediency before Christian morality, duplicity rather than keeping faith, principles associated with his *Il principe* (*The Prince*), his best-known work, infamous since its printing in 1532. It had been written in two bursts between 1513 and 1516, the year Machiavelli presented it to Lorenzo de' Medici. From the early 1530s Machiavelli's name was generally held in abhorrence in his native city of Florence, particularly because of the writings of Giovanni Battista Busini, who believed *The Prince* to be the inspiration for Alessandro de' Medici's tyranny as duke of Florence. For 500 years polemic regarding Machiavelli's writings has been to the fore, and his writings themselves seldom been examined as an entity or in context. Schevill's comments are symptomatic of that polemical tradition.

Recognized today as Machiavelli's most profound historical study is his *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio* (1512–18; *The Discourses on Livy*). The thrust of the argument

is that Rome was greatest when a republic with a citizen army, and hence republican government was to be preferred. This appeared in sharp contrast to the supposed teaching of *The Prince*, which overlapped work on *The Discourses*. From what follows it will be suggested that there was no such contradiction. Fifteenth-century Italian humanists looked to the classical world for models, and acknowledged the preeminence of Livy and Sallust as historians. These historians were seen as detached from the events described, as excelling in eloquence, in clarity, and in style; Caesar, though held in esteem, was flawed as a historian since he was personally involved in the circumstances narrated. From the age of 17, if not earlier, Machiavelli had available a printed text of Livy, and when in 1503 he wrote his report "On the Method of Dealing with the Rebels of the Val di Chiana," he quoted from Livy a passage *in extenso*. The initial version of his *Discourses* can be dated to between 1512 and 1518, when it was essentially a commentary on all Livy's known *Decades*, and not just on the first as the published title of 1531 implies. There was emphasis on what may be termed Machiavelli's laws of social science, a feature he was elaborating when he died; the published text represents an unfinished work. It reveals, in conformity with his other mature writing, that rather than accepting the traditional classical and humanistic cyclic view of history, Machiavelli had come to adopt an evolutionary one: primitive society, which comprised tribes each under a leader or king, evolved to the zenith of civilization as exemplified in the Italian city-state. In terms of government the process of development was from princely rule to republican. Once this final stage was reached any attempt to revert to the earlier mode of rule brought the society's disintegration in its wake. Drawing on Livy and his knowledge of Florentine history, Machiavelli believed he could identify the factors that produced the evolutionary process, what stimulated it and what could retard it. The root cause of incessant strife on the Italian peninsula Machiavelli believed to be factional rivalry. In the shorter term this helped to perpetuate princely rule, as a prince promoted faction so as to remain in power – in other words "divide and rule"; but in the longer term the consequence was civil war and the creation of republican rule. All in all *The Discourses* was an embryonic Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*.

Humanists in Machiavelli's day divided histories into two categories, which they considered had existed in antiquity. First there was the raw material that gave details of historical events, such as annals or chronicles; second, there was true history like that of Livy and Sallust, which through interpretation furnished a guide for living. In the period now called the "Middle Ages," the former had proliferated and tended to be ignored by humanists concerned with true history. The humanists, in taking Livy and Sallust as models for their own historical writings, thought that they had returned to a true history. Machiavelli's *The Prince* was intended as a guide to teach a prince how to retard the process of a state's inevitable evolution to a republic. This could be done only if the prince ruled as a "civil" prince in the best interest of most of his subjects; a tyrant would accelerate the evolution. This was entirely the opposite of what Busini and his followers read into the work. Viewed in this light there was no conflict between *The Prince* and the conclusions advanced in *The Discourses*.

CECIL H. CLOUGH

See also Baron, H.; Burke; Chabod; De Sanctis; Ecclesiastical; Gilbert; Italy: Renaissance; Pieri; Pocock; Renaissance Historical Writing; Skinner; Villari

Biography

Born Florence, 3 May 1469. Began learning Latin aged 7 and arithmetic aged 11; aged 12 was preparing Latin compositions with the Florentine teacher Paolo da Ronciglione; this and his subsequent training was to prepare him for the profession of Florentine notary, like his father; he never learned Greek. In 1498 designated second chancellor of the Florentine Republic established in 1494: secretary and envoy to states of the Italian peninsula and beyond; following the return of the Medici to power in Florence in September 1512 was dismissed from his post early in November, confined to the Florentine state, and excluded from the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence; in February 1513, accused (almost certainly unjustly) of involvement in an anti-Medicean plot, he was imprisoned and tortured; in March after a heavy fine he was released, thereafter devoting himself to writing; by 1520 he had sufficiently ingratiated himself with the Medici to become historiographer of Florence; subsequently he undertook for the Medici various administrative tasks including a mission to Carpi and the supervision of a survey of Florence's fortifications. Married Marietta Corsini, 1501 (5 children). Died Florence, 21 June 1527.

Principal Writings

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Mack Smith, Denis 1920–

British historian of modern Italy

Denis Mack Smith's formidable reputation among modern Italian historians was established with the publication of his first book, *Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860* in 1954. As a number of reviewers remarked at the time, the history of Italy's Risorgimento was never to be the same again. In *Cavour and Garibaldi*, Mack Smith used a combination of official documents and private papers in a meticulous reconstruction of the political events surrounding Italian unification in 1860. The book is designed, in Mack Smith's words, "as a study in revolutionary politics during a civil war." His choice of words is not accidental. Hitherto, Italian unification had been seen as a complex jigsaw where every piece fitted together. On the basis of the evidence used in *Cavour and Garibaldi*, Mack Smith demonstrates that the unification of Italy was in fact the accidental outcome of bitter conflict. In other ways too, he alters the established orthodoxy of many generations. Cavour – once the supreme example of a hard-headed, practical politician – emerges from Mack Smith's study as wily, impulsive, and often unrealistic in his aims. Garibaldi – the epitome of a romantic, impractical hero – comes out as a leader of good sense with limited ambitions. "With brilliant, though well-founded, perversity," A.J.P. Taylor remarked, "Mr. Mack Smith turns things upside down."

English historians had been taught by Trevelyan to admire the achievements of Italian liberalism and to enthuse about the exploits of its heroes. In *Cavour and Garibaldi*, Mack Smith was writing for this readership. However, as he admitted in a new preface written for the second edition, the book's "biggest impact was in Italy." Before *Cavour and Garibaldi* was published in Italy, Mack Smith had published a study of the Sicilian peasantry which emphasized the role of the peasantry in the 1860 revolution and detailed their final betrayal at the hands of the revolutionaries. Apparently unwittingly, Mack Smith had stepped into a major historical (and political) controversy raging in Italy. His critical approach to Cavour and to the conflicts of 1860 was welcomed by a new generation of left-wing historians in Italy. Mack Smith's work appeared to endorse a view of the Risorgimento as a "failed revolution." This same approach earned Mack Smith the lasting enmity of some prominent liberal historians, notably Rosario Romeo.

In many respects, both the arguments and the public reception of *Cavour and Garibaldi* set the tone for Mack Smith's whole career. The controversy caused in Italy by his first book became nothing less than a furore with *Italy: A Modern History* (1959), and this continued with *Mussolini's Roman Empire* (1976), *Mussolini* (1981), and *Italy and Its Monarchy* (1989).

It is not difficult to see why Mack Smith's approach so often offends. Like his heroes, Garibaldi and Mazzini, Mack Smith

has steadfastly refused to conform to current orthodoxies or to accept established narratives. In *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento* (1971) and again in *Italy and Its Monarchy*, Mack Smith quotes the Italian prime minister, Giovanni Giolitti, that “beautiful historical legends” should not be “discredited by historical criticism.” From *Cavour and Garibaldi* to his recent book *Mazzini* (1994), Mack Smith has set out to undermine this view of history and to prove the value of a critical approach based on documentary research. “There is no necessary reason” he writes in *Victor Emanuel, Cavour and the Risorgimento*, “why truth should be beautiful or simple.”

At its best, as in *Cavour and Garibaldi*, Mack Smith’s critical approach produces brilliant and thought-provoking history. His books can also be a delight to read. As Davis and Ginsborg have written, Mack Smith has the rare talent “of writing original, serious, and scrupulously researched history which none the less remains accessible and attractive to the non-specialist.” If the truth in Mack Smith’s work is seldom beautiful or simple, the same cannot be said for the quality of his prose.

At times, however, Mack Smith’s insistence on unravelling the nationalist myths of Italian historiography has tended to overwhelm his scholarship. His critical approach can become merely a patronizing one. In *Italy: A Modern History*, Mack Smith’s analysis is heavily weighted towards proving the link between the Risorgimento and fascism; this focus obscures a much more complex reality. Similarly, his *A History of Sicily* (1968) concentrates overwhelmingly on what Raymond Grew calls Sicily’s “frustrated modernization” and its uninterrupted decline. His judgments of Italian political leaders in *Cavour* (1985) and *Italy and Its Monarchy* are, even to the hardened cynic, unduly harsh. Thus, his criticisms of Italian national myths become on occasion inseparable from criticisms of Italians themselves.

Mack Smith belongs to the generation of postwar Cambridge historians, based largely at Peterhouse, who were taught to respect the primacy of documentary evidence. The influence of a Whig concept of history is also apparent in Mack Smith’s attempts to explain what went “wrong” with the Risorgimento and to discover the roots of Italy’s (or Sicily’s) economic “backwardness.” This kind of history is currently very unfashionable. Neither of Mack Smith’s recent biographies, of Cavour and Mazzini respectively, nor his study of the Italian monarchy, have been particularly well received. Yet, there is in the best of Mack Smith’s writing a passionate edge and an acute sense of the convolutions of history which take it beyond its immediate subject matter. Like his predecessor Trevelyan, Mack Smith conveys in his writing the excitement of Italian history. It is this, at least in part, that continues to inspire successive generations of historians to study modern Italy. And it is in this, as well as in his personal commitment to historical research and unfailing courtesy to the views of other historians, that Mack Smith’s importance as a historian should be judged.

LUCY RIALI

See also Italy: since the Renaissance

Biography

Born 3 March 1920. Educated at St. Paul’s Cathedral Choir School; Haileybury College; Peterhouse, Cambridge, MA. Assistant master,

Clifton College, 1941–42. Posted to cabinet offices, 1942–46. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1947–62, tutor, 1948–58; university lecturer, Cambridge, 1952–62; fellow, All Souls College, Oxford, 1962–87 (emeritus). Married Catharine Stevenson, 1963 (2 daughters).

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McLuhan, Marshall 1911–1980

Canadian communications theorist

Almost two decades after his death, the work of Marshall McLuhan is currently enjoying a resurgence. This Canadian academic achieved instant international recognition as the media sage of the “swinging” sixties. The coiner of the concept of “the global village,” McLuhan was regarded as a communications guru and his name became irrevocably linked with such catch phrases as “the medium is the message.” His work has acquired new relevance in our own electronic age, where so many of his predictions concerning the development and power of mass communications appear to have come true.

He is best known as an analyst of the role of media in modern society, and those casually aware of McLuhan’s work may wonder if he warrants a place in a collection devoted to the study of historians. However, a reading of any of his major works will clearly establish that McLuhan’s studies of the role

of communications in contemporary society developed from a profound historical sensibility, and one that was also distinctively Canadian.

Starting from the perspective of literary analysis, McLuhan's early writings followed the predictable path of a literary critic attempting to understand and interpret the cultural climate of past and present societies. *The Mechanical Bride* (1951) may be seen as McLuhan's first systematic attempt to interpret what Dennis Duffy has called "the dissociated world produced by the disjunction between intellect and emotion," and although it seems to progress naturally from his earlier studies, this work may be seen also as the first step in the evolution of McLuhan's technique of media analysis which would emerge, fully developed, during the 1960s with *Explorations in Communication* (1960), *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962), and *Understanding Media* (1964).

It is not coincidental that McLuhan's *Mechanical Bride* appeared one year after *Empire and Communications* (1950) and during the same year as *The Bias of Communication* (1951), two late works by the Canadian historian, Harold Adams Innis (1894–1952). Innis' early writings had explored the significance of the fur and cod trades to Canada's development and had documented the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway. From the descriptive, narrative history of the role of economic staples in Canada's development, the later Innis moved to the consideration of systems of communication as equally significant forces in the history of the development of western civilization. He became convinced that analysis of communications media provided the most valuable insight into understanding societies of the past and also those of the present. It was this interpretive key that McLuhan was to develop as an essential part of his own efforts to probe the mysteries of cultural meaning.

In two brief essays, McLuhan clearly delineated the links that are implicit throughout his major writings. In a 1953 article entitled "The Later Innis" and, a decade later, in the introduction to a new edition of Innis' *The Bias of Communication*, McLuhan identified the shaping of his own approach to history. "Flattered by the attention that Innis had directed to some work of mine," he observed in the introduction, "I turned for the first time to his work." Generous in his praise of what he found, McLuhan declared that "I am pleased to think of my own book *The Gutenberg Galaxy* as a footnote to the observations of Innis on the subject of the psychic and social consequences, first of writing and then of printing."

There were many elements in the work of Innis that resonated for the younger scholar: both were attempting to achieve what Bertrand Russell had called "a change in our imaginative picture of the world." Believing an insight to be "the sudden awareness of a complex process of interaction," McLuhan had no higher praise than to view Innis as "above all a recognizer of patterns" using history "as a scientific laboratory, as a set of controlled conditions within which to study the life and nature of forms," with "the bias of culture and communication as an instrument of research." Even Innis' writing style was to find echoes in McLuhan's work; in his later books, McLuhan observed in 1953, Innis abandoned "the linear development of paragraph perspectives," in favor of "the rapid montage of single shots." This was a technique that McLuhan himself was increasingly to favor.

As it was for the later Innis, McLuhan's notion of historical periodization, even his concept of history itself, was defined by shifts – he called them "explosions" – in communications media. The phonetic alphabet gave rise to the concept of Euclidian space, the Roman empire sprung from the ability to employ the alphabet on light papyrus, rather than heavy clay or stone, and Gutenberg's introduction of moveable type to the West in the 15th century heated up the medium of writing "to repeatable print intensity" which, in turn, "led to nationalism and the religious wars of the 16th century." This aspect of his work has been criticized as technological determinism and, because of its inevitable simplifications and "mosaic" approach, even dismissed by one critic, Sidney Finkelstein, as a "bizarre substitution of fiction for history."

It may be said that McLuhan's writing combined the historical analysis of Innis with the investigative techniques of the literary critics I.A. Richards and William Empson, for McLuhan noted that the importance of language as the greatest medium of communication and the most significant barometer of change had eluded Innis. In answer to those who caviled at inaccuracies in his periodizations, McLuhan claimed that he was constructing "probes," mechanisms for investigating ambiguity. He infuriated his critics by insisting that he had no "point of view"; he became himself, as he had described Innis, "a roving mental eye, an intellectual radar screen on the alert for objective clues to the inner spirit or core of our time" ("The Later Innis"). Always impish and irreverent, he resisted categorization. A reincarnated McLuhan, upon finding himself canonized as the patron saint of the new information age, would certainly question his old answers or, more probably, would immediately begin the search for new questions.

KATHLEEN E. GARAY

See also Media

Biography

Herbert Marshall McLuhan. Born Edmonton, Alberta, 21 July 1911. Studied at University of Manitoba, BA 1932, MA 1934; Trinity Hall, Cambridge, BA 1936, MA 1939, PhD 1942. Taught at University of Wisconsin, 1936–37; St. Louis University, 1937–44; Assumption College, Windsor, Ontario, 1944–46; and St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, 1946–80; director, Centre for Culture and Technology, 1963–80. Married Corinne Keller Lewis, 1939 (2 sons, 4 daughters). Died Toronto, 31 December 1980.

Principal Writings

The Mechanical Bride: Folklore of Industrial Man, 1951
 "The Later Innis," *Queen's Quarterly* (Autumn 1953), 365–94
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McNeill, William H. 1917– US (Canadian-born) world historian

William H. McNeill's greatest contribution to the historical field has been his promotion of world history. Influenced by Arnold Toynbee's *A Study of History* (1934) and Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918) in their sweeping ecumenical views of history, but not subscribing to their notions of internal cycles of civilization, McNeill presented the development of civilizations as a series of interactions. As McNeill wrote in *Mythistory and Other Essays* (1986), he proposed to turn Spengler and Toynbee on their heads, for both of them had asserted that separate civilizations borrowed nothing of importance from one another. This proposal led to his classic *The Rise of the West* (1963), where he affirmed the idea of a progressive, secular history of the human community, as opposed to the cyclical and religious views put forward by Spengler and Toynbee respectively, and where he suggested that the current Western predominance in the world is the result of the process of entire world history. McNeill's concentration on encounters as the driving force of civilizations and ultimately history, has led him to concentrate on frontier areas, particularly in the Eurasian realm. In *The Rise of the West*, he identified the center of highest skill in a given age, and the cultural flow outwards from it, correspondingly demonstrating the importance of communications and transportation on historical development. In McNeill's words, "the history of civilization is a history of the expansion of particularly attractive cultural and social patterns through the conversion of barbarians to modes of life they found superior to their own." An underlying Darwinianism pervaded his analyses.

With *The Rise of the West* as a foundation, McNeill in his later works explored individual topics and their associated international phenomena, constituting, in his own words, extended footnotes to *The Rise of the West*. His interest in broad trends in historical development was clear in *The Pursuit of Power* (1982) where he examined the influence of warfare as a catalyst for industrial development. With *Plagues and Peoples* (1976), McNeill introduced an ecological dimension to world history, in which he brought out the interrelation of separate disease pools, population die-offs, and socioeconomic relationships. In *Plagues and Peoples*, for example, McNeill pointed to the direct relationship between the rise of various religions and population die-offs.

McNeill's research was influenced by both anthropological method, emphasizing the role of diffusion – the adoption from other societies of technologies, skills, customs, and social arrangements perceived as useful or empowering – and by Marc Bloch and the Annales school with its emphasis on long-term trends.

McNeill's passion for world history came from a conviction that the enormous problems the world confronted could be lessened with the promotion of a global consciousness. This promotion, he felt, should be the moral duty of the historical profession, which had, in any case, been seeking purpose since the demise of Whig history after World War I. McNeill felt that historians necessarily wrote of the past in a way that provided an intellectual basis for the present. By writing a broad, meaningful interpretation of the past, historians would contribute to the view of the unity of humanity and give history-writing a clear *raison d'être*.

Because McNeill points to the importance of the unconscious processes that cross both political and temporal boundaries, he has not been without his detractors. Arguments against McNeill's conception of history point to his generalizations as unscientific, and far removed from the historicist roots of modern historiography. His seeming contempt for the close scrutiny of documents and detailed studies comes under criticism in this regard. McNeill would counter that all historians select their facts differently, and therefore all history is generalization. His emphasis on underlying trends has also been criticized as downplaying the role of the individual in history. Lastly, McNeill's views have been criticized for their apparent ethnocentrism, as his approach seems to suggest that Western society is the cumulative product of history.

GARY S. BRUCE

See also Curtin; Environmental; European Expansion; Migration; Military; World

Biography

William Hardy McNeill. Born Vancouver, Canada, 31 October 1917. Received BA, University of Chicago, 1938, MA 1939; PhD, Cornell University, 1947. Taught at University of Chicago, 1947–87 (emeritus). Took US citizenship. Married Elizabeth Darbishire, 1946 (2 sons, 2 daughters).

Principal Writings

- The Greek Dilemma: War and Aftermath*, 1947
- America, Britain, and Russia: Their Co-operation and Conflict*, 1941–1946, 1953
- Past and Future*, 1954
- Greece: American Aid in Action*, 1947–1956, 1957
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Mahan, Alfred Thayer 1840-1914

US naval historian

Alfred Thayer Mahan's reputation as the most famous naval historian of the late 19th and early 20th centuries rests on two major works: *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (1890) and *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812* (1892). All told, Mahan wrote 20 books and 137 articles.

The major thrust of Mahan's works was that naval superiority and shipping are instrumental in determining the power and wealth of nations. This idea, however, did not originate with him; naval strategists such as Rear Admiral John Rodgers and Robert Schufeldt had already propagated these ideas long before Mahan. Mahan's great contribution was his ability to analyze systematically naval history and to define clearly what he saw as its lessons. As he himself put it in *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, his object was to estimate "the effect of sea power upon the course of history and the prosperity of nations."

Mahan emerged from the relative obscurity of a naval career to become one of the best known historians of his era. After first attending Columbia College in New York City, he enrolled at the US Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, against the advice of his father, Dennis Hart Mahan, a professor of civil and military engineering at the US Military Academy in West Point, New York. Despite his father's reservations, the younger Mahan excelled at Annapolis and graduated second in his class in 1859.

Following his graduation from Annapolis, Mahan rose through the naval ranks, eventually becoming Lieutenant Commander. His naval service in the US Civil War was unexceptional. However, due to his high rank, the 26-year-old Mahan decided, despite reservations, to remain in the navy where he served in navy shipyards, on the Naval Academy staff, and on cruises to the Asiatic Station and to the west coast of South America. It was while commanding the steam sloop USS *Wachusett* off the coast of Peru that Mahan received an invitation from his old friend Commodore Stephen B. Luce to join the faculty of the newly founded Naval War College.

Mahan's only major qualification for this position was his short book, *The Gulf and Inland Waters* (1883), a Civil War naval history, which he had recently completed. Mahan accepted Luce's offer, and, after some delay, reported to Newport, Rhode Island, for duty in the summer of 1886. When he arrived at the Naval War College, Mahan, now a newly promoted Captain, found to his dismay that Luce had been ordered back to sea. It therefore fell to Mahan to lecture on strategy and naval history and to assume the presidency of the Naval War College. This was the turning point in his career.

Mahan served two terms as president of the Naval War College (1886-89 and 1892-93) and during his first term, he organized his lectures into book form which resulted in the publication of *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*. In 1893, Mahan was ordered to take command of the USS *Chicago* and, on his arrival in the English port of Southampton in late July of that year, was hailed as a hero by the British for his praise of British sea power and the British navy.

Mahan's work was controversial in its day. His critics claimed that he was reactionary and impractical while his supporters touted the virtues of his theory that control of the seas was the key to empire. At the beginning, Mahan himself claimed to be an anti-imperialist, but he argued for the construction of an Isthmian canal in Panama and for use of the Hawaiian Islands as a refueling station for US ships. Later historians have found great fault with Mahan's analysis of sea power, a term that Mahan invented, mostly on the basis of oversimplification by omission. These critics claimed that Mahan's theories do not account for the rise of such non-maritime empires as Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia and Turkey. Mahan has also been criticized for failing to emphasize the interrelationship between naval and land operations, especially amphibious warfare. Particularly glaring was Mahan's omission of the years 1784-93 in his histories.

Despite their flaws, the profound impact of Mahan's writings on the study of naval history has been compared by the historian Louis M. Hacker to the effect of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* on 19th-century scientific study. In Mahan's own day, the London *Times* compared his work to the revolution "effected by Copernicus in the domain of astronomy."

GREGORY WEEKS

See also Military; Naval

Biography

Born West Point, New York, 27 September 1840, to a military family. Graduated US Naval Academy, 1859; served as naval officer, 1859-86; naval instructor and president, Naval War College, 1889-96. Retired from navy to write and to serve as governmental naval adviser. Married Ellen Lyle Evans, 1872 (2 daughters, 1 son). Died Washington, DC, 1 December 1914.

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Maitland, F.W. 1850–1906

British medievalist

F.W. Maitland was one of the generation of late 19th-century historians following William Stubbs, whose work dominated English medieval history and focused it on constitutional issues for much of the 20th century. Eight years as a practicing lawyer gave him a different perspective and methodology from his contemporaries. He set the standard for professional historical scholarship through his careful study of legal records and shrewd identification of major themes. Maitland worked mainly on the 12th and 13th centuries: his view of the age of Henry II as that of the development of the Common Law, and the 13th century as the age of its codification, has been challenged in detail, but not in outline.

At Cambridge Henry Sidgwick, a student of John Stuart Mill, was an influential teacher. Maitland shared their liberal intellectual outlook and support for women's education. Like many educated people of his generation, his Protestant upbringing gave way to agnostic anticlericalism. He was a friend of Leslie Stephen, editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and father of Virginia Woolf. Maitland's wife Florence was a relative of Stephen and sister of H.A.L. Fisher the historian. Marital happiness sustained him through the chronic ill-health of his adult life. In 1885 he became reader in English law at Cambridge through Sidgwick's patronage, and in 1888 professor.

The wealth of documents in the Public Record Office was as yet little explored, and Maitland shared the general enthusiasm for its systematic ordering and publication. Unlike Stubbs

whom he greatly admired, or his contemporaries, he did not construct a grand narrative of the past: instead he traced the development of governmental institutions through close analysis of legal terminology. In *The History of English Law* (1895), published with Frederick Pollock, who wrote only one chapter on Anglo-Saxon law, Maitland refused to go beyond the reign of Edward I, because subsequent records had been insufficiently digested. However, his belief that the Angevin laws of the 12th and 13th centuries had a simplicity distorted by later medieval developments reflected the contemporary romantic notion that the high Middle Ages was followed by inevitable decline. *The History of English Law* represents his most lasting achievement, particularly his clear explanation of the complexity of land law and of the writ, the legal form that governed the availability of remedies for wrongs at Common Law. Maitland provided the groundwork on which others built, notably S.F.C. Milsom, also lawyer turned historian, and H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles in their history of Parliament.

His lawyer's tendency to argue his case from a narrow base of evidence led to flaws in other works. In *Domesday Book and Beyond* (1897) Maitland followed Round's theory that it was a geld, or tax book, a theory subsequently overturned by V.H. Galbraith, who saw it as a more wide-ranging enquiry. Maitland's methodological innovation, however, was to use the Domesday Book to shed light on the "beyond," or on the pre-conquest period. In *Township and Borough* (1898), another pioneering work, he underestimated the role of trade in the development of pre-conquest towns, focusing instead on the "garrison theory," and in *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898) his anticlericalism led him to overemphasize conflict between church and crown.

Maitland was fascinated by the shadowy figure of Henry de Bracton, a judge on King's Bench and supposed author of a 13th-century legal treatise. He associated other documents with this text, including *Bracton's Note Book* which he published in 1897. The evidence was later reworked by Samuel Thorne, who found that the case-materials contained in it were collected not by one man but over a number of generations. In his last years Maitland was preoccupied by the year-books recording legal precedents from the reign of Edward I. He overestimated their significance but his work identified them as student compilations made from notes taken in court. He edited three volumes of this material from Edward II's reign.

Maitland's most widely-read book, *The Constitutional History of England* (1908), was published posthumously from lecture notes and reprinted many times. His influence resulted from the clarity and breadth of his scholarship. His comparative knowledge of French and German law was considerable and he translated Otto Gierke's *Political Theories of the Middle Age* (1900). His only research student was the distinguished scholar Mary Bateson, whose early death three weeks before his own deeply affected him. Despite ill-health, in 22 years of academic activity he published many works. He was a founder of the Selden Society, dedicated to the publication of legal records, and his valuable introductions to these volumes, as well as his main writings, have been of lasting significance.

VIRGINIA R. BAINBRIDGE

See also Agrarian; Britain: 1066–1485; Cam; Legal; Milsom; State

Biography

Frederic William Maitland. Born London, 28 May 1850. Educated at Eton College; Trinity College, Cambridge, BA 1873, MA 1876. Barrister, Lincoln's Inn, 1876–84; reader in English law, Cambridge University, 1885–88, professor, 1888–1906. Married Florence Henrietta Fisher, 1886 (2 daughters). Died Las Palmas, Canary Islands, 19 December 1906.

Principal Writings

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Malay Annals (Sejarah Melayu)

The *Malay Annals*, known in the Malay world as the *Sejarah Melayu* or the *Sululatus Salatin*, was called "the most famous, distinctive and best of all Malay literary works" by Sir Richard Winstedt, one of the most prominent scholars to study this work in detail during the last hundred years. Though Winstedt's assessment of the value of the work represents the personal view of a Western scholar, its popularity and widespread distribution in various forms throughout the Malay world indicates that Malays have held it in similar esteem since its original composition.

There is some debate regarding both the identity of the original author of the *Malay Annals*, as well as its date of composition. Western philologists have used critical techniques in attempting to identify the oldest form of the text and to develop a theory for the stages in compilation of the *Malay Annals* as it currently exists. In this endeavor, the almost thirty extant manuscripts have been consulted, as have the various printed

editions which have appeared since the first version was published by Abdullah Munshi around 1931. Nevertheless, there is still no critical edition of the text.

The core of the *Malay Annals* purports to record the history of the Malay Sultanate of Malacca from the time of its establishment in the late 14th century to its fall to the Portuguese in 1511. Later versions also include historical accounts relating to other Malay kingdoms, including Johor and Siak, which postdated that of Malacca. As such, the *Malay Annals* represents a composite work in terms of both authorship and contents. Indeed, Roolvink has argued that the work was originally conceived as a list of the kings of Malacca. With the subsequent insertion of narrative sections, the *Malay Annals* developed into both a short and long version, and these came to form the basis of the various manuscript and printed editions in current circulation.

The value of the work as a historical document has been debated at some length by both Western and Asian scholars. Western scholarship has tended to regard it as an idealized account of events in the medieval Malay world, rather than as a product of critical historiography as it is understood in the West. Detailed studies, such as that by Walls, have argued that the *Malay Annals* represented more a didactic tool for imparting behavioral principles (the need for rulers to be just and subjects to be loyal) rather than serving primarily to record objectively a series of historical events. Walls shows that the authors used the work to demonstrate the lesson that disaster (such as the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese) results directly from ignoring the balance between reciprocal loyalty (of subjects) and justice (of rulers). The validity of these principles is established by reference to Islamic scripture; thus, Malay history, tradition, and Islam are seen as completely complementary in this framework. In this context the work's approach to history would be seen to be interpretive; the authors of the *Malay Annals* fine-tuned historical records in order to serve moral, ethical, and religious purposes.

The Asian view of the work as a record of historical events tends towards diversity. Certain scholars such as Umar Junus argue that the *Malay Annals* presents a more reliable historical account than many of its literary contemporaries, such as the various *hikayat*, while still stopping short of claiming that its primary function is to record and present historical events. In contrast, school history curricula in Malaysia have at times accepted the work uncritically as a factual account of events as they occurred in Malacca during the 14th century. Attention has been refocused on the work in recent years in Asia, and new editions have been produced by Asian scholars (A.S. Ahmad 1979) to supersede the earlier Western studies by Shellabear (1898) and Winstedt (1938) and to re-establish Southeast Asia as the center of expertise on this important work. Thus the work is increasingly coming to assume a role in Malay identity formation and nation building.

Nevertheless, regardless of whether events are related in the work with absolute accuracy, there is little doubt that the *Malay Annals* provides a valuable window onto life in the Malay Kingdoms of Malacca and Johor during the 15th century and subsequently. Malacca is depicted as a multicultural, thriving trading entrepôt, with contacts with China, India, and other regions in Southeast Asia. Islamic scholars are shown to visit from other parts of the Muslim world, and Sufi beliefs and

practices appear to have been firmly established in the community depicted in the work. The work also demonstrates that Malay literary classics broadly contemporaneous with the *Malay Annals* were popular in Malacca, including Muslim works imported from other regions, such as the *Story of Muhammad Hanafiyyah* and the *Bustanus Salatin* (Garden of Kings). The work is also important in contributing to our understanding about the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia. It suggests that Islam was already established in the region prior to the conversion of Malacca's rulers. Moreover, the *Malay Annals* provides an insight into popular belief about the impetus for conversion, in portraying Malacca's rulers choosing to convert in response to the appearance of the prophet Muhammad in dreams. Thus, the *Malay Annals* serves as an important testament to community life in the medieval Malay world, although its reliability as a record of specific historical events and personalities is open to question.

PETER G. RIDDELL

See also Yamin

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Malin, James C. 1893–1979

US environmental historian

University of Kansas historian James C. Malin was one of the most prolific historians of his generation, publishing more than 15 books and 80 journal articles. Writing from the 1920s through the 1970s, he was a pioneer in the methodology and theory of local history, environmental history, demographic studies, and interdisciplinary research. Malin applied knowledge of plant and animal ecology, climatology, geology, geography, soil science, and anthropology to his historical studies thirty years before the modern subfield of environmental history caught up. He focused his research and writing exclusively on the Great Plains, and stands with Frederick Jackson Turner and Walter Prescott Webb as the third member of a triumvirate whose explanations have shaped our understanding of grassland history.

Malin was at his best analyzing human adaptation to the prairie. In *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas* (1944), he presented the themes that underlay most of his work. Malin described an evolution of agricultural land use in the decades after initial settlement of the Great Plains. Farmers first attempted to replicate the crops and land management of the forested eastern US from which they had come. Because of much lower rainfall in Kansas, crops like corn failed repeatedly. Farmers experimented with various alternatives, eventually selecting soft spring wheat, and then hard winter wheat. As time went by they gave up their illusions of recreating eastern farms and adapted their planting to a new geographical setting.

In spite of this emphasis on adjustment to environment, Malin was vehement in his dislike of determinism. He criticized Walter Prescott Webb's monumental *The Great Plains* (1931) as too rigid in attributing all human adjustments to climate. Malin, asserting the theory of possibilism, argued that while geography might limit human choices, it did not determine unique historical outcomes. People always have latitude for choice, he felt, and within any given environment may take many different paths. This "open space" approach meant that adaptation was indeterminate and never-ending. Human cultures do not simply adjust until they reach some ultimate and final life-way, but go on forever changing along with their world.

During the 1940s Malin wrote his most important books. They describe folk innovation as an attempt to adjust to low rainfall grassland environments in a context of open-ended possibilities. *Essays on Historiography* (1946), *The Grassland of North America* (1947), and *Grassland Historical Studies* (1950) form a trilogy which remain essential reading for grassland historians.

The methods Malin employed to tease out the history of common farmers were truly original. He relied primarily on small local newspapers from the 19th century, manuscript

census schedules of population and agriculture, and minutes of agricultural societies. He discovered that farmers discussed crop varieties, pest problems, farm machinery, and many other land management concerns in the pages of their village newspapers and at regular agricultural society meetings. Malin employed historical demographic techniques to link individual families in the population census to their farm records in the agricultural census, then traced those families – at five- or ten-year intervals – through consecutive censuses. In this way he recreated a web of individuals one township at a time, and was able to outline agricultural change, demographic turnover, and community evolution. He relied on these demographic studies to launch an attack on Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, demonstrating that immigration to new frontiers did not follow the progression Turner had predicted.

In many ways Malin was ahead of his time. His interest in the lives of obscure farm families predated the 1960s historical reorientation toward a "new social history." His use of scientific literature to connect past generations to the physical world around them anticipated precisely, in both method and theory, environmental history written since the late 1970s. Yet today Malin is little known to students of the American past.

His obscurity stems from several quirks of character. Malin was a biting critic of many accepted historical doctrines. He openly indicted ideas and scholars he disagreed with. Beyond that, he was unwilling to work with publishers. Early in his career Malin decided that editors should not tell him how to write his books, and proceeded to publish the remainder of his work privately. These books tended to be too long, and their typescript text has an unfinished feel. What is more, Malin's corpus was not as widely distributed as it might have been by a regular press. Finally, Malin was a political maverick. At the height of his career he was at odds with Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, and openly attacked its policies in his writing. He especially disliked the brain trust's application of what he considered fallacious history. According to Malin, New Dealers used inaccurate Turnerian "closed space" ideas to defend a replacement of farming on the Dust Bowl-ridden plains with "better adapted" ranching. Malin's crotchety personality, the disadvantage of self-publication, and the taint of political bias all have conspired to obscure what are in fact solid historical contributions.

Still, James Malin is not forgotten. Historians of agriculture have recalled his influence from time to time, most recently in *History and Ecology: Studies of the Grassland* (1984), an anthology of Malin's most important articles edited by Robert P. Swierenga. Environmental historians also pay Malin his due. Richard White followed the Kansan's methodological lead in his acclaimed *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington* (1980). No one has so far superseded Malin's analysis of America's vast grassland interior.

GEOFF CUNFER

See also Environmental

Biography

James Claude Malin. Born Edgley, North Dakota, 8 February 1893. Received BA, Baker University, 1914; MA, University of Kansas, 1916, PhD 1921. Taught at University of Kansas, 1921–63. Died Lawrence, Kansas, 26 June 1979.

Principal Writings

- An Interpretation of Recent American History*, 1926
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Mansi, Giovanni Domenico 1692–1769

Italian theologian and editor

Early in Giovanni Domenico Mansi's career, he ran afoul of ecclesiastical censors when his first book, *Tractatus de casibus et excommunicationibus episcopis reservatis* (Treatise on Cases and Excommunications Reserved to Bishops, 1724) drew charges of a lack of rigor. Chastened, he turned from writing to translating and editing, producing a Latin translation of Calmet's *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1725–38), a new edition of Caesar Baronius's *Annales ecclesiastici* and the companion *Continuatio annalium* by Odoricus Raynald (38 vols., 1738–59), and an edition of Noël Alexandre's *Historia ecclesiastica* (9 vols., 1749). In 1758 he incurred the wrath of pope Clement VIII by participating in a project to annotate Diderot's *Encyclopédie* so as to render it harmless to faith and morals. Pressed by the pope to concentrate on safer projects, he pointed to his *Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova* (The New Collection of the Holy Councils and Decretals, 1748–52) updating and extending collections of materials on

the Ecumenical Councils. From that time to his death Mansi concentrated on conciliar documents, the work for which he is remembered.

Mansi was an indefatigable collector, journeying throughout Italy and maintaining correspondence with agents in Vienna, Rome, and Milan to seek materials. Yet he was also occupied throughout his life with pastoral duties, including archiepiscopal responsibilities after 1765. When he turned to his *chef d'oeuvre*, the *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (The New and Most Complete Collection of the Sacred Councils), his scholarly shortcomings became glaringly evident. By reproducing editions of earlier compilers without providing tables or indices, he produced an unwieldy mass of documents to which he added errors rather than correcting the flaws in earlier editions. Delighted to be able to unite so many documents in a single compilation, he overlooked the need for critical editing, avoided revising or correcting, had little appreciation of the significance of variant readings, and provided a system of noting them that was more confusing than enlightening. In some places, he seems to have missed the point of commentaries by previous redactors and occasionally omitted documents, seemingly due to carelessness rather than to any sinister purpose. In using David Wilkins' *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, for example, he omitted copying the sentence in which Wilkins gave the date of a council held at London in 1268 with the papal legate Ottoboni presiding. Wilkins included Ottoboni's constitutions in some manuscripts but not in the edition of his work published by Coleti. Mansi included extracts of the constitutions from Wilkins' manuscripts in his first collection, but in his second collection reproduced the Coleti version omitting the constitutions. When reporting the 1271 Council of Reading, Mansi included mention of a meeting held by the bishops of the Canterbury province to contest the claims of the metropolitan chapter regarding procedures to be followed when the see was vacant. Unlike Wilkins, however, Mansi did not describe the agreement reached between the bishops and the chapter in 1278 settling the question. In using Edmond Martène's *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio*, Mansi failed to include more than half the documents of the Council of Pisa given in volume 7. From Martène's *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* Mansi reproduced some synodal statutes while excluding others just as interesting and significant, with no mention of how or why he was making his choices (or, indeed, that he was making them at all). Even when transcribing a document as well-known as *The Rule of St. Benedict*, Mansi lapsed repeatedly. For all of this, his collection rendered conciliar documents more accessible than earlier collections because of its scope and completeness and it is significant that modern scholars preferred to carry on his work rather than revise it from the outset.

JOSEPH M. MCCARTHY

See also Catholicism; Muratori

Biography

Born Lucca, 16 February 1692. Entered the Marian Fathers, 1708; professed, 1710. Taught moral theology in Naples before founding an academy for church history and liturgy in Lucca. Considered by Clement XIII for elevation to the cardinalate in 1758. Created archbishop of Lucca in 1765. Died Lucca, 27 September 1769.

Principal Writings

- Tractatus de casibus et excommunicationibus episcopis reservatis* (Treatise on Cases and Excommunications Reserved to Bishops), 1724
Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova (The New Collection of the Holy Councils and Decretals), 6 vols., 1748–52
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Manzoni, Alessandro 1785–1873

Italian poet and novelist

One of the most renowned Italian authors of the 19th century and an impassioned patriot for a unified Italy, Alessandro Manzoni is most famous for his historical novel *I promessi sposi* (1827; *The Betrothed*, 1844), which had immense appeal to the nationalist sentiments of the Risorgimento and is considered a masterpiece of world literature. His use of history to construct works of fiction went beyond the adaptation of myths or legends to suit a particular theme. Instead he sought to use "real" history as derived from documentary sources to create dramatic works that placed individual characters in a concrete historical setting furnished with an unprecedented accuracy of detail and brought fiction to a higher level of historical consciousness.

Manzoni was born into an intellectual and politically-minded Milanese family of the lesser nobility. Educated in a series of religious boarding schools in the Lombardy region, he returned to Milan in 1801 to gravitate around republican intellectual circles and befriend the likes of the poet Vincenzo Monti and the revolutionary historian Vincenzo Cuoco. This early period was to produce in Manzoni the strong humanitarian ideals and historical sensitivity that would characterize his future literary achievements. From 1805 to 1810 he lived in Paris where he met *Idéologues* philosophers and engaged in philosophical and political debate. Some time during this period he was converted to the Roman Catholicism he had denied and criticized strongly in his youth. His conversion and subsequent Christian fervor led him to admire the idealism of Romantic writers as an antidote to what he saw as the barren rationalism and empty skepticism of Enlightenment thought.

Like many Romantics of his time, Manzoni greatly admired the works of Shakespeare and Walter Scott for their use of historical themes to create great dramas, and he drew on the German Romantic theorist August Schlegel for ideas of organic form. He was also influenced by the new French historiography represented by such figures as Guizot and Augustin Thierry who proclaimed their discipline a "science" and focused on the history of the lower classes, and on art and customs, rather than

that of kings and battles. Such influences were to produce in Manzoni a preoccupation with finding universal and "poetical" truths in the particularism provided by historical study.

Manzoni wrote his greatest works precisely in the early years of the Risorgimento when Italians were searching for a national identity to which history and historical subjects could contribute. The historical tragedy *Il conte di Carmagnola* (The Count of Carmagnola, 1820), which recounted the story of the life of a 15th-century soldier of fortune unjustly executed for treason, illustrated a general theme that reflected Manzoni's observation of Italy's national political scene – innocence crushed by the sheer weight of political power. The tragic play *Adelchi* (1822), clearly influenced by the works of Shakespeare, was likewise fused with nationalist sentiments as it focused on themes of the Italian race conquered and oppressed by more powerful neighboring forces. (It might be noted that Manzoni refused all official honors offered to him until the Austrians no longer dominated the peninsula in 1860).

To this first "Romantic" period of his writing, which extended from around 1810 to the commencement of the linguistic revisions of *The Betrothed* in 1827, belongs his *Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardica* (A Discourse on Some Points of Lombard History, 1822), Manzoni's first and perhaps best contribution to Italian historiography, which served as a historical supplement to *Adelchi*. Here Manzoni identified the outstanding historians of the Middle Ages and ranked the meticulously factual Ludovico Muratori alongside the more philosophically speculative Giambattista Vico, encouraging the union of the two different styles. In the *Lettre à M. Chauvet* (1820; published in Paris, 1823), an essay on the use of history in literary works written in response to a Paris review of *Il conte di Carmagnola*, Manzoni equated the "historical" with the "Romantic," using the terms interchangeably, and he observed that historiography was about to become a science, destined to affect the literary arts profoundly. He defined history as documented facts interpreted and shaped by more universal principles of human thought, proposing that the historian and poet share a single methodology of organizing facts around (Kantian) categories already formed in the human mind, such as cause and effect, space and time.

His later writing moved away from literary creativity and further toward theoretical issues of literature and art, including more profound attempts to identify historical truth. This is exemplified in the *Storia della colonna infame* (1840–42; *The Column of Infamy*, 1845) which consisted of a digression that begins from within the story of *The Betrothed*, but moves further away from the fictionalism of the novel and is more a judicial-style narrative inquiry, informed by well-documented research and conducted by a dramatized narrator with a strong ideological bent. His later long essay, *Del romanzo storico* (1845; *On the Historical Novel*, 1984), represented Manzoni's more mature thought on the subject, deeply probing the relationship of history to literature and ruminating on the popularity of the historical novel during his lifetime in a discourse infused with classic Aristotelian understandings of history and poetry in the pursuit of truth. The more profound appreciation of the divergence between the requirements of literary form and those of historical accuracy expounded in *On the Historical Novel* somewhat contradicts many of the optimistic statements of the possibilities of "historical poetry" found in

the earlier *Lettre à M. Chauvet*, concluding here that, "A great poet and a great historian may be found in the same man without creating confusion, but not in the same work."

Manzoni often used the device of authorial commentary within the text in challenging the reader to verify the truthfulness of his account of events or historical personages. Examples of this can be found in the first chapter of *The Betrothed* when Manzoni describes the dress of the Lombard Bravi, a certain type of bandit that flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries in northern Italy, and then continues to give two and a half pages of quotations from historical documents to justify his description to the reader. The same technique is applied in his account of the plague. In *Il conte di Carmagnola*, Manzoni supplied a special explanatory preface containing historical information not included in the drama. Such techniques stemmed from Manzoni's desire to communicate with complete honesty and truthfulness to his audience and served to elevate the latter from the role of passive spectator to companion of the author, forced to consider and judge the events as the author himself has witnessed them from documentary sources.

Manzoni's romanticism and religiosity led him not to an overwhelming providentialism, but instead to a more anthropological gaze on the general principles governing human conduct which were to be understood without needing insights into divine Providence. He accepted Vico's position that history, although consisting primarily as an idea in the mind of God which is realized in the course of time, was also committed to the psychology of human choice for its full realization. When it came to understanding historical development, Manzoni's theological fatalism was too tempered by his belief in individual human responsibility for it to intrude.

Manzoni's later years were devoted more to linguistics and the problem of standardizing the Italian language, for which he was made president of an official commission by the Italian government in 1868, culminating in such works as *Dell'unità della lingua e dei mezzi di diffonderla* (On the Unity of the Language and the Means to Diffuse It, 1868), *Lettera intorno al vocabolario* (On Vocabulary, 1868), and a series of similar essays intended to be synthesized into a larger work, "Della Italiana" (On the Italian Language). Manzoni's fame is owed more to his fiction than his historiographical speculations. However the sense of historical inquiry evident in his literary creations and theoretical treatises not only signified new attitudes on behalf of the author to the past and the representation of it, but also reflected his audience's growing preoccupation with understanding historical development.

NICHOLAS EVERETT

Biography

Alessandro Francesco Tommaso Antonio Manzoni. Born Milan, 7 March 1785; from a family of lesser nobility and conservative politics; his parents separated in 1792. Educated in religious boarding schools at Merate, Lugano, Magenta, and Milan. Returned to Milan in 1801 and began friendship with Vincenzo Monti before living in Paris, 1805–10; converted to Catholicism; returned to Milan, 1810. Made Senator, 1860. President of commission for a unified Italian language, 1868. Granted honorary Roman citizenship, 1872. Married 1) Henriette Blondel, 1808 (died 1833; 8 children survived infancy); 2) Teresa Borri, 1837. Died Milan, 22 May 1873.

Principal Writings

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Lettre à M. Chauvet (Letter to M. Chauvet), written 1820;
 published 1823
Adelchi, 1822
Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardica in Italia (A
 Discourse on Some Points of Lombard History in Italy), 1822
I promessi sposi, 1827; in English as *The Betrothed*, 1844
Storia della colonna infame, 1840–42; in English as *The Column of
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 1947; in English as *The Historical Novel*, London: Merlin Press,
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 Essays on Alessandro Manzoni*, New York: Lang, 1986
 Ulivi, Ferruccio, *Manzoni*, Milan: Rusconi, 1985

Maravall, José Antonio 1911–1986

Spanish intellectual historian

The immensely prolific José Antonio Maravall was the leading Spanish historian of ideas of his generation and a major figure in the intellectual life of Spain during the half-century that encompassed the Civil War, the Franco regime, and the transition to democracy following the dictator's death in 1975. Although three of his nearly thirty books as well as numerous occasional pieces dealt with more recent historiography and literature, the bulk of Maravall's work focused on Spanish thought and culture in the 15th through 18th centuries. His

central concern, as perhaps befits a scholar trained in law and the social sciences rather than in history, was to trace the origins of modernity in the intellectual, ideological, literary, and scientific writings of the Renaissance and Golden Age. While this quest for the emergence of the modern state and the modern mind sometimes lent a teleological cast to Maravall's enterprise, his works were based on an incomparable breadth of reading in the literary production of early modern Spain. Political and legal treatises, polemics and pamphlets, institutional regulations, devotional and theological works, histories and genealogies, plays, poems, *autos*, and novels, of good, bad, or indifferent quality – these were the voluminous and varied sources of Maravall's histories, and few historians of any nationality could match his facility in drawing together disparate contemporary writings to illustrate a larger vision of the mentality of an age.

All subsequent students of early modern Spain are in Maravall's debt for his manifold contributions to the field. Whether it is a question of understanding the guiding ideas of Habsburg statecraft, of tracing the vicissitudes of the idea of progress in a society that treasured custom and continuity, or of linking picaresque literature to a specific social context, Maravall's books abound with shrewd delineations and analyses of problems lying at the confluence of social, cultural, political, and intellectual history. Perhaps more significant in the long run, however, are the attitudes and approaches that he bequeathed to scholars in his own country and beyond.

First, and against powerful scholarly and ideological opposition, Maravall asserted throughout his long career that Spain could be understood only in the context of Europe. In this, he followed the Europeanizing intellectual lead of José Ortega y Gasset, the pre-eminent figure of Spanish letters in his youth and early maturity, and briefly his own teacher in 1933–34. In his approach to history, though, Maravall rejected Ortega's judgment – most forcibly expressed in *España invertebrada* (1921) – that through the centuries Spain had been crippled by congenital historical defects. Rather than viewing Spain as a deficient and peripheral European nation, Maravall made a powerful case for his country's role in the forefront of Western development, and particularly in the elaboration of the modern state. His related insistence that the study of the Spanish past should no longer be obscured by quasi-historical notions of a unique destiny, or of an immutable national character, or of a centuries-long cultural dysfunction stemming from self-defeating intolerance, brought Maravall into conflict – amicable but nonetheless sharply expressed – with two more intellectual giants of the preceding generation, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and, especially, Américo Castro. In a barbed rebuke to scholars who prided themselves on their opposition to rightist obscurantism, Maravall spoke (to M.C. Iglesias in 1983) of the phenomenon of “américo-castrismo,” whose academic devotees “have displayed a tendency to gaze at their navels and to believe that everything in Spain is utterly distinct. One could even say that the lamentable slogan ‘Spain is different,’ that the Ministry of Tourism came up with in the Francoist era, really contains a philosophy that is that of américo-castrismo.”

Second, Maravall championed and pursued in his own major works an approach that he came to call “historia de las mentalidades” – quite distinct, in its overwhelming concentration on literate elites, from the social history of *mentalités* – which

produced striking insights into early modern culture. This method entailed extracting not just individual ideas but more general preconceptions from the array of contemporary texts that were Maravall's primary sources, to the end of determining how, in a given context, mental processes shaped behavior and material reality. His most ambitious work in this vein was *La cultura del barroco* (1975; *Culture of the Baroque*, 1986). Here he attempted a general interpretation of the Spanish and European culture of the 17th century, conceived as a multifaceted unity, a "historical structure" in the book's subtitle. By this term, Maravall meant "the image – or mental construction – which shows us a linked array of incidents endowed with an internal articulation, a framework that systematizes and captures the meaning of the complex network of relationships between such incidents." For Maravall, the historical structure of the Baroque was a near-seamless web of control exerted by the supreme absolutist state acting in concert with church and aristocracy to shape mental and cultural resistance to the turmoil threatened by economic depression and sharpening social conflict. Like any grand interpretation, Maravall's Baroque has come in for criticism, primarily that he overstated elite cohesion and the possibility of dictating culture from above. Despite its flaws, however, the book has been widely influential, not least as a catalyst of the recent restoration of the concept of the Baroque to the vocabulary of historians after its long exile among literary critics and art historians.

Finally, by his example of intellectual distinction and probity in an academic environment depleted by the loss of talent to post-Civil War exile and tarnished by the political promotion of sycophants and mediocrities, Maravall helped to sustain serious intellectual life in Spain during the long decades of the Franco era. During his extended sojourns as a visiting professor in France and the United States, Maravall broadened his own horizons while nurturing institutional connections and personal contacts that proved useful to younger Spanish scholars. His legacy extends beyond his impressive body of published scholarship; as John Elliott observed in 1987, Maravall "did much to liberalize intellectual life during the later years of the Franco regime and to prepare a new generation for the restoration of democracy."

JAMES M. BOYDEN

Biography

José Antonio Maravall Casenoves. Born Játiva near Valencia, 1911. Taught at University of Madrid, 1932–36, 1944–49, 1955–81 (emeritus); director, Colegio de España, University of Paris, 1949–54. Married María Teresa Herrero (1 daughter, 3 sons). Died Madrid, 19 December 1986.

Principal Writings

- Teoría del estado en España en el siglo XVII* (The Theory of the State in 17th-Century Spain), 1944
El concepto de España en la Edad Media (The Idea of Spain in the Middle Ages), 1954; 3rd edition 1981
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Carlos V y el pensamiento político del Renacimiento (Charles V and the Political Thought of the Renaissance), 1960
Velázquez y el espíritu de la modernidad (Velázquez and the Spirit of Modernity), 1960
Las Comunidades de Castilla: una primera revolución moderna (The Comuneros of Castile and the First Modern Revolution), 1963

- Antiguos y modernos: la idea de progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad* (Ancients and Moderns: The Idea of Progress in the Development of a Society), 1966
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Estado moderno y mentalidad social (siglos XV a XVII) (The Modern State and Social Mentality from the 15th through the 17th Centuries), 2 vols., 1972
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Marczali, Henrik 1856–1940

Hungarian historian

A student and great admirer of Leopold von Ranke, and a disciple of Macaulay, Henrik Marczali was the first outstanding Hungarian historian with the ability, the broad knowledge, and the professionalism to write useful general accounts of both European and Magyar history. He was a specialist in early medieval history, particularly the rule of the Árpád dynasty from the 10th to the 13th centuries. He has been most acclaimed, however, as an expert on 18th-century Hungary. In 1910 the English version of his book on the age of Joseph II was hailed in Britain as "the highest achievement of Magyar scholarship."

In addition, he wrote extensively on European history from the Reformation to the 19th century. In a unique work of Hungarian historiography, *A Legújabb Kor Története* (History of Our Times, 1898), he ventured a synthesis of contemporary international and Hungarian history in the period from 1820 to 1880. Although the elaborate and more original Hungarian chapters are not woven seamlessly into the main narrative, Marczali was able to give a coherent liberal view of both Magyar and World history.

He began his academic career as a scholar of geography. In the early 1870s Budapest offered no specialist university training for historians, and it was as a result of his studies in German, French, and English universities that Marczali changed his discipline. He was especially fortunate to receive instruction

from the leading experts on the critical analysis of primary sources, just at the time when the first archives were opened in Budapest and the papers of the state administration were made available to researchers. The humble son of a village rabbi, Marczali had one-to-one tutorials from the German "historian-king" Ranke. The young scholar's academic mentors encouraged his zealous pursuit of archival work and his keen interest in primary sources, which included both medieval manuscripts and modern papers. Although some Marxist critics labeled Marczali as "positivist," recent works explain his obsession with original material in terms of his professionalism.

His first scholarly achievement was an essay on the *Gesta Hungarorum*, a crucial but disputed source on the early history of the Magyars. With the comparison of various chronicles he proved that the author, known in Hungarian historiography by the Latin name Anonymus, was the notary of King Béla IV (1235–70). The essay was written during Marczali's studies in Berlin and it was first published in Germany as a fine example of the comparative method in the historical analysis of medieval sources. It was characteristic of Marczali that in parallel to his studies of the Middle Ages he began to work on modern history and researched Prussian-Hungarian relations in 1789–90 in German archives. From the very beginning of his career, he evenly divided his attention between medieval and modern topics.

Marczali's reputation in Hungary was established by his 3-volume *Magyarország története II. József korában* (History of Hungary during the Reign of Joseph II, 1885–88), the fruit of ten years of archival research. In the introduction, the young author claimed to have consulted about 70,000 files from a collection that was only one of his major sources. For all that, the originality of his work lay as much in interpretation as in its vast documentation. He argued that the 18th century was a crucial period in which Hungary was able to gather strength and make economic progress. He later developed this theme in his biography of Maria Theresa, portraying the reign of the empress as an era of peace and calm. In *Az 1790–1791 országgyűlés története* (History of the Diet of 1790–1791, 1907), he praised the quiet and little acknowledged work of two generations living before the national reawakening. At the same time Marczali was the first historian to propose that economically Hungary was no more than a colony of Austria. As a supporter of the *Ausgleich*, he tried to strike a balance between pro-Austrian and Magyar nationalist views. He sided neither with the Protestant nor with the Catholic schools of traditional Hungarian historiography. Consequently, he was described by English liberals such as G.P. Gooch as the first Magyar scholar who "broke the shackles of narrow patriotism."

Marczali's career reached its peak towards the end of the 19th century. He wrote three of the ten volumes of *A magyar nemzet története* (History of the Hungarian Nation), the most monumental project in Magyar historiography to date, to coincide with the millennial celebrations of the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom. He then wrote half of a 12-volume illustrated world history single-handedly. In addition he became a professor and held the first and most popular history seminar at the university in Budapest. Yet, in the early years of the 20th century his popularity gradually waned.

After World War I Marczali came to be marginalized both politically and professionally, ultimately losing his university

post and pension. In the early 1920s he even came into conflict with some of his former students. He criticized them for founding a Magyar school of the history of ideas. Notwithstanding this academic debate, on his death Marczali's scholarly credentials and accomplishments were reassessed and celebrated by a prominent historian of ideas, the most famous of his ex-students, Gyula Szekfű.

GÁBOR BÁTONYI

Biography

Born Marcali, 1856. Studied at University of Budapest, then studied in Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. Professor, University of Budapest, from 1895. Dismissed because of political views, 1918. Died Budapest, 1940.

Principal Writings

Magyarország története II. József korában (History of Hungary during the Reign of Joseph II), 3 vols, 1885–88; abridged in English as *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century*, 1910
Mária Terézia, 1717–1780, 1891
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Maritime History

"The sea isolates and connects at the same time," declared Michel Mollat du Jourdin in *L'Europe et la mer* (1993; *Europe and the Sea*, 1993), an observation true of maritime history itself. The field's origins, especially in Britain and North America, lay in the belief that naval and non-naval maritime activities should be separate. The British journal *Mariner's Mirror*, for example, was founded in 1911 to promote support for a strong Royal Navy. The *Mirror* now carries articles on all aspects of maritime enterprise, but earlier non-naval specialists felt marginalized; this led to the establishment of a "maritime history" dedicated to the economic and social features of humanity's interaction with the sea. A comparison between Oppenheim's *Maritime History of Devon* (1922) and Duffy et al.'s *New Maritime History of Devon* (1992) tells the story. Oppenheim's work focused entirely on the naval establishments of the south Devon coast, whereas the authors of the *New Maritime History* described activities from smuggling and privateering to marine science and labor relations throughout the region.

In Britain and the United States before the 1960s, professional maritime historians studying non-naval subjects tended to

identify with economic or transport history, while seafaring reminiscences and narratives enjoyed great popular interest. Here were two problems: the identification of "maritime history" as a distinct field, and the defence of its academic credibility. During the rise of business history in the 1950s, some economic historians began focusing on the study of shipping companies; in Britain, Hyde's *Blue Funnel* (1957) founded a "Liverpool school" of maritime business history. An emphasis on corporate organization and tactics still characterizes Japanese maritime history, as in Tsunehiko Yui and Keiichi Nakagawa's *Business History of Shipping* (1985).

Other economic historians, notably Davis in *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry* (1962), noted the absence of detailed primary research and quantitative analysis in the business studies approach, and called for a study of maritime labor as well as corporate strategy. In North America too, economic historians lamented the lack of original research on the American and Canadian merchant marine. Change began in the 1960s and 1970s under Ernest Dodge's 18-year editorship of *The American Neptune*, a journal that began to reflect Dodge's belief, quoted in Runyan's "*The American Neptune*" (1991), that "maritime history bridges the spaces between academia, sport, and industry."

European maritime history avoided many of these methodological and identity problems, mainly because naval history did not predominate at the expense of other specialties. In the Netherlands, an officially sponsored "Committee for Sea History" was inaugurated in 1933, at a time when most governments in the English-speaking world funded only naval history. Paris hosted the first International Maritime History Symposium in 1956, and French maritime historian Michel Mollat du Jourdin was president of the International Commission for Maritime History for 25 years.

The establishment in 1986 of the International Maritime Economic History Association helped emphasize the field's growing stature, and prompted the launch of an *International Journal of Maritime History* in 1989. Its articles reflected the international, interdisciplinary approach of historians such as Rediker, whose *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (1987) did much to bring neglected aspects of social and labor studies to the fore while sparking a lively debate about Marxist methodology. Other historians have questioned gendered assumptions about maritime enterprise, and balanced a swash-buckling popular literature with the quantitative analysis of whaling, tramp shipping, and privateering.

The most notable recent development has been the study of ever-larger maritime environments. In the comparative study of port towns, or in regional history, political and economic issues are fleshed out by studies of marine science, family life, and historical geography. Quantitative analysis is combined with the written and oral records in collaborative works such as Fischer and Minchinton's *People of the Northern Seas* (1992), a comparison of maritime social histories from the north Pacific to the Baltic, or in team-produced studies of southwest England and Atlantic Canada.

Not all maritime regions have prompted such interest, or been so suitable for unified study. Australian historians, preoccupied by the frontier thesis, have only recently begun to explore the history of Australia as an island. Only after Blainey's *The Tyranny of Distance* in 1966 did debate begin about the

effect of ocean transport on the development of Australia's economy. Australian historians have also worked with South Asian colleagues on Indian Ocean history, but unlike the Mediterranean or Atlantic, this ocean is bounded by countries with radically different maritime histories. Here Broeze's *Brides of the Sea* (1989) suggested the comparative study of port cities, rather than a unified economic or social analysis.

This raises one of the most pressing questions facing maritime historians today: is there a distinctiveness about seafarers and their communities that can be identified and analyzed? Like all other historical fields, maritime history has been influenced by cultural studies, and Scandinavian historians have led the way in blending anthropological and historical techniques to uncover a "maritime culture," as in Weibust's *Deep Sea Sailors* (1969). Meanwhile, the relatively new field of marine archaeology is adding material evidence of shipbuilding techniques and shipboard life to the interdisciplinary brew. The sea connects more than it isolates; Philip D. Curtin, in his introduction to Knight and Liss' *Atlantic Port Cities* (1991), invoked a "web of solidarity" that defines and links the identity of maritime communities. At a time when global perspectives, international collaboration, and interdisciplinary flexibility are often sought but seldom found, maritime history is seizing the opportunities of a subject that recognizes few boundaries.

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See also European Expansion; Indian Ocean; Mahan; Naval; Southeast Asia

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Marks, Shula 1936– South African social historian

Shula Marks' reputation as a leading Marxist or "revisionist" South African historian was in large part shaped by living abroad in Britain, rather than in the somewhat parochial isolation of her homeland. Her background in Natal influenced a lifelong passion for Zulu history, and surely influenced the topic of her University of London dissertation, published as *Reluctant Rebellion* (1970). Superficially a traditional political history, this now classic study of the Bambatha Revolt, South Africa's last "premodern" black rebellion, showed early signs of identifying with broader new scholarly trends, such as the emerging "resistance and collaboration" school pioneered by Terence Ranger and John Iliffe in studies on Zimbabwe and Tanzania. Here too was a motif that recurred in Marks' later work: a preoccupation with greys, rather than simple blacks and whites, with ambiguity and the need to probe into the multiple meanings behind evidence. Already, she clearly strove to get beyond the emotionally engaged, but often superficial discussions that she perceived in too much liberal writing on South Africa, to what she thought was a more detached, balanced, and deeper understanding of the dynamics of racism.

In the same year she discussed this last concern in a critical review of the second volume of the *Oxford History of South Africa*, which stressed interaction between racial and ethnic groups, and marked the apogee of the liberal Africanists, led by Leonard Thompson. Marks was soon the leading figure in a British-based group of mainly expatriate scholars which,

in opposition to the Africanists, stressed the significance of class more than race.

In a long career at the School of Oriental and African Studies and at the Institute for Commonwealth Studies at the University of London, latterly as director of the Institute, Marks was as important for her supervision of numerous path-breaking doctoral dissertations and her pioneering seminars, which produced a flood of much-cited papers, as for her own work. Among her students were Phil Bonner, William Beinart, Tim Keegan, Peter Delius, and Baruch Hirson. The work developed under her sponsorship and that of her longtime Oxford associate and fellow expatriate Stanley Trapido, dramatically reshaped South African historiography, exploring topics ranging from precolonial political economy to the role of capital in the development of apartheid. Her heavy teaching and administrative responsibilities limited time for on-site research in South Africa, restricting her own writing primarily to a remarkably steady flow of articles and chapters in anthologies and, at longer intervals, some notable books.

The collections she co-edited are perhaps her best-known publications, providing the readiest access to the work of the emerging revisionist school, which often appeared only as unpublished papers. For instance, seminal articles rejecting the frontier as the crucible of apartheid, suggesting ecological factors in the rise of the Zulu empire, and analyzing the hypocrisies of 19th-century British liberalism, appeared in the now standard collection, *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (1980). This volume was co-edited with Anthony Atmore, with whom Marks had written her probably most influential piece, a 1974 article reassessing the "imperial factor" in 19th-century South Africa, and suggesting that much of what passed for philanthropism was a thin disguise for expanding British economic domination at the expense of the Afrikaners, who were rescued from black African wrath when they served British interests and swept aside when they did not.

Although such themes had been developed long before by relatively obscure radicals such as Hosea Jaffe and Dora Taylor, Marks' position in a world-class graduate center, attracting many disaffected young South Africans, brought such ideas before a far broader audience. The prestigious Oxford-based *Journal of Southern African Studies*, of which she was a founder, provided a further avenue for disseminating the revisionists' work.

If sometimes seen as the leading Marxist historian of South Africa, Marks never succumbed to economic structuralism, despite a tendency to give overall primacy to class. Yet her differences from structuralists such as Martin Legassick and Daniel O'Meara were never made explicit. They were all committed to overturning the liberal paradigm, but Marks was always far closer to the transparent, fundamentally traditional, social-historical empiricism of E.P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm than to the arcane theoretical complexities of an Althusser or Poulantzas.

Nor did Marks focus on class to the exclusion of race. As early as 1971 she had co-edited the *Journal of African History*, which put blacks at the center of African historiography. Many of her students worked on Africanist themes that might have attracted Thompsonian liberals. Only the manner of treatment differed, locating African struggle in the context of resistance to proletarianization and subjection to large-scale capitalist interests.

Equally rooted in the liberal tradition was her interest in individuals as expressive of larger themes, dating back to a 1963 article on 19th-century pro-Zulu activist Harriette Colenso. This commitment to biography as a legitimate "radical" vehicle, but with a revisionist twist stressing the intersection of race, class, and gender, led to two books. *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa* (1986) was a parallel treatment of three Zulu political figures in modern Natal province, while *Not Either an Experimental Doll* (1987), marking a return to the neglected area of South African women's history, was an inventive narrative woven around edited correspondence between three women. Most recently, Marks' interest in women, as well as health issues, led to *Divided Sisterhood* (1994), a history of South African nursing.

Marks has remained at the forefront of South African scholarship in other ways, for instance co-editing with Trapido a landmark 1987 anthology on constructing ethnic identity, a theme which, with the end of both Soviet communism and apartheid, increasingly overshadows the old focus on class. But, despite current uncertainty about the future direction of "leftist" research, the revisionists' work has unquestionably changed the whole direction of South African historiography, and contributed to an explosion in scholarly work on South Africa. Marks' key role in establishing this school and disseminating its findings will likely be her most important contribution to historical studies.

PATRICK J. FURLONG

See also Labor; South Africa

Biography

Shula Eta Winokur Marks. Born Cape Town, South Africa, 14 October 1936. Received BA, University of Cape Town, 1959; PhD, University of London, 1967. Taught at School of Oriental and African Studies and Institute of Commonwealth Studies, from 1963: professor of commonwealth history, 1983–93, professor of southern African history, from 1993; director, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 1985–93. Married Isaac M. Marks, 1957 (1 son, 1 daughter: historian Lara Marks).

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Marriage

Marriage has always been a part of historical inquiry, if only as part of the investigation of elite dynastic problems. However, in the last few decades, interest has expanded to an examination not only of the rest of society but also the reasons for marriage, the rituals involved, the expectations of the participants, and the means of resolving problems within it. In order to understand the history of marriage, it is necessary to comprehend that it is heavily embedded in legal systems and in the customs of people. For this reason studies have focused not only on what is seen as the ideal union but on the way that ideal has been tested. Although marriage since ancient times has been studied in great detail, the greatest attention has been on northwest Europe and the societies it spawned.

Marriage in pre-Reformation Europe was based upon two principles. The parties had to consent freely to the union, and the union, once formed, could not be legally dissolved. This emphasis on individual choice led C.S. Lewis to argue in *The Allegory of Love* (1936) that a fundamental change in the way men and women felt toward each other took place in the 12th century. Lewis claimed that the characteristics of courtly love – the exaltation of the loved one, the subservient position of the lover, the lover's duty to serve his lady – were the constituent elements of a "real change in human sentiment" Lewis' seductive prose and the superficially convincing nature of his argument made his book one of the most influential works on the topic of love and Western society. The book heralded the beginnings of the modern preoccupation with romance in marriage and contrasted this with a previous European tradition in which "marriage was the drab background against which this new love stood out."

Although Lewis' work was influential among literary scholars, it was not until almost thirty years later that the study of marriage began in earnest among historians. Two strands of inquiry have been dominant. One strand has concentrated on the demographic consequences of the marriage regime found in Western Europe, the other has focused on the development and application of a specifically European ideology of marriage. For the demographic study of marriage in Europe, John Hajnal's

identification of a specific European marriage pattern was crucial. He argued that marriage in the European past had two main characteristics: people married relatively late and a large proportion of the population never married at all. Hajnal's study coincided with the formation of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, and among the important works on the early history of European marriage to emerge from this group was Richard Smith's article "Hypothèses sur la nuptialité en Angleterre aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles" (Hypotheses on Nuptiality in England in the 13th and 14th Centuries, 1983) which argued that the European marriage pattern was discernible much earlier than argued by Hajnal. Smith also argued that the European marriage pattern was mainly found in northern Europe and that the Mediterranean countries were characterized by a relatively early age at marriage and a high age differential between spouses. In this insight Smith was supported in particular by the results of studies by David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber. Other scholars, such as Goldberg and Outhwaite, have argued for the existence of a European "marriage market" that was subject to the same fluctuations as the rest of the economy.

The other line of inquiry into marriage in the European past has dealt with the role of ecclesiastical and legal institutions in the development of a European ideology of marriage. Although small in volume, the contribution of Michael M. Sheehan has been crucial to the development of the field. Among his essays, "The Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth-Century England" (1971) is a classic study of how a canon law court dealt with marriage, as are the three papers "Marriage and Family in English Conciliar and Synodal Legislation" (1974), "Marriage Theory and Practice in the Conciliar Legislation and Diocesan Statutes of Medieval England" (1978) and "Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages" (1978) in which he outlined the way in which the medieval church came to insist on the individual's free choice of marriage partner. The research of James Brundage and Charles Donahue, Jr. has added to Sheehan's insights, but his work has not yet been superseded. A survey of surviving marriage litigation in England was performed by Richard Helmholz, who concluded that the medieval church courts provided a speedy remedy for those who felt they had a genuine complaint against an alleged spouse and Helmholz have agreed that by the 14th century the laity understood at least the basic principles of the canon law of marriage.

The medieval church's insistence on individual choice meant that a new social reality emerged. The implications of this change were discussed in Georges Duby's *Le Chevalier, la femme et le prêtre* (1981; *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest*, 1983) and his *Medieval Marriage* (1978), and in Jack Goody's *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (1983). Duby revealed a struggle between two models of marriage, the lay and the ecclesiastical, which took place in the 12th century. The lay model emphasized the continuation of the blood line and concerned itself with the preservation of the male seed and the estate of the family. The ecclesiastical model denied the possibility of divorce and stressed the partners' mutual obligation to fidelity. The ecclesiastical model also aimed to limit sexual activity to within marriage.

Seeking to assess the social and political consequences of these changes in the church's rules of incest, the Cambridge anthropologist Jack Goody argued that the church enforced its

rules of exogamy to facilitate the transfer of land to the church by making it increasingly difficult for laymen to marry a member of their kin and by introducing a general ban on adoption. Thus the church wished to prevent a concentration of land among a few powerful families. Goody did not concern himself with the psychological needs and the emotions that bound a couple to each other, but it is implicit in his argument that he believed that family solidarity would tend to limit the choice of partner to the family within the forbidden degrees and thus also to limit the free choice of marriage partner. Goody's book has sparked vigorous debate. The theory has been criticized for being over-elaborate and based on an analysis of Western Christianity at a time when both Jewish and other Christian churches introduced similar rules of exogamy, and upon a misunderstanding of the rules of the canon law on adoption.

Scholars of the early modern period have largely ignored the questions about the interaction between religious ideology and the practice of marriage. Instead, they have returned to the question of how love influenced marital choices. On this score, Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (1977) is outstanding. Stone argued that the kind of change in emotional involvement in marriage that Lewis saw in the high Middle Ages actually took place about 400 years later. His thesis has not gone unchallenged, especially by the demographer Peter Laslett in several articles in the *Times Literary Supplement*. John Gillis' *For Better, For Worse* (1985) extended the examination to all classes, and turned a keen eye on the actual rituals involved in courtship. Tracing marriages from 1660 to the present, he chronicled the increasing influence that individuals had on their marriage choices. He also demonstrated that the "white wedding" so popular today is of relatively recent invention.

Ironically, the study of marriage has increased at a time when the institution of marriage is allegedly breaking down. More attention is being paid to the dissolution of marriage. Lawrence Stone's *Road to Divorce* (1990) illuminated the changes in Britain since the 16th century, while Nelson Manfred Blake's *The Road to Reno* (1962) and Glenda Riley's *Divorce: An American Tradition* (1991) did the same for the US. The stresses on families forbidden to form long-term ties were a central theme in Herbert Gutman's *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (1976). Non-European marriage has also been studied recently in Barbara MacGowan Cooper's *Marriage in Maradi* (1997) and Richard Boyer's *Lives of the Bigamists* (1995).

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See also Cambridge Group; Demography; Duby; Gutman; Stone

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Marrus, Michael R. 1941–

Canadian historian of modern Europe

During his academic career, Michael R. Marrus has contributed greatly to French and Jewish social history. His first contribution was in 1980, when, greatly influenced by Hannah Arendt, he delved into the problems of modern anti-Semitism in relation to the implications of Jewish assimilation. Unlike Arendt, however, Marrus focused solely on France during the end of the 19th century. Specifically, he probed the incident involving Captain Alfred Dreyfus, the highest ranking Jewish officer in the French army, who was falsely accused of treason and sentenced to Devil's Island for life imprisonment. As a result, Marrus' first book established him as the world authority on the Dreyfus Affair and a specialist on French anti-Semitism.

After his early work on Dreyfus, Marrus expanded his research on French Jews when Robert O. Paxton, an American scholar of Vichy France, invited him to be co-author of *Vichy France and the Jews* (1981). Paxton asked Marrus to contribute to the book because the material was too depressing for him to write about it single-handedly. Using their meticulous research, Marrus and Paxton confirmed the responsibility of the government of Vichy France in the destruction of French Jews. The authors argued that governmental policies towards Jews in Vichy France were actually harsher than in other European countries. In fact, Marrus and Paxton emphasized that Vichy France initiated autonomous acts that were at times more brutal than those of German forces in occupied France. Additionally, the authors weakened the stance of "apologists" for Vichy France by demonstrating that Pétain and Laval, the two bureaucratic leaders of the regime, along with many

French anti-Semites actually facilitated the process by which French Jews were killed. For their book Marrus and Paxton received the National Jewish Book award in 1982 in the category of Holocaust Studies.

In 1987, Marrus completed the first comprehensive historiography of the vast literature on the Holocaust. In *The Holocaust in History*, he attempted to bring the subject of the Holocaust into the "modern historical experience." He wanted the history of the Holocaust to be seen as more than just a part of the history of the Jewish people. While presenting historical disputes on specific issues, Marrus offered historical, sociological, and political analyses in his historiography. He often synthesized historians' opposing views, and presented his own conclusions. The book was well received by historians, although Marrus received some criticism for not presenting American policy regarding the Holocaust.

Marrus is responsible for expanding historical knowledge of anti-Semitism, Vichy France, and the Holocaust in general. There is no doubt that he will be remembered for his extraordinary scholarly work in *Vichy France and the Jews* and the debates generated by his claims about bureaucracy and the nonchalant attitudes of the French towards the Jews.

LAURIE ROBYN BLUMBERG

See also France: since the Revolution; Holocaust

Biography

Michael Robert Marrus. Born Toronto, 3 February 1941. Received BA, University of Toronto, 1963; MA, University of California, Berkeley, 1964, PhD 1968. Taught at University of Toronto (rising to professor), from 1968. Married Randi Greenstein, 1971 (2 sons, 1 daughter).

Principal Writings

The Politics of Assimilation: The French Jewish Community at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair, 1980

With Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, 1981

The Unwanted: European Refugees in the 20th Century, 1985

The Holocaust in History, 1987

Editor, *The Nazi Holocaust: Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*, 9 vols., 1989

Samuel Bronfman: *The Life and Times of Seagram's Mr. Sam*, 1991

"Reflections on the Historiography of the Holocaust," *Journal of Modern History* 66 (1994), 92-116

Martines, Lauro 1927-

US historian of the Italian Renaissance

Lauro Martines is one of the leaders of the new school of Anglo-American scholars who from the late 1950s combined major archival research with social history to reshape fundamentally our vision of the Italian Renaissance. Essentially, they reformulated the Burckhardtian paradigm that focused on high culture in terms of a more nuanced and inclusive social and political history. Martines was perhaps more interested in literature, art, and interdisciplinary methodology than many of his peers, and his work added a significant cultural dimension to theirs. Especially important was his fascination with the interplay between power and imagination in the Renaissance – the

way social and political forces were intimately intertwined with culture.

His first book brilliantly showed his range and the impact of these interests. *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists* (1963) was at one level a massive archival research endeavor that reconstructed the social profiles of the main figures associated with humanism in Florence between 1390 and 1460. But it was much more than a collective biography, for Martines demonstrated that Florentine humanists, rather than being the wandering scholars seeking patronage imagined by tradition, were overwhelmingly important men from major families, and in the process mapped out a sophisticated vision of the social divisions of Renaissance Florence. Without falling into social reductionism, he illuminated a more complex cultural world where power and imagination reinforced and fed off each other in ways that helped send a generation back to the archives to re-examine the social world and writings of humanists and intellectuals.

Martines' second book, *Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence* (1968), moved his fascination with the relationship between social class, ideas, and power to the heart of official power in the Renaissance – urban government. At a time when archival studies of the political workings of Florence were revitalizing the understanding of the Renaissance city and scholars were evermore concerned with discovering how governments actually worked, Martines saw that lawyers and notaries were the crucial players in virtually everything from the everyday operation of government to the justification of that operation and government itself. Based again on magisterial archival research, but moving further to examine the massive contemporary literature on the craft of lawyers and notaries, he developed a rich study of the way those two groups underlay the workings of government – a study that still informs much of the ground-breaking work on Renaissance government.

At much the same time that *Lawyers and Statecraft* was published, Martines gathered together at UCLA a group of some of the most important leaders of the new archival history, including Gene Brucker, David Herlihy, John Hale, and J.K. Hyde to consider the largely unstudied issue of violence and civil disorder in the Renaissance. *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1250-1500* (1972), the volume that came out of that conference, was again path-breaking: it played an important role in problematizing the relationships between rulers and ruled, power and ideology, and opened up new areas of research. In those same years, and again with an eye to expanding the range of historical inquiry, Martines began working on women's history and what would become the history of gender. With his wife, the noted novelist Julia O'Faolain, he published *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians* (1973), a book that studied the history of women in the West with suggestive texts and keen critical insight.

The work that in many ways summed up his earlier studies and integrated them with his broader understanding of the cultural world of the Renaissance was *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (1979). Designed to be read by an educated public, this extended essay reconceptualized the Renaissance as a social, cultural, and political phenomenon with tremendous power and imagination itself. In many ways it is the summation of the insights and innovations of that generation of

archival scholars of which Martines was a leader. But unlike many summations, *Power and Imagination* did not merely look back; in fact, it could be read as a research agenda for the future – each chapter ripe with suggestions for research, especially on the relationship between government and structures of power and ideas and realms of imagination. In many ways almost twenty years after its publication it remains the most powerful reformulation of the paradigm of the Italian Renaissance.

After *Power and Imagination*, Martines returned to an early interest of his and one that had always been an important, if largely unremarked, component of his work, his interest in poetry. Renaissance poetry for him was never just an elegant play of words, allusions, and metaphors – although his fine sense of style as a writer reflects his appreciation of these elements – but more importantly poetry was another realm where the social and the cultural intertwined. Revealing once again his innovative flair and his interdisciplinary range, he published *Society and History in English Renaissance Verse* (1985), a work that took him far afield from his formally recognized expertise in the Italian Renaissance and serves as a model for the critical use of poetry for understanding the social and visa versa. With *An Italian Renaissance Sextet: Six Tales in Historical Context* (1994), he returned to his interest in the reading of literature during the Italian Renaissance, using six Italian *novelle* of the 15th century as a base for a close historical analysis of social and cultural life. Fascinating reading, these studies are yet another model for historians interested in reintegrating literature into the discipline in more subtle and methodologically sophisticated ways. Martines, now officially retired and living in London, continues to teach occasionally in Paris, Britain, and the US, and to lecture widely, and is working on a long-term project on the relationship between poetry, power, and society in the Italian Renaissance.

GUIDO RUGGIERO

See also Italy: Renaissance

Biography

Born Chicago, 22 November 1927. Received BA, Drake University, 1950; PhD, Harvard University, 1960. Taught at Reed College, 1958–62; and University of California, Los Angeles, from 1966 (emeritus). Married Julia O'Faolain, novelist, 1957 (1 son).

Principal Writings

The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390–1460, 1963
Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence, 1968
 Editor, *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1250–1500*, 1972
 Editor, with Julia O'Faolain, *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians*, 1973
Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy, 1979
Society and History in English Renaissance Verse, 1985
An Italian Renaissance Sextet: Six Tales in Historical Context, 1994

Maruyama Masao 1914–1996

Japanese intellectual historian

A leading scholar of Japanese political thought, Maruyama played a key role in setting the agenda for intellectual historians

of early modern and modern Japan in the postwar decades. From his father Maruyama Kanji, a liberal political journalist, he inherited a skepticism about any “grand theory.” Under the influence of Nanbara Shigeru (1889–1974), his adviser at Tokyo Imperial University and a neo-Kantian, however, he encountered German idealism and was attracted enormously by Hegel's works. He also had a baptism in Marxism, which was an influential current in Japan in the late 1920s. Maruyama's early intellectual life thus became the object of a tug of war between the two contradictory attitudes of positivism and idealism. He eventually realized, as he stated in his introduction to the English version of *Gendai seiji no shisō to kōdō* (1956–57; *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, 1969), that “in the field of social and political studies the thinkers who take a middling position between German ‘historicism’ and English ‘empiricism,’ men like Max Weber, Hermann Heller, and Karl Mannheim, are the ones whom I always found most sympathetic and stimulating.”

Maruyama's monumental work, *Nihon seiji shisōshi kenkyū* (1952; *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, 1974), included three articles published in the early 1940s. Through documenting the development of modernity in Tokugawa (17th to mid-19th centuries) ideas, he intended to combat from an academic standpoint the wartime ideological currents, including ultranationalism and totalitarianism. By linking the internal logical and the external sociological perspectives on the major Tokugawa intellectual currents, he was successful in explaining how the division of the twin concepts of “norm” and “nature” in orthodox Neo-Confucianism had prepared the ground for the mode of thought of the scholars of National Learning, and how the transition from the idea of a natural to that of an artificial social order had emerged as an “unintended consequence.” Thus he made a decisive departure from traditional and current research methods. Maruyama also devoted much time to the study of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), Meiji Japan's foremost thinker and an advocate of westernization, in an attempt to reject the Japanese “national polity” theory.

After the war, Maruyama continued his criticism of the Japanese emperor system and wartime fascism, trying to shed light on the pathological aspects of Japanese society. He described in many of his articles the underlying value-system of the Japanese, especially that of the ruling elites, and its effect on political leaders and their discussion. In examining contemporary politics, he attempted to show how ideological tensions had been aggravated by the refusal of both sides to recognize the political features common to all societies which, in a given situation and irrespective of ideology, made certain patterns of behavior inevitable. Meanwhile, Maruyama further studied Japanese intellectual history from antiquity, in an effort to clarify its frame and characteristics.

DE-MIN TAO

Biography

Born Osaka, 22 March 1914. Attended school in Tokyo; studied political science at Tokyo Imperial University, BA 1936. Taught (rising to professor), Tokyo Imperial University (renamed Tokyo University in 1945), 1936–71. Enlisted toward the end of World War II and stationed at Hiroshima. Married (2 sons). Died 15 August 1996.

Principal Writings

Nihon seiji shisōshi kenkyū (A Study of the History of Japanese Political Thought), 1952; in English as *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan*, 1974

Gendai seiji no shisō to kōdō, 2 vols., 1956–57; expanded in English as *Thought and Behavior in Modern Japanese Politics*, 1969

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Marx, Karl 1818–1883

German political theorist and historian

Friedrich Engels was the first to credit Karl Marx as originator of a new theory of history. This theory, which was developed in concert with Engels, usually goes by the name of the "materialist conception of history" or "historical materialism." Put simply, Marx held that history could be best understood through examination of the material conditions of a society rather than studying only the prevailing ideas or ideologies. Among the most important factors for Marx were: 1) the economic level of development in any given society; 2) changes in the mode of production and exchange; 3) the various class divisions within society; and 4) the extent and nature of the class struggle.

Marx's theory of history denies the primacy of ideas in history. This is not to say he considered ideas as being without force in history. Rather, material conditions are always more significant than abstract philosophical thoughts. Moreover, all historical research has to be based on a solid factual basis instead of theoretical conjecture. This may well seem commonplace among late 20th-century historians but was iconoclastic in the context of a discipline which, at the time of Marx's contribution, was often little more than a subfield of philosophy.

Although Marx is popularly viewed as a proponent of deterministic economic elements, central concerns in Marx's theory of history includes the cardinal importance of human activity in the development of history, and the idea that labor is crucial to the transformation of social relations in history. That is, he presents "real human activity" as the driving force of history, while stressing that how people work helps mold any given society. Marx also emphasized the relation of humans with nature, in which he held that humans are dependent on nature while nature is independent of humanity. The importance of these aspects of his historical worldview is not widely discussed because of his greater emphasis on the centrality of the class struggle within human society.

Marx, along with Engels, appears to have first begun to articulate this historical approach in the 1845 "Die deutsche Ideologie" (*The German Ideology*, 1964). Instead of resting on a set of philosophical assumptions, Marx sought to ground his theory in empirical observations and data. He argued that history could best be understood by the realization that the economic structure of society was the ultimate – but not the only – basis of human history. From this arises everything else: law, religion, politics, culture, and "definite forms of social consciousness." As the productive forces expand or change so too does history become transformed. Moreover, as outlined in his *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis-Bonaparte* (1869; *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 1898) Marx contended that class position would normally tend to determine worldview. This being the case, as the economy changes and class structure is altered, consciousness will inevitably change as well. As expressed in a famous passage in his preface to *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1859; *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1904), Marx argued that it is not the consciousness of men which determines their being but "their social being that determines their consciousness."

From such an approach, it would be easy to conclude that the "materialist conception of history" holds to a rigid and fatalistic interpretation of human affairs. In the Soviet Union – and among its more uncritical supporters – this fatalistic interpretation was promoted and history reduced to a series of discernible and infallible "laws." This view – many would say distortion – of Marx's theory of history left little room for human activity or initiative. Although widely accepted – particularly during the Cold War period – this approach contradicts some of Marx's most loudly proclaimed doctrines.

Witness Marx in *Die heilige Familie* (1845; *The Holy Family*, 1956) where he declared that "History does *nothing* . . . it is *man*, real living man, that does all . . . history is *nothing but* the activity of man pursuing his own aims." Later, in an 1871 letter, Marx noted that history would be easy to make if there were infallibly favorable conditions and if there were no "accidents." He even concluded that if there were no accidents history would "be of a very mystical nature."

Instead of mysticism, Marx promoted a dialectical view of world history, rejecting both the unscientific idealism of "great man" theories and the mechanical materialism that would leave humanity out of history. For him, humanity is both object and subject of history. Both molded by historical developments and the molders of those very same developments, humans make their own history but not in conditions of their own choosing.

Marx's method of historical investigation has had a deep influence on countless historians throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries. Some have been primarily political activists in the socialist movement such as, for example, Karl Kautsky. Kautsky, considered the leading theoretician of the Second International, wrote a number of historical studies including *Die Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus* (1895; *Communism in Central Europe at the Time of the Reformation*, 1897) and *Thomas More und seine Utopie* (1890; *Thomas More and His Utopia*, 1927). While others may have held equally strong left-wing views, their work lies chiefly within the field of history.

Notable among those are the British Marxist historians including Christopher Hill, George Rudé, Rodney Hilton, Eric

Hobsbawm, and E.P. Thompson, whose work has had a profound impact on western – and particularly English-speaking – historians. These historians broke the conventional habits of historiography, injecting materialist analysis, class analysis, and the idea of human agency into their works. For example in his *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (1959), Rudé re-examined the long accepted idea of the irrational “mob” running wild in the streets of Paris. Using a wealth of primary evidence, Rudé built a convincing case that the “crowd” was far more rational than historical tradition would admit. Within Western Europe, the Marxist approach to history – while never truly what one could term mainstream – has reached a level of acceptance that means even Marx’s critics have to take his arguments seriously.

Nor was Marx’s influence absent even in the politically inhospitable climate of the United States. It was Marx’s writings which swayed Philip S. Foner to write a new American labor history that put conflict – rather than accommodation – at the heart of labor’s story. Herbert Aptheker broke new ground in revealing the deep history of slave resistance and struggle because of his Marxist training, while later, Eugene Genovese would utilize Marxist tools to reinterpret the history of American slavery.

WILLIAM A. PELZ

See also Engels, Foner, P.; Genovese; Hilton; Hobsbawm; Rudé; Thompson, E.

Biography

Karl Heinrich Marx. Born Trier, 5 May 1818, son of a lawyer. Studied in Bonn and Berlin, 1835–41; PhD, University of Jena, 1841. Editor, *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel und Gewerbe*, 1842–43; lived in Paris (where he became lifelong friends with Friedrich Engels), 1843–44, and Brussels, 1845–47; chief editor, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Cologne, 1848–49; expelled from Germany and lived in London from 1849. Married Jenny von Westphalen, 1843 (3 daughters, 1 son). Died London, 14 March 1883.

Principal Writings

With Friedrich Engels, “Die deutsche Ideologie,” written 1845–46; published in *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe: Werke, Schriften, Briefe*, vol. 5, edited by David Rjazanov and V.V. Adoratskij, 1932; in English as *The German Ideology*, 1964. With Friedrich Engels, *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik*, 1845; in English as *The Holy Family; or, Critique of Critical Critique*, 1956. *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, 1859; in English as *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1904. *Das Kapital*, 3 vols., 1867–94; in English as *Capital*, 3 vols., 1887–1909. *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis-Bonaparte*, 1869; in English as *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 1898. With Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, 1975–

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Marxist Interpretation of History

For Marx, the role of material production was an essential fact of human history. Human beings always require food and shelter in order to exist. The ways in which these means of subsistence are produced by individuals and groups working together – “the social production of their existence” – involves some division of labor and hence some kind of social hierarchy. Since production – work – is so central a part of daily life, social relations have a material element. This had been elaborated in the first part of “Die deutsche Ideologie” (*The German Ideology*, 1964), drafted by Marx and Engels between November 1845 and the autumn of 1846.

In his 1859 preface to *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (*A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, 1904) Marx presented a widely-quoted summary of the working principles of what subsequently became known as the materialist interpretation of history, or historical materialism:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundations the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

Following from this, these social relations of production and their connected hierarchies change as the material forms of production change. The evolving relations between forms of material production, the division of labor and social structure – together constituting “the mode of production” – thus provide a way of periodizing history. In the 1859 preface Marx

further emphasized the determining role of the *forces* of production. Productive forces can be defined as elements of the process of production: technology, raw materials, sources of energy, scientific knowledge, the skills of the workforce, etc. The combination of these elements in the specific process of production, the technical organization of production, is itself connected to the wider social relations of production, defined as the relations of property which hold between the producers and the owners of the means of production. Here, and elsewhere, Marx suggested that the forces of production have their own power and dynamic.

Periods of development and gradual change are punctuated by periods of crisis, revolution, and rapid transformation. These occur when relations of production become incompatible with changing forces of production. They become "fetters" and are broken open, to be replaced by new relations of production which encourage a further period of development. Hence the rise and fall of successive forms of society – slave societies, feudalism, and, ultimately, capitalism. This pattern of historical change from the ancient world to industrial capitalism had been sketched out in the first part of *Manifesto der kommunistischen Partei* (1848; *The Communist Manifesto*, 1888).

If the social relations of production are underpinned by a dynamic economic structure, they themselves in turn underpin a further set of institutional relations – "a legal and political superstructure." This is the space within which specific forms of consciousness move. Just as the social relations of production change in response to the pressures of the productive forces, so in turn the legal and political superstructure and forms of consciousness have to adapt and change. Moments of crisis, when forces and relations of production are in conflict, will generate conflict within the legal and political superstructure and within consciousness.

This passage from the 1859 preface is the most succinct statement of the guiding principles of Marx's approach to history. Here in condensed form he summarized, developed, and clarified some of the central arguments of his earlier writings. He provided a schema for analyzing long-term historical change based on the dynamic axis of forces and relations of production. And he supplied a model – economic foundation/legal and political superstructure – of the totality of interconnections within a specific historical moment. But this is where the problems begin. What is the theoretical status of these propositions? "A few indications concerning the course of my own politico-economic studies" was how Marx introduced the 1859 preface, and he went on to describe this passage (and it is no more than a single paragraph in a brief preface) as "a guiding thread for my studies" and a "sketch." Marx's rare summaries of his theory of history, part 1 of *The German Ideology*, the introduction to *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1939–41; *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, 1973) as well as the 1859 preface to *A Critique of Political Economy*, have been deservedly influential. But they should not be taken as his final (much less his only) word. As Etienne Balibar observed in *Lire le Capital* (1967; *Reading Capital*, 1970): "These are very general, prospective or summary texts; texts in which the sharpness of the distinctions and the peremptoriness of the claims are only equalled by the brevity of the justifications, the elliptical nature of the definitions." Such

texts need to be read critically and in relation to other texts by Marx – and in particular, the substantial amount of his writing that engaged in empirical analysis. If the 1859 preface was a "sketch" it was also, he observed, "the result of conscientious investigation lasting many years."

In more than 300 articles for the New York *Daily Tribune*, more than 100 for *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and around 175 for *Die Presse*, all written between 1852 and 1862, Marx gave some proof of his "conscientious investigation," often on historical materials. In 1858 Marx was planning a historical work on the development of different modes of production. The so-called *Grundrisse*, seven notebooks from 1857–58, contained in notebook 4 a lengthy section on precapitalist modes of production, presumably a preliminary draft of this work. The *Grundrisse* was first published in full in English only in 1973, but this historical section was published separately as *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* in 1964. In his lengthy introduction, Eric Hobsbawm noted the importance of this material. It marked a considerable refinement in periodizing historical development and in specifying historical forms of the division of labor.

The first volume of *Das Kapital* (1867–94; *Capital*, 1887–1909) was the summa of Marx's effort to produce an effective critique of political economy. As such, it is not in any very obvious sense a work of history but, again, it is grounded in immense empirical research and there is much historical material in its pages. For instance, chapter 10, "The Working Day," provided a detailed historical account of the contest between employers and workers over the length of the working day. Chapters 14 and 15 offered a detailed account of the transition from manufacture to modern industrial production. Chapters 26–33 used the historical case of England to focus on "primitive accumulation."

Problems may arise from focusing narrowly on the 1859 preface without examining these more empirically-focused writings. First, on the issue of periodization, Marx's linear model of economic and social change through a sequence of stages apparently leaves little scope for historical specificity or contingency. In the preface to the first edition of volume 1 of *Capital*, complacent German readers were warned that "the natural laws of capitalist production" worked themselves out "with iron necessity": "The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future." In chapter 26 the expropriation of the English peasantry and creation of a landless rural labor force is represented as a process inevitably repeated in all the countries of Western Europe. But here Marx qualified his argument: "The history of this expropriation assume[d] different aspects in different countries, and [ran] through its various phases in different orders of succession, and at different historical epochs." Now the English case was, he said, exceptional, though it was also "the classic form" of the process. It is difficult here to understand precisely what "classic form" means. Was the English case unique or exemplary? How significant were the differences in historical sequence from country to country? Are we looking at a single underlying process that simply takes different national forms? Are we looking at one history or several histories? Confusion seems unavoidable for even the attentive reader and, in an unsent letter of November 1877, Marx reprimanded one of them for extrapolating his account

to Russia: "He insists on transforming my historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism in Western Europe into an historico-philosophic theory of the general path of development prescribed by fate to all nations, whatever the historical circumstances in which they find themselves." The account in *Capital* had become merely a "historical sketch," and "iron necessity," "natural" or inevitable laws of development, and all the rest are downplayed. "Historical circumstances" now played a crucial determining role. Marx concluded this long and important letter with a discussion of the dispossession of the free peasants of ancient Rome, which gave rise not to capitalism but to slavery: "Thus events strikingly analogous but taking place in different historical surroundings led to totally different results. By studying each of these forms of evolution separately and then comparing them one can easily find the clue to this phenomenon, but one will never arrive there by using as one's master key a general historico-philosophical theory, the supreme virtue of which consists in being supra-historical." This is just one of a number of instances in which the austere logic of the 1859 preface is severely qualified when Marx changed focus, engaged with problems of historical specificity, and examined particular processes of change.

Another set of problems stems from ahistorical applications of the so-called "base/superstructure model." It was never, of course, merely "the economic" as such that was determining for Marx. It was always a historically-specific matrix of forms of productive activity and social relations that was decisive. This is indicated in an important passage in volume 3 of *Capital* (chapter 47):

It is in each case the direct relationship of the owners of the conditions of production to the immediate producers . . . in which we find the innermost secret, the hidden basis of the entire social edifice, and hence also the political form of the relationship of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the specific form of the state in each case. This does not prevent the same economic basis – the same in its major conditions – from displaying endless variations and gradations in its appearance, as the result of innumerable empirical circumstances, natural conditions, racial relations, historical influences acting from outside, etc., and these can only be understood by analyzing these empirically given conditions.

Thus Marx insisted that material production must be understood in its specific historical form and not applied as a general category. We are a long way here from any kind of mechanical base/superstructure model.

In a note in the first volume of *Capital* Marx responded to one criticism of the 1859 preface – that the overwhelming centrality of the economic in social life may be applicable to the 19th century but not to the ancient world or the Middle Ages. First he reaffirmed that material production of food, shelter, clothing, and so on was a precondition of human existence in all periods of history: "the Middle Ages could not live on Catholicism, nor the ancient world on politics." But he went on to distinguish between the determining role of the economic and the dominant role of religion or politics: "it is the mode in which they gained a livelihood that explains why here politics, and there Catholicism, played the chief part." In *Capital*, and elsewhere, Marx acknowledged that in precapitalist modes of

production forms of extra-economic coercion were crucial elements of the social relations of production. In other words, political structures were constitutive of the economic sphere. Marx also qualified the synchronic model of social totality, recognizing that there were historical lags and patterns of uneven development (see, for instance, the discussion of Greek art in the introduction to *Grundrisse*).

Many other issues are raised by juxtaposing summary texts, such as the 1859 preface, with others of Marx's writings. "The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles," *The Communist Manifesto* declared in its opening sentence. But the 1859 preface did not mention class struggles, or even class. Whether or not this silence was a way of evading the Prussian censor, it leaves unexplored some central questions. If the forces/relations of production matrix is the dynamic core of historical change, what is the role of class struggle? What is the relative force of conscious social agency and economic structures? And following on from this, there are a whole cluster of questions about the definition of social class, the causal connections between class location, class consciousness, and political action.

Two brilliant pieces of historical analysis of a specific historical moment, *Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848 bis 1850* (written 1850, first published 1895; *The Class Struggles in France, 1848–1850*, 1924) and *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis-Bonaparte* (written 1852, first published 1869; *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 1898), exemplified the ways in which Marx grappled with some of these problems. The former was, Engels later said, "Marx's first attempt to explain a section of contemporary history by means of his materialist conception." In handling the complexities of a precise sequence of events in France in the 1830s and 1840s, both studies abandoned big generalizations and simple models. Especially in *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, Marx developed a very careful and empirically-controlled periodization of recent French political history. He accepted that capital and labor did not appear on the political stage "in person." Contending political groupings "represented" wider social forces in different ways – and these forces were not limited to capitalists and workers. Constitutions, political alliances, electoral procedures, traditions, and ideologies – the whole terrain of political life – had their own material effects and were never merely the shadowy reflection of some prior economic reality. And again, the power of history is addressed in the opening pages of *The Eighteenth Brumaire*: "The tradition of the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the minds of the living."

The model of base and superstructure is, then, no more than a useful and flexible device for thinking about the relative pressure of different elements within a social totality at a particular moment. Here, as in the case of the forces and relations of the production axis, Marx is making analytical distinctions that are provisional and exploratory. They are signposts, not empirical descriptions. As *The German Ideology* had emphasized: "Empirical observation must in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with production."

Interrupted by political activity, especially his involvement in the International Working Men's Association (the so-called First International), and plagued by poor health, by the time

of his death in 1883 Marx had not provided an extended theoretical account of historical materialism. The published oeuvre of Karl Marx today consists of letters, working drafts, notebooks, and manuscripts never finalized for publication, as well as newspaper articles, political speeches, and documents, local polemics, and a few major studies, notably the first volume of *Capital*, which he did see through the press himself. His partnership with Engels, who not only cooperated in the writing of several texts but was responsible for editing and rewriting several of Marx's works after the latter's death – outstandingly, volumes 2 and 3 of *Capital* – adds further complications. It is hardly surprising that this collection of writings bearing the name “Karl Marx” is fragmentary and discrepant.

This issue, however, involves more than Marx's peculiar publication history. The major themes of this body of work – the determining pressures exerted by the forces of production in long-term historical change, the pivotal role of class struggle in history, the profound connections between forms of economic production and political structures, and so on – were developed by Marx in summaries and extended analyses which were often inconsistent, or at least pointed in different directions. The forms in which “the legal and political superstructure” were “conditioned” by, or “represented,” socioeconomic processes were formulated and reformulated in several ways. The central concept of social class received various definitions and, crucially, in chapter 52 of volume 3 of *Capital*, was abandoned to silence. At the very core of Marx's work there were unresolved tensions: between, for instance, a stress on social agency, whereby men (and women) make their own history through conscious collective activity, and a countervailing stress on overpowering structural constraints; or between the creation of coherent and overarching conceptual models and empirical analysis of specific histories. Marx said of Adam Smith's inconsistencies in his theory of value, that they were “natural in a writer who is the founder of political economy and is necessarily feeling his way, experimenting, and struggling with a chaos of ideas.” So too in the case of Marx the price of his conceptual innovation was a body of work riddled by uncertainties and provisionality. It was precisely his dogged refusal to systematize prematurely or to foreclose on inconsistencies that was to make his influence so productive.

As socialist parties responsive to Marx's ideas began to be established in Europe in the 1880s, it fell to Engels to systematize and clarify “historical materialism.” This was in a context in which key texts were unavailable. *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1959), *The German Ideology*, and *Grundrisse* were unpublished and forgotten. Many of Marx's important newspaper articles were undiscovered, and even major works were untranslated into English or French, much less other languages. It is clear from his correspondence in these years that Engels was anxious to avoid over-simplification, and impatient with those who adopted a mechanical economic reductionism. As he quipped to one of his correspondents in 1890: “the materialist conception of history . . . has a lot of friends nowadays to whom it serves as an excuse for *not* studying history.” And yet Engels' own widely circulated writings – *Anti-Dühring* (1878) and *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* (1888; *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*, 1934) – did in crucial respects encourage the idea that historical materialism

was a coherent and finished theoretical system that could be applied to empirical reality.

In the hands of a new generation, especially in Germany, dazzled by the high status of the natural sciences and persuaded of the deep affinity of Darwin and Marx – again encouraged by Engels (and sometimes Marx) – historical materialism was represented as a positivist method based on the model of the natural sciences and imbued with the idiom of Darwin. Karl Kautsky and Georgii Plekhanov were the most authoritative of the second generation of interpreters of Marxism and received the imprimatur of Engels. Kautsky's *Die materialistische Geschichtsauffassung* (1927; *The Materialist Conception of History*, 1988) and Plekhanov's *K voprosu o razvitii monisticheskogo vzgliada na istoriiu* (1919; *In Defence of Materialism*, 1947) were vigorous assertions of the scientific credentials and the materialism of the Marxist approach to history. Both followed closely the text of the 1859 preface to elaborate a universal history grounded in the development of the forces of production, now narrowly understood in terms of technological relations to the material environment. History appeared as a more or less inexorable and cumulative process of technical mastery over nature. Despite the violent political differences of Kautsky and Plekhanov, the dominant version of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history in the Soviet Union remained committed to the same kind of productive forces determinism – see Bukharin's *Teoriia istoricheskogo materializma* (1923; *Historical Materialism*, 1925) or Stalin's admittedly succinct “Dialectical and Historical Materialism” (1938).

This is not to say that this second generation did not make a valuable contribution to the development of Marxist historical writing. In the years before 1914 there was a proliferation of historical work throughout Europe, generally outside the academy, influenced to varying degrees by a “Marxist” approach. Kautsky himself wrote historical studies of the origins of Christianity and of Thomas More. Eduard Bernstein, literary executor of Engels and the major political voice of revisionist Marxism in the pre-1914 SPD, did pioneering research on the English revolution of the 1640s and 1650s, rescuing the Levellers from obscurity in his *Cromwell and Communism*. At the same time, for this politically-engaged generation of Marxists, historical materialism was not merely a philosophy of history or a way of writing about the past. It was a source of knowledge capable of informing current political practice and directed towards the present and the future. Works such as Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage* (1898; *The Agrarian Question*, 1988) or Lenin's *Razvitie kapitalizma v Rossii* (1899; *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, 1960) – concerned with the transformative impact of capital on precapitalist forms of agriculture – Hilferding's *Das Finanzkapital* (1923; *Finance Capital*, 1981) or Bukharin's *Mitovoe khoziaistvo i imperialism*, 1923; *Imperialism and World Economy*, 1929) – focused on the replacement of laissez-faire capitalism by a new forms of state capital – were not historical studies in any narrow sense. They were analyses of contemporary issues with immediate political purpose. But they necessarily involved historical periodization and appropriated key concepts from Marx precisely in order to analyze change over time. There is a narrow dividing line between utilizing a historical perspective to inform political practice and exploiting it to justify a political policy. In the Soviet Union, especially from the later 1920s, the Marxist

interpretation of history, in its most narrow determinist form, became part of state doctrine. It reached its nadir in the Bolshevik Central Committee's 1938 *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: Short Course*, written under Stalin's supervision, with its blatant distortions of history to justify the Soviet regime.

From the 1920s in Western Europe quite different variants of Marxism emerged, breaking decisively from the productive forces/technological determinism of the Second International and Soviet Marxism-Leninism. The Italian Communist leader Antonio Gramsci saw the Bolshevik revolution as a revolution *against* Marx's *Capital*, or at least against the sometimes rigid historical schemas derived from it by Kautsky, Plekhanov, and others. But he was similarly critical of a Bolshevik such as Bukharin for reducing the Marxist approach, in his *Historical Materialism*, "to a mechanical formula which gives the impression of holding the whole of history in the palm of its hand." Gramsci insisted on the value of the idealist prehistory of Marxism with its emphasis on consciousness, culture, and human agency, as against what he termed "the positivist and naturalist incrustations" that "contaminated" some of Marx's later writings. A prisoner of Mussolini from 1926, Gramsci, in difficult conditions, patiently outlined an innovative programme for historical research. The insights and new concepts sketched out in the *Prison Notebooks* were not, however, to reach a wider readership until the 1950s.

A complementary project to reassert the antipositivist strand within historical materialism, subsequently called "Western Marxism," emerged in the 1920s. The seminal text was *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein* (1923; *History and Class Consciousness*, 1971), a collection of essays by Georg Lukács which elaborated some startling and brilliant new perspectives on Marx. In particular, it retrieved the importance of Marx's brief discussion of commodity fetishism in volume 1 of *Capital* and connected it to the notion of reification, derived from Max Weber. But, despite its title, the book had little to say about most of the major themes of historical materialism or about specific economic and social histories. Condemned by the Comintern and subsequently renounced by Lukács himself, *History and Class Consciousness* was a founding text for Walter Benjamin, Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and others who constituted "the Frankfurt school" in the early 1930s. Its Hegelian affinities reinforced by the discovery in 1932 of Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, "Western Marxism" tended to replace concrete historical research with philosophical reflection and cultural critique. Nevertheless, between the 1930s and the 1960s the Frankfurt school and a parallel generation of French leftists, notably Lucien Goldmann, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and, especially, Jean-Paul Sartre – in critical dialogue with Freud, Weber, and phenomenology – made valuable contributions to Marxist approaches to the historical analysis of culture and of politics.

Elsewhere between the 1930s and 1950s, despite a degree of political and intellectual isolation, and despite the limitations of the Soviet paradigm of historical materialism, various kinds of creative historical work influenced by Marx did proceed within the orbit of European communist parties. Some of this writing laid the groundwork for the massive explosion of Marxist historiography in the 1960s and 1970s. Maurice Dobb's *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (1946)

was an extremely influential historical study by a British Communist party (and Cambridge University) economist which broke new ground in using Marx's categories to examine the historical transition from feudalism to capitalism. It triggered an international debate in the pages of the American journal *Science and Society*, subsequently collected together in *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism: A Symposium* edited by Rodney Hilton in 1954. Subsequent work by Hilton, Witold Kula, Immanuel Wallerstein, Perry Anderson, Robert Brenner, Guy Bois, and others has made this one of the most productive and international areas of Marxist historical work in the post-war period. Here there were significant convergences with the theoretical work of Louis Althusser, especially *Lire le Capital* (1965; *Reading "Capital"*, 1970), which was focusing attention on relevant concepts in Marx dealing with the transition between modes of production. Hindess and Hirst's *Pre-Capitalist Modes of Production* (1975) was an important, if much disputed, Althusserian intervention in this historiography.

Labor history and the history of working-class political organizations was another important field of Marxist historical work developing from the interwar years. In France, inevitably, this was centered around the Revolution, the understanding of which was dominated for several generations by a Marxist framework associated with the writing of Albert Mathiez, Georges Lefebvre, and Albert Soboul. In Britain strong traditions of labor history and radical cultural criticism, developed further in the interwar years by communists such as A.L. Morton, Dona Torr, Edgell Rickword, and Jack Lindsay, laid the groundwork for a group of historians who were to have a massive international influence from the 1960s. Christopher Hill, E.P. Thompson, and Eric Hobsbawm in particular – but also George Rudé, Victor Kiernan, and John Saville – contributed to the emergence of a new social history of the working class and, increasingly, of other subaltern social groups. In fact, by the 1970s a more or less Marxian agenda was shaping historical work in many different fields and periods in Western Europe and the United States. At the same time the writings of Marx and some of the key figures of Western Marxism were being translated, debated, and appropriated for the first time. There were probably more exegeses and more theoretical debates around the Marxist interpretation of history between 1970 and 1985 than at any time in the previous century.

Especially in these years, in field after field of historical research, questions and perspectives derived from Marx have set agendas, provoked debates, and reshaped important historical territories. The renaissance of Marxism is now over. New radical theories associated with French poststructuralism and feminism are now setting the pace across the human sciences, sometimes in open critical dialogue with the Marxist tradition, sometimes in profoundly uncritical hostility (in both directions). The revolutions of 1989 and the collapse of Soviet communism have challenged not only the Marxist world but its intellectual edifice. For better or worse, the Marxist interpretation of history remains a problematic and highly politicized issue.

JOHN SEED

See also Anderson, P.; Althusser; Brenner; Furet; Gramsci; Hilton; Hill; Hobsbawm; Kula; Labor; Subaltern; Thompson, E.; Wallerstein

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Masculinity

Since the mid-1970s, both social theorists and historians have come to see the importance of the analysis of men's gendered behavior. The impact of second-wave feminist theory was profound during the emergence of men's studies as a discrete area within the broader study of gender during the 1970s. Perhaps the most important American work to incorporate masculinity into the study of history during the 1970s was Joe Dubbert's *A Man's Place* (1979), which analyzed the US frontier of the 19th century. His case studies of exemplary male heroes of the mythologized West scrutinized the role of both 19th-century racial theories and popular culture in the creation of models of male behavior.

By 1980 masculinity had become identified as a culturally and historically constructed phenomenon. Moreover, the acquisition of the traits of conventional masculinity was no longer seen as easy, let alone automatic. While sex-role theory was not eliminated, a more complicated theory was evolving that emphasized lived experience and men's agency. Typical of this new approach was D.H. Bell's *Being a Man* (1982) which used oral history to uncover some of the complexities of growing up male. During the early 1980s changes in feminist theory also began to have an impact on the study of masculinity, particularly in relation to historical studies. Sylvia Strauss' book *Traitors to the Masculine Cause* (1982), for example, examined men's role in first-wave feminist campaigns for female suffrage in the US and Britain. Strauss studied both individual men, such as John Stuart Mill, and pro-suffrage men's organizations such as the Men's League for Women's

Suffrage. Importantly, this study demonstrated that men did not always act as a gender, but as individuals responding to historical events.

Strauss' work was one of several historical studies that focused on the 19th and early 20th centuries in Britain and the United States. These studies have presented that period as being central to the construction of modern dominant masculinity. Mangan and Walvin's edited collection, *Manliness and Morality* (1987), for example, is typical of this approach. The various contributors placed the Victorian/Edwardian concept of manliness at the center of the creation, transmission, and social reproduction of dominant masculinity. This volume is important for the historical study of masculinity because it emphasized the sociopolitical and ideological context within which dominant masculinity arose. For example, many of the contributors, especially Mangan and Rotundo, were careful to highlight the significance of social class in relation to the creation of gender norms in the 19th century. The interpenetration of masculinity and femininity was also emphasized in this book, although in an uneven fashion. That is, while some of the essays highlighted the role of enhanced femininity on the development and changes in masculinity, others ignored it. Allen Warren's chapter on Baden-Powell and the connections between scouting, imperialism, and "manliness," for example, left women out of its analysis.

By contrast, Arthur Brittan's *Masculinity and Power* (1989) portrayed the 1890s as a period of crisis in masculinity precisely because of men's decidedly mixed reaction to first-wave feminism and changing definitions of femininity. The author was particularly careful to distinguish between masculinity, a changeable set of characteristics, and "masculinism," an ideology that justified male domination. Importantly, both "masculine" character traits and masculinist ideology were presented as historical constructs.

Carnes and Griffin's *Meanings for Manhood* (1990) is another collection of essays focusing on masculinity in the Victorian era. The editors emphasized the need for a gendered history of men's lives and foregrounded their debt to both feminism and women's history. The editors stressed that one of the lessons gained from women's history was the need for some single-sex analyses. Their collection therefore included studies of the law as a masculine profession, and an examination of 19th-century printing apprenticeships as case-studies of masculinized workplaces.

Other contributions to this collection offer a more interactive gendered approach, for example, Margaret Marsh's study of suburban men and changing definitions of masculinity and domesticity in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. In such a highly theorized area as gender and men's studies, this collection is notable for its commitment to historical tasks and skills. The editors maintained, for example, that, "Theory may enrich research, and political values and personal interests give it passion . . . , but in the end we depend on what the historical record may yield."

A similar concern with empirically-based analysis was emphasized in Michael Roper and John Tosh's collection, *Manful Assertions* (1991). Although the various contributors provided interesting accounts of various aspects of masculinity ranging from a gendered re-reading of Thomas Carlyle through to the role of boys' story papers in the interwar period, its

strongest contribution is in the introductory chapter. In this essay, the editors outlined the development of the field of men's studies especially as it relates to history. Undermining essentialist concepts, Roper and Tosh stated that their object "is to demonstrate that masculinity has a history, that it is subject to change and varied in its forms."

Mary Ryan's *Cradle of the Middle Class* (1981) remains one of the few studies of a sociohistorical character that has focused on a particular place and time and thoroughly integrated the analysis of gender in an interactive manner. That is, her study focused on the interaction and dynamics present in changing definitions and expressions of both masculinity and femininity.

Of all the historical works to have emerged from the various calls from theorists for concrete histories, perhaps the most ambitious to date has been Jock Phillips' 1987 study of masculinity in post-settlement New Zealand, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History* (1987). Though the title suggests an analysis centered on "images," the subject matter is, in fact, much more broadly based. Phillips studied the pioneer experience in fact and in subsequent legend; he also decoded New Zealand's obsession with rugby, placing the question of masculinity at the center of its deconstruction. Phillips charted the role of war in the creation and transmission of dominant masculinity. His analysis emphasized the role of men in the family and in postwar reconstruction and suburbia. The book's resonances for the historical analysis of analogous white settler colonies/countries such as Australia, South Africa, and Canada are obvious, but to date histories on this scale from those countries have yet to emerge.

Masculinity continues to be a somewhat marginalized field within historical study. Generally, these works are catalogued in the psychology section of libraries, which is fair enough in a work such as Klaus Theweleit's path-breaking *Männerphantasien* (1977-78; *Male Fantasies*, 1987-88), which explored the fiction popular with the men who came to make up the shock troops of Nazi Germany. More recently, works such as Mrinalini Sinha's *Colonial Masculinity* (1995) and Gail Bederman's *Manliness and Civilization* (1995) have sought to uncover the links between cultural constructions of masculinity and the suppression of subaltern cultures. These complex works suggest new ways for the field to develop.

ROSS LAURIE

See also Davidoff; Gender; Hausen; Koonz; Lake; Military; Scott; Joan; Smith-Rosenberg; Women's History; Africa

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Mason, Tim 1940–1990

British historian of Germany

Tim Mason was Britain's most significant historian of the Third Reich. The originality of his work sparked important debates and he intervened with skill in others. A Marxist historian, he was concerned with developing an approach to history that was undogmatic, analytical, humanistic. He participated in the History Workshop at Ruskin College, Oxford, and was a founding editor of *History Workshop Journal* – projects aimed at developing the approaches of socialist and feminist historians. He was a key advocate of history from below.

Mason's work can be understood as the intersection of two historiographical trends. First, he followed the generation of the Marxist historians that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. Mason became a historian at a time when many western Marxist historians exorcised the determinism of earlier Marxist, in particular Stalinist, versions of history. Second, Mason's work coincides with a rejuvenation of interest, an intensification of debate, and a series of revised assumptions about the Third Reich in particular and fascism in general.

Mason was not responsible for this rejuvenation of interest but he did significantly contribute to it. *Social Policy in the Third Reich* (1977, translated 1993) was the centerpiece of Mason's work. In this meticulously detailed and thoughtful study he focused on the relationship between the working class and the Nazi state. Far from being a description of the activities of proscribed underground organizations, as much of the East German scholarship had been, Mason widened the perspective to the working class as a whole and in particular to how it was viewed from above by the regime itself. Hitler and other leading Nazis, Mason argued, had been profoundly shaken by the November Revolution of 1918 when the deprivations and suffering of war led to a popular revolt of soldiers, sailors, and workers that put a stop to the faltering military campaign and the Kaiserreich itself. This scenario haunted an insecure Nazi leadership that countenanced war but feared a repetition of 1918. As a result, the regime was willing to make considerable concessions to the working class in terms of social policy, was reluctant to demand material sacrifices during war, and was slow to implement the policy of a total war economy.

Also, Mason uncovered a pattern of workers' opposition that was molded to conditions of full employment and repression. Workers moved from one employer to another in search of the highest wages. Moreover, Mason argued this necessarily individualized response was profoundly influenced by a sense of distinct class interests and therefore should be considered as a form of opposition to the regime. Here he undermined the notion that the Nazis "conquered the soul of the German workers" and indeed his work encouraged further investigation of the German working class. The work of Kershaw and

Peukert, for example, importantly complemented Mason's deepening historical understanding of a working class which the regime was able to contain, but never fully convince.

Consequently, according to Mason, in conditions of rapid rearmament, precarious economic recovery, and nationalist posturing by the regime, this opposition brought about a domestic crisis for the regime which forced Hitler into a "flight forwards," into hurried external expansion, and ultimately, into an early war. The regime was driven, therefore, not by the interests of "the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialist elements of finance capital" of Dimitrov's official Comintern formulation, but by an autonomous Nazi leadership that was able to act outside, and to some extent against, the interests of the ruling class. This is what Mason famously called the "primacy of domestic politics." It is this element of his case that has attracted the greatest controversy and made the least headway among historians. He was criticized by East German historians for his abandonment of Marxism, and by western academics for underplaying the fundamental reasons for launching war, that is, the relative national scale of rearmament, and Hitler's intentions. Mason's phrase has unfortunately been set up as an academic straw man. Perhaps the most telling criticism is that the concept too neatly divided politics and economics in a situation where the state took on an increasing role within the territorially expanded German economy, thus blurring that very division.

Mason contributed widely to other questions concerning the Third Reich. In his many articles he dealt with the role of women within the Third Reich, and the weaknesses of the intentionalist case, and he defended using fascism as a generic analytical device.

Mason's work is an impressive attempt to use history to make sense of the barbarity of the Third Reich and to salvage the German working class from the crimes of their tormentors. His aim was to forego moralistic simplifications but he was simultaneously committed to rejecting any notion that the Third Reich should be treated dispassionately or "normally." His approach is perhaps best summed up by his own words in response to the public argument between West German historians that erupted in 1986: "If historians do have a public responsibility, if hating is part of their method and warning part of their task, it is necessary that they should hate precisely."

MATT PERRY

See also Germany: 1800–1945; History Workshop

Biography

Timothy Wright Mason. Born Birkenhead, 2 March 1940, of schoolteacher parents. Studied at Oxford University; then held a research fellowship, St. Antony's College, Oxford, PhD 1971. Fellow and tutor, St. Peter's College, Oxford, 1971–85. Settled in Rome, 1984. Married 1) Ursula Vogel, 1970 (marriage dissolved); 2) Simonetta Piccone, 1987. Died Rome, 5 March 1990.

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Maspero, Henri 1883–1945

French historian of China

Henri Maspero was the foremost Western historian of China in the early 20th century. Working before the current infrastructure of research aids and typeset modern editions had come into being, he produced not only pioneering research, but also a synthesis of existing scholarship on early China which is still worth reading today. His posthumously published writings on the history of Chinese religion introduced to scholars Eastern and Western a mass of information concerning a tradition – Taoism – that had hitherto been almost totally ignored.

Maspero was the son of an Egyptologist, and his first published work was on Egypt. By 1907, however, he had acquired a sinological training from Edouard Chavannes (1865–1918), the first man to introduce the teaching of history into Western study of China, though then the study of Asia was far less specialized than at present, and throughout his life Maspero made contributions not simply to historical research but also to the study of the Chinese language, and to the study of Indochina. But despite showing a certain flair as an ethnographer, his chief interests (even his linguistic interests) were historical. He soon showed this while working in Hanoi, with a series of articles on the sources for the early history of Vietnam and on the history of Chinese Buddhism. After his return to France, he set to work on producing the first general history of China based on modern critical scholarship in a Western language, and by 1927 had completed *La Chine Antique* (*China in Antiquity*, 1978). Though this predated the flowering of critical history in China itself in the 1930s, and the more recent rise of archaeology as a source of information on early China, it still remains a masterly survey, combining a wide reading of early Chinese sources with a careful use of modern ethnographic insights derived from study of the minority groups of Indochina, which, as Marcel Granet noted, showed features reminiscent of the civilization of early China.

As Maspero's reading advanced following the publication of *La Chine Antique* to cover the early imperial period of Chinese history, he encountered a type of source material never used before: the scriptures of the Taoist religion. The Taoist canon, a repository of well over a thousand texts, was before its printing by photolithographic reproduction in 1927 an exceptionally rare work, and even the very incomplete copy which already had been brought to Paris and used by Chavannes was almost the only substantial portion of the work existing outside East Asia. Gradually Maspero began to sort through this new treasure trove of information, and to work out which materials dated back to the formative phase of the religion in the 4th and 5th centuries CE. Other aspects of history still continued to occupy him, including the preparation for publication of an archive of early administrative documents retrieved from the sands of Central Asia by the British explorer Sir Aurel Stein (1862–1943). As a result of these diverse projects and of the onset of war, no further monograph by Maspero saw print during his lifetime, though the volume of Stein documents was ready for publication in 1936, save for the necessary funding from the India Office and the British Museum; in fact it appeared only in 1953.

By that time three volumes of posthumous works gathering together a number of unpublished writings and reprints on Chinese religion, on Taoism, and on early history had already been compiled and published by Paul Demiéville in 1950. Further pieces followed for up to ten years after his death, and even thereafter anthologies or reprints of his writings have been produced in France, and latterly in English and other translations. Maspero's research had been translated into other languages ever since his early work on Chinese Buddhism had been rendered into Japanese before World War I, but from 1966 onwards, when his second posthumous collection on Taoism was translated into Japanese, entire volumes started to be published in foreign languages.

In part this continued interest in Maspero's work testifies to the energies on his behalf of his executor Demiéville, like him a historian of religion (Buddhism) with a strong interest in language, but the number of younger scholars who gathered to celebrate the centenary of his birth in 1983 covered a wide spread of expertise from France and beyond, ample testimony to an influence undiminished by his tragic premature death. Together with Chavannes, Pelliot, Demiéville, and others of like stature, Maspero helped to achieve such a dominance for French-language studies of Chinese civilization that up to World War II students at Harvard were obliged to learn French before starting their Chinese studies. In retrospect the scope of his achievements looks even more amazing when set against the rudimentary state of the field at the start of his career.

T.H. BARRETT

See also China

Biography

Born Paris, 15 December 1883, son of the Egyptologist Gaston Maspero (1846–1916). Educated in sinology at the Collège de France, to 1907. Apart from brief periods of leave and war service as an interpreter, attached to the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, doing full-time research in Indochina or China itself, 1908–20; chair in sinology at the Collège de France, 1921–45. Arrested and deported because of his son's resistance work; died Buchenwald, 17 March 1945.

Principal Writings

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Massignon, Louis 1883–1962

French Islamic historian

One of the last of the major European Orientalists in the line of the Hungarian Ignace Goldziher and the Dutch C. Snouck Hurgronje, Louis Massignon established with his pioneering research into the language, history, and literature of Islamic mysticism the scientific basis for Islamic study. His *Essai* (1922) on the origins of the technical language of Muslim mysticism and, especially, his *magnum opus*, the 2-volume study of a 10th-century mystic and martyr, *La Passion d'al-Hallaj* (1914–21; *The Passion of al-Hallaj*, 1982), earned him election in 1924 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and led to his appointment in 1926 to the chair in sociology and sociography of Islam at the Collège de France, a position he held until his retirement in 1954.

Massignon's magisterial study of Hallaj in its enlarged posthumous edition of 1975 from Gallimard, and in its English edition of 1982 in the Bollingen series of Princeton University Press, was a work of four volumes and nearly 2000 pages. In his preface designed for the new edition Massignon set forth his methodology and working hypotheses for situating Hallaj's life historically and establishing his place in Islamic intellectual history and mystical tradition: a painstaking authentication of the texts, a complete annotated translation, and the minute examination of "testimonial chains" showing direct traces of Hallaj's influence upon others' literature and art. Essential for Massignon, however, from his earliest exposure to Hallaj in 1907, was "an intellectual affinity by friendship of the spirit, entirely disinterested and supraracial." Given that "there remained the preparation of a body of explicative annotation for the entire work, which was indispensable for rendering it intelligible to the non-Muslim reader."

The three substantive volumes, concentrating respectively on the "Life," "Survival," and "Teaching" of Hallaj, were completed by a fourth, "Bibliography and Index," the most exhaustive compendium of primary and secondary sources found in any work of Islamic studies, including particularly Arabic, Iranian, and Turkish authors along with European authors. Its index of sects, schools, and technical terms has been an essential resource ever since its shorter 1922 edition for anyone doing advanced research in early and medieval Islam.

Volume 1 is a truly awesome historical reconstruction of Islamic civilization as it was in the century of Hallaj's life, imprisonment, politically motivated trial, and execution for "heresy," roughly the mid-9th to mid-10th century CE. Based on primary sources drawn from all spheres of economic and social life, religious and political institutions, the volume offers dramatic evidence of Massignon's linguistic range and erudition. Volume 2 focuses on the evolution of Hallaj's influence on other mystical thinkers and establishes, as Massignon argues, his central place within the Muslim mystical tradition down to the present day. This reveals Massignon the classical Orientalist, verifying the chains of authority from generation to generation and collecting thereby a wealth of living anecdotal history not found in the works of generalists. Finally, volume 3 concentrates on the history of Muslim philosophical and theological thought and Hallaj's contribution to it. Here Massignon, a leading Catholic thinker, shows his remarkable

ability to translate himself into an Islamic intellectual framework and to argue persuasively for the authenticity of Qur'anic inspiration. In volume 3, especially, Hallaj's own extant works of poetry and prose are translated with exceptional skill, penetration, and lyric power by Massignon. It is clear to the specialists in Islamic studies that no one among Western experts before or since brought to his subject such a combination of mastery of languages, control of texts, singular and comparative perspective, interpretive subtlety, and literary gifts. This work is, as Julian Baldick wrote in his *Times Literary Supplement* review of the English edition, "a very great book by France's most famous Islamic specialist of our century."

Both in his Paris professorship and in his long standing association with the New Egyptian University of Cairo as professor in Arabic of Muslim philosophical doctrines and language, Massignon influenced several generations of European and Muslim students who have had distinguished academic careers. Included among those who have pursued and extended various aspects and methods of Massignon's research have been the French Iranianist Henry Corbin, himself later of the Collège de France, in his insightful studies of Avicenna and Ibn 'Arabi; Ibrahim Madkour of the New Cairo University in his major contributions to the study of Muslim theology; George Makdisi, the noted Arabist historian of the University of Pennsylvania, in his 2-volume study of the 11th-century traditionalist Ibn 'Aqil; Annemarie Schimmel, professor of Indo-Islamic cultures at Harvard and Bonn, whose studies of Rumi, Ghalib, and others in the long tradition of Islamic mysticism follow both the rigorous textual precision and the spiritual devotion to Islam of Massignon. Among Americans influenced directly by Massignon were James Kritzeck and Marshall Hodgson, whose 2-volume *Venture of Islam* many consider the most ambitious undertaking by an American in the field of Islamics. Under the influence of the noted Persian philosopher and historian of science Seyyed Hossein Nasr, himself directly linked to Massignon through Corbin, a host of young British and American scholars of Sufism has emerged in recent times with indebtedness to the linguistic range and textual fidelity established by the Orientalists of Europe particularly through Massignon. In terms of serious re-examination of Massignon's studies of Qur'anic and mystical language and of Hallaj himself and his works, Volume 4 includes an "Ultima Hallagiana" section of works through 1979; but special attention should be paid to the exegetical work of Paul Nwyia of the University of Paris and to the careful editing and study of Hallaj's poetry by Kamil M. al-Shaibi of the University of Baghdad.

Massignon spent the last years of his life, following his retirement from teaching, in the service of Muslim-Christian dialogue and writing numerous papers in pursuit of peace between Western and Islamic countries. He continued to guide students informally in areas of Islamic and comparative Semitic studies, Arabic and Persian textual exegesis, and comparative histories of religion. But most of his energy was devoted to the completion of his work on Hallaj and to his activism against the war in Algeria, which ended just prior to his death in 1962. His legacy both as a scholar and as an ecumenical thinker was recognized in 1983 on the occasion of the centenary of his birth when he was honored by UNESCO as one of Europe's seminal intellectuals of the 20th century.

HERBERT W. MASON

See also Near East

Biography

Born Nogent-sur-Marne, 1883. Educated at Lycée Louis-le-Grand, Paris; traveled to Algeria while working on his diploma, which he received in 1905. Joined Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, 1906; remained in Middle East studying and teaching at the newly founded University of Cairo, 1912-13. During World War I, served in the Middle East, eventually as high commissioner in Palestine and Syria. Returned to Paris and taught at Collège de France, from 1919: chair in sociology and sociography of Islam, 1926-54. Died Paris, 1962.

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Mathiez, Albert 1874-1932

French religious historian

Albert Mathiez is probably best remembered as the expert on religious questions during the French Revolution. His doctoral thesis on Theophilanthropy (1904) and his book published in 1911 - *Rome et le clergé français sous la Constituante* (Rome and the French Clergy under the Constituent Assembly) - placed him clearly at the heart of the development of revolutionary studies set up by F.-A. Aulard. His conclusions outlined

the hesitations of the Catholic clergy faced with the Civil Constitution in 1790. He showed that 18th-century philosophers and Constituent members alike had no inkling of the emergence of a secular state; at the same time he insisted that financial issues tended to dominate the religious debate. In that respect, Mathiez illustrates the preoccupations of the generation who had fought for the creation of a secular parliamentary democracy in the 1880s.

Mathiez's early contributions to revolutionary studies followed Aulard's political republican stance, concerned with creating a republican tradition for the Third Republic. This included the emergence of history as an academic discipline, breaking away from literary studies, and attempting to acquire a new methodology based on textual analysis of sources, but concerned with political developments from above. Indeed, Mathiez devoted an entire volume of his *La Révolution française* (1922–27; *The French Revolution*, 1929) to events between 10 August 1792 and 3 June 1793, highlighting the importance of the struggle between Girondins and Montagnards in their attempts to control power. Yet Mathiez is more than a simple political historian. He stands as the first revisionist of the republican orthodoxy elaborated by Aulard. For Aulard, Danton had provided a symbol of republican and lay patriotism, untouched by accusations of betrayal and conveniently detached from the episode of the September massacres in 1792. In contrast, Robespierre was viewed in a variety of ways; sometimes clerical because of his involvement in the Cult of Supreme Being, sometimes dictatorial because of the Terror, sometimes egalitarian because of his support for the Constitution of 1793, the Maximum and the Ventose decrees. Though Mathiez remained concerned with leaders and continued to perceive history as written from above, he nevertheless brought a new dimension to the debate. He questioned the relative significance of the events of 1789 and 1793. He asked what was the nature of the Republic in 1793–94 and at the end of the 19th century. Mathiez's answer is a clear cut rehabilitation of Robespierre, hence an acknowledgement that the Revolution is One. In the tradition of Guizot and other 19th-century writers, he accepted the Terror as part and parcel of revolutionary history, while Aulard had played down revolutionary violence to create a moderate republican consensus. In fact, Mathiez amplified the dictatorial tendencies of the Revolution in his writings, which he saw as reflecting Sans Culotte pressure on the government and which he identified as going back to 1789.

It can be argued that Mathiez's stance on Robespierre reflects Jean Jaurès' influence. In his introduction to Jaurès' *Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française* (Socialist History of the French Revolution, 8 vols., 1922–27), the socialist leader attempted to conciliate socialism to a republican tradition that would include "democracy and social dimensions" (Jaurès). Thus Robespierre is revealed as the precursor of socialism in a republican context, while Danton is denounced as a traitor to the Republic, who attempted to delay the war effort, hesitated in relation to the king's trial, and indulged in dishonest dealings in association with Lameth and Fabre d'Eglantine. Mathiez devoted a lot of energy to this particular polemic, which led to a lasting legacy for future revolutionary studies. He created the Société des Etudes Robespierriennes (Society of Robespierriest Studies) and the *Annales Historiques de la*

Révolution française (AHRF). Both still exist today and are responsible for many of historical publications on the Revolution.

However, this change of emphasis, from Danton to Robespierre, did not bring a new kind of historical writing. Mathiez also assessed the importance of economic and social issues. This was partly as a result of Jaurès' influence. It was also because of the experiences of World War I! In *La Vie chère et le mouvement social* (The High Cost of Living and the Social Movement, 1927) Mathiez showed how economic problems influenced Parisian and provincial politics in relation to the establishment of the revolutionary government, and their relation to the decisions taken by the Committee of Public Safety. However, he ignored the peasants and retained more interest in government reactions to economic problems than in the predicaments of the people when faced with them.

Mathiez's contribution to French historiography is vast and reflects the activities of a remarkable scholar whose archival finds were numerous and used with great imagination. His writings on religious issues remain a point of reference, though he did not persevere with a sociological analysis of the revolutionary cults which he had hinted at in his *Origines des cultes révolutionnaires* (Origins of the Revolutionary Cults, 1904). He was thus reflecting his fear that the use of sociological methods could lead to generalizations achieved at the expense of patient and methodical research. This can also be seen in his role in developing history as an academic discipline rooted in archival research. A tireless researcher, Mathiez left Aulard behind and charted the way for future economic and social historians.

MARTINE BONDOIS MORRIS

See also France: French Revolution; Furet; Godechot; Hufton; Marxist Interpretation; Soboul; Social

Biography

Albert Xavier Emile Mathiez. Born La Bruyère, Haute Saone, 10 January 1874, to a peasant family. Educated at Lure, Vesoul, and Lycée Lakanal, Sceaux, near Paris; entered the Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1894, agrégation 1897. Taught away from Paris for a while, before receiving his doctorate in 1904, then occupied various posts at universities in Caen, Nancy, Lille, Besançon, and Dijon before moving to the Sorbonne, 1926–32. From 1924, editor of the journal *Annales Révolutionnaires* which was renamed *Annales Historiques de la Révolution française*. Died Paris, February 1932.

Principal Writings

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- Le Club des Cordeliers pendant la crise de Varennes et la massacre du Champ de Mars* (The Cordeliers Club), 1910
- Rome et le clergé français sous la Constituante: la constitution civile du clergé, l'affaire d'Avignon* (Rome and the French Clergy under the Constituent Assembly), 1911
- La Révolution et les étrangers: cosmopolitisme et défense nationale* (The Revolution and Foreigners), 1918
- Danton et la paix* (Danton and Peace), 1919
- L'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes* (The Affair of the Company of the Indies), 1921

Robespierre terroriste (Robespierre as Terrorist), 1921
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Mattingly, Garrett 1900–1962

US historian of early modern Europe

Garrett Mattingly, an American historian of early modern Europe, was one of the rare modern scholars who have enjoyed both professional esteem and popular acclaim. He was the author of three classic books, each of which grew out of his abiding interest in the diplomatic relations between England and Spain. The master of a lean and elegant prose style, he had an unerring eye for illuminating detail, a powerful grasp of character, and a gift for lucid generalization. His command of the archival sources in his field was unrivaled, but he tended to minimize the scholarly apparatus of his books. Each of them was aimed at the widest possible audience, and each offered an exemplary combination of engaging narrative and incisive analysis.

One of Mattingly's mentors was the Harvard historian Roger Merriman, who introduced him to the field of early modern Spanish history; another was Bernard De Voto, who nourished his interest in literature and problems of narration. De Voto was an extraordinary figure, something like a combination of H.L. Mencken and Francis Parkman: a curmudgeonly man of letters and a romantic historian of America's westward expansion. De Voto's *The Year of Decision: 1846* (1943) offered an example of how to keep multiple story lines advancing simultaneously through the course of a single eventful year. It was a technique that De Voto learned from his experience as a novelist, and one that Mattingly would employ brilliantly in *The Armada* (1959). As a popular historian, De Voto rejected the conventions of monographic history in favor of a narrative of epic sweep studded with dramatic vignettes. Wallace Stegner, De Voto's biographer, called this strategy "history by synecdoche, the illumination of whole areas and periods through concentration upon one brief time, one single sequence, a few representative characters." Mattingly too learned how to make the rush of events comprehensible through an almost novelistic presentation of the predicaments of individual characters.

Mattingly's first book, *Catherine of Aragon* (1941), already combined the craft of the historian with the gifts of the novelist. The book restored to Henry VIII's first queen both agency and dignity, and showed how the personal, political, and ideological

conflicts of the period were fought out in the language of conscience. It was, he wrote in his foreword, "the story of a life which shaped history by not moving with its flow." Throughout his career, Mattingly was attracted to persons of stubborn integrity torn by divided loyalties and caught in situations of crisis. In describing with meticulous care the accumulation of circumstances and grievances that led to the royal divorce, Mattingly not only shed new light on the origins of the English Reformation, he also produced one of the great modern biographies.

Mattingly's *Armada* (1959), is a work of wider scope than *Catherine of Aragon*, though it used the same strategy of evoking character and conflict through an accumulation of incidents: some dramatic, like the unforgettable account of the execution of Mary Stuart with which the book opens; others rescued from obscurity, like Drake's little-noticed but crucial destruction of the Armada's supply of barrel staves. The originality of the book lay not only in the use of previously overlooked archival sources (principally Italian), but in the European framework of the analysis and the rapid shifts of scene and perspective. Equally impressive is the unobtrusive mastery of technical details relating to ship construction, gunnery, and naval tactics. In the final reckoning Mattingly's 1588 (unlike De Voto's 1846) appears not so much as a "decisive" year, but rather as the first episode in a long war of attrition. Mattingly's broadly European perspective enabled him to puncture a number of myths about the defeat of the Armada, to offer a realistic analysis as well as a complex and stirring narrative. Some of his conclusions have been revised by recent scholarship, but the book retains its extraordinary stature and appeal.

The Armada was Mattingly's most popular book, but *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955) was his masterpiece. The book began as an analysis of the institution of the resident ambassador, but it blossomed into a full-scale history of European diplomatic practices and of Renaissance statecraft. Here again Mattingly shuttled back and forth from the revelatory incident to the panoramic view, always setting intellectual developments and institutional innovations against a complex and shifting background of social and political change. "There are half a dozen chapters," J.H. Hexter wrote in one of the best appreciations of Mattingly's work, "that for sheer brilliance, for depth of insight, for concise easy statement of complex and fundamental truths about the age they deal with, have few peers in historical literature."

Toward the end of his career Mattingly produced a series of remarkable essays: two provocative contributions to Machiavelli studies, a portrait of Prince Henry the Navigator, a survey of Renaissance attitudes towards the state, and a brilliant 30-page distillation of his work on the Armada. But the three great books, with their wonderful combination of scrupulous scholarship and narrative flair, are his lasting legacy. They meet the sternest test of the classic histories: one can return to them again and again for both pleasure and instruction.

BRUCE THOMPSON

Biography

Born Washington, DC, 6 May 1900. Moved with his family to Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he attended high school before serving in the US Army, 1918–19. Trained by Charles Homer Haskins, Charles Howard McIlwain, and Roger B. Merriman at Harvard

University, BA 1923, MA 1926, PhD 1935. Taught at Northwestern University, 1926–28; and Long Island University, 1928–42, before serving in the US Navy, 1942–46; taught at Cooper Union, 1946–48; and Columbia University, 1948–62. Married Gertrude McCollum, 1928. Died 18 December 1962.

Principal Writings

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Mayer, Arno J. 1926–

US (Luxembourg-born) historian of modern Europe

Arno J. Mayer's work has focused on the way in which the legacy of *ancien régime* Europe shaped the first half of the 20th century. His theoretical starting point is radical, describing himself at times as either left dissident or Marxist to indicate his non-doctrinaire flexibility and eclecticism. Thus, he freely and significantly borrowed from Joseph Schumpeter in his analyses of *fin-de-siècle* and interwar Europe. His concern was to demonstrate that the convulsions of this period emerged from the contradiction between the dynamism of industrialization on the one hand and the stagnation of the governing classes and their methods of rule on the other. His two major works dealt with how this relationship was reflected in, first, the peace settlement of 1919 and, second, the period 1914–45, or as Mayer calls it: the Thirty Years Crisis.

In *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking* (1967), Mayer contrasted new and old diplomacy. New diplomacy, represented by the Bolshevik's Peace Decree and Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points (which were a hurried response to the Bolsheviks), was concerned with rational, open, and peaceful international relations. For old diplomacy, represented by the secret treaties and the Alliance system, war was a justifiable goal of imperialism and dynastic rivalry. This cleavage is

explained by the aristocratic retention of state power in Europe and its absence or failure in Russia and the United States. Mayer characterized Wilsonian diplomacy as a counterrevolutionary but "new" alternative to Lenin's. Hence, Versailles, for Mayer, was a fudged settlement with an "old" diplomatic core, a "new" Wilsonian gloss, and counterrevolutionary intent.

Mayer followed a similar line of reasoning in *The Persistence of the Old Regime* (1981). He constructed a hypothesis that World War I and II and interwar instability were linked by "an umbilical chord." This era, the Thirty Years Crisis, was the progeny of the continued political domination of the old ruling classes in spite of industrialization and the rise of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, World War I demonstrated "The forces of the old order were sufficiently willful and powerful to resist and slow down the course of history, if necessary by recourse to violence." The aristocracy was able to survive economically as a class through ownership of the still predominant agricultural sectors of most European economies. It was treated with deference and imitated by a politically subordinate, immature, and fragmented bourgeoisie. Within this interpretive framework, the governing elites, faced with the challenge of the modern world, took to increasingly reactionary ideas (Social Darwinism and Nietzsche), and political formations (dictatorship and fascism). The contradictions that characterized the Thirty Years Crisis were resolved only by the convulsions of World War II. "It would take two world wars and the Holocaust . . . finally to dislodge the feudal and aristocratic presumption from Europe's civil and political societies." Mayer developed this theme in his study of the Holocaust – *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (1988).

Mayer is not alone in this interpretation of the role of the aristocracy in the 20th century. In different guises it is common to Perry Anderson, Ralph Dahrendorf, and Barrington Moore. Their position was criticized most trenchantly by E.P. Thompson in reply to Anderson, and by Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn on the German case. According to this critique, the modernization theory underplays the extent to which members of the aristocracy adapted themselves to capitalist development and capitalist interests. Second, it has been argued that to divide the propertied classes of *fin-de-siècle* Europe into aristocrat and capitalist misleadingly obscures the degree of interpenetration of large landlords, state officials, and leading industrialists. Third, it overplays the role played by the nobility in the reaction of the early 20th century while exonerating industrial capitalism without which World War I and fascism could not have been possible, at the very least in a narrow technological sense. By exclusively focusing on class formation and action *from above*, the defining character of 20th-century reaction as being in response to working class challenge *from below* is not fully explored.

Modernization theory, such as that of Mayer, did gain considerable influence, particularly in the interpretation of fascism. However, by the mid-1980s and 1990s such broad interpretations had lost favor to more focused, less overarching explanations of the first half of the 20th century. Despite this, Mayer's work is generally received as an important and provocative contribution to our understanding of the 20th century.

MATT PERRY

See also Europe: Modern

Biography

Arno Joseph Mayer. Born Luxembourg, 19 June 1926. Received BBA, City College of New York, 1949; MA, Yale University, 1950, PhD, 1954. Taught at Wesleyan University, 1952–53; Brandeis University, 1954–58; Harvard University, 1958–61; and Princeton University, from 1961. Married (2 children).

Principal Writings

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Mazrui, Ali A. 1933–

Kenyan historian

Ali Mazrui was born in Mombasa, Kenya, and spent a good deal of his youth attempting to integrate his Swahili cultural heritage with the newly imposed Western culture. Mazrui and his family tried to preserve as much as they could of their culture, but also took advantage of European culture when possible, especially in secular education. Mazrui did not treat education lightly, as it had important connections to culture and identity. In *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (1978), Mazrui stated that all educated Africans are cultural captives. Their differences only lie in the degree to which they are captives. This is how Mazrui saw lived experience fitting into the culture and ideology of the lived Africa.

Mazrui and his peers grew up during the era of nationalist agitations. Although he was not a fervently active member of

nationalist movements, the independence era did affect his thinking. He has often been criticized for overemphasizing how his life has influenced his writing. Yet, much of his writing involves the negotiation of cultures, and it seems only appropriate to describe one's life experiences in such an investigation. In addition, being forthright about one's possible biases should not be the occasion for criticism.

Following his postgraduate education in the US and Britain, Mazrui returned to Africa as a lecturer at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. There, he became a supporter of academic freedom and was even publicly denounced by president Obote for his support of a jailed editor, Rajat Neogy. Mazrui was in trouble with the government for some time, but he managed to weather the storm of indignation.

Mazrui has been an instrumental figure in defining what it means to be an African. Much like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, he has battled to define the idea of Africanness in the broadest sense possible. That is, he defined an African as anyone who supports Africa and its people. This is the classic Pan-Africanist definition of an African that incorporates Africans and people in diaspora, which he elaborated in *Towards a Pax Africana* (1967). Because Mazrui defined an African in this way, he encouraged the study of the African diaspora and its cultures in African universities. In his mind, not only was it important for Africans currently living on the continent to uncover their own past, it was also important for these same Africans to understand everyone who identified themselves as Africans. Consistent with his Pan-African thinking, Mazrui was also a supporter of the East African federation.

Among Mazrui's most enduring legacies, and one to which he has devoted much energy, has been his discussion of the warrior tradition in African politics. While his argument has been much questioned, it remains an important part of African historiography. Mazrui's belief was that the cultural legacy and imperialism of Europe could be broken if a political system based on indigenous ideas of the warrior could be implemented. An elaboration of this idea may be found in several works, beginning with *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship* (1967). Mazrui was among the pioneers in investigating African politics and African indigenous political systems as they related to the modern world. He envisioned an Africa where respectable and responsible leaders would lead Africans; they would integrate the idea of ancestor or grandfather with that of parent or father-figure. This new brand of African leader would then be able to lead Africans in the contemporary world through an integration of past/indigenous ideals and contemporary interpretations of what a leader should be.

Another area in which Mazrui has published widely concerns Africa and its place in the world. Many of these works look at the negotiation of cultures and identities. Mazrui has helped make the world realize that Africa has to contend with numerous heritages, which have only begun to be negotiated. But, until Africa begins to address questions of identity, it will always remain weak in global diplomatic terms. There are points of contact between assumptions about African diplomatic behavior and traditional norms of Western international conduct. They need to be found and negotiated in order for Africa to assert its proper place in the world.

TOYIN FALOLA and JOEL E. TISHKEN

See also Afigbo; Africa: West

Biography

Ali Al'Amin Mazrui. Born Mombasa, 24 February 1933. Worked in various jobs and traveled in Africa, 1948–55. Studied at Huddersfield College of Technology, England 1955–57; University of Manchester, BA 1960; Columbia University, MA 1961; Oxford University, PhD 1966. Taught at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, 1963–73; research professor, University of Jos, Nigeria, 1981–87; professor of political science and of Afroamerican and African studies, University of Michigan, 1974–91; professor-at-large, Cornell University, 1986–92; Albert Schweitzer professor in the humanities, State University of New York, Binghamton, from 1989. Divorced (5 children).

Principal Writings

On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: Essays on Independent Africa, 1967
Towards a Pax Africana: A Study of Ideology and Ambition, 1967
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Media

The subject of the media occupies a central place in contemporary societies, and media historiography has grown rapidly in the last several decades, cross-fertilized by social theories, communication research, and cultural studies. It has covered such diverse subjects as the uses of photography, propaganda, censorship, the role of the media in cultural integration, the mass media as social systems, and the effects of advertising.

The origins of communication research in Europe can be traced to the late 19th century with literary, legal, and historical inquiries about the press that were influenced by theories of mass society. In the age of the mass press and the metropolis, Auguste Comte's conception of the collective organism, Ferdinand Tönnies' contrast of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (community and society), Werner Sombart's polemic about advertising and publicity, and Gabriel Tarde's analysis of public opinion were all part of an ongoing philosophical speculation about the effects of modern, urban society said to be marked by the erosion of traditional bonds. Max Weber, in his remarks to the first meeting of German sociologists in 1910, pointed to the press as a main area for a systematic study that would involve empirical research

of contents and quantification of data and would provide an overall assessment of the role of the press in the "making of modern man."

After World War I, propaganda analysis emerged as a new activity. Walter Lippmann in *The Phantom Public* (1925) argued that the public's action might be in response to "pseudo-environments" communicated through the media. This coincided with a shift from a philosophical approach toward behavioral science and empirical analysis. Methods of institutional analysis and audience research popular in the 1920s and 1930s were replaced by quantification in the 1940s. After World War II the Chicago school led by Robert Park focused on the sociological study of media organizations and the nature of news. Functionalism based on the tendency of society toward stability and equilibrium was also influential. Researchers rescrutinized the role of the state in order to define the government as a regulatory or facilitating agency.

At the same time, early historical studies of the media emphasized a linear development of technologies and the internal dynamic of institutions shaped by heroic journalists and editors. This "Whiggish" view has since been criticized for naively defining the media as objective and progressive, for emphasizing success stories and for neglecting the social and cultural contexts of the press in the past. Critics have also argued that the tight association of the media and commercial interests meant that such research was often aimed at promoting particular branches of the media.

A significant contribution came from the Frankfurt school and its associates. While arguing that postwar mass culture was dominated by the culture industry, Theodor Adorno advocated empirical and dialectical methodologies for the study of social phenomena. Jürgen Habermas likewise emphasized critical and historical methods. In the seminal *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962; *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 1989) he argued that in the course of the 18th century French political discourse emerged separate from the state and civil society, and that the realm of private life – including literary salons and coffee houses – provided a new public sphere. According to him, after a momentous expansion during the French Revolution, the public sphere has since lost its independence as part of the media's loss of immediate relationship to the state and civil society. Although historians have since modified such theses, the concept of the public sphere remains influential.

In the 1950s and the 1960s the Canadian critic Marshall McLuhan provided a radical critique of the media. He argued that the media contain inherent biases that powerfully manipulate the public through physiological and psychological impact. While such a holistic critique appeared to be a contemporary phenomenon, the thesis of manipulation has been continually tested in studies of reception. Scholars have contrasted the diversity of the 19th-century media with the dominance of media corporations in the 20th century.

The construction of identities and the role of ideology have also been important themes. Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* (1983) emphasized the profound impact of the press in the formation of national and cultural identities in the modern world. Scholars of China point to the role of the media in the remarkable integration of the country in the 20th century, an integration built upon achievements of the late

imperial period. The homogeneous, high-context cultural identities of Japan have been reflected in very subtle advertisements. Studies of the radio have revealed that radio programs sought to reinforce gender and national identities. The study of minority presses, the relationship of religion and the media, and the historical analysis of radio programs have contributed to understanding the formation of cultural identities.

In the last three decades the study of advertising has come into its own, stimulated by broad theoretical works such as Raymond Williams' *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (1980) or Daniel Boorstin's *The Image* (1962) which took the domination of the visual as a crucial aspect of modern life. Analyses of the visual content of advertising such as Judith Williamson's *Decoding Advertisements* (1978) and Stuart Ewen's *All Consuming Images* (1988) underlined the importance of "image management." The cultural history of advertising revives the original contexts and perceptions of advertising. Jackson Lears in *Fables of Abundance* (1994) pointed out that William James at the turn of the century saw advertising not as advocating hedonism and materialism but as a part of the routinization of modern life that was transforming American society through economic rationalization. Other important themes in the study of the media include theories of "hypermedia" – nonlinear media – first advanced in the 1960s and associated with the electronic revolution, economic logic, and utopian aspirations.

H. HAZEL HAHN

See also Anderson, B.; Boorstin; Briggs; Film; Habermas; McLuhan; Williams, R.

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Medicine, History of

The history of medicine or medico-history began as illustrative historical accounts intended to inform the practice of contemporary physicians. This work usually exhibited a straightforward, positivist point of view with little context or interpretation, and was essentially focused on great healers and their methods. This remained true until well into the 20th century, when the nature and scope of medical education became more structured through scientific advances. As a result, fewer and fewer physicians have had either the general educational background or, perhaps more crucially, the leisure to produce significant works on the history of medicine. As medical practice relied more on laboratory findings, lessons for the present became more difficult to discern in examples from the past.

Since the Enlightenment, there has been a direct shift from these doxographical studies, to an emphasis on the history of specific diseases, on the effect of the environment on health, on different branches of medicine such as epidemiology or psychiatry, on biological factors in history, on nutrition, on public health, and perhaps most importantly and most radically, on the patient. All this reflects the increasing influence of social history in the 20th century, and also the spread of interdisciplinarity among historians of medicine who routinely use the methodology and ideas of anthropology, linguistics, and demography among other disciplines, to explore the history of medicine. Also influential has been the expansion of empirical sources interrogated about the history of medicine. From the study of ancient medical texts, modern historians have moved on to the inclusion of clinical notes, legal records, topographical maps, and a variety of other sources.

This change did not come quickly. The European schools of the history of medicine, especially the Germans, were influenced by Kurt Sprengel's *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der Arzneykunde* (Essay on a Pragmatic History of Medicine, 1803). Sprengel related medicine to its surrounding culture, thereby revealing it as a branch of intellectual history. Karl Sudhoff controlled the history of medicine in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century through his periodical *Sudhoffs Archiv* or *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Medizin*. His pupils were physician-historians with sufficient knowledge in the humanities to sow the seeds of what would become the social history of medicine later in the 20th century. Henry Sigerist, Sudhoff's successor at the University of Leipzig's Institute for the History of Medicine (and later briefly director of the Johns Hopkins University Institute for the History of Medicine), made the first clear call for historians of medicine to see their subject as social history. Despite Sigerist's sojourn at Johns Hopkins, medical historians in the United States were slow to adopt interdisciplinary methods. While research in continental Europe and in Britain was incorporating the insights of demographers, anthropologists, sociologists, and economists, the history of

medicine remained the province of physicians in the United States until the 1970s.

Twentieth-century historians Henry Sigerist, Richard Shryock, George Rosen – who used the term *iatrocentric* to describe previous history of medicine – and Erwin Ackerknecht all envisioned a history of medicine going beyond the chronologies, hagiographic biographies, and bio-bibliographies that had dominated the history of medicine since Le Clerc's *Histoire de la médecine* (1696; *The History of Physick*, 1699). Le Clerc had infused the history of medicine with Renaissance humanist ideals. Unlike the history of science – where Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) was a landmark work – there has been no one work that was the turning point for the path of the historiography of the history of medicine.

However, Michel Foucault's *Folie et déraison* (1961; *Madness and Civilization*, 1965) and *Naissance de la clinique* (1963; *The Birth of the Clinic*, 1973) called attention to the language surrounding medical events. Foucault exerted tremendous influence on the developing group of historians of medicine who were in reality historians of health care and all of its practitioners.

Since the 1950s the history of medicine has enriched itself by its seemingly endless efforts to become multidisciplinary. The sudden influx of researchers not trained in applied medicine sparked criticism that the new scholars left medicine and doctors out of the history of medicine. This has led to a further tension between the medically trained historians who, for example, have sought to explain how the treatment of a certain disease has evolved over time, and researchers whose training rejects a narrowly scientific reading of the evidence. This has been most noticeable in the response to François Delaporte's claim that disease has no meaning apart from that assigned by society. This poststructuralist reading of the history of medicine has puzzled researchers more wedded to the empirical tradition, who would argue that diseases and medical problems are not shaped by discourse, but by their biological and physiological imperatives. Other difficulties have emerged from the difficulty of incorporating many excellent studies of isolated phenomena in small populations into a larger vision of the changing priorities of healthcare around the world and since the time of Hippocrates.

Scholars have called for these diverse studies to be gathered together and synthesized. To date, no one scholar has attempted a single-volume history of medicine reflecting the issues raised by the social historian, but two works published in 1993 attempted to begin the task, if not always with the conciseness needed to explicate the topic. The *Companion Encyclopedia of the History of Medicine*, edited by W.F. Bynum and Roy Porter, brought together essays on both the traditional history of medicine and topics suggested by the social history of medicine. The *Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, edited by Kenneth Kiple and the product of the Cambridge History and Geography of Human Disease Project, endeavored to bridge the chasm that opened between the medically trained and the historically trained historians of medicine in the last fifty years. Their bibliographies offer the researcher items from a full spectrum of approaches: literary, medical, social history, anthropology, geography, and area studies. A truly interdisciplinary list of contributors points to the future of medical history and biomedical history.

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See also Crosby; Foucault; Kuhn; Rosenberg, C.; Science; Sigerist; Sudhoff; Temkin

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Medieval Chronicles

Although scholars are agreed that chronicles, annals, and histories rank among the richest sources for medieval history, more than a century and a half of study and discussion has failed to produce a consensus as to the basis for differentiating these from one another. Prior to the 14th century, writers tended to use the term almost interchangeably. Modern historians have tended to see chronicles as more general in scope, with annals primarily treating local events in a series of chronological notations. World chronicles certainly fit the usage. They may be traced to Eusebius of Caesarea's Chronicle (written in Greek, c.303 CE, Latin version by Jerome, c.380) and generally

follow the Eusebian approach, focusing on the history of salvation since the Creation (often calling attention to this theme in a preface) and arranged in books and chapters. The earliest chroniclers simply rewrote Eusebius or Eusebius-Jerome and added material to bring the account to the chronicler's own time. These chronicles were in turn rewritten in later ones. Nonetheless, a great many chronicles are limited in scope to a single region, locality, or institution. In one famous instance, the monk Orderic Vitalis set out to write a chronicle of his monastery, expanded it to include the history of the Normans, then to the history of western Christianity. Annals began only in the 7th or 8th centuries as annotations in Paschal tables that established the annual dates for the celebration of Easter. In the sometimes large blank space between years, Anglo-Saxon monks began noting the significant events of the year. Missionaries introduced the practice on the Continent, where it became the dominant mode of contemporary history. The form became so successful during the Carolingian Renaissance that from the 10th century some Latin chronicles began to adopt a chronological/annalistic arrangement and the two genres converged. To further complicate the situation, *gesta*, genealogies, and hagiography may embrace background or records that are more properly annals or chronicles, and many writings referred to as histories would better be termed chronicles or annals.

Both chronicles and annals are rich mines of specific information on medieval life. Since they embrace treatments of regions, cities and towns, rulers, popes, bishops, abbots and abbesses, monastic orders and individual institutions, they contain a variety of valuable details and insights about popular culture, rituals, procedures, mentalities, and the like. Of course, any portion of a chronicle that treats of times more than two generations removed from its writing is not to be trusted in matters of fact or detail, however interesting it may be by virtue of its theme, mode of expression, or affiliation. The clergy were most often the authors of these works, which therefore reflect the ecclesiastical point of view and defend church interests. Though the authors were literate, they were not often very perceptive or critical in their approach to reality and sometimes seemed to regard their task as unredeemed drudgery, a mental state in which neither linguistic nor conceptual rigor flourished. Moreover, annals, *gesta*, and genealogies are to be systematically interrogated rather than taken at face value because they are often concerned only with celebrating the virtues and achievements of a person, trumpeting the greatness of an institution, or establishing a claim to title or property and not to what later times would consider even minimal objectivity.

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See also Medieval Historical Writing

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Medieval Historical Writing

Historical writing, like other literature in the Middle Ages, was almost entirely the work of clerics, and was imbued with religious thought and biblical imagery. At the same time it was conducted in the setting of a strong oral culture. Books of all kinds might be used for private study, but they were commonly meant to be read aloud, to audiences with a prodigious memory and appetite for detail, and with a strong preference for verse and rhythmic patterns of prose. The oral and written cultures first met in the monastic refectory and the royal court, and fused there. The universities subsequently both refined and broadened literary skills, but folk history and myth – such traditions as the Merovingian kings' descent from a seagod, or the foundation of Albion, prehistoric Britain, by Brutus of

Troy – became and long remained components of the written history of every country.

Historical writing of all kinds flourished in classical antiquity, but the Middle Ages had in effect to recreate it. Medieval historians did so mainly through the medium of annals, a simple year-by-year record of events for which the church provided the expertise and the setting. As the date of Easter is determined each year by the incidence of the first full moon after the vernal equinox, and the other moveable feasts such as Whitsun accord with Easter, every church needed tables from which those dates could be calculated or read, and also an annual calendar to record saints' days and the obituaries of benefactors. Such documents naturally attracted and accumulated notes of other events, especially the lives and deeds and deaths of the sovereigns, lords, and ladies who were the clergy's patrons.

Down to the 11th century texts of that kind were mainly to be found in monastic houses, which commanded much of the wealth and almost all the intellectual power of the western church. In the absence of any systematic archival sources, such works as the annals of the abbey of Fulda, or the annals of St. Bertin from St. Omer, published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, provide essential guides to western and central European history for several centuries. The annals known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, compiled in the interests of the West Saxon monarchy under the stress of the Scandinavian invasions, were one of the longest-lived of such enterprises, which all served political as well as pietistic purposes. The *Grandes Chroniques de France* compiled at St-Denis provide an encomium of the later Capetian kings.

The examples of history and biography available from the classical world were taken as literary rather than methodological models. Biography was largely subsumed in lives of saints and martyrs, such as St. Martin of Tours and St. Edmund of East Anglia, and narrative history almost disappeared. One notable early exception was Bede's account of the conversion of the English, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Ecclesiastical History of the English People), completed in 731, pious in its purpose, but lucidly written and critically directed, with a careful attention to sources. The survival of almost 800 manuscript copies shows how widely and long it was admired and studied, but it had few effective imitators. On the other hand, hagiography in its turn bred political biography, as in the life of Louis VI (1081-1137) of France by Abbot Suger of St-Denis, or the life of St. Louis, Louis IX (1215-70) by Jean de Joinville.

The most distinctive kind of historical writing in the Middle Ages was the chronicle, which developed from annalistic notes into a general narrative. The transition was not sudden, and was a product of many forces. From c.1000 a remarkable growth in population, sustained by a corresponding surge of economic activity, worked great changes in the social and intellectual life of western Europe. One consequence was that the secular clergy, those who worked among the laity, came to provide expert services for kings and princes who found their authority enhanced by the written word. Although most chronicles were written in the monasteries, from the 12th century onward the growth of secular government produced clerks who subsequently drew on their experiences to write accounts of their own times. Ralph Diceto and Roger Howden were two

such ministers of Henry II of England (reigned 1154–89), who wrote what were in effect historical memoirs.

There were two manifestations of the chronicle that were highly characteristic of the time. The first was the universal history, and the second its local continuations. The universal history took various forms, but it commonly began with the creation of the world and its cosmography, a framework into which what would now be called geography and science was introduced, and went on to demonstrate the working of God's purpose toward mankind down to some particular place and time. It drew freely upon the Bible, and went on through the history of Rome to the Christianization of the west, and to the emergence of the papacy and the German empire. The most popular work of that kind in the later Middle Ages was the world chronicle of Martin von Troppau, also known as Martinus Polonus, a Dominican who died at Bologna in 1278. His chronicle circulated in several vernacular translations as well as its original Latin. The continuations were added to suit local purposes wherever copies of the chronicle came to rest. England produced its own master narrative in the *Polychronicon* of Ralf Higden of Chester (d. 1364), which then formed the basis of most English chronicles until the end of the Middle Ages. The universal chronicle had a wide appeal, but it was principally sustained by the schools of divinity in the universities, which used it for exegetic studies.

The Italians first coined the expression Middle Ages (*medio aevo*) to describe the period of uncritical belief from which they perceived themselves emerging in the late 12th century. For the most part they wrote history in the intense context of life in the city state, when Florence and Venice were worlds of their own, though the chronicle of the Franciscan friar known as Salimbene (1221–90) is a valuable source for French and German history. Their critical acumen was exercised first upon the writings of classical antiquity which they greatly admired, but spread to theological studies and on to secular history. The Middle Ages came to an end when those habits of thought spread into northern Europe in the movement called the Renaissance, and the past was seen in a new perspective.

GEOFFREY H. MARTIN

See also Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Bede; Britain: 1066–1485; France: 1000–1450; Germany: to 1450; Knowles; Medieval Chronicles; Spain: to 1450

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Medvedev, Roy 1925–

Russian historian

The nonconformist historian, prolific writer, and leading Soviet dissident, Roy Medvedev stands apart from many of his contemporaries in that he remained loyal to the paradigm of socialism in his criticism of Stalinist rule. Despite police harassment, Medvedev remained a citizen of the former Soviet Union, who, in his allegiance to the socialist idea, has refused to live in exile.

His most acclaimed work, *K sudu istorii* (1971; *Let History Judge*, 1971), chronicles Stalin's origins, his gradual emergence from Lenin's shadow, his rise to absolute power, and then the growth of Stalinism and of the personality cult. This was the main work of his life and took years of research and revision. The crux of this text rests on Medvedev's commitment to exposing the political realities of a ruling strata whose survival was rooted in the mass deception of its society. His analysis of Stalin was, therefore, central, as it was through this ruler that total control was implemented. His 1989 revision stresses the continued need to challenge persistent myths about Stalin, that often continue to portray him "as a 'wise statesman,' a 'prudent manager,' an 'experienced politician,' and an 'outstanding military leader'."

Many Western commentators and soviet émigrés perceive Medvedev's account of Stalinism to be somewhat misguided in his emphasis on Stalin, the leader, as opposed to the political system that created him. Medvedev's notion that Stalinism was Marxism gone wrong and his commitment to Lenin and Leninist ideals pervades much of his work. Yet, Medvedev has written extensively on major areas of the corrupt Soviet system which locates fault not just in Stalin and his entourage but the sociopolitical and economic conditions that underpinned him, as in *All Stalin's Men* (1983) and *Kniga o sotsialisticheskoi demokratii* (1972; *On Socialist Democracy*, 1975).

Medvedev's dual stance of maintaining a pro-Soviet line while fearlessly exposing and criticizing the previously taboo areas of crime, corruption, and injustice that were common practice under Stalin, has attracted mixed reactions. Medvedev's ability to provide in-depth, and often extensive "inside" information on Stalin, without access to archives, and also – unlike his brother Zhores, who was unjustly placed in a psychiatric hospital – to escape severe persecution, has often led to the accusation that he was in some way collaborating with the KGB. It is important to stress that, even when derived from suspect sources, like the recollections of old Bolsheviks, Medvedev's use of the material, once obtained, clearly illustrated his intentions as a dissident to expose aspects of Soviet society that were purposefully hidden from the majority in the interests of the party.

Another major feature of his work was his advocacy of gradual democratic socialist reform from above. The idea that true democratic reform could emerge only from a renovated Communist party was a fundamental denial of the traditional Marxist idea that change could come only from the mass mobilization of the proletariat. Furthermore, contrary to Western Marxist perspectives, Medvedev believed that, although the Stalin and post-Stalin periods were fundamental in the formation of a central bureaucracy, the Soviet state machine did not constitute a ruling class. Instead he saw bureaucracy as balancing on

a fragile political equilibrium in which bureaucrats had no access to the ownership of the means of production or possession of lands that could be bequeathed to their children.

This argument is indicative of his stance as an alternative Soviet dissident. That neither socialism nor capitalism had been achieved in the Soviet Union was a controversial line of argument. What is explicit in his work is the idea that it was the malpractice of the party elite, and in particular Stalin, that had led to the erosion of the socialist idea. The recognition of this was seen to be vital if socialism was to remain viable. As Medvedev writes in his preface to the 1989 edition of *Let History Judge*, in order for socialism as "a scientific social doctrine" to survive it was necessary to "explain the socio-historical, economic, and political processes that under specific circumstances led to the degeneration of the socialist state and to tyranny by specific individuals in socialist countries." This independent and powerful indictment of a debased socialism has had a penetrating effect on historical debates resulting in both widespread criticism and worldwide praise.

The role of Medvedev, as a key Soviet historian, has been further enhanced by his keeping alight the ideas and lives of other heroic dissidents who otherwise would have remained effectively invisible in official Soviet history. For example, in "Bukharin's Last Years," published in *New Left Review* in 1978, Medvedev perceptively unfolded the elusive character of one of the greatest dissidents of the Communist party, who, for Medvedev, represents a dignified and loyal opposition from within.

Medvedev often saw himself as breaking out of his academic mold in his quest to reveal and influence his political surroundings. In his 1989 preface to *Let History Judge* he wrote, "It long ago became my primary aim and the driving motive of my life and work to orient myself in the contradictory reality around me and to find a way of changing it for the better, including changes in the prevailing ideological conceptions."

In his quest to defend socialism Medvedev had only one solution, "to speak the truth". Whether this is possible is debatable, but Medvedev did to a large extent give fresh insight into the essence of Soviet society in his exposure of "that serious and prolonged disease . . . which has been given the name Stalinism."

KATHERINE PINNOCK

See also Russia: Modern

Biography

Roy Alexandrovich Medvedev. Born Tbilisi, 14 November 1925. Educated at Leningrad State University; Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR; received PhD. Worked in a factory, 1943-46; taught history at the Ural Secondary School, 1951-53; director of a secondary school in the Leningrad region, 1954-56; deputy to editor-in-chief, Textbook Publishing House, Moscow, 1957-59; department head, Research Institute of Vocational Education, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Science, 1960-70, and senior scientist, 1970-71; freelance writer from 1972. Until 1969, was a member of the Communist party; reactivated his party membership, 1981-91, and served in various political posts; co-chairman, Socialist Party of Labor, from 1991. Married Galina A. Gaidina, 1956 (1 son).

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Meier, August 1923-

US historian

A leading authority on 20th- and late 19th-century African American history, August Meier began his professional life as a historian in the 1940s, at Tougaloo, a small black college in Mississippi. At this time most black educational institutions in the United States lacked the intellectual prestige of their white counterparts, and few other white historians took much active interest in African American society as a serious area of research.

Meier's unusual choice of career path owed much to his early family life and upbringing. The son of a German father and East European Jewish mother, he was initially drawn to the study of race by the rise of Nazism and anti-Semitism in Germany during the 1930s. This concern was reinforced by the political radicalism of his parents who at this time were, as Meier himself described it in *A White Scholar and the Black Community, 1945-1965* (1992), "left wing New Dealers."

Meier is a lifelong liberal himself, and his many academic writings have been inspired not just by scholarly curiosity but a personal commitment to bring about a greater understanding of, and improvement in, the pattern of race relations in the United States. A grassroots civil rights activist as well as a historian, Meier participated in many of the protests of the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s. He enjoyed personal contact with many African American spokesmen of the time, including Stokely Carmichael, Bayard Rustin, and Malcolm X, which provided him with invaluable insights for his academic research.

In collaboration with the historian Elliott Rudwick, Meier published *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* (1973),

which has become a standard authority on the origins, character, and development of the Congress of Racial Equality, one of the most prominent civil rights organizations of the 1960s. His scholarly partnership with Rudwick has played an important part in Meier's career. Since the 1970s they have jointly written or edited several important studies on African American history.

Among Meier's earlier, but most influential, writings on the civil rights movement was a 1965 article for *New Politics*, "On the Role of Martin Luther King." Examining criticisms made by radical activists, that King was too accommodationist to white society, Meier advanced the view that this "moderation" was actually a key asset. It enabled King to occupy the "vital center" of the civil rights movement, uniting both militant and conservative civil rights organizations behind his leadership. The last three years of King's life, 1965–68, when many historians believe King went through a process of radicalization, subsequently created the need for a reassessment of Meier's analysis. Despite this, his seminal study is still a key starting point for any understanding of the life and career of King.

Although himself a liberal integrationist, Meier has won respect for his knowledge and understanding of black nationalist groups in the United States, such as the Black Muslims or Nation of Islam. In this context during 1962, at Morgan State College, Maryland, he once famously participated in public debate, with the then Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, on the merits of integrationism versus separatism.

Meier is well regarded for his work on early 20th-century black civil rights leadership, and his first book, *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915* (1963), remains a major work on this subject. Particularly important have been Meier's writings on the accommodationist African American leader Booker T. Washington, who dominated black American life between 1895 and 1915. Meier's insights into Washington's motives and strategies provided key foundations for later revisionist historians such as Louis Harlan.

Since the mid-1960s the emergence of Black Power, and other developments in race relations, resulted in a general sense of disillusionment in the United States with the liberal values associated with Meier. Paradoxically, the substantial awakening of interest in African American history that also occurred in these years has led to a much greater and widespread recognition of the work of Meier the historian. He is now justly recognized as one of the foremost thinkers and researchers in his field of study.

KEVERN J. VERNEY

See also African American; Franklin; Hine

Biography

Born New York City, 20 April 1923. Received BA, Oberlin College, 1945; MA, Columbia University, 1948, PhD 1957. Taught at Tougaloo College, 1945–49; Fisk University 1953–56; Morgan State College, 1957–64; Roosevelt University, 1964–67; and Kent State University, 1967–93 (emeritus).

Principal Writings

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Meinecke, Friedrich 1862–1954

German historian

Friedrich Meinecke was one of the most influential German historians in the first third of the 20th century. He was editor of the prestigious *Historische Zeitschrift* from 1896 to 1935 and chaired the Historische Reichskommission in the Weimar republic. In his historiographical work he broke new ground with contributions to the intellectual history of the 18th and 19th centuries. Meinecke was also an influential analyst of contemporary history and contributed to the political and intellectual reorientation after the cataclysms of two world wars.

Meinecke had already published widely when, in 1908, his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (*Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, 1970) had an immediate impact on German historiography. The synthesis of political and intellectual history that Meinecke achieved in depicting the intricate relation between nation and state in 19th-century Germany had, as Ludwig Dehio later remembered, the effect of a spring rain on the younger generation of historians. The theme of the book is Germany's development from a *Kulturnation* (cultural nation) to a *Staatsnation* (nation-state) as reflected in the publications of authors and politicians from Humboldt to Ranke and Bismarck. A subsequent large part of the book deals with the relation between the Prussian nation-state and the German nation-state.

In his *Die Idee der Staatsräson* (1924; *Machiavellism*, 1957), Meinecke focused on the relation between power and morality, between *kratos* and *ethos*. He highlighted the development of the idea of the reason of state (*raison d'état*), from Machiavelli and the age of emerging absolutism, to the era of mature absolutism, culminating with Frederick the Great and his attempt to bridge the gap between the philosopher and the king. A final chapter is devoted to the idea of the state in 19th-century Germany (Hegel, Fichte, Ranke, and Treitschke). Much more pessimistic in outlook than in his previous book, Meinecke underlined the dualism of the law of states on the one side and the natural law on the other side, the perennial struggle between both realms and the reason of state as the bridge between power impulses and moral responsibilities. The reason of state thus is not politics solely based on power, but the attempt to bring together *kratos* and *ethos* for the best of the state.

In 1936, when the balance of *kratos* and *ethos* was already upset in Germany, Meinecke published *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (*Historism*, 1972), where he interpreted the origins

of historicism as a concept opposed to the universalism of the Enlightenment. Meinecke argued that historicism is deeply rooted in European intellectual history and can be found in the writings of English and French writers. The cultural concept of historicism in Germany is represented by Lessing, Winckelmann, Möser, Herder, and Goethe. With Goethe, historicism reached its fullest cultural potential and subsequently became a political concept, serving as a justification for the German *Sonderweg* in the 19th century.

Immediately after World War II Meinecke wrote a short book entitled *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (1946; *The German Catastrophe*, 1950) in which he interpreted Hitler in the context of German history. Hitler, according to Meinecke, had no organic ties to German history and German history did not inevitably result in the National Socialist catastrophe. Meinecke pointed to the mass Machiavellism as a European phenomenon since the French Revolution and to coincidences that facilitated the rise of Hitler. His liberal-conservative interpretation of the German catastrophe concluded with a call to go back to the roots of German cultural identity to build a better future.

Meinecke always had political influence, whether in supporting the Weimar republic or in attempting to contribute to the intellectual reorientation after World War II. In 1948 he became one of the founders of the Free University of Berlin; the university's Department of History was named after him in 1951. Meinecke did not found a school of historiography, but his emphasis on the history of ideas and how they shaped politics influenced generations of scholars in Europe and America. With the advent of the social sciences within historical research and its emphasis on the meticulous analysis of facts, rather than on intuitive understanding or on colorful and atmospheric portrayals, Meinecke's influence considerably abated. It remains to be seen if his deep insights into history will be rediscovered by the post-modern approaches to history.

MATTHIAS ZIMMER

See also Begriffsgeschichte; Fischer; Gatterer; Germany: 1800–1945; Gilbert; Intellectual; Kehr; Rosenberg, H.; Schnabel; Srbik

Biography

Born Salzwedel, Prussia, 30 October 1862. Studied at universities of Bonn and Berlin, 1882–86. Archivist, German State Archives, Berlin, 1887–1901; professor, University of Berlin, 1896–1901; University of Strasbourg, 1901–06; University of Freiburg, 1906–14; and University of Berlin, 1914–32. Editor, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1896–1935. Chairman, Historische Reichskommission, 1928–35. Rector, Free University of Berlin, 1948. Died Berlin, 6 February 1954.

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Memory

The French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) was the first scholar to discuss systematically the relation between history and “memory,” and his studies on the subject, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (The Social Frameworks of Memory, 1925), *La Topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre Sainte* (The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land, 1941), and *La Mémoire collective* (1950; *The Collective Memory*, 1980), remain classics in the field. But “memory” began to emerge as an issue of serious and widespread concern in history and related areas only in the 1980s. There are a number of reasons for increased interest in the subject: a growing fascination with the *experience* of history, supplementing more traditional concerns with sociopolitical events and structures; a growing willingness to link historical writing explicitly (rather than only covertly) to the identities of particular groups; and a growing sense that the modern social and cultural order has a tendency, which needs to be actively resisted, to obliterate consciousness of the past from people's minds.

The scare quotes around memory are needed because the term, as currently employed in historical and metahistorical

writing, refers to a number of different phenomena. "Memory" as understood by historians has little relation to psychological or neurobiological conceptions. It does, however, have an important relation to psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud discovered in his therapeutic practice that memories become, under certain conditions, pathogenic, and he aimed to get his patients through and beyond memory, or at any rate beyond its bad consequences. His was a common 19th- and early 20th-century view, found, as Ian Hacking noted, in such therapists as Pierre Janet and H.H. Goddard; it was also articulated by Friedrich Nietzsche in "Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben" (1874; "On the Use and Disadvantage of History", 1909) and other works. Such writers held that memory is something to be overcome, by hypnosis, analysis, courage in facing the future, or other means. Currently, however, many therapists and others influenced by psychoanalysis take a different view: while acknowledging that memories may be traumatic, they also see memory as a marker of the lived experience through which the self's identity has come into being, and hence as possessing an authenticity and value of its own, however distressing its contents.

In one of its meanings, closely akin to psychoanalytic conceptions, "memory" denotes the recovery and conversion into narrative of the experience of historical agents and sufferers. Beginning in the late 1970s, memory in what we might call its "experiential" sense became an issue in Holocaust studies, when scholars and others started to come to grips with the fact that the generation of Holocaust survivors would soon die out. Saul Friedlander is one among many historians for whom Holocaust memory, and its integration into historical research and writing, have been important concerns. Also worth noting is the videotaping of the recollections of Holocaust survivors, undertaken at the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies (established 1982) at Yale University, as well as elsewhere. Such taping goes far beyond what is needed for historical documentation alone; it thus illustrates the positive valuation that "memory" has acquired in contemporary culture. The concern with memory in its experiential sense also enters into many other domains and genres of history, including "history from below" and *Alltagsgeschichte* or "history of everyday life."

Second, "memory" has come to denote knowledge or tradition. In the 1980s scholars could still think about knowledge or tradition without any important evocation of memory, as illustrated by E.D. Hirsch, Jr.'s widely noted *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1987), but by the early 1990s the notion of "cultural" or "public" memory began to acquire some currency as a stand-in for cultural knowledge. "Memory" is widely assumed to connote something living and authentic; hence, "cultural memory" seems to manifest a wish for an authentic, as distinguished from a dead or oppressive, tradition or knowledge. In historical and metahistorical writing, memory in this second, cognitive sense is often said to be "collective." Sometimes "collective memory" refers to the memories that a group of people, such as Holocaust survivors, have of the historical experience that they underwent, in which case the first, experiential sense of historical memory is in play. But the term is also used to refer to the memories that people have of participating in such tradition-manifesting rituals as the Seder, Christmas, or Bastille Day. Memory of participation in cultural practices that *refer* to an

alleged historical past is not the same as memory that is of that historical past, although in contemporary culture there is a tendency to blur the two.

Collective memory of participation in rituals easily tips over into a third sense, in which "memory" denotes commemoration. What distinguishes many memorials and museums constructed or redesigned in the 1970s and later is the concern they manifest with giving visitors an experience putatively similar to the experience of people in the past. On the basis of such simulated experience, some sites attempt to offer a commemoration of the past rivaling the directness and vividness that is often attributed to the memory of the past: the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, which opened in 1993, and Steven Spielberg's film *Schindler's List* are good examples of memorials of this type.

Memory in its various senses has an important role to play in history. For clarity, it is important to distinguish among the different senses. It is also important to be aware of memory's limitations. Near the beginning of Western historiography, Thucydides reacted against Herodotus, whom he saw as excessively reliant on oral tradition. Instead, he resolved to write his history of the Peloponnesian War on the basis of eyewitness accounts – that is, on the basis of the recounted memories of historical participants. The memories were also, in part, Thucydides' own, since he was himself a participant in the war. Our modern view of memory is more chastened. Memory has a close relation to various subjectivities, including those of historical participants, of the historian, and of the audience addressed by the historian. Recognizing the uncritical character of subjectivity, R.G. Collingwood insisted, in *The Idea of History* (1946), that memory be confirmed by material traces. Collingwood's rule remains a good one, since in its absence history risks being displaced by unchecked desire.

ALLAN MEGILL

See also Collingwood; Freud; Holocaust; Nietzsche; Oral

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Menéndez Pidal, Ramón 1869–1968

Spanish medievalist and literary historian

Ramón Menéndez Pidal studied with Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo at the University of Madrid. When the latter became director of the National Library in 1899 his chair was abolished and Menéndez Pidal won the successor position in comparative philology. In 1910 Menéndez Pidal became director of the newly-founded Center for Historical Studies, devoted mainly to the historical development of Spanish language and literature. There he trained an extraordinary group of scholars and the Center became a haven for European Hispanists. Américo Castro, as professor of the history of the Spanish language, was a key figure at the Center, as was the institutional historian Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, founder and editor of the *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*.

In *Orígenes del español* (Origins of Spanish, 1926), Menéndez Pidal laid out the cultural and ethnic history of Castile and León through the 11th century, made a case for the strong influence of Mozarabic culture brought there by Christians fleeing al-Andalus (Islamic Spain), and also theorized on the emergence of Romance dialects out of vulgar Latin. Here he applied the neo-Lamarckian evolutionism of August Schleicher by asserting that the Castilian language stabilized early by defeating competing dialectal norms. Menéndez Pidal's notion of the *convivencia* (coexistence) of norms struggling with each other was to become, in Castro's work, a general model of sociocultural interaction.

Menéndez Pidal's controversial method of reconstructing medieval epic poetry from chronicles nevertheless placed him admirably for the writing of chronicle-based history. *La España del Cid* (1929; *The Cid and His Spain*, 1934) was his primary contribution to medieval historiography. Here, he attacked Dutch Arabist Reinhart Dozy's portrayal of the Cid as a kind of noble brigand and made him into the paladin of Castilian and Leonese imperialism, the very spirit of the struggle against the Muslims, and a model of feudal virtue. In spite of the nationalistic overlay, the book was a model piece of research, emerging from the considerable documentary evidence amassed in the Center. It laid the groundwork for further discussions of political and social interaction among the Taifa states of Islamic and the Christian kingdoms of the 11th century.

Menéndez Pidal spent most of the period of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) in New York (as visiting professor at Columbia University) and in Paris, returning to Spain soon after the defeat of the Republic. The nationalist political ideology of Francoism was based on regionalist – particular Castilian – medievalism in which certain of Menéndez Pidal's ideas played major roles. Not only did heroes of important epics and chronicles, such as Fernán González and the Cid, assume gigantic proportions in the new nationalism, so also did the "Reconquest," viewed as

Castile's "manifest destiny." Patriotism based on anything else was false. The Goths had made no cowardly retreat, and the basic rationale for Reconquest was religious. Although Menéndez Pidal rejected the notion of implacable and permanent hostility between Christians and Muslims, he did so on the false premise that the latter were "racially" Spaniards. On the other hand, he not only vouched for Christianity's superiority, but promoted the legitimacy of Castile's title to "a Leonese notion of Empire." Near the end of *The Cid and His Spain*, he asserted the existence of a popular nationalism in medieval Castile, led by classless elites. His historically-based political views appeared between 1944 and 1950 in a series of articles in the *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, the ideological voice of the Franco regime, where his accounts of the originality of Castile's vision and the reality of Castilian hegemony among the other Spanish kingdoms were quickly raised to the level of nationalist dogma. Menéndez Pidal's leadership in Castilian medievalism was at the center of ideas expressed in the official 1944 celebration of the "Millennium of Castile."

Nevertheless when, in 1947, Menéndez Pidal revived the notion of "two Spains" to explain modern Spanish politics in terms of a struggle between progressive and conservative factions of a disunified bourgeoisie, Francoist intellectuals regarded his position as nearly treasonable.

Menéndez Pidal finished his active life as a scholar in the 1960s with his participation in two significant scholarly debates. The first involved the polemic between Américo Castro and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz on the origins of Spanish culture and nationality, which Castro attributed to the centuries-long contact among Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Here Menéndez Pidal came down squarely on the traditionalist side which held that Spanish culture was inherent in the land and its population and that therefore "Al-Andalus . . . had Hispanified its Islam; the scant Asiatic and African racial elements had been almost completely absorbed within the indigenous elements, so that the great majority of Spanish Muslims were simply Ibero-Romans or Goths reshaped by Islamic culture, and who could easily enough come to an agreement with their brothers to the north." This radical denial of the authenticity of Al-Andalus as a normative Arabic Islamic country placed him on the side of Sánchez-Albornoz and severely strained his relationship with his former student Castro. In the second polemic he opposed Sánchez-Albornoz's notion of the complete depopulation of the Duero valley in the early Middle Ages which rested in part on a literal reading of portions of the Chronicle of Alfonso III alleging that Alfonso I had removed all the Christians to the north. Menéndez Pidal argued (correctly) that *poblar, popolare* did not mean "to populate" but rather to reduce a disorganized zone to administration (a usage found elsewhere in medieval Europe) and that, in any case, place-name evidence suggested continuity in settlement. His participation in these controversies revealed his continuing engagement with critical historiographical debates whose concerns persist to this day.

THOMAS F. GLICK

See also Castro; Spain; to 1450

Biography

Born La Coruna, 13 March 1869. Professor of Romance philology, University of Madrid, 1899–1939; founder, Madrid Center for

Historical Studies, 1907. Founder/editor, *Revista de filología española*, 1914. Died Madrid, 14 November 1968.

Principal Writings

Editor, *Primera Crónica General: estoria de España que mondó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo sancho 4 en 1289* (First General Chronicle), 1906
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Mentalities, History of

The history of mentalities is an approach to cultural history that focuses on the attitudes of ordinary people toward their everyday lives. Popularized during the 1960s and 1970s, it is identified especially with French historical scholarship, although it eventually influenced historians everywhere, notably in Britain (Peter Burke, Keith Thomas), the United States (Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert Darnton, Lawrence Stone), Germany (Ulrich Raulff), and Italy (Carlo Ginzburg).

The history of mentalities might be characterized as a reinvention of the history of ideas in a more democratic guise. Historians of ideas had been largely interested in the outlook and influence of the most illustrious philosophers and writers, especially as they engaged in intellectual innovation. Historians of mentalities, by contrast, have been more concerned with customs and tacit understandings as they are woven into the fabric of popular traditions. Mentalities presented a repertoire of fascinating topics little studied before: attitudes toward children and family life; growing up, growing old, and dying; eccentric, deviant, criminal, and nonconformist behavior; manners and social mores; religious piety and devotional practices. In addressing such topics, its historians redirected attention from the high discourse of intellectuals to the popular idiom of ordinary people. The historians of ideas had been interested in the way ideas circulate among elites before being more widely disseminated in popular culture. The historians of mentalities studied the environments in which people form

their attitudes, and observed how tenacious can be the modes of resistance to intellectual change – the inertial power of habits of mind, conventions of speech, and visceral convictions that inhere in the common sense of tradition. Accordingly, historians of mentalities sought to locate and describe the deep structures of culture – the mental imagery, collective memories, and linguistic forms that frame the dimensions of our mental universe. Concomitantly, their work charted the possibilities of a non-psychoanalytic approach to historical psychology. They studied the interplay of thought and emotion, habit and innovation, poetical and refined speech, orality and literacy in ways that revealed historically significant changes in the organization of the human psyche, even in relatively recent times.

The rise of mentalities as a historiographical interest has important sources in the French Annales school of historical writing, and for some scholars represents a stage in its evolution. As early as the 1920s, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch wrote pioneering studies on the collective psychology of people living in traditional European society. Febvre proposed an agenda for a new field of historical inquiry that would inventory the “mental equipment” and identify reconfigurations in the emotional life of human societies across the ages. But their appeal elicited few followers until the 1960s. One connection between the work of these Annales pioneers and the nascent interest in mentalities among a younger generation of historians was a study by one of Febvre’s students, Robert Mandrou. Working with a manuscript left by Febvre at his death in 1956, Mandrou wrote *Introduction à la France moderne* (1961; *Introduction to Modern France*, 1975), a history of French culture in the 16th and 17th centuries that underscored the importance of environmental, social and cultural constraints on intellectual innovation. It provided an important model for investigations in this field.

But the question remains, why did mentalities arouse such widespread historical interest in the 1960s whereas it had elicited so little before? Some scholars point to the relationship between mentalities and the evolution of more sophisticated research techniques, particularly those that employ quantitative analysis. They argue that such historical research had by the 1960s arrived at a stage of development in which quantitative methods could at last be applied to cultural data. But the best known and most popular studies were appreciated not only for their data-gathering, but also for the interesting long-range trends in the evolution of popular attitudes that they identified. Others evoked poignant issues about popular culture through micro-histories of particular events – Natalie Davis’s *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983), which explored the hallmarks of personal identity, for example, or Carlo Ginzburg’s *Il formaggio e i vermi* (1976; *The Cheese and the Worms*, 1980), which considered the relationship between literacy and the formulation of religious concepts. Certainly, mentalities was attuned to the keen interest in historical psychology during the 1960s, and in many ways it dealt more successfully with issues of collective psychology than did its psychoanalytic alternative, psychohistory, based on the model of Erik Erikson’s *Young Man Luther* (1958).

One might also argue that mentalities reflected the changing culture of the postwar era. In many ways, this new cultural history represented the historians’ response to issues raised by

the coming of the welfare state in Western civilization, for which problems of the quality of life were as important as those of its material condition. In the affluent society of the late 20th century, the politics of ideology was giving way to a politics of culture. The interest in mentalities reflected that reorientation, and permitted a “postmodern” cultural critique of the “modern” era of history that was being left behind.

Particularly important in this respect is the work of Philippe Ariès, one of the most original and widely read historians in this field during the 1960s. In his *L’Enfant et la vie familiale sous l’Ancien Régime* (1960; *Centuries of Childhood*, 1962), he addressed the topic of family history with an interpretation about the way long-term changes in attitudes toward childhood reveal the historical emergence of a developmental conception of the human life cycle. Ariès had important ties to the royalist Action Française and to right-wing educational movements under Vichy. In juxtaposing everyday life in traditional society to that in the modern world, he offered a subtle critique of the shortcomings of modern mass culture, with its stress upon material affluence, conformity, and consumerism. Ariès sought to expose the present disillusionment with this cultural ideal, particularly among the young, and the ways in which the mores of the old regime were germane as a reference point in the search for postmodern alternatives. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, the author of *Montaillou* (1975; translated 1978), a portrait of everyday life in a medieval village and the most popular study in this genre, found his way to mentalities as a saving shore from his youthful flirtation with the Communist party.

Mentalities effected a rendezvous for such historians, many of whom were disillusioned with the timeworn ideologies of the modern age. In its way, this historiographical movement evinced the historians’ effort to put the modern age in a post-modern historical perspective. From this vantage point, the seemingly diverse topical interests of the historians of mentalities converged toward a common preoccupation with traditional ways of life that were disappearing in modern culture. In their histories of everyday life in the modern world, they explored the moving boundary between rising expectations about cultural change in the public sphere and the profound resistance of traditional attitudes in the private one. They traced the dynamics of the historical relationship between the two, thereby shedding light on some of the most poignant issues of modern culture: the trend from extended toward nuclear families (Ariès), the appropriation of an aristocratic code of manners by the bourgeoisie (Norbert Elias), the retreat of sociability into the realm of privacy (Christopher Lasch), the institutionalization of nonconformists in asylums and prisons (Michel Foucault), the psychological and cultural nurturing of personality attending the rise of literacy (Robert Darnton), and the evolution of rituals of commemoration (Maurice Agulhon, Michel Vovelle).

Such studies thereby highlighted dilemmas of the postmodern age: the crisis of the family, the disappearance of rituals to ease the process of dying, the beguiling demands of public authority for social and psychological conformity, the decline of civility, anxieties over the fate of literary culture in the face of the new technologies of electronic communication, and the waning of civic responsibility in a culture of narcissism. The interpretations offered tended to subvert nearly all of the assumptions of an

earlier generation of political historians about the course of modern civilization toward some higher destiny.

While the history of mentalities inspired intense interest, it enjoyed an ephemeral reign as the principal forum for cutting edge historical research. As a movement, its unity was in the issues it addressed rather than in the methods or the models of its practitioners. The term itself began to be abandoned by the 1980s in favor of that of the "new cultural history" (Roger Chartier) or the "history of private life" (Georges Duby). Indeed, the 5-volume anthology, *Histoire de la vie privée* (1985–87; *A History of Private Life*, 1987–91), edited by Ariès and Duby, attempted a synthesis of work in the field and in its way represented the denouement of this approach to historical scholarship. By then, the interest of historians looking for new terrain was turning from mentalities to memory, signifying the historiographical need to understand the unraveling of the conceptual web of modern history that mentalities had helped to untie (Pierre Nora).

Mentalities, therefore, is an approach to historical scholarship that can be nested in the historiography of the late 20th century. It contributed to the larger movement among historians away from the old narrative political history while introducing new conceptions of the structural foundations of culture. It provided an historical perspective that proved more effective than "psychohistory" in interpreting collective psychology. It also signifies the degree to which culture has displaced economics in the historians' search for meaning in the late 20th century.

PATRICK H. HUTTON

See also Annales School; Ariès; Bloch; Burke; Chartier; Darnton; Davis, N.; Duby; Erikson; Febvre; Foucault; Ginzburg; Lasch; Le Goff; Le Roy Ladurie; Stone; Thomas, K.; Vovelle

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Merchant, Carolyn 1936– US environmental historian

A scholar of wide-ranging interests whose work explores the intersection of science, feminism, and ecology, Carolyn Merchant helped to establish the field of environmental history in the 1980s, and she remains one of its leading practitioners. Best known for her first, highly influential book, *The Death of Nature* (1980), Merchant has also published an environmental history of New England, a study of contemporary responses to the ecological crisis, and a collection of essays on feminism and the environment. She has also edited two anthologies: a collection of documents and essays on environmental history, and a theoretical exploration of the concept of ecology.

Strongly influenced by both Thomas Kuhn's theory of scientific revolution and Karl Marx's theory of social revolution, Merchant advocates a structural theory of ecological revolution, which she details most fully in her second book, *Ecological Revolutions* (1989). Ecological revolutions, she argues, initiate from two sets of tensions – tensions between production and local ecological conditions, and tensions between production and reproduction – both of which bring about transformations in consciousness. The major theoretical contribution of this framework is the emphasis it places on gender in the sphere of reproduction. Merchant identifies four manifestations of reproduction in environmental history: two biological (reproduction of population and reproduction of daily life) and two social (reproduction of social norms and reproduction of legal-political structures). Each of these forms of reproduction exists in dynamic relationship with local ecological conditions, and each relationship is also mediated by a particular mode of production (subsistence production or market-oriented production). A simultaneous examination of these relationships (between production, reproduction, and ecology) can reveal how changing forms of patriarchy affect human interactions with nature in different cultures.

Although Merchant published her first explanation of this theory in 1987, its outlines were already visible in *The Death of Nature*, in which she offered a detailed analysis of the shift from an organic to a mechanistic worldview during the 16th and 17th centuries. Central to this shift, according to Merchant, was the association of female images with natural

systems, an association that not only facilitated the scientific revolution but also encouraged the exploitation of nature and the subjugation of women. One of the strengths of Merchant's analysis is her desire to avoid a deterministic explanation of this transformation; although *The Death of Nature* is primarily an intellectual history, Merchant attempts to link this shift in ideology to a parallel set of social, scientific, and ecological changes. In particular, she examines the scientific revolution in terms of the emergence of the capitalist system, claiming in a key chapter that 1) this new economic and scientific order valorized the concepts of "passivity" and "control," and that 2) "the controls of the experimental method and technological advance" sanctioned a transformation in women's roles from active participants in economic life to passive dependants in production and reproduction.

Merchant's theory of ecological revolutions received its most rigorous application in her second book, *Ecological Revolutions*, in which she shifted focus from intellectual to social history and from Europe to the United States, offering a detailed study of environmental changes in New England from the arrival of Europeans to the mid-19th century. The "ecological revolutions" of her title – the colonial ecological revolution of the 17th century, and the capitalist ecological revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries – each resulted in new constructions of nature, both materially and ideologically. Although *Ecological Revolutions* covers some of the same ground as William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (1983), Merchant moves beyond Cronon's more descriptive account in her analysis of how changes in human and nonhuman populations altered and were altered by changes in food intake, land use, and other economic and social factors, as well as by the same change in worldview she describes in *The Death of Nature*.

Critics have faulted Merchant for not fully elaborating the connections that lie at the heart of her arguments in both *The Death of Nature* and *Ecological Revolutions*: connections between the domination of the earth by humans and the domination of women by men, and connections between human representations of nature and human behavior toward nature. Some have also questioned her interpretation of evidence, particularly regarding Sir Francis Bacon, whose inquisition of witches and interrogation of nature, Merchant says, share a common metaphorical foundation. While each of these criticisms may have merit, they do not fundamentally alter what may be the most significant contribution of both books: Merchant's reconstruction of neglected traditions of resistance to environmentally destructive ideologies, a subject she explores further in *Radical Ecology* (1992).

A taxonomy of responses to the contemporary environmental crisis, *Radical Ecology* lacks the comprehensive analysis characteristic of Merchant's previous books. Nevertheless, *Radical Ecology* is a valuable survey text, especially notable for its evenhanded approach to a complex series of issues, its excellent classification of the varieties of ecofeminism, and its sustained discussion of the environmental concerns of developing nations. If Merchant fails to distinguish fully between the categories of "problems," "thought," and "movements" into which she places such diverse topics as deep ecology, environmental ethics, spiritual ecology, green politics, and social ecology, it may be due in part to the inherent disorderliness

of ecological ideas, an issue she examines in greater detail in *The Death of Nature*.

Merchant's most recent book, *Earthcare* (1996), collects her major statements on the theory, history, and practice of feminism and the environment, including two important articles on the contributions of women reformers to the progressive conservation and modern environmental movements. Although almost all of its chapters have been previously published, *Earthcare* is a useful introduction to Merchant's varied interests, a clear illustration of the continuities of her thought, and a visible testament to her influence in defining the scope of the emerging discipline of environmental history.

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See also Ecology; Environmental; Native American

Biography

Born Rochester, New York, 12 July 1936. Studied chemistry at Vassar College, BA 1958; graduate study in physics, University of Pennsylvania, 1958–59; MA in history of science, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1962, PhD 1967. Taught history of science, University of San Francisco, 1969–78; professor of environmental history, philosophy, and ethics, University of California, Berkeley, from 1979.

Principal Writings

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Merton, Robert K. 1910–

US sociologist and historian of science

Robert K. Merton was attracted to Harvard as a student by Pitrim Sorokin, a sociologist with a civilizational perspective, and became interested in the history of science through his participation in a famous seminar given on the subject by L.J. Henderson and George Sarton. The latter guided him through his dissertation and published it in his journal *Osiris* in 1938 as *Science, Technology, and Society in Seventeenth-Century England*. The work became a landmark in the relatively new academic field of the history of science and also launched Merton on his career as a sociologist of science.

Merton builds his argument on two separate spheres of interaction between science and society. The first describes a chain of economic events and stimuli: population growth creates

demand for more consumer products which, because of the promise of immediate economic rewards, causes a favorable climate for technological innovation which, in turn, stimulates the practice of science by enhancing its prestige. The second sphere is that of values, in particular the relationship between science and religion. In this view, the practice of science was further stimulated by the Puritan work ethic which placed a positive value on the exploitation of the natural world, its active observation, and pursuit of knowledge through experimentation. The structural flow-chart describes the economic stimulus to science perfectly well without any allusion to the Puritan value system, and, while there may be a presumption of interaction between values and structural trends, the correlation is difficult to prove. Indeed Merton would at best establish a functional relationship between social structure and utilitarian values, without stating any causal relationship, and there is no support in his analysis for the "strong program" in the sociology of knowledge, which assumes a causal relationship between socioeconomic infrastructure and science, as an ideological system.

Merton's study was, of course, inspired by Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904, translated 1930). Weber himself discussed the relationship between ascetic Protestant values and empiricism and recognized that physics was the science most favored by Puritans. From Weber, too, Merton appropriated the notion of unanticipated consequences: science, just like capital accumulation, was an unanticipated consequence of the Protestant ethic, inasmuch as, although there was a higher incidence of Puritans in the Royal Society than in the general population, the latter was notable for a strong current of anti-intellectualism.

The connection between science and ascetic Protestantism is based, in Merton's argument, on the presumed effect that the Puritan exaltation of reason had on the creation of a positive climate for science, a belief in progress that fostered the cultivation of utilitarian science, and statements by Robert Boyle and few other prominent actors to the effect that there was a religious commandment to study God's handiwork as revealed in the "book of nature."

Merton's study caused a sensation because it had been widely presumed that science and religion were antithetical worldviews and there was no case for any functional relationship between them. Although Merton had avoided asserting a causal relation between Puritan values and the cognitive structure of science, much of the ensuing debate assumed that he had. Therefore, a great part of the scholarly polemic that the Merton thesis ignited was fought on the narrow ground of the role of scientific values or practice within the context of the sociology, theology, or ideology of Puritanism. Even so, the vast literature that the thesis spawned had the positive result of forcing intellectual and political historians to consider the role of science and scientists in 17th-century England, while in the history of science itself Merton became the central referent for those who, in the 1960s and 1970s, worked to expand the horizons of the social study of science.

Merton's second historical classic is the raucous, free-form *On the Shoulders of Giants* (1965) in which he traces the aphorism ascribed to Sir Isaac Newton – "If I have seen further it is by standing on ye shoulders of Giants" – backwards (to the medieval cleric, Bernard of Chartres), forwards, and laterally

to discover the changing contexts and uses of the aphorism, an illustration of the contingency of ideas. The aphorism's history served to illustrate a number of themes that Merton developed in sociological articles. One is the perceived relationship between ancient and modern thought: are ancients always giants, moderns the dwarves who stand on their shoulders? The matter becomes significant in establishing the originality of ideas. Similar social environments, Merton argues, produce independent scientific inventions, discoveries, or observations, which inevitably generate priority disputes. Such disputes are about prestige, not about material reward. Newton used the aphorism in the context of a priority dispute with Robert Hooke over the law of universal attraction. Thus the aphorism and concepts related to it constitute a convenient metaphorical language with which to situate one's own ideas with respect to those of others, past and present.

In many other articles and books, Merton analyzes the social patterning of science, frequently in historical context or using historical examples. In addition to multiple discoveries and priority disputes, he has written on the related issues of how scientific reputations are made and how power is allocated within scientific communities. His definition of science as "organized skepticism" encapsulates his ability to conjoin the social with the cognitive facets of systems of knowledge.

THOMAS F. GLICK

See also Hofstadter; Sarton; Science

Biography

Robert King Merton. Born Philadelphia, 4 July 1910. Educated at Temple University, BA 1931; Harvard University, MA 1932, PhD 1936. Taught sociology, Harvard University, 1936–39; taught at Tulane University, 1939–41, Columbia University (rising to professor), 1941–79 (emeritus). Associate director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1942–71. Married 1) Suzanne Carhart, 1934 (separated 1968, died 1992; 1 son, 1 daughter); 2) Harriet Zuckerman, 1993.

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Metahistory

The label Metahistory was coined by R.G. Collingwood to refer to what philosophers of history such as Karl Popper then called the "material philosophy of history" or "historicism," and what might today be termed metanarratives or upper case History; that is, those overarching, totalizing theories of, say, Hegel or Marx or Spengler. Such theories suggested that it was possible to find immanent in the past a true or real direction, plan, or pattern, whose discovery allowed various legitimations of the then present or, in other cases, predictions as to the future. In this usage the term carried with it pejorative overtones: "proper," professional historians were concerned with studying the past on its own terms and for its own sake. This ruled metanarratives as illegitimate "impositions," which could only ever be ideological projections of the historians' own position. Such proper historians have rarely gone on to see that the study of the past on its own terms and for its own sake (own-sakism) is also ideological: to imagine that the past has any terms "of its own" is as much an imposition as any other. However, given the lack of reflexivity of "proper" historians, and given their powerful role in our social formation, the terms metahistory and metanarrative still retain their pejorative, ideological taint.

There is, however, a different and extremely constructive use of the term metahistory in a non-pejorative way, as popularized above all by the American historian Hayden White. In his book *Metahistory* (1973) White argued that in attempting to make sense of a past that has actually neither rhyme nor reason in it, all historians' narrative orderings – in both the (allegedly) ideological upper case and the (ostensible) proper lower case – have to organize and structure historical constructions in identical ways. Irrespective of the substantive historical *content*, the *form* of making sense of it is the same. All historians, in order to put the past into something it itself never was – a history – have to use a combination of one of four modes of argument (formism, organicism, mechanism, and contextualism); one of four modes of emplotment (romance, comedy, tragedy, and satire); one of four ideological modes (anarchism, radicalism, liberalism, and conservatism); and, because all historians have to use figurative language for their narratives, one of the four organizing rhetorical tropes (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony), such tropes being basic – even foundational – for historical creations. In that sense, White saw all histories as linguistic, tropological constructions, such linguistic products being anterior to and thus constitutive of "reality" and the "reality of things past," so that the allegedly independent referent of both upper and lower case histories (the past) is collapsed into the metahistorical mode of representation. In this way White's notion of metahistory ("every history presupposes a metahistory in the way that every physics presupposes a metaphysics") connects up to contemporary ideas constitutive of poststructuralism and postmodernism, and it is probably in this sense – as a linguistic, *a priori* structuring of the historian's field as opposed to a synonym for metanarrative – that metahistory occupies a place in current theorizing *vis-à-vis* the nature of history.

KEITH JENKINS

See also Historiology; Literature; Philosophy of History; Rhetoric; White, H.

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Mexico

The history of Mexico has attracted a great number of Latin Americanists. A quick glance at leading scholarly journals tells us that Mexico was and remains a privileged area of study. For many reasons Mexican historiography is one of the most sophisticated and developed in the field of Latin American history. In the colonial era, it was Spain's most important colony because of its mines of silver and its large indigenous population. Mexico's long border with the United States ensured not only constant political interference, but scholarly attention from US academics. Its agrarian revolution in 1910 also commanded the attention of scholars.

An important trend in the historiography of colonial Mexico has been the blurring of disciplinary boundaries. History and anthropology are virtually indistinguishable. This has entailed a growth of microhistories that have used both archival research and oral interviews. Increasingly historians are writing regional histories. For the 16th century, the debate continues to revolve around the conquest of Mexico. The central question

that recurs is: how did a small number of European soldiers achieve mastery over a large indigenous population? The simple assertion that the Europeans conquered Mexico because of their technological superiority no longer satisfies the scholarly community. In the search to find new answers, historians have adopted other tactics. Tzvetan Todorov's *La Conquête de l'Amérique* (1982; *The Conquest of America*, 1984) inspired a new debate by suggesting that Europeans possessed a superior system of communication that allowed them to be flexible and innovative during the conquest of Mexico, while the highly ritualized and collectively based systems of communication of the Aztecs impeded their defenses. New approaches that began to appear in the late 1960s sought to rescue the indigenous people's perspectives on the arrival of the Spaniards. Miguel León-Portilla's *Visión de los vencidos* (1959; *The Broken Spears*, 1962) exemplified this approach with his careful presentation of indigenous perspectives. Debates have also revolved around land patterns and the birth of the hacienda. As Eric Van Young pointed out in a seminal article, "Mexican Rural Historiography since Chevalier" (1983), the debate between François Chevalier who characterized the Mexican hacienda as feudal versus Charles Gibson who suggested it was commercial, endures to this day albeit in a different form.

The historiography on the era previous to Díaz's regime, 1876–1910, is relatively little studied. Some historians see the roots of Mexican independence from Spain in the Bourbon reforms while others have emphasized the external nature of the independence with the demise of Spanish royalty in Spain. The failure of Father Hidalgo's agrarian rebellion of 1810 has led historians to debate whether this movement was a precursor to independence or just an agrarian rebellion. The conservative nature of Mexican independence, including its domination by elites, has led historians such as Jan Bazant to argue that the grievances of peasant communities were shelved, only to erupt one hundred years later. Charles Hale provided an interesting analysis to Mexico's loss of territory during the 19th century.

Since the Revolution of 1910 broke out during Porfirio Díaz's government, his era has enjoyed considerable attention. State formation and economic processes are themes that occupy the center stage of the analysis of Díaz's era. Coatsworth's *Growth Against Development* (1981) and Vanderwood's *Disorder and Progress* (1981) are examples of such approaches. The heart of the debate centers on whether the state under Díaz was modern or feudal. This question, of course, is closely linked to whether the origins of the modern Mexican state lie in Díaz's regime or in the Mexican Revolution. Those who stress continuities clash with those who emphasize change. The nature of the economic development is also a much debated topic. Should the origins of the dependent nature of the economy of Mexico be located in the Díaz era or after the Revolution? The author most helpful for understanding Mexico's intellectual history is D.A. Brading. His work has centered on the creole elites and their elaboration of Mexican nationalism.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910–20 is the central focus for numerous narratives and numerous debates. As Charles Hale pointed out in a historiographical essay, Frank Tannenbaum was the historian who introduced the Mexican Revolution to the US scholarly public. His monographs *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (1929), *Peace by Revolution* (1933), and *Mexico*

(1950) are today considered the starting point for scholarly research about Mexico. Hale noted that Tannenbaum characterized the Mexican Revolution as a spontaneous community-based peasant movement that arose against the "feudal haciendas." This narrative of the insurrection and victory of peasant communities underwent revision, but the notion of popular participation during the Revolution endures.

The state that emerged from the Revolution also had an important effect on the historiography of Mexico. The revolutionary state provided the funds and moral support to historians with the object of elaborating a collective memory. The large body of work produced by Mexican historians distinguishes it from other Latin American countries. Institutional frameworks such as INAH (Instituto Nacional de Antropología y de Historia) were set up to provide the opportunities for Mexicans to write their own history. Daniel Cosío Villegas and his colleagues assembled volumes of bibliography designed to help scholars to do further research. The Revolution also shaped the questions that historians brought to the history of Mexico regardless of the era they were studying. Whether studying peasant communities in the 19th century or in the colonial era, the historian is unavoidably affected by the Revolution of 1910.

A more recent turning point in the historiography occurred in 1968 when the Mexican official revolutionary party severely repressed student protests in Mexico City. The government of the Revolution was clearly not always on the side of the masses. No longer could scholarly studies aim only at explaining why and how the Revolution happened, but they had to ask whether a revolution had ever happened. Following the lead of Mexican historians, US historians began to do regional studies in an effort to understand the authoritarian character that the revolutionary party assumed in the late 1960s. The outcome of these numerous regional monographs was that "the Revolution" was very different in the various regions. Mark Wasserman with his focus on Chihuahua and Gilbert Joseph's monograph on the Yucatan, *Revolution from Without* (1982), are examples of this new trend toward regionalism. Alan Knight's *The Mexican Revolution* (1986) argued that it was a revolution because of the spontaneous uprising of peasant communities, but that ironically its outcome was to accelerate Mexico's process of modernization, with detrimental consequences for peasant communities. Historians such as John Tutino undertook to analyze the Mexican Revolution from a *longue durée* perspective. Tutino's *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico* (1986) argued that the origins of the Revolution lay in a long process of change in land tenure patterns which had begun in the 18th century. Florencia Mallon's comparative approach in *Peasant and Nation* (1995) provided the insight that Mexico's distinct historical development had incorporated peasants more successfully than had other countries in Latin America.

While economic histories such as Haber's *Industry and Underdevelopment* (1989), continue to play a role in the discussion about Mexican history, some historians have turned to what has become known as the "New Cultural History." This attempts to address the subaltern's perspective and to explore issues of gender and ethnicity. In the words of a "postrevisionist" historian/anthropologist, Ana Maria Alonso – referring to Joseph and Nugent's collection, *Everyday Forms of State Formation* (1994) – "In contrast to revisionists, post revisionists make popular social memory and discourses of resistance

central to their analyses while eschewing the romanticism of the populists." The focus of this history is indeed on the discourse and on the negotiation of power between subaltern groups and elites. Some historians have criticized this approach for its prose style that they maintain obfuscates rather than clarifies the narrative. Other scholars have claimed that the "New Cultural History" fails to provide sufficient economic and social background for the analysis of discourse. However, it is certain that this new approach has brought to life topics and aspects of Mexican history that were previously overlooked.

BRETT TROYAN

See also America: Pre-Columbian; Borah; Chevalier; Cosío Villegas; Crime; Díaz; European Expansion; Gibson; González Casanova; Latin America: Colonial; Latin America: National; Lavrin; Léon-Portilla; O'Gorham; Prescott; Spain: Imperial; Tannenbaum; Thomas, H.; Women's History: Latin America

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Meyer, Eduard 1855-1930

German historian of the ancient world

Remarkably proficient both in Greek and Latin as a child, Eduard Meyer decided to study ancient history as a means to writing "universal history." To that end, he began the study of Hebrew and Arabic even before leaving Hamburg for his university studies in Bonn and Leipzig. At Leipzig he intently studied the ancient Near East, as well as classical Greece and Rome, and conceived of antiquity as a unity throughout his career. Meyer's scholarship, however, was as diverse as it was wide-ranging: he published more than 500 works, some of

them works of synthesis, but many of them monographs on disparate topics. Self-conscious about methodology, as many historians of the time were, Meyer also wrote on the philosophy of history, notably in his *Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte* (On the Theory and Method of History, 1902).

This diversity of publication was a result of deliberation as well as immense native energy. "History," Meyer wrote, "is not an exact science. Its task is the discovery and narration of those prior things that formerly were part of the real world. For that reason . . . it can never escape the infinite variety of the individual which is enclosed in everything real, in everything that we call fact." Meyer accordingly paid particular attention to establishing exact chronologies in areas of ancient history. He also followed carefully the increasing flood of new publications, with the lamentable exceptions of recent works in modern economic theory and the rich archaeological research of the early 20th century. As a result, he was continually involved in extensive revision. For example, his magisterial *Geschichte des Alterthums* (History of Antiquity), published in five volumes between 1884 and 1902, had to be researched anew and wholly rewritten for the second edition. Meyer deeply believed that individual data were important not by themselves but as particles of a "universal history."

This pursuit of universalism showed in the variety of his major books. Aside from his synthetic *Geschichte des Alterthums*, his *Geschichte des alten Ägyptens* (History of the Ancient Egyptians, 1887) was the first comprehensive work on ancient Egypt. Meyer also wrote major synoptic histories on the Sumerians in his *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien* (Sumerians and Semites in Babylon, 1906) and the Hittites with his *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Empire and Culture of the Hittites, 1914). Both works were based far more on written sources than new archaeological evidence. In his celebrated 1896 work *Die Entstehung des Judenthums* (The Origin of Judaism) he accepted Wellhausen's claim that the legal, pentateuchal texts came after the lively biblical narratives associated with Samuel. He sharply rejected, however, Wellhausen's use of the documents in the "Book of Ezra" and of the name list in "Nehemiah" because Wellhausen's interpretation made the origination of Judaism too rapid and too late. Meyer was both respectful and convincing in his treatment of Jewish prophecy, but in his later 3-volume work on Christianity – *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christenthums* (Origin and Beginnings of Christianity, 1921-23) – he regrettably continued the Christian stereotype of rabbinical Judaism as rigid and outdated.

Meyer turned to Greek history in his "Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie" (Alexander the Great and Absolute Monarchy, 1910), in which he differed significantly with J.G. Droysen's classic account. Meyer also applied himself to Roman history in *Kaiser Augustus* (Caesar Augustus, 1903) and *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius* (Caesar's Monarchy and Pompey's Principate, 1918). These works, especially the last which was written at the end of World War I, were deeply tinged by a defensive monarchism that Meyer imported from the politics of his own age. In his study of the *princeps* Augustus, for example, Meyer challenged Mommsen's favorable treatment of Caesar and praised his successor for bringing to Rome the stability of managed constitutional life. The parallels between antiquity and his own age were all the clearer to him for his influential belief, articulated in his work on

Alexander the Great, that the ancient world was like the modern in important ways. Meyer's polemical edge in the service of conservative German nationalism became more pronounced, indeed vociferous in his old age. Thus, he was openly expansionist and xenophobic in his World War I essays gathered in his *Weltgeschichte und Weltkrieg* (World History and World War, 1916). After the war he made a point of tearing up the honorary degrees received from Chicago, Harvard, and Oxford and called publicly for the exclusion of foreign students from German universities. By then, of course, Meyer was on the verge of retirement, so this late stridency remained outside his major works.

ROBERT FAIRBAIRN SOUTHARD

See also Plutarch; Roman; Rostovtzeff; Wilamovitz-Möllendorff

Biography

Born Hamburg, 25 January 1855, son of a teacher. Educated at Gymnasium Johanneum; University of Bonn, 1872; University of Leipzig, 1875. Professor of ancient history, University of Leipzig, 1884–85; University of Breslau, 1885–89; University of Halle, 1889–1902; and University of Berlin, 1902–23. Married Rosine Freymond, 1884 (3 sons, 4 daughters). Died Berlin, 31 August 1930.

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Michelet, Jules 1798–1874

French historian

“Others have taught us as much of how mankind acted,” John Stuart Mill declared in an 1844 article on Jules Michelet, “but

no one makes us so well comprehend how they felt.” Born to working-class parents in Paris in 1798, Michelet rose to become one of his country's greatest historians. Some have gone so far to call him *the* historian of France. Never before and rarely since has a historian possessed such passion for his subjects – especially in the case of his nationalist fervor for *le peuple*, the French people – and expressed it in such empathic, emotive, and dramatic writing.

An early influence on Michelet's ideas about history was the 18th-century Italian thinker Giambattista Vico, whose writings Michelet discovered around 1824, and whose *New Science* he translated in a much-admired edition in 1827. Explaining Vico's impact, Eugen Weber summarized in a 1991 essay: “Vico turns history from would-be science into art . . . Vico's ‘new science’ pays little heed to dates and heroes, much attention to popular psychology and what we now describe as *mentalités*: that spirit of time and place of which significant anecdotes, customs, laws, and legends are more expressive, hence significant, than political events.” In this respect, it seems reasonable to think of Michelet as Vico's heir, and the 20th-century *Annaliste* Lucien Febvre and his disciples as Michelet's.

Michelet was a prolific and wide-ranging writer who produced textbooks, popular tracts about women and religion, and nature studies as well as sophisticated historical works. His two most important efforts are the 17-volume *Histoire de France* (1833–67; *History of France*, 1844–46) – which took him 34 years to complete – and the *Histoire de la Révolution française* (1847–53; *History of the French Revolution*, 1848–). Scholars generally look more favorably on the first six volumes of the *Histoire de France* than on their successors: there was an eleven-year time gap between the publication of the sixth and seventh volumes. The early series dealt with French history through the end of the Middle Ages and celebrated France's gradual progress toward political, social, and psychological unity. Within this unified nation, however, Michelet valued the rich diversity of its people. The second volume contained a remarkable and oft-cited “Tableau de France” in which Michelet highlighted the psychological particularities of the country's various geographic regions.

The Revolution study, which was published in seven volumes between 1847 and 1853, was, in the words of Ceri Crossley, “intended to revive the memory of the Revolution in the hearts of a divided people and spur them to reconciliation and to action.” Again Michelet produced a dramatic societal story, a far cry from traditional political accounts. “The people” were the heroes of Michelet's Revolution, and this distinguished his work from the many other Revolution studies of his time.

In his professorial life Michelet earned a reputation as an enormously popular lecturer. His career received a considerable boost when he was appointed to teach history and philosophy at the Ecole Normale in 1827. He later substituted at the Sorbonne for another eminent historian, François Guizot – at Guizot's request – when Guizot became occupied with government service. In 1838 Michelet obtained his coveted post at the Collège de France. During the 1840s, his job was endangered by the political controversies in which he, along with his colleagues Edgar Quinet and Adam Mickiewicz, was embroiled. At first the conflict focused on a Catholic campaign against university teaching; the professors reacted, in lectures

and in print, to what they saw as a threat to their academic freedom. Later, however, Michelet was viewed as simply too inflammatory and influential, and when, in 1852, he refused to swear allegiance to the Second Empire ruler Louis Napoleon, he was stripped of his position.

At that time Michelet lost another part of his professional identity: his responsibilities in archival administration. Early in the July Monarchy, Michelet had been appointed to direct the historical section of the National Archives. He served in this position for nearly 22 years. His own research benefited from his access to rich stores of source material, and he assisted others among his contemporaries as well. Michelet's *Histoire de la Révolution française*, in particular, is distinctive for its incorporation of many archival materials that were lost to history when they burned during the 1871 Commune.

Still, it is for his passionate nationalism and the emotion with which he infused his work that Michelet is most remembered. Perhaps it is Michelet himself who best captured the essence of his unique historical contributions. Among his contemporaries and mentors, Michelet said, Augustin Thierry wrote history as narrative, Guizot as analysis. His own efforts, Michelet declared, produced a resurrection of the past, a revival of silenced actors and episodes in the vast canvas of humanity.

ERIKA DREIFUS

See also Europe; Modern; Italy; Renaissance; Nationalism; Reformation; Thierry; Tocqueville; Vico

Biography

Born Paris, 21 August 1798, son of a printer. Attended Collège Charlemagne, then university where he graduated with highest honors, 1821. Taught history, Collège Rollin, 1821–26; lecturer in ancient history, Ecole Normale, 1827–38; assistant to François Guizot, at the Sorbonne, 1834–35, professor of history and morals, Collège de France, 1838–51; head, history section, National Archives, 1830–52; lost his posts under the Second Empire. Married 1) Pauline Rousseau, 1824 (died 1839; 1 son, 1 daughter); 2) Athénaïs Mialaret, 1849. Died Hyères, 9 February 1874.

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Middle East: Medieval

From the historical point of view, the medieval Middle East is the area conquered by the Arabs in the 7th and 8th centuries, and incorporated into their empire under the Umayyads of Damascus, 661–750, and the 'Abbasids of Baghdad, 750–945. Its political history is that of the formation and breakup of this empire into a shifting pattern of localized states subject to fresh waves of invasion and conquest. Its economic history, on the other hand, is that of the constitution of a commercial empire based on the long-distance trade that followed the original routes of the Arab conquest and the tribute that flowed back to Damascus. Its social history is that of the creation of an overwhelmingly Muslim population in town and countryside, corresponding to a cultural history of the rise of Islam as a religion, a way of life, and a civilization.

As a source, the 14th-century historian Ibn Khaldun is both primary and secondary. Few modern books, however, treat the subject by itself and as a whole. Gustave von Grunebaum's *Classical Islam* (1970) and J.J. Saunders' *A History of Medieval Islam* (1965) go up to 1258; Hugh Kennedy's *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (1986) is good on the period to 1050; P.M. Holt's *The Age of the Crusades* (1986) is short but to the point. *The Cambridge History of Islam* (edited by Holt et al., 1970) and Ira Lapidus' *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988) examined the overall history of Islam, while Gerhard Endress' *An Introduction to Islam* (1988) was just that. Stephen Humphreys' *Islamic History* (1988) was technical and selective, but good. Marshall Hodgson's *The Venture of Islam* (1974) was the most satisfying. Philip Hitti on the Arabs is informative, but, like Bernard Lewis, concentrated on the period to 1050; Albert Hourani is good but general. On the Iranian world, the *Cambridge History of Iran* (1968–91) is excellent but dense. For Anatolia, see Claude Cahen's *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (1968), Georges Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* (1940, translated 1956), Colin Imber's *The Ottoman Empire* (1990), and Halil Inalcik's *The Ottoman Empire* (1973); for the Maghrib, see Jamil Abun-Nasr's *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (1971), Michael Brett and Elizabeth Fentress' *The Berbers* (1996), and Charles-André Julien's *Histoire de l'Afrique*

du Nord (1931; *History of North Africa*, 1970). Neither W. Montgomery Watt's *A History of Islamic Spain* (1965) nor Anwar Chejne's *Muslim Spain* (1974) is satisfactory, while Evariste Lévi-Provençal's *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane* (*A History of Muslim Spain*, 1945) is incomplete. C.E. Bosworth's *The New Islamic Dynasties* (1996) is an indispensable guide to the various dynasties and their histories.

Controversy initially centered around the origin and development of Islam, with Western scholars torn between acceptance of the historical veracity of the Muslim tradition, and skepticism in accordance with the principles of biblical criticism. The first tendency is notably represented by Watt's *Muhammad* (1961) and most recently by Kennedy's *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (1986). But from Ignaz Goldziher onwards, through Robert Brunschvig and Joseph Schacht, to John Wansbrough, and Michael Cook and Patricia Crone, the view has been taken that the evidence of the sources is evidence only of the beliefs of the 9th and 10th centuries, to be used with the greatest care for the events they purport to relate: the approach, for example, of G.R. Hawting's *The First Dynasty of Islam* (1986). The argument is not simply about the detail of the first two centuries of Islam, but whether the religion and its civilization should be seen, not as a process of exponential growth out of the revelation to Muhammad, but as a reformulation of previous elements in the civilization of the Near and Middle East under the rubric of the Prophet and the Book.

Whatever the process, it was evidently linked to the growth of the Muslim population from a minority into the great majority of the population of the Arab empire. For this, the evidence is inadequate, but Richard Bulliet has proposed an S-curve of conversion passing the halfway mark in the 9th century, and suggested that the resultant creation of large and vigorous Muslim communities in the provinces of the Arab empire in place of a thin layer of conquerors was responsible for the final disintegration of the Arab empire in 945. This view is echoed by Kennedy, who proceeded to describe a "Muslim commonwealth" of states in the 10th and 11th centuries, a time commonly regarded as the golden age of medieval Islamic literature, philosophy, and science: compare *The Genius of Arab Civilization* (1975) edited by John R. Hayes, S.H. Nasr's *Islamic Science* (1976), and *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (1990). *Islam dans sa première grandeur* (1971; *The Golden Age of Islam*, 1975) is Maurice Lombard's description of the society and economy of this civilization, which he sees as an urban network spread over the vast distances of Marshall Hodgson's "Arid Zone" of mountain and desert from North Africa to Central Asia. That network, in his and K.N. Chaudhuri's formulation, became the center of the intercontinental economy of Africa and Asia in the Middle Ages.

Problems arose from the 11th century onwards, when the Middle East was invaded from Central Asia by the Seljuk Turks followed by the Mongols, and attacked in Spain, Sicily, and the Levant by Christian Europeans. The longstanding view represented by H.A.R. Gibb was that this amounted to a comprehensive disaster, in which government fell into the hands of barbarian warriors, towns decayed, religion became either sterile or superstitious, science dried up, and the political, economic, and cultural initiative passed to the growing civilization

of western Europe. S.D.F. Goitein and Eliyahu Ashtor endeavored to prove the case economically, while J.J. Saunders pointed to the Mongols, and M.W. Dols to the Black Death. As an explanation of the weakness of the region in the face of European pressure in the 19th century, this view has been overtaken by the work of André Raymond and his pupils on the growth of towns and trade in the Ottoman empire. Meanwhile Hodgson had pointed on the one hand to the essential fragility of the prosperity of the "golden age," but on the other to the enormous expansion of Islam in the second half of the Middle Ages, out of the lands of the old Arab empire into Africa and Asia, well described by Ross Dunn in his account of Ibn Battuta. If the problem will not go away, it may well be relegated to the background by the spate of research into the late medieval period made possible by the increasing quantity of surviving material from Egypt and Syria in particular. Humphreys' *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* not only provides a wide review of the literature and the problems with which it wrestles, but does indeed map out the trends of current scholarship.

MICHAEL BRETT

See also Goitein; Inalcık; Islamic; Julien; Lévi-Provençal; Lewis, B.; Ostrogorsky; Ottoman; Watt

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Migration

At its most ambitious the historical treatment of human migration encompasses movement across the globe since prehistoric times. Archaeologists and anthropologists have established patterns of expansion and retreat over several millennia as the oceans were crossed and the continents populated. Often – as McNeill and Adams showed – migration is associated with demographic and technological changes, with war, and with the elimination of income differentials between regions, countries, and continents. Migration takes many forms: long and short distance; peaceful and disruptive; temporary, seasonal, and permanent; free and coerced; individual, family, and communal. The mechanisms and motivations of migration have required historians to draw on the work of economists, demographers, geographers, and sociologists. Migration has been one of the vital dimensions of modernization, both cause and consequence, and is central to any study of historical change.

Most historical attention has been devoted to European migration from early modern times. From Europe emerged the dynamism for the so-called great "re-shuffling" of humanity by means of international migration from the time of Columbus onwards. This eventually shifted the balance of the world's populations, starting slowly in the 17th century and eventually accelerating to a torrent by the mid-19th century. The chronology, scale, composition, and facilities of the movements are only now being established. The relationship between these mainly European outreaches and internal mobilities has been a contentious question in recent historiography. The old notion that preindustrial societies were immobile has been greatly undermined by evidence of much short-distance, annual, circular migration, often related to hiring practices. But the radius was

usually less than 30 miles in a lifetime. Longer-distance migration (to large cities especially) usually involved professional or subsistence needs. These movements probably lengthened and intensified during industrialization when increased labor flexibility became an urgent requirement of the new economy. Precensus sources include legal and apprenticeship records and even the data of convict transportees. The systematic statistical study of British migration began with Ravenstein in the 1880s, was taken up by Arthur Redford in the 1920s, and elaborated by economic and social historians such as John Saville, Michael Anderson, and W.A. Armstrong. Work in Europe has been well surveyed by Leslie Page Moch.

The British Isles figured prominently in the early phases of European emigration and immigration. Bernard Bailyn's synthesis, *Voyagers to the West* (1986), portrayed the Atlantic outreach as an extrapolation of internal systems; in other work – for example, Cinel on Italy – external migration was interpreted as a substitute for older traditions of internal mobility within Europe. Seminal work by Frank Thistlethwaite hypothesized great internal structural forces generating the European outflows of the 19th century. In reaction against the earlier dominance of saga-like American accounts of the Atlantic migration – notably Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* (1951) – Thistlethwaite argued persuasively for more sophisticated analyses of conditions in the European homelands to be integrated into a fully sequential account of the entire transatlantic migration. Hence the best modern work has concentrated with almost microscopic precision on local context, sometime using individual level data. By contrast, Brinley Thomas employed statistical data to measure emigrations within a reciprocating relationship between the two sides of the Atlantic economy in the second half of the 19th century.

As Dudley Baines emphasized, there is no agreed account of emigration and there are several historiographical traditions that tend not to connect. The aggregative statistical approach has been dominated by economic historians and has sought correlation of long series of data on movements of labor, with changes on income, prices, fertility, and investment. Williamson tested hypotheses about the role of migration in the convergence of trends in the international economy in the past 150 years, as part of incipient globalization. Mobility involved vast numbers of people, generates much statistical data of highly variable reliability, and lends itself naturally to quantitative methods. Another approach, associated especially with Charlotte Erickson, establishes the collective identity of migrants from individual-level data to draw deductions concerning the selectivity of emigration. Baines used cohort-depletion methods employing census data. Another school, best exemplified by Erickson, Fitzpatrick, and Miller, has used emigrant letters to explore mentalities and family strategies, achieving almost ethnographic levels of insight. The comparative richness of some European documentation, especially that of the Dutch and Scandinavia, has produced some of the most precise and distinctive of modern studies of international migration.

European emigration of the 19th century has dominated, but research in other areas has shifted the historiographical perspective significantly. Eltis, extending the work of Curtin, has shown that slavery out of Africa was the greatest migration system until the 1830s. Indentured migration from Europe before 1815 and then out of Asia, were also dominant flows,

while convict transportation provided ancillary contributions. Just as important were the mainly uncharted movements within Asia. The study of 20th-century migration contends with radical changes in the political context, the re-direction of migration flows, new means of mobility, a great increase in numbers of refugees, and the evolution of global labor markets.

Within the historiography of migration great strides have been made in the study of the economic impact of emigration on donor and receiving countries, especially in the Irish case. Emigration is portrayed as a conveyor of culture and capitalism, disease and technology, as an adjunct of imperialism, and as a means of global income equalization. Its influence on questions of national identity (see, for example, Nugent) and the relative success of migrants in terms of assimilation and social mobility (see Bodner and Thernstrom) have been central concerns, together with the study of reverse migration and the role of emigrant remittances for the maintenance of family welfare in the countries of origin. Historians continue to examine fundamental propositions about emigration as a "safety valve" for political and economic problems, and the impact of colonial settlement on indigenous patterns of mobility. Historians of migration mentality inevitably encounter some of the most vital issues of modern times. These entail, for instance, the record of circumstances that have governed the freedom of movement across frontiers, the treatment and status of aliens, and, ultimately, the global distribution of humanity.

ERIC RICHARDS

See also Bailyn; Curtin; Demography

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Military History

The history of warfare can lay claim to great antiquity, for its earliest practitioners (Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Vegetius) were among the first historians. Yet, despite its impressive pedigree, military history has only been grudgingly and belatedly accepted as a legitimate topic for historical research by professional historians. Prior to 1945, self-styled

military historians were generally employed outside universities, either as journalists or as lecturers attached to the staff colleges and training academies of the world's navies and armies. Military history, when it was addressed by professional historians, was at best a footnote to the bigger political developments historians were attempting to portray. Military historians as a whole would not be welcomed into universities until after World War II and, even then, they have frequently complained of their marginalization within the profession. Instead, military history's greatest triumphs have been secured outside academe, where popular military history continues to outsell most other historical fields. With a few notable exceptions (here one can point to writings by John Keegan, John Terraine, and Bruce Catton), such popular treatments are rarely satisfactory from a scholarly point of view. They are generally antiquarian and descriptive in nature, militaristic in tone, and with a propensity to go hardware-happy.

The integrity of military history has also been compromised by its often didactic purpose. Much of the military history that has been written was driven by the need to identify axioms to guide future commanders rather than to understand the roles played by warfare and its associated institutions within the broader processes of history. And while historians often admire the research that underpins the many official histories produced in the aftermath of the two world wars, nagging questions remain as to whether these really are scholarly productions, given that not only were they funded by the belligerent powers, but they were frequently produced by retired or seconded officers. Consequently, the scholarly integrity of military history has been compromised by its unfortunate association with either the "drum and trumpet" histories written for military enthusiasts, or the instructional works prepared by military professionals for the education of their colleagues. Since the 1970s, however, military history has begun to win over some of the skeptics by proving that it no longer necessarily treats armies and navies in isolation, but situates them within the wider society.

The scholarly tradition of writing military history, as distinguished from popular works or the simple chronicling of campaigns, can be safely traced back to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The combined impact of the Enlightenment and the Napoleonic Wars prompted a number of intellectuals to seek out explanations for the cause of war, and whether there were any underlying laws or principles that could be said to govern its conduct. The Enlightenment's emphasis on reason had two tremendous effects insofar as military history was understood. First, it was increasingly argued that war was not necessarily a permanent condition of humankind. As Michael Howard has convincingly argued in *What Is History Today?* (1988), to talk of military history before the Enlightenment is anachronistic since societies prior to the 18th century did not distinguish as we do now between war and peace. The Enlightenment's faith in reason, which led many to believe that war could at least be controlled if not rendered extinct, encouraged a number of intellectuals to try to establish systematically the causes of war. Not surprisingly they turned to history. A second offshoot of the Enlightenment was a common belief that the conduct of war, like other human activities, could be reduced to a set of principles. Military intellectuals such as the Swiss writer A.H. Jomini then turned to history in their search

for these elusive rules of war. This didactic tradition would live on in the writings of the 19th-century American naval historian (and one-time president of the American Historical Association) Alfred Thayer Mahan, who produced several works that elegantly though misleadingly reduced Britain's rise to naval domination to a few rules governing naval policy. Memories of World War I, and the desire to ensure that future wars would not get bogged down into battles of attrition, lay behind the didactic works of B.H. Liddell Hart and J.F.C. Fuller. Yet despite the polemical quality of their writings, their descriptions and analysis of western warfare over the centuries still offered many insights.

Not all of military history was swept up in the positivist search for the rules and truths of warfare. An alternative strategy was established by the writings of Carl von Clausewitz, particularly *On War* (1832). Unlike Jomini and his heirs, Clausewitz situated war within a much broader context, one that conceded the importance of intangibles such as morale in accounting for success or defeat. Furthermore, Clausewitz did not try and isolate military actions and decision-making from their political and economic surroundings. Clausewitz has been credited with laying the foundations for a much broader definition of military history, one that has been labelled "war and society" or sometimes the "new military history." Clausewitz's insistence that military forces cannot be understood in isolation from their historical circumstances was expanded on at the beginning of the 20th century in the works of Hans Delbrück. Delbrück sought to professionalize military history by subjecting it to the same rigors as other fields of history. He hoped that his 4-volume study of the history of war would convince skeptics that the "Recognition of the reciprocal effects of tactics, strategy, political institutions, and politics throws light on the interconnections in universal history, and has illuminated much that until now lay in darkness or was misunderstood. This work was not written for the sake of the art of war, but for the sake of world history" (quoted by Peter Paret, 1971).

Delbrück's plea that armed conflict, its origins, conduct, and consequences be treated as an integral part of human history struck a responsive chord with many historians in the aftermath of World War II. As the historical profession expanded in numbers and opened up new areas of specialization, the study of warfare found new niches. In Britain, the development of the war studies program at King's College under Michael Howard provided a powerful impetus to scholars working on a number of topics relating to warfare and society in 19th- and 20th-century Europe. Coinciding with this flurry of activity on warfare in modern European history came Michael Roberts' seminal study of technology and the military revolution in early modern Europe. Roberts' interest was not simply limited to detailing the impact of infantry firepower; he also began to flesh out its political and economic consequences. Permanent armies of disciplined soldiers recruited for long periods necessitated the modern absolutist state as the manpower and material demands of such forces lay beyond the financial and organizational capacity of its predecessors. Roberts' demonstration of the tremendous impact that military developments had upon various sectors of early modern society has inspired other historians to refine and extend his arguments – most notably Geoffrey Parker, who has applied

the idea of a military revolution in an effort to account for the success of European expansion between 1500 and 1800.

Another variant on the military revolution thesis was developed by the American historian William H. McNeill who, though not a self-styled military historian, examined the interconnections between armed forces, society, and technology in an effort to chart out the fluctuations in the global distribution of power over the last millennium.

Military history also gained credibility in the United States with scholars such as John Shy, Peter Paret, and Edward Coffman. A striking characteristic of much American scholarship is the degree to which it has been willing to employ the insights, models, and modes of analysis developed in other branches of the social sciences. "War and society" means something quite different in the US, and scholarly journals such as *Armed Forces and Society* deliberately cut across disciplinary boundaries with issues containing articles by historians, political scientists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists. In such a situation, it is not surprising to see that military historians in the US are as likely to be intellectually indebted to sociologists such as Charles Tilly and Morris Janowitz or political scientists such as Samuel Huntington as they are to Liddell Hart or Delbrück.

The post-World War II era also saw military history making considerable gains in France and Germany. André Corvisier and Philippe Contamine in France have between them produced several important works (some of which have been translated) which explore the relationship between armies and society from the Middle Ages to the modern era. In Germany, the writing of an official history of World War II has been entrusted to a team of professional historians (*Militärgeschichtliche Forschungsamt*). Working at arm's length from the state and the armed forces, these scholars have been able to write much more objectively and dispassionately about Germany's experiences during World War II than was the case with many other official histories.

The scope of military history during this period not only broadened to incorporate political and economic perspectives, but also deepened as it began to explore the social and cultural parameters of armies and societies. John Keegan's *The Face of Battle* (1976) was without a doubt a major breakthrough; Keegan reconstructed the experience of battle from the perspective of those on the firing line, which counterbalanced the numerous battle studies written from the commander's vantage point. Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975) was another milestone. Fussell used literature to probe the responses of European society (principally Britain) to the traumas of World War I. While Fussell's conclusions are the subject of considerable debate, he has nevertheless prompted others to begin tracking the many pathways through which war and the military have come to be embedded in popular culture.

The recent revival of interest in the history of the state and of the processes and ideologies of state formation by such scholars as Charles Tilly and John Brewer has suggested yet more opportunities for military history to move beyond the battlefield. As their work and that of others has made clear, the will to monopolize the means of coercion lurked at the heart of most modern states, and consequently armies and navies were often in a position to exploit such agendas to serve their own interests. However, the resources to sustain such grabs for power

were not always in place. Paul Kennedy's massive work on the rise and fall of empires provides clear evidence of the dangers caused when military and political ambitions outpace the state's capacity to support them materially.

Despite the very impressive gains made by military historians in further developing traditional areas of enquiry, such as the origins and conduct of wars as well as the opening up of new lines of enquiry, sizeable gaps remain. Military historians, like historians in general, have tended to clump around certain topics. The two world wars, the American Civil War and the Napoleonic Wars have all been minutely explored. With respect to themes, there has been considerable interest in the evolution of strategic thought, in the impact of technological development on warfare, and on the relationship between military force and diplomacy (at least for the West in the modern era). There has also been considerable work on the impact of intelligence on the planning and conduct of military operations, spurred on by newly declassified documents. The social history of armies and navies and the societies with which they were in contact has been slower to develop, though there are promising signs that this is changing.

There remain several areas of military history that either languish or have yet to take off. Perhaps the best example of the former is the current state of naval history. Earlier in this century, naval historians such as Mahan, Julian Corbett, and Herbert Richmond were powerful figures within the historical establishment, but naval history has since sailed into the doldrums. Why this is the case is not completely clear, though the level of technical competency needed to understand naval operations may help explain it. It also may be that as air forces have overtaken navies as the prime instrument through which states project their power beyond their boundaries, there is consequently no longer the same apparent need or interest in naval history.

For fields that have been slow to develop, we need look no further than the military history of the non-European world. There are numerous popular accounts of colonial wars, but these are with few exceptions potboilers that too often reproduce European prejudices and inaccuracies. Even those works which seek to account for military developments in Africa, Asia, and the Americas in a more sophisticated manner, for example comparing military technologies and organizations, often rely implicitly upon an idea of European exceptionalism (such as the paradigm of the military revolution). In other words, non-European armies, like non-European societies, are defined in terms of their differences from their European counterparts. Fortunately, more nuanced interpretations of warfare and society outside Europe are being written. James Belich wrote an important study of the New Zealand Wars which has shattered many existing stereotypes and assumptions, and David Ralston has looked closely at how European military institutions and practices were assimilated by countries outside Europe and what the consequences were to them.

Notwithstanding these lacunae, it is quite clear that as military history gains credibility within the historical profession, its scope will broaden, and there will be increasing opportunities for the exchange of ideas and perspectives between various fields of history. Novel approaches to the rise of the state, on how masculinity was constructed through the centuries, and on the impact and application of new technologies are just some

examples of the possibilities gained through dialogue between military historians and their colleagues in other fields.

DOUGLAS PEERS

See also Delbrück; Herodotus; Howard; Keegan; Kennedy; McNeill; Mahan; Napoleonic Wars; Naval; Parker; Thucydides; Tilly, C.; World War I; World War II; Xenophon

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Miliukov, Pavel 1859–1943

Russian economic historian

Pavel Miliukov's scholarly prowess was noted and encouraged at the Historical-Philological Faculty of Moscow University, where he studied with Pavel Vinogradov and Vasilii Kliuchevskii. Upon graduation, he remained at Moscow University as a *Privatdocent* in the Department of Russian History, teaching and simultaneously researching and writing his doctoral dissertation, an analysis of Russian economic history during the reign of Peter I. Defended and published in 1892, *Gosudarstvennoe khoziaistvo Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII stoletia i reforma Petra Velikogo* (Russia's State Economy in the First Quarter of the 18th Century and the Reforms of Peter the Great) argued that Russia's Europeanization was not a product of borrowing from or imitation of the West, but rather a result of the country's internal evolution – developments that were fundamentally similar to those in Western Europe, but retarded by specific conditions of the Russian environment. Thus contradicting to a significant degree Kliuchevskii's views, Miliukov's findings caused a certain coolness in his relationship with his mentor. In this study, Miliukov was also very critical of the financial policies of Peter the Great and concluded that "Russia had been raised to the rank of a European power at the cost of the country's ruin."

Although overloaded with statistics, as well as somewhat cumbersome and convoluted explication, Miliukov's treatise is a major contribution to historiography; it opened the field of economic history to academic scrutiny in Russia. His study also remains important for the scholarly debate concerning Russia's modernization, despite the fact that later in his life Miliukov largely modified his interpretation in favor of Peter the Great.

Dismissed from his post at Moscow University for his protest against suspension of a number of politically active students in 1895 and forbidden employment in any educational institution in the Russian empire due to his "harmful influence" on the youth, Miliukov remained active as an original scholar. During a two-year exile in Riazan' he began a series of publications entitled *Ocherki po istorii russkoi kul'tury* (1896–1903; *Outlines of Russian Culture*, 1942). These essays originally appeared in the journal *Mir Bozhii* (God's World) and eventually comprised three full-length volumes, published in several editions in Russia and abroad.

The *Outlines of Russian Culture* series is generally considered to be Miliukov's main scholarly achievement. It is the

most lucid and popular of his works, intended as much for a broad circle of educated readers as for specialists. Indeed, to a large extent the *Outlines* were a result of Miliukov's effort to contribute to public education by popularizing his area of expertise.

The study presupposed a comprehensive approach, since, according to Miliukov, cultural history "encompasses all aspects of internal history: economic, social, political, intellectual, moral, religious and esthetic." The first volume represents Miliukov's continued attempt to work on general problems of Russian economic history, while avoiding the deterministic and materialistic approach of the Marxists. Indeed, at least in the Russian setting, it was the state, and not the economic base, that, in Miliukov's view, exerted the primary influence on the country's social organization. Analyzing what may be called "spiritual culture" in the second volume, Miliukov focused his attention on the Orthodox church and the Russian school. He considered these two factors instrumental in determining the development of spiritual differences between the people and the intelligentsia. Addressing the disparity between the way Russian educated society dissociated itself from its past, and the way in which a similar process had occurred in Western Europe, the historian attributed it to the "dissimilarity in the cultural role of religious beliefs." Finally, Miliukov, who considered Russia to be part of Europe yet stressed the importance of its unique national features, devoted the third part of his *Outlines* to the question of nationalism. In his opinion, the Russian national consciousness gradually evolved into a social phenomenon, presupposing greater public attention to domestic policies, as well as broader and more active participation in current affairs.

In 1903 Miliukov was invited to give lectures on Russian history at the University of Chicago, and this academic experience earned him a distinguished reputation in the United States. In the following year he went to Boston, where, under the auspices of the Lowell Institute, he delivered another lecture series under the general title "The Russian Crisis," later published as *Russia and Its Crisis* (1905).

In the period following the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution, Miliukov devoted his primary efforts to politics, serving as the leader of the Constitutional Democratic party, as a prominent Duma deputy, and eventually as a minister in the provisional government. After the Bolshevik takeover in 1917, Miliukov left Russia never to return. Although he was still active in politics, his primary occupation in exile was that of a historian who sought to integrate personal experiences during and after the crisis of 1917 and its scholarly interpretation.

ANNA GEIFMAN

See also Russia: Medieval; Russia: Early Modern; Russia: Modern

Biography

Pavel Nikolaevich Miliukov. Born Moscow, 28 January 1859, son of an architect. Educated at University of Moscow, BA 1886, PhD 1892. A student activist, he was arrested and imprisoned, 1881; on release studied art in Italy for a year. Taught at the University of Moscow, but was removed from post and exiled internally briefly before choosing to take a post first at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria, then in Turkey; rearrested in Moscow, 1901; from this time he worked for reform as a founder of the Constitutional Democratic party and member of the Duma; served as foreign

minister in the provisional government, 1917, but resigned protesting extremist domination; settled in Paris, 1917, where he edited an émigré newspaper. Married twice (3 daughters from first marriage). Died Aix-les-Bains, France, 31 March 1943.

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Miller, Perry 1905–1963

US intellectual historian

Perry Miller declared in *Errand into the Wilderness* (1956) “that the mind of man is the basic factor in human history.” He traced this history in philosophy, literature, theology, painting, science, law, rhetoric, and many other channels. Having missed World War I, the young scholar sought adventure in the merchant marine, traveled to Tampico, Mexico (the opening scene in *Treasure of the Sierra Madre*), the Mediterranean, and the African coast at Matadi on the Congo River. There he received an “epiphany . . . for expounding my America to the twentieth century.”

As originally conceived, Miller planned a “massive narrative of the movement of European culture into the vacant wilderness of America.” Early volumes on Puritanism triumphantly provided a beginning. His studies on Transcendentalism mapped out another field but remained incomplete at his death. And another work on Darwinianism and modernism left behind many suggestions awaiting completion by others.

Kenneth Murdock, Samuel Eliot Morison, and Perry Miller have sometimes been linked as the three M's in the recovery of 17th-century New England Puritans from their debunkers. Murdock tackled the literature, Morison the history, and Miller combined the two. Miller, however, departed significantly from the ancestor worship of his two Harvard colleagues. They admired the Puritans as white Anglo-Saxon Protestants; Miller as an atheist admired them for their determination and integrity.

The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr recognized that Miller, an unbelieving believer, could find in Jonathan Edwards, the 18th-century brimstone preacher, “a superior guide to the labyrinths of the human heart.” Miller's study of Jonathan Edwards (1949) was his most heartfelt work. If Miller's understanding of Edwards was imperfect, his understanding of himself was not. Edwards had, he wrote, “early conceived his resolution to present ideas naked.”

In 1941, Miller began teaching a course at Harvard on Romanticism in American literature. He started by quoting a letter from A.O. Lovejoy (whom Miller called “one of the great philosophic minds of the century”). Lovejoy, the analyst of “romanticisms,” warned that the student must define which ideas Americans chose from the continent and how Americans used and transformed them. Miller began by presenting Kant's analysis of the sublime. He applied that to descriptions of American landscapes, Niagara Falls, Kentucky caves, senatorial oratory, and even the apocalypse of the Civil War.

Miller generally abjured psychological interpretations in history, but he provided pioneering studies in his analysis of Henry David Thoreau, where he first identified homoerotic themes in *Consciousness in Concord* (1958). Miller's last lecture at Harvard (7 December 1963) analyzed the place of Whitman's homosexuality in his becoming the poet and celebrator of America. In *Margaret Fuller* (1963) Miller hinted at lesbian themes in Fuller's work and entertained her own estimate that she possessed the greatest mind among the Transcendentalists.

Miller demanded close readings of the writings of those he studied. For him, the text came first. His gathering of writings *The Puritans* (with Thomas H. Johnson, 1938) remains comprehensive. *The Transcendentalists* (1950) identified authors and writers virtually unknown even to specialists. *American Thought* (1954) indicated the direction his research might have gone had he lived longer.

While Miller figures as a giant among historians, he occupies an equally eminent position among literary critics. He edited works of Washington Irving (1961), Henry David Thoreau (1958, 1960), and Charles Dickens (1962), as well as *Major Writers of America* (1962). He taught in the English department at Harvard where his student Alan Heimert continued his work after Miller's death. Sacvan Bercovitch, also teaching in the Harvard English department, considers Miller to be America's greatest intellectual historian.

Miller's political position resembled that of nonseparating Puritanism: he wanted to purify Anglicanism without abandoning it. Likewise he enthusiastically supported war efforts and served as an officer in the OSS during World War II, yet joined with Archibald MacLeish against the excesses of MacCarthyism and 1950s conformity. He was a keen admirer of John F. Kennedy, who had been a student in his course at Harvard and who had quoted John Winthrop's famous “city on the hill” in

his farewell to Massachusetts in 1960. Miller died of a heart attack only two weeks after Kennedy's assassination.

Miller influenced a multitude of students and fellow scholars. Donald Fleming carried on work in intellectual history at Harvard. The late Nathan Huggins applied Miller's principles to the Harlem Renaissance. Bernard Bailyn reconceptualized the American Revolution by actually reading the pamphlets of the time. Ann Douglas applied the same techniques to New York City during the 1920s.

Some might cringe at Miller's easy use of words like "essence" or "essential." There is now less talk of the "vacant wilderness of America." Seventeenth-century Puritans certainly knew that their wilderness was no blank slate as they battled the indigenous inhabitants. Nevertheless, one cannot read the American Puritans or the Transcendentalists without Miller. His close textual analysis has stood the test of time and his reputation has been strengthened not weakened by his failure to finish a master narrative.

CHARLES SHIVELY

See also Curti; Gilbert

Biography

Perry Gilbert Eddy Miller. Born Chicago, 25 February 1905, son of a doctor. Attended Tilton School and Austin High School, Chicago; and University of Chicago, 1922. Traveled to Colorado before moving to Greenwich Village, New York, where he wrote for pulp magazines and occasionally acted in plays, before becoming a sailor, and eventually working for an oil company in the Belgian Congo, 1923–26. Reentered University of Chicago, BA 1928, PhD 1931; at Harvard University, 1930–31, studying with Kenneth Murdock and Samuel Eliot Morison. Taught American literature (rising to professor), Harvard University, 1931–63. Served in the US Army, 1942–45, working in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Married Elizabeth Williams, 1930. Died Cambridge, Massachusetts, 9 December 1963.

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Miller, Susanne 1915–

German (Bulgarian-born) historian

Susanne Miller is a leading scholar of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), whose works have emphasized the ethical foundations of social democratic theory and practice. Miller wrote major investigations of the SPD during and immediately after World War I, when the party found itself profoundly challenged by the immense difficulties of governing a defeated and traumatized nation.

Miller became a historian later in life, having had her education interrupted by fascism and war in the 1930s and 1940s. Born Susanne Strasser in Bulgaria in 1915 into a wealthy family of the Austrian Jewish upper bourgeoisie (her father was a banker whose business interests were in Vienna and Sofia), she grew up in a post-1918 Vienna that was materially impoverished but retained much of its prewar artistic and intellectual brilliance. Young Susanne, alert to the world around her, soon became aware of her own privileged status and the poverty and insecurity of the working classes. At the same time, living in a "Red Vienna" controlled by a militant Social Democratic party, she came to realize that social injustices could indeed be rectified if individuals and groups were committed to bring about change for the better.

As a student at the University of Vienna in the early 1930s, Miller was confronted by the brutal ugliness of fascism. Nazi students supported by much of the faculty dominated this venerable institution, attacking Jewish, socialist, and liberal students at will. Fascinated by history, she was at the same time acutely aware of contemporary events in Central Europe, and by her late teens was moving in militantly antifascist circles. One of her Bulgarian teachers, the philosopher Zeko Torbov, introduced her to the writings of the German socialist Leonard Nelson. Nelson's vision of socialism was ethically based, essentially Kantian, and strongly elitist in its political conception. For the rest of her life, Miller's socialist ideal would be based on ethics rather than economics, on freedom instead of compulsion.

The year 1933 saw the collapse of democracy in Germany and the rapid erosion of parliamentary rule in Austria. For a young woman of the Jewish bourgeoisie, the future was a bleak one, and the vicious spirit that dominated the University of Vienna only deepened her despair about her own and her generation's prospects for the future. In February 1934, she witnessed the Austro-Fascist regime's bloody suppression of social democracy, becoming personally involved in relief efforts for impoverished Viennese working-class families. After spending the summer of 1934 in London as an au pair studying English, she severed her ties to Vienna and began to live mostly in England. Poor but free, Miller moved in émigré circles linked to an elitist organization inspired by Leonard Nelson's ideals, the International Socialist League of Struggle (ISK).

Miller earned her living for the next decade by working in a vegetarian restaurant located between Leicester Square and

Piccadilly Circus. In her free time, she gave talks about the menace of fascism to women's groups linked to the Labour party. Frustrated in her plans for higher education, she read voraciously and closely followed the rapidly deteriorating political landscape.

During World War II Miller entered into a pro forma marriage with Labour Party activist Horace Miller. The acquisition of a British passport would prove essential later on, when she carried out her plans to return to the continent after the defeat of Nazi Germany. During this period, she was deeply involved in the affairs of London's German-speaking émigré circles, with the small but enthusiastic ISK organization remaining at the center of her political and personal life.

In 1944 Miller became the personal secretary as well as companion of Willi Eichler. Berlin-born Eichler served as Leonard Nelson's private secretary during the last years of his life, and succeeded him as the undisputed leader of the hierarchically organized ISK. Although pitifully tiny in numbers (perhaps two dozen active members) in London, the ISK made up in militancy and confidence what it lacked in numerical weight. Brilliant and indefatigable, Eichler advocated an idealistic vision of socialism that went far beyond the drab Marxism of the communists and the faded bureaucratic notions of the social democratic leadership. Miller's developing concept of socialism – idealistic and universal in scope – was enhanced during these years of professional collaboration and personal ties to the charismatic Eichler.

The defeat of Nazi Germany in the spring of 1945 released Miller's pent-up hopes of returning to the continent to help in the creation of a free and democratic society built on the ruins of fascism. Before her return, she supported Eichler in his tireless efforts to bring about the unification of the often bitterly hostile factions among Britain's German social democratic emigrant community. This major task achieved, they moved to occupied Germany in 1946, where they married. Settling in the devastated city of Cologne, he became chief editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, while she plunged enthusiastically into SPD organizational work among women.

Undiscouraged by the moral as well as physical destruction of Germany, Miller worked tirelessly to spread socialist ideals among the population of Cologne. Popular among her fellow-SPD members, she was elected, first to the Cologne district council and then to the middle Rhenish district of the party. By 1952 her talents brought her to the attention of the national SPD leadership, who selected her to work in the national executive committee in Bonn. Here she participated in the internal debates that led in 1959 to the adoption of the landmark Bad Godesberg declaration, which finally severed the last ties of the SPD to Marxist ideology, including the idea of class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat. Serving as secretary of the program commission that drafted the declaration, Miller played a significant role in the extended and sometimes acrimonious internal debates that resulted in a new party firmly based on ideals of ethically grounded democratic socialism.

Decades of political turmoil and personal insecurity behind her, in 1959 Miller activated her long-delayed plans for an academic career, enrolling in the University of Bonn. By 1963 she had earned a doctorate in history under the direction of Karl Dietrich Bracher. Miller's dissertation was published in 1964 as *Das Problem der Freiheit im Sozialismus* (The Problem

of Freedom in Socialism), a broadly conceived study of the "problem of freedom" in the first four decades of the social democratic movement in Germany. Superbly researched and clearly written, it illuminated the essential dilemmas faced by a mass movement in an imperial Germany that remained stubbornly antidemocratic in spirit. Her thesis, that German social democracy had since 1848 carried the double burden of fighting not only for the economic and social advancement of the proletariat but also for the achievement of bourgeois liberty and republican virtue in a profoundly authoritarian society, would be a major theme in all of Miller's subsequent research.

Miller's next three books were all editions of documents. Appearing in 1966 was her edition of the World War I diary of SPD Reichstag deputy Eduard David, which was hailed as a significant contribution to historical understanding of the motives for social democratic support of the war, David revealing in his diary his belief that the German proletariat's support of the imperial regime in the conflict would not only result in accelerated democratization but a final integration of long-alienated workers into the national political culture.

After preparing an edition of Willi Eichler's speeches which appeared in 1967, Miller and her colleagues Erich Matthias and Heinrich Potthoff published in 1969 a massive 2-volume edition of documents from the crucial period of November 1918 through February 1919 when the post-Hohenzollern German state struggled to achieve democracy and come to terms with the reality of military defeat. Published under the auspices of the Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and Political Parties, the volumes were hailed by reviewers as a major feat of scholarship, making possible for the first time objective assessments by other historians of the activities of the revolutionary Council of People's Representatives during a crucial period of modern German history.

In 1974 Miller published another major work, her study of the SPD during World War I. Once again reviewers noted the excellence of her research, which utilized not only printed and archival sources but oral testimony as well. Socialist historian Carl Landauer, writing in the *American Historical Review*, praised the book as "a great contribution to the history of socialism." Four years later, in 1978, Miller published another massive volume, this time investigating the "burden of power" shouldered by the SPD from October 1918 through June 1920, when the party bore the immense responsibility of governing a defeated and demoralized German Reich. Based on research in 15 archives scattered over six countries, Miller's work was again highly praised. Werner Angress noted in the *American Historical Review* that not only was her research "exemplary," but her assessment of the first German experiment in socialism had been able to strike an admirable balance between narrative and interpretation, noting both SPD achievements and shortcomings.

In her major books Miller exhibited the confidence of a historian who could make controversial judgments when she felt they were appropriate. Her studies of the post-1918 SPD are strongly critical of a political party increasingly out of touch with the masses, who during this crucial period yearned for both a thoroughgoing socialization of the economy and a fundamental democratization of the bureaucracy and military. Social democratic failure to achieve these goals allowed the mental and institutional structures of reactionary Germany to

remain largely intact and in time made it possible for them to gather strength and eventually to attack and destroy the Weimar republic. The gradualism of the SPD was more a reflection of the ideological exhaustion of its leaders than a reflection of a clear strategy on their part.

Miller's strong personal commitment to the ideals of democratic socialism, which can be traced back to her earliest political involvement in Vienna, underlies her basic interpretations of modern German history. Her telling criticisms of the social democratic leadership during the period 1914–20 when they reluctantly assumed the "burden of power" in the German Reich emphasized the passivity of the party leadership in pursuing power or pressing for internal reforms, their lack of a strong policy concept, and their growing isolation from the workers who formed the great majority of their party.

Believing that history must be made accessible to a mass audience, Miller wrote books, pamphlets, and articles that contributed to popular awareness of the legacy of democratic socialism, and also helped to strengthen humane, democratic ideals in Germany. Convinced that "objective history" does not exist, Miller studied and wrote history in order to assist the working class and the democratic party that best represented its interests to learn from the mistakes of the past. She regarded her work as part of the democratic reconstruction of post-1945 Germany that of necessity had to study the causes for the failure of democracy in the Weimar republic. Avoiding the turgidity characteristic of much of German scholarly prose, Miller's books are characterized by a clear prose style, a reflection of her belief that history must be comprehensible to the average educated citizen of a democracy who can only engage in effective political discourse when properly armed with the facts of history. A powerful inspiration for Miller's style and approach to historical writing was the socialist historian Gustav Mayer.

In collaboration with Heinrich Potthoff, she published in 1981 a compact history of the German social democratic movement. In this primer aimed at non-specialists, Potthoff covered the years 1848 through 1945, while Miller's contribution was a concise survey of the successes and failures of the SPD in the Federal Republic of Germany from the end of the Third Reich in 1945 to the unification of Germany in 1990. The socialist values she discussed in this book were grounded not in Marxist notions of revolutionary inevitability but instead were an expression of the unrelenting struggle for personal and political freedom waged not only by workers but progressive-minded Germans of all classes.

Because of the dramatic and sudden nature of European political changes of the 1980s, which culminated in German unification in October 1990, Miller has been kept busy adding new materials to the SPD history primer. The book, which surprised its authors by becoming a bestseller, went through a number of editions, including a well-received English-language edition in 1986. The 7th edition (1991) chronicled the dramatic events of 1989–90 which led to the demise of the totalitarian state socialism practiced in the German Democratic Republic and validated Miller's strongly held belief that to be viable, socialism had to be inseparably linked to democracy.

Although she officially retired in 1978, Miller remained active into the 1990s, serving on various panels (including serving from 1982 through 1989 as chair of the SPD Executive

Committee's Historical Commission), continuing to publish for a broad audience, and occasionally participating as a citizen in mass rallies for democracy and against the dangers of ethnic intolerance and neo-Nazism. In a 1985 speech on the occasion of Miller's 70th birthday, Willy Brandt noted that what had always inspired her work was the will to assist in the creation of a better society in which working people would be able to live "good, meaningful and fulfilled lives."

JOHN HAAG

Biography

Susanne Strasser Miller. Born Sofia, Bulgaria, 14 May 1915, daughter of a wealthy Austrian Jewish banker. Grew up in Vienna and Sofia; studied briefly, University of Vienna, 1932; lived mostly in England, 1934–46; returned to Germany, 1946. Involved in German Social Democratic party politics from 1946. Received PhD, University of Bonn, 1963. Member, Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and Political Parties, 1963–78; retired. Married 1) Horace Miller; 2) Willi Eichler, 1946.

Principal Writings

- Das Problem der Freiheit im Sozialismus: Freiheit, Staat und Revolution in der Programmatik der Sozialdemokratie von Lassalle bis zum Revisionismusstreit* (The Problem of Freedom in Socialism: Freedom, State and Revolution in the Social Democratic Party Program from Lassalle to the Debates over Revisionism), 1964
- Editor with Erich Matthias, *Das Kriegstagebuch des Reichstagsabgeordneten Eduard David 1914 bis 1918* (The War Diary of Reichstag Deputy Eduard David 1914 to 1918), 1966
- Editor with Gerhard Weiser, *Willi Eichler, Weltanschauung und Politik: Reden und Aufsätze* (World View and Politics: Addresses and Essays by Willi Eichler), 1967
- Editor with Gerhard A. Ritter, *Die deutsche Revolution, 1918–1919: Dokumente* (The German Revolution, 1918–1919: Documents), 1968; revised 1975
- Editor with Erich Matthias and Heinrich Potthoff, *Die Regierung der Volksbeauftragten 1918/19* (The Government of the People's Representatives 1918/19), 2 vols., 1969
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der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Susanne Miller: Bibliography of Works Presented on the Occasion of her 75th Birthday by the Library of Social Democracy and the Library of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation), Bonn: Forschungsinstitut/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1990

Milsom, S.F.C. 1923–

British legal historian

S.F.C. Milsom, perhaps more than any other living English legal historian of the 20th century, has secured a formidable reputation as the leading authority on the medieval history of the English common law. He is widely regarded as the intellectual successor to Maitland and Plucknett (his distinguished predecessor in the chair of legal history in the University of London). In a now famous metaphor, Milsom characterized his craft as being “not unlike that children’s game in which you draw lines between numbered dots, and suddenly from the jumble a picture emerges: but our dots are not numbered.”

During his period as literary director of the Selden Society (1965–81), Milsom commissioned many annual volumes and initiated the Society’s Supplementary series. He also made a most notable contribution to the publishing program in 1963 when he edited a collection of precedents of oral pleadings in various common-law actions from the time of Edward I for the Society (*Novae Narrationes*), an enterprise that required considerable work translating the Anglo-Norman texts. In his introduction to these texts, a taste of things to come, Milsom provided a consideration of the place of the texts and an extended commentary on the forms of action represented by the pleadings.

Milsom’s scholarly reputation, however, derives largely – but by no means exclusively – from his two principal works of scholarship, *Historical Foundations of the Common Law* (1969) and *The Legal Framework of English Feudalism* (1976), the latter being the published text of his Maitland lectures at Cambridge in 1972. But not to be forgotten is Milsom’s magisterial introduction to the reissue of the second edition of Pollock and Maitland’s *History of English Law* (1968). In his “essay in heresy, pious heresy, intended to suggest the kind of doubt which it seems possible to have about Maitland’s picture,” Milsom articulated modifications to the picture of medieval English legal history as presented by Pollock and Maitland, most especially that concerning the development of land law between the accession of Henry II and the reign of Edward I. His main thesis was that Maitland had underestimated the role of the local courts, at the expense of exaggerating the role played by the curia regis, most especially in his analysis of property. For Milsom, the real property actions formed a part of the feudal landscape whereas Maitland overemphasized the proprietary characteristics of these actions, “working as it were backwards from Bracton.” Milsom returned to his challenge of the Maitland view in his important scholarly monograph on feudalism. While prepared to acknowledge that feudalism had indeed begun to decline during the reign of Henry II, Milsom declined the Maitland view that Henry II had consciously attempted to defeudalize the law: “Great things happened; but the only intention behind writ of right, mort d’ancestor, and novel disseisin was to make the seignorial [feudal] structure work according to its own

assumptions.” This revised view of the course of English feudalism has not been seriously challenged.

A reviewer of the first edition of Milsom’s *Historical Foundations* predicted that it would “come to be placed beside Holdsworth and Plucknett as one of the great post-Maitland contributions to the study of the history of the common law.” Milsom did not here set out to cover the whole field of the common law; indeed this would not have been compatible with his aim, which was “to give a single picture of the development of the common law.” The two substantively influential sections of the book concern “property in land” and “obligations” and it is these, perhaps more so than the other parts, that have challenged certain widely-held orthodoxies, a theme suggested in the introductory essay to Pollock and Maitland the previous year and to which Milsom was to return again in his Maitland lectures. Although intended “to draw the main outlines of the subject,” the book’s sophisticated and epigrammatic style, a hallmark of all Milsom’s work, demands a considerable familiarity with the subject matter before it can be tackled with profit. For this, one can fortunately turn to Milsom’s equally well-known pupil, John H. Baker.

Milsom’s distinctive contribution to English legal historical scholarship is not restricted to his books. His illuminating and scholarly articles on such diverse topics as “trespass,” “sale of goods in the 15th-century,” “reason in the development of the common law,” “law and fact in legal development,” and “the nature of Blackstone’s achievement,” appeared in the leading English law journal, the *Law Quarterly Review* and elsewhere. Several of these were gathered together and published separately in one volume as *Studies in the History of the Common Law* (1985).

STEPHEN D. GIRVIN

See also Legal

Biography

Stroud Francis Charles Milsom. Born 2 May 1923. Educated at Charterhouse School; Trinity College, Cambridge, MA 1948. Called to the Bar, Lincoln’s Inn, 1947. Commonwealth Fund fellow, University of Pennsylvania, 1947–48; fellow/lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1948–55; tutor/fellow/dean, New College, Oxford, 1956–64; professor of legal history, University of London, 1964–76, and Cambridge University, 1976–90; fellow, St. John’s College, Cambridge, from 1976. Queen’s Counsel, 1985. Married Irène Szreszewski, 1955.

Principal Writings

Editor, *Novae Narrationes*, 1963
Theodore Frank Thomas Plucknett, 1897–1965, 1965
 Editor, *The History of English Law*, by Frederick Pollock and F.W. Maitland, 1968
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Mito School

The Mito school (*Mitogaku*) was a Japanese school of historical, moral, and political thought sponsored by the *daimyō* (barons) of the Mito domain (present-day Ibaraki Prefecture in central Honshu) during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868). These *daimyō* belonged to a branch of the ruling Tokugawa family of shoguns and therefore promoted scholarship which, like that of the rival Hayashi school, was designed to legitimize the existing political order. However, the Mito scholars were more inclined to produce historical writing in which individuals were strictly judged according to neo-Confucian moral standards.

The school was founded in 1657 by the second *daimyō* of the Mito domain, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700), who invited Japanese and Chinese scholars to his mansion in Edo (modern Tokyo) to compile a comprehensive history of Japan from the earliest times. By Mitsukuni's death more than 130 scholars had participated in the effort, which absorbed about one-third of the domain's annual budget.

Mitsukuni was the third son of the first Mito *daimyō*, who passed over both him and the first son (Mitsukuni's full biological brother) in favor of a son by a different mother when determining the succession. With the death of this half-brother, however, Mitsukuni was made heir. Guilt-stricken by his selection (over his elder brother who should have been chosen under Confucian rules of precedence), Mitsukuni began to study the Chinese historical texts that specified appropriate moral behavior. This was the inception of the *Dai Nihon shi* (History of Great Japan) project; it eventually consisted of 397 volumes, and was completed only in 1906. Rooted in Mitsukuni's own soul-searching, this and other projects of the Mito school were intended to awaken in the national military government a commitment to self-rectification.

Among the noted scholars involved in the first stage of compilation (to 1720) were the Chinese exile Shu Shunsui (1600-82), a scholar of the Zhu Xi [Chu Hsi] school; Asaka Tanpaku (1656-1737); Kuriyama Senpo (1671-1706); Miyake Kanran (1674-1718); and Mitsukuni's heir Tokugawa Tsunaeda (1656-1718). These scholars followed the format of official Chinese histories, including in the *Dai Nihon shi* annals, biographies, treatises and charts, and combining neo-Confucian ethical and historiographical principles with native Shinto influences.

The divine origins of the imperial institution are assumed in this work, and the imperial regalia are invested with mystical significance. Nevertheless, the emperors are depicted as having "lost the Mandate of Heaven" from the 14th century. The Tokugawa leaders, descended from a branch of the imperial line, had, like the Ashikaga and Minamoto shoguns before them, inherited this mandate.

The treatises (*ronsan*) explicitly indicated the historian's judgment about a particular event. These judgments were conspicuously absent from the Hayashi school project, *Honcho tsugan*; they provided a distinctive moralistic tone to the first version of the *Dai Nihon shi*, covering the period to the early 15th century, presented to the shogunate in 1720. Most of the treatises were written by Asaka; on his death the historical work fell into abeyance until it was resumed under the leadership of Tachihara Suiken (1744-1823) in 1786. Thereafter the school was torn by factional quarrels, in which Fujita Yūkoku (1774-1826), his son Fujita Tōko (1806-55), and the *daimyō* Tokugawa Harutoshi and Nariaki played important roles.

During this "later period" of the Mito school, its scholars shifted their attention from moral commentary on the past to examination of laws and institutions. Asaka's *ronsan* were deleted from the *Dai Nihon shi* text at the request of Fujita Yūkoku, on the grounds that Mitsukuni had never authorized them. During a period of extraordinary internal stresses, and military pressure from Western countries, Mito school scholars came to emphasize the need for major political change to protect the national polity (*kokutai*), and to re-articulate a vision of Japan as the "country of the gods" (*shinkoku*). Thus what had originated as a school for historical inquiry became transformed into a hotbed of antiforeign activism, particularly following the signing of the unequal treaties with Western powers in the 1850s.

GARY P. LEUPP

See also Arai; Japan

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Mitre, Bartolomé 1821-1906

Argentine historian

Like most Latin American historians of the 19th century Bartolomé Mitre participated in a variety of other careers and, in fact, his political and military activity overshadowed his historiographic work for a time. He also worked as a journalist while in exile in Chile and after he returned to his home in Argentina he was elected president. As an officer he was naturally interested in military leaders and his first work in 1859 was a 2-volume biography of General Manuel Belgrano, an outstanding leader in the Argentine independence struggle. The laudatory nature of the biography led Mitre into two

historiographic polemics not only revolving around his treatment of Belgrano but also on how history should be written. The Argentine scholar Dalmacio Velez Sarsfield took exception to Mitre's argument that Belgrano virtually had to drag the people to the battlefield to get them to support independence. Velez charged that this view was based on only one letter Belgrano wrote to a friend during the struggle and that it was not supported by other evidence. Velez and others charged that the people of Argentina were committed to independence and leaders like Belgrano were of secondary importance to the acquisition of freedom. This charge led Mitre to insist that his critics were moved more by emotion than by careful scholarship. He maintained that biography and history had to be based on documents that were compared and tested and winnowed until the final truth was found. He reiterated that he had used primary documents and tested them against other evidence such as oral tradition, whereas Velez relied upon patriotic myths and stories passed on from the independence age that went untested. But when Velez continued his charges in subsequent articles Mitre broadened the debate. He claimed that Velez had now introduced the concept that the mass of the Argentine population had won the independence struggle alone without the guidance of a group of educated, economically elite leaders. Mitre argued that, historically, in any significant military encounter it required both the leaders and the fighting men to achieve victory. Therefore, he could not understand Velez's attempt to belittle the efforts of Belgrano and other officers. Velez countered that Mitre simply gave too much credit to Belgrano and too little to the fighting men who confronted the Spanish on the battlefield.

Despite their differences on historiographic method, both Mitre and Velez had opened a discussion that influenced later historians in Argentina by emphasizing careful examination of primary materials. Beyond that, Velez ultimately conceded that Mitre's book on Belgrano was the best account of that period of Argentine history despite his slighting the Argentine people who fought in and supported the war. For his part Mitre insisted to the conclusion of the polemic that he had used primary sources and that he never encountered any other documentation that contradicted his position on Belgrano or on Argentine society. Both men expressed the hope that their differences would aid the development of Argentine historiography.

In a later polemic in 1881 and 1882 Mitre clashed with Vicente Fidel López while both were in exile in Chile. This discussion was more impassioned and the participants were more willing to use harsh language to attack each other. Once again the crux of the argument was Mitre's biography of Belgrano. Mitre reverted to his insistence that history had to be written from a careful screening of primary documentation. This time he was more critical of his opponent whom he characterized as using too few tested documents and relying instead on ideas and concepts that López already held when he initiated his histories. This historiographical technique Mitre came to call philosophical history. In the heat of this discussion Mitre also criticized a number of other Argentine historians for the same methodology. López argued that this public criticism of him and his countrymen was unforgivable. If he wished to criticize another's work Mitre should have done it personally and certainly not in a foreign journal or with a foreign publisher, in this case Chilean. Nationalism was a powerful force to which

Mitre also subscribed, but true history was, for him, more important. López argued that Mitre's history was too detailed and too bound to the documents. López's view was that such history was uninteresting and that the reader could glean much more about his country's history if the work were readable and exciting. Style, therefore, was an important ingredient which Mitre relegated to a level below painstaking research in documents. Mitre insisted that López wrote his histories from the works of others, with only a modicum of primary research. His chief concern was that Argentine historiography was not yet ready for that type history when so much basic research was still required – he did not object to writing philosophical history so long as it was based on fact. His complaint was with those histories that were based on too little primary research at a time when there was still so much yet to learn of a basic nature.

After some 800 pages written by each man, Argentine historiography was the primary beneficiary. From this clash of ideas Argentines could clearly evaluate two different types of historical method, archival research and synthesis on the one hand and analysis of secondary sources on the other. This was one of Mitre's great contributions to Argentine historiography. His adversaries too must be praised for their contribution, but the historiographic polemics centered around Mitre's book on the role of General Belgrano in the Argentine independence wars.

JACK RAY THOMAS

See also Argentina; Latin America: National; Levene; Scobie

Biography

Born Buenos Aires, 1821. Graduated from a military academy, Montevideo, 1839. Involved in independence movements in Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile. Director, Bolivian Military Academy, 1849; journalist in Chile; fought in Uruguayan battle of Caseros, 1852; governor, Buenos Aires Province, 1860; opposition to Urquiza resolved with Mitre's battlefield victory, Pavón, 1861; president, unified Argentine Republic, 1862–68; unsuccessful rebellion after election defeat led to capture and imprisonment, but later pardoned, 1874. Founder, *La Nación* newspaper, 1870. Died Buenos Aires, 1906.

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Momigliano, Arnaldo 1908–1987

Italian ancient historian

Every historian has a favorite vehicle, and for Arnaldo Momigliano it was the lecture or essay, a piece of brief compass in which he could raise very general questions. This was clear even in his first book, a study of the emperor Claudius that was really a series of essays. Published in Italian in 1932, it already revealed many of the characteristics of Momigliano as a mature scholar: a taste for pithy aphorisms, an extraordinary control of modern scholarship, an interest in Judaism, and a quality of being responsive to his surroundings; it may not be accidental that a book published after a decade of fascist power culminated in a discussion of Claudius' policy of centralization. But as time passed, particularly after Momigliano's migration to England in 1939, it became apparent that his interests were far broader than those of a conventional ancient historian. While he would always remain at home in the world of classical studies, being a contributor to both the first and second editions of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, it eventually became clear that his interests were far broader than those of conventional historians of the ancient world.

One result of his coming to live in England was the developing of contacts with the Warburg Institute in Bloomsbury, which had been founded for the study of cultural and intellectual history in 1921. These bore fruit in 1963 with the publication of a series of lectures he had arranged, *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*. Momigliano contributed an introduction to the volume in which he reopened the old question of the connection between the rise of Christianity and the decline of the Roman empire. He argued that as the church developed into a powerful structure it undermined the empire. The case he developed showed lightness of touch and an ability to offer novel hypotheses based on mastery of a huge body of scholarship. These qualities were also displayed in a classic paper "The Fault of the Greeks," in which he suggested that the Greeks were less interested in other peoples than were the Jews and Romans with whom they shared the Hellenistic world, and that this had massive consequences for the way the West has looked at other cultures.

A man of breadth of vision, Momigliano had a genuine passion for the life of the mind. He was fascinated by the western historiographical tradition, and moved with assurance among the works of historians from Herodotus to those of his

contemporaries writing in half a dozen languages. It was a degree of knowledge that lent itself to displays of erudition and to a love of detail which led one distinguished Roman historian to refer to him as a pedant. While some of his published work had a slender footnote apparatus, there is no mistaking the learning behind it, while the piling up of references in his more heavily documented work can certainly alarm beginners. But it can also open new horizons. His uncanny ability to use the particular and the general to illuminate each other was seen to great advantage in a lecture read before the British Academy in 1955, a monumental paper on the 6th-century author Cassiodorus which summed up centuries of scholarship. Beginning with an unforgettable throwaway sentence ("When I want to understand Italian history I catch a train and go to Ravenna"), Momigliano went on to offer a novel hypothesis on the relationship between Cassiodorus and Jordanes which continues to provoke discussion.

In one of his most influential essays, an analysis of Edward Gibbon, Momigliano remarked that the work of this scholar combined two different traditions which had developed by his time, the learning of the antiquarian *érudits* and the broad interests of philosophical historians. It was a comment that could have been applied to himself with equal force. The mixture of an exhilarating depth of scholarship with the most provocative broad ideas will continue to challenge and inspire.

JOHN MOORHEAD

See also Poliakov; Roman

Biography

Arnaldo Dante Momigliano. Born Caraglio (Cuneo), Italy, 5 September 1908, to Jewish intellectual family. Studied with Gaetano De Sanctis, University of Turin, received degree 1929. Taught at University of Rome, 1932–36; professor of Roman history, University of Turin, 1936–38; dismissed under Mussolini's race laws. Moved to England and lived in Oxford, 1939–47; taught at University of Bristol, 1947–51; professor of ancient history, University College, London, 1951–75. Married Gemma Segre, 1932 (1 daughter). Died London, 1 September 1987.

Principal Writings

- Prime linee di storia della tradizione Maccabaica* (Outlines of the History of the Maccabean Tradition), 1930, reprinted 1968
- L'opera dell'imperatore Claudio*, 1932; in English as *Claudius the Emperor and His Achievement*, 1934
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- Contributo alla storia degli studi classici*, 9 vols. to date, 1955–; selected essays in English as *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*, 1977
- Editor, *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, 1963
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Mommsen, Hans 1930-

German historian

Hans Mommsen is one of the leading German historians of the 20th century. Mommsen, who has held a chair for modern history at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum since its foundation, has made his scholarly contribution in 20th-century German history. Based on his rigorous analysis of this era, Mommsen has also become one of the leading political figures of the German republic.

In much of his early work Mommsen addressed the history of the working class, both as an interest group itself, and also as a group of actors on the larger political stage. *Arbeiterbewegung und nationale Frage* (The Labor Movement and the National Question), a collection of Mommsen's essays published in 1979, represents the culmination of his research in this area. Mommsen's growing interest in the fate of the working class and its political and union representation during the National Socialist period led him to become an expert on the Third Reich.

During the 1960s, Mommsen worked with Martin Broszat of the Institute of Contemporary History, Germany's foremost research institution for the history of National Socialism. Broszat and Mommsen were among the first to reveal the contradictions between the historical evidence on the one hand and on the other the totalitarian model of National Socialist rule and its intentionalist approach to the Holocaust. Mommsen himself developed the concept of the "weak dictator" to show the limited role that Hitler – as a single individual – played in the catastrophe of the Third Reich. Mommsen showed how broad-ranged complicity and even apathy among various social groups contributed to the development of National Socialist rule. Mommsen's first significant work in this regard was *Beamtenum im Dritten Reich* (The Institution of the Civil Service in the Third Reich, 1966).

Mommsen's insistence on clear historical proof as the basis of any discussion about the Third Reich has done much to limit contemporary ideological abuse of the Third Reich. For example, Mommsen was the first historian to defend Fritz Tobias' work on the Reichstag fire of 1933. In "Der Reichstagsbrand und seine politischen Folgen" (The Reichstag Fire and Its Political Consequences, 1964), Mommsen argued convincingly against both right- and left-wing conspiracy theories. While Tobias proved the historical case that a lone arsonist set the fire, it was Mommsen who addressed the contemporary political implications of Tobias' findings by showing the political capital at stake in dismantling the myths that had arisen around the fire.

Mommsen has also published extensively on the social composition of the German resistance to Hitler. In this area, too, he has contributed to a much more differentiated understanding of the role both of former labor leaders and of different circles within the conservative resistance.

Mommsen has preferred publishing essays rather than larger works. On the occasion of his 60th birthday, many of his most important essays were collected in *Der Nationalsozialismus und die deutsche Gesellschaft* (1991), some of which have been translated in *From Weimar to Auschwitz* (1991). In his history of the Weimar republic, *Die verspielte Freiheit* (1989; *The Rise and Fall of Weimar Democracy*, 1996), Mommsen argues that the conflict between conservatives and socialists caused the republic's collapse, for which he ultimately blames the conservatives.

Unlike most Anglo-American historians, German historians play a significant role in public discourse and Mommsen is no exception. Through his essays, which are frequently published in popular journals and newspapers, he has contributed much to maintaining a vibrant dialogue about the lessons on democracy to be learned from the first fifty years of the 20th century. Mommsen displays a healthy if un-German distrust for the personified state. In the *Historikerstreit*, the debate about historicizing the Holocaust and the National Socialist regime, Mommsen deftly undermined arguments from both extremes. Rejecting the efforts of conservative politicians and historians to "close the books" on the period, in *Auf der Suche nach historischer Normalität* (In Search of Historical Normalcy, 1987), Mommsen argued that only a continuing dialogue with the past could provide the basis for a healthy, ever-evolving national identity. The goal should not be the creation of a "usable," consensus-driven German past. For Mommsen, a vigilant citizenry is the only sure defense of democracy. Thus, any tendency toward complacency or toward government's detachment from the people suffers harsh criticism at the hands of this combative political thinker. In a recent *Festschrift* for Mommsen, published on the occasion of his 65th birthday, *Von der Aufgabe der Freiheit: politische Verantwortung und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (The Task of Freedom: Political Responsibility and Civil Society in the 19th and 20th Centuries), leading German historians and public figures paid tribute to Mommsen as an important if uncomfortable practitioner of his craft and a model of the historian as citizen.

MARTIN R. MENKE

See also Broszat; Germany: 1800-1945

Biography

Born Marburg, 5 November 1930, son of historian Wilhelm Mommsen and twin brother of historian Wolfgang J. Mommsen. Studied history, German language, and philosophy at universities of Marburg, Tübingen, and Heidelberg; PhD, University of Tübingen, 1959. Taught at Tübingen, 1960-61, Heidelberg, 1963-68, and Bochum, from 1968. Married Margaretha Reindl, 1966.

Principal Writings

Die Sozialdemokratie und die Nationalitätenfrage im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat (Social Democracy and the Nationalities Question in the Multi-Ethnic Hapsburg Empire), 1963

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- Editor, *Sozialdemokratie zwischen Klassenbewegung und Volkspartei* (Social Democracy Between Class Movement and Populist Party), 1974
- Editor, *Arbeiterbewegung und industrieller Wandel: Studien zu gewerkschaftlichen Organisationsproblemen im Reich und an der Ruhr* (Labor Movement and Industrial Change: Problems in Union Organizing in the Reich and in the Ruhr), 1978
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- Editor with Isabella Acker and Walter Hummelberger, *Politik und Gesellschaft im alten und neuen Österreich: Festschrift für Rudolf Neck zum 60. Geburtstag* (Politics and Society in the Old and the New Austria: Festschrift for Rudolf Neck on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday), 2 vols., 1981
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- Editor with Jiří Kořálka, *Ungleiche Nachbarn: demokratische und nationale Emanzipation bei Deutschen, Tschechen und Slowaken (1815–1914)* (Unequal Neighbors: Democratic and National Emancipation of Germans, Czechs, and Slovaks, 1815–1914), 1993
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Mommsen, Theodor 1817–1903

German historian of the ancient world

Theodor Mommsen was an extraordinarily productive and wide-ranging scholar. The Protestant pastor's son from southern Schleswig loyally trained as a jurist at the nearby University of Kiel, and his dissertation in Roman law and history attracted favorable attention at once. But he worked harder in his philology courses with Otto Jahn and – with Jahn and his own brother Tycho – published some passable lyric poetry. He was especially gifted as a writer of prose: his scholarly bibliography lists 1500 items and, in 1902, his *Römische Geschichte* (1854–56; *The History of Rome*, 1864–75), though long in print, won the Nobel prize for literature. Mommsen had, really, two academic careers. First, he was a professor of Roman law at Leipzig and – after his dismissal on political grounds after 1848 – at Zürich and Breslau. Then, because of his distinguished work with Roman inscriptions, he was appointed professor of Roman history at the University of Berlin.

A numismatist of distinction, Mommsen was also a talented administrator: he knew how to initiate and manage large-scale, long-term academic projects, specifically in the collection and study of ancient inscriptions, the location and study of Roman coin hoards in Germany, and the study of the Roman *limes* – the wall and forts at the northern limit of Roman territory in Germany. Mommsen himself labelled such projects "large-scale scholarship" (*Grosswissenschaft*). He was also an active political liberal in 1848 and later in the Chamber of Deputies in Prussia. Prusso-German liberals tended to moderation, and although Mommsen applauded Bismarck's application of force to German unification, he more often criticized than condoned Bismarck's policies. Thus, Mommsen helped found the left-liberal Progressive party (*Fortschrittspartei*) and energetically defended Jews against his famed colleague Heinrich von Treitschke. He conducted the defense in print, and resigned his secretaryship in the Prussian Academy of Sciences when Treitschke's membership at last became inevitable.

The renewal of Mommsen's reputation in post-1945 Germany resulted in large part from his modeling of a decent, liberal political career. Mommsen was decent beyond any doubt, but his political attitude was not very different from his colleagues'. He merely swam on the left side of the main stream, and by his own declaration was no philo-Semite. Jews as fellow citizens deserved defense from abuse, and Mommsen paid them the odd compliment of claiming that in 19th-century Germany they could again do what they had done for Julius Caesar, namely act as the "ferment of decomposition" by subverting old loyalties and undercutting particularism. In private

correspondence he admitted what was implicit in his public utterances: ultimately Jews would have to cease to be Jews in order to become Germans. This was a logical conclusion from his basic political premise. Modern men – he did not think of women as full citizens – were properly members of self-governing, free, yet powerful nation-states. Their citizenries therefore required a high degree of national homogeneity.

He wrote history, in good part, to train such a citizenry; and the history that won him a popular reputation (and his Nobel prize) was his *The History of Rome*. This work, which is now a classic and was an almost immediate success, is a product of an age when synthetic histories graced the homes of educated middle-class families who sometimes read them. Mommsen had these readers in mind when, in the political reaction after 1848 he published volumes 1, 2, and 3 in, respectively, 1854, 1855, and 1856. (He never completed his projected volume 4 on the age from Augustus to Diocletian, though – curiously – in 1885 he published a masterful volume 5 on the Roman provinces.) When he conceived and wrote the first three volumes, Mommsen was still a law professor in his early thirties.

He was also a recently disappointed political advocate. Like other disappointed liberal nationalists in those years, he saw the need to ready Germany for its historical future by writing for its vicarious political instruction a narrative history that was intellectually rigorous yet readable and accessible to the lay public. Droysen and Sybel in particular charted this path. Mommsen's mastery of prose style and knowledge of Latin sources let him perform this task with distinction, even though he did not much consult the work of other recent scholars. *The History of Rome* is a work of limpid, graceful prose, marked by meticulous and persuasive personality sketches of major actors in an account of political and cultural history. The hostile sketches of Cicero as an empty, ineffectual phrasemaker and of Caesar as idealistic opportunist are genial whether right or not. That is why they remain the most read pages that Mommsen wrote.

He intended these sketches as political education not in some crude allegory whereby Cicero simply stood for 1848 liberal chatterboxes and Caesar for Bismarck. Mommsen did not write crudely and, in any case, his opinion of Bismarck was not very flattering, just as his sense of self-reproach as an 1848 liberal was not very intense. He wanted to educate by making Germans understand how politics worked. That meant knowing why a Caesar won. Moreover, the Roman principate, as Mommsen saw, was not a "dyarchy" of *princeps* and Senate but the rule of the *princeps* at most helped by the Senate. Caesar was justified as the creator of the coming thing. Mommsen did not believe in fighting historical success. Despite this strongly political bent, he did not wish partisanship to overcome scholarship. It was Mommsen who made current the demand for "presuppositionless scholarship" (*vorraussetzungslose Wissenschaft*) while defending a colleague against dismissal on religious grounds.

Mommsen's reputation with his colleagues rested less on *The History of Rome* than on his more specialized, more monographic works – in addition, of course, to the large-scale, ongoing projects that he launched, joined in, and superintended. These included a series of published collections of Roman inscriptions. The earliest of these, the 1852 *Inscriptiones regni*

Neapolitani Latinae was instrumental in establishing firmly his academic reputation. There are, in addition, the many essays and articles gathered in the topically organized eight volumes of the *Gesammelte Schriften* published between 1905 and 1913. His most important purely scholarly work was his *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Roman Constitutional Law). He published this huge, technical work section by section and volume by volume between 1871 and 1888 and then issued it in a revised, complete edition in 1893. The work is clearly written, comprehensive, and systematic. As such, it displays Mommsen's celebrated though occasionally criticized power to abstract. Roman law, after all, was made piece by piece, and the Roman codifications came late and after the fact. Mommsen, however, was able to find and express an inner coherence in Roman law that let him infer a Roman constitution from its bits and pieces. The result, arguably, is an inferred clarity and consistency greater than what original Roman institutions actually possessed.

ROBERT FAIRBAIRN SOUTHARD

See also Beloch; Delbrück; Germany: to 1450; Meyer; Niebuhr; Pekař; Religion; Roman; Syme; Wilamovitz-Möllendorff

Biography

Christian Matthias Theodor Mommsen. Born Garding, Schleswig-Holstein, 30 November 1817, son of a Protestant minister. Studied at the Gymnasium Christianeum Altona; University of Kiel, 1838–44. Traveled in Italy, 1844–47. Professor of law, University of Leipzig, 1848–51; University of Zurich, 1852–54; and University of Breslau, 1854–58; professor of Roman history, University of Berlin, 1858–1903. Appointed editor-in-chief, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1858. Member, Prussian Chamber of Deputies. Awarded Nobel prize for literature, 1902. Married Marie Reimer, 1854 (16 children). Died Charlottenburg, near Berlin, 1 November 1903.

Principal Writings

Editor, *Inscriptiones regni Neapolitani Latinae*, 1852

Römische Geschichte, 3 vols., 1854–56, in English as *The History of Rome*, 4 vols., 1864–75; vol. 5 as *Die Provinzen von Caesar bis Diocletian*, 1885, in English as *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian*, 1886

Römisches Staatsrecht (Roman Constitutional Law), 3 vols., 1871–88; revised 1893

Römisches Strafrecht (Roman Penal Law), 1899

Gesammelte Schriften (Complete Writings), 8 vols., 1905–13

Further Reading

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Mommsen, Wolfgang J. 1930–

German historian

Throughout his long and distinguished academic career Wolfgang J. Mommsen produced an extensive body of work that defies any evident categorization. As a historian, he transcended traditional barriers between social, economic, political, and intellectual history; between continental and British history; between 19th- and 20th-century history; even between history and political philosophy. The result of this constant diffusion of interest and experimentation with new areas of research has been work of both remarkable breadth and fascinating depth, characterized by methodological clarity and interpretive originality.

Mommsen's contribution to the study of 19th- and 20th-century history is attested by the diversity of his themes. His writings have covered such areas as modern German history, imperialism, Max Weber, trade unionism, social protest, and appeasement. In spite of his initial emphasis on German history, he also developed an interest in comparative analysis, either by collating the British and the German models of socioeconomic development or by assessing the impact of key issues (e.g., social protest, appeasement) throughout Europe. His contribution to the analysis of social institutions has been significant, not simply from a historical point of view but also because of his interest in examining them in the present context and in weighing their future prospects.

Mommsen's main area of research has been Bismarckian and Wilhelminian Germany. Among his many writings on this period, the recently published collection *Der autoritäre Nationalstaat* (1990; *Imperial Germany, 1867–1918*, 1995) epitomized the key points in Mommsen's analysis of imperial Germany. He emphasized the tension between persisting authoritarian structures of the German state and the introduction of parliamentary politics, highlighting the failure of constitutional arrangements to regulate political change. He also underlined the inherent social and economic contradictions of the new state, its inability to respond constructively to the new challenges of mass politics and modernization. Mommsen attached particular importance to the period between 1909 and 1914 as the culmination of all the unresolved tensions of unified Germany. He focused his attention on the domestic factors that brought the German state to crisis shortly before the outbreak of World War I. Contrary to the traditional concept of the primacy of foreign affairs, Mommsen argued that the crisis of imperial Germany was mainly a domestic issue. Undoubtedly, lack of program and direction in the Wilhelminian foreign policy aggravated the situation. It was, however, the complete detachment of government from parliament, the ensuing loss of political legitimacy, and the failure of German imperialism to foster economic development or to appease the nationalists that created the domestic deadlock and established war as a solution to crisis.

In order to complement his social and political analysis of German history until 1914, Mommsen also turned to intellectual history and political philosophy. His editorial work on *Intellektuelle im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Intellectuals in the German *Kaiserreich*, 1993) highlighted the emergence of a new generation of intellectuals in 19th-century Germany who

questioned traditional concepts of German culture and put forward a more pluralistic model for a German mass society. He also produced a poignant analysis of Max Weber's thought in *Max Weber und die deutsche Politik, 1890–1920* (1959; *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890–1920*, 1984). Mommsen's interest in Weber has not been mainly philosophical. As a historian, he has incorporated Weber's ideas into the political context of imperial Germany, assessing their inherent contradictions but uncovering their consistent radical-liberal reasoning as a powerful antidote to the official ideology and politics of the Wilhelminian establishment.

Mommsen's interest in modern German history, however, is not confined to the pre-1918 period. He argued that the revolution of 1918 in Germany failed to transform the authoritarian structures of the state. In spite of the introduction of the republic, the position of traditional elite groups was not seriously challenged. He also co-edited *The Fascist Challenge and the Policy of Appeasement* (1983), which analyzed Nazi foreign policy in the context of European appeasement. The volume highlighted the willingness of all European powers to "tame" the emerging fascist challenge by granting concessions, in the hope that they would eventually avoid another military conflict. It also located the fundamental flaws in the political and military doctrines of appeasement, arguing instead that the belated adoption of appeasement policies coincided with an unprecedented increase in Germany's military power. In this sense, it was ill-timed, insufficient for the Nazi leadership, and dangerously deceptive for the rest of Europe.

The comparative dimension in Mommsen's work is manifested in his research on the development of social institutions in Britain and Germany. In *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany, 1850–1950* (1981) he examined how the two countries influenced each other in the construction of welfare state during the 19th and 20th centuries. On a general level, he believed that the comparison between the British and the German models of socioeconomic development was an extremely constructive exercise in comparative history. He also never hesitated to use his historical analysis of welfare state in order to put forward radical ideas about introducing a model of solidarity in the international system, whereby welfare policies would guarantee aid from rich to developing countries.

Mommsen's overall work reflects three major shifts in post-war German historiography. First, as the primacy-of-domestic-policy thesis gained ground, Mommsen placed particular emphasis on the domestic factors that influenced policymaking under the Bismarckian, the Wilhelminian, and the Third Reich. Second, by using his experience from the study of imperial Germany to shed light on the problems of interwar Germany, he underlined continuities in German history and contributed to the historicization of the Third Reich. Finally, although Mommsen located certain peculiarities in the German state and society, he treated German history not in isolation from, but in firm connection with historical developments in the rest of Europe.

ARISTOTLE A. KALLIS

See also Labor

Biography

Wolfgang Justin Mommsen. Born Marburg, 5 November 1930, son of historian Wilhelm Mommsen and twin brother of historian Hans

Mommsen. Attended University of Marburg, 1951–53; PhD, University of Cologne, 1958; post-doctoral study, University of Leeds, 1959. Taught at University of Cologne, 1959–67; and University of Düsseldorf, from 1968; director, German Historical Institute, London, 1978–85. Married Sabine von Schalburg, 1965 (3 daughters, 1 son).

Principal Writings

- Max Weber und die deutsche Politik, 1890–1920*, 1959, revised 1974; in English as *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890–1920*, 1984
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Mongol Empire

The history of the Mongol empire dates back to 1206 when Temüjin was proclaimed Genghis Khan or Great Khan of all the Mongols, establishing a united Mongol feudal state. The first major studies of the history of the empire were not undertaken until the 19th century. Since then practically all historians have focused mainly on reproducing a narrative of Mongolian history based on various contemporary chronicles, such as *Nigucha Tobchiyan* and *Yüan ch'ao pi shih* (*The Secret History of the Mongols*, 1982). There have been several controversial areas that have attracted the attention of scholars and given rise to discussion. The first revolved around the social and political organization of the nomadic peoples of the Mongol plain. Soviet and Mongolian historians in *Istoriia*

Mongolskoi Narodnoi Respubliki (History of the Mongolian People's Republic, 1954) emphasized that the unification of different Mongolian tribes was the final stage in the formation of a feudal state on the territory of present-day Mongolia. Boris Vladimirtsov in *Obschestvennyi stroi mongolov* (The Social System of the Mongols, 1934) and Ralph Fox in *Genghis Khan* (1936) pointed out that Mongolian feudal lords (*noyod*), who opted to keep their private herds separately and to lead a nomadic life based around a clan (*ayil*), required a centralized and powerful state to provide for their security and well-being, as well as to give them means to keep their vassals, and to strengthen their power over the common nomad (*arat*). Moreover, all these historians stressed the important role of the *nökör* – "free companions" who abandoned their own clan to obligate themselves to each other – whose activities also stimulated the formation of the empire. What is more, Genghis Khan's charismatic personality and his success as a military leader helped to recruit new followers. In *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia* (1898–1900; vol. 2 as *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 1928) Vasilii Bartol'd postulated that the rise of Genghis Khan could be explained by the policy of "divide and rule." This had long been the practice of the Chinese towards their nomadic tribesmen neighbors, and their initial response to the success of Temüjin was seen in this context. They believed the warring among the Mongols would waste energy better turned against China itself.

A second problem centered on the figure of Genghis Khan himself. Historians have recognized Genghis Khan's decisive role in Mongolia's history as the founder of a unique nomadic empire, but assessing the long-term results of his vision of a Mongol empire has been harder. His administrative and military reforms could have promoted the prosperity of Mongolia, but instead he chose to continue with a state based around constant warfare. Vladimirtsov, the contributors to the *Istoriia Mongolskoi Narodnoi Respubliki*, and the Mongolian historian Chuluung Dalai in his *Mongolia v XIII–XIV vekah* (Mongolia in the 13th–14th Centuries, 1983) all maintained that the Mongols' campaigns were pernicious not only for the conquered nations but for the conquerors as well, since the population of Mongolia considerably decreased as a result of permanent warfare which also dissipated plundered wealth.

Genghis Khan and his successors are notorious for their military campaigns against other nations. The reason for these campaigns, as Soviet historians have put it, was the limited economic basis of cattle-breeding. The pastoral economy of the Mongols could not satisfy the growing needs of the *noyod*, and conquests were necessary to smooth over inner contradictions in Mongol society. Moreover, Fox argued that Genghis Khan had no opportunity to conduct profitable trade with his neighbors because all were in decay. Less economic approaches have included that of the English historian Henry Howorth who, in his *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century* (1876) painted Genghis Khan as the scourge of God. Howorth was merely repeating a traditional idea expressed in various Armenian annals such as *Istoriia mongolov inoka Magakii, XIII veka* (History of the Mongols by the 13th-Century Monk, Magakia, 1871). In *The Mongols and Russia* (1953) George Vernadsky also spoke about the divine mission of Genghis Khan, whom Vernadsky saw as imbued with an imperial idea and the wish to unite all nomads of the steppes.

This is similar to the position of Nikolai Veselovskii in *Lektsii po istorii mongolov* (Lectures on History of the Mongols, 1909). He considered Genghis Khan to be the only person capable of awakening the Mongols and harnessing their belligerent spirit in order to push them towards conquering new lands. Bartol'd concluded that Genghis Khan cared little about the well-being of the Mongols, but rather was preoccupied with increasing his own wealth and the living standards of his relatives and close friends.

A third problem dealt with approaches to the rapid decline of the empire after Genghis Khan's death. Vladimirtsov pointed out that the new state system was not strong enough to withstand challenges. Genghis Khan had seized power and then legitimized it at the *kuriltai* (tribal council). This led to conflict among his descendants and undermined the strength of the subsequent rulers. By the 1360s such provinces as the Golden Horde and the Mongol state in Iran and the Transcaucasian region had severed their ties to the central power and begun to pursue their own policies. Vladimirtsov and Fox attributed the disintegration of the empire to a lack of clan unity and the increasing influence of the non-Mongol peoples. According to Veselovskii, after Genghis Khan's grandson Kublai Khan conquered China in 1271, the Chinese simply assimilated the Mongols and made them submit to the huge Chinese bureaucratic machine. Chinese historians, such as Yui Bayan in his 1955 biography of Genghis Khan, have denied that the period of 1271–1368 was a period of Mongolian dominance; instead they have deemed it to be a footnote to Chinese history. In this connection Chuluung Dalai has emphasized the progressive role of Kublai's brother Arigbōge, and of his cousin Kaidu, who each fought against him in order to keep the political center of the empire in Mongolia, fearing its relegation to the periphery. According to both Veselovskii and to Bira in *Mongolskaia istoriografiia* (Mongolian Historiography, 1978), the Yüan dynasty collapsed under the religious influence of the Buddhists whose intrigues and conspiracies weakened Mongol authority. The Mongols were also strained by the need to maintain a large army to suppress the uprisings of the peoples they had conquered. As the empire was based on a military force, their economy was quickly exhausted by military expenditures, and there was no common economic basis that could integrate the peoples of this multinational state. In 1368 the Yüan dynasty was overthrown, putting an end to the Mongol empire while the core of it – Mongolia – lapsed into tribal disunity and feudal wars.

DMITRI POLIKANOV

See also Bartol'd; China: Late Imperial; China: Historical Writing, Late Imperial; Ibn Khaldūn; Korea; Middle East; Paris; Pelliot; Rashid; Russia: Medieval; Russia: Early Modern; Vernadsky

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Montesquieu 1689–1755

French philosopher

Montesquieu was one of the first, if not the very first, of the 18th-century philosophical historians. Although his most famous work, *De l'Esprit des lois* (1748; *The Spirit of the Laws*, 1748) influenced the development of political and sociological thought, especially among English writers, Montesquieu began his attempt to explain the causes of social change with the publication of the *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence* (1734; *The Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*, 1965). That historical study was philosophical because it sought to explain history by connecting historical events to changes in social and legal structures. The lives of heroes and the exposition of divine purposes were abandoned in favor of the pursuit of secular causes of historical events. This new method of history, therefore, was philosophical in the sense that it was critical and in the sense that it was empirical, or scientific. In writing the history of Rome's decline, Montesquieu hoped to discover the laws of history. Law, to Montesquieu, was "that which arranges things." So the laws of history, in contemporary historiographical terms, would be discovered by investigating the relations between state and society.

Montesquieu's history of Rome is the least known of his works today, yet it was in the *Considérations* that he developed the method that would influence Hume, Gibbon, Raynal, and others. Roman history was known to his readers, it offered the opportunity to investigate both a republic and an empire, and its historical record was relatively complete, so it was a logical subject for the new kind of history. After considering Rome's transformation from a republic into an empire, Montesquieu developed a general theory of causation:

It is not fortune that rules the world. On this point, consult the Romans who enjoyed a series of consecutive successes when their government followed one policy, and an unbroken set of reverses when it adopted another. There are general causes, whether moral or physical, which act upon every monarchy, which advance, maintain, or ruin it. All accidents are subject to these causes. If the chance loss of a battle, that is, a particular cause, ruins a state, there is a general cause that created the situation whereby this state could perish by the loss of a single battle.

Thus, for Montesquieu, historical knowledge did not depend on understanding the role of political or military heroes or even political or military events, but on understanding the significance of social, economic, and institutional changes.

The importance of Montesquieu's new philosophical, or scientific, method was recognized in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, where the article "Observation" compared Montesquieu's empirical method to that of natural philosophy. Montesquieu's history of Rome was offered as the example of the superiority of the method of observation, "the primary foundation of all the sciences . . . the principal means of extending the circumference of scientific knowledge." Montesquieu had done more than accumulate and record the facts. He had revealed the relations between the facts and shown how they were connected. By doing

so, the encyclopedist declared, his history of Rome had made a significant contribution to the new "human sciences."

HUGH L. GUILDERSON

See also Gatterer; Historical Geography; Niebuhr; Raynal

Biography

Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu. Born La Brède, Bordeaux, 18 January 1689, to an aristocratic family; inherited La Brède after his mother's death in 1695. Educated at Collège de Juilly, near Paris, to 1705; then in the faculty of law, University of Bordeaux. Called to the Bar, 1708; practiced in Paris, 1708–13; had a judicial career as councillor, Bordeaux parlement, 1714–16, president, 1716–26, before retiring to travel to Germany, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and England, 1728–31. Wrote on a variety of philosophical, legal, and historical topics from 1721. Married Jeanne de Lartigue, 1715 (2 daughters, 1 son). Died Paris, 10 February 1755.

Principal Writings

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Montgomery, David 1927–

US labor historian

Regarded as the pre-eminent historian of the United States workplace, David Montgomery is perhaps more rightly associated with the depth of his knowledge of class formation in America and his grasp of international issues and historiographies. Few

historians of the United States working class have ranged as broadly over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries; fewer still can punctuate their writings with references to studies in Italian and French, alluding to transatlantic migrations, European social democratic traditions, and the militant stands of Canadian miners. Montgomery continually reaches for understanding of the "big picture" and, if his books and essays occasionally fall short of sustaining an assertive thesis, they nevertheless always illuminate obscured histories of central importance in the making of working-class America.

Schooled in the Communist party, the machinist's trade, and labor unions, as well as in traditional academic training, Montgomery brings deep commitments and vital sensitivities to his studies of workers. Montgomery is attracted to the mechanisms by which workers exert limited control over their lives, which are often governed by imperatives not of their making; he is necessarily concerned with the economics of production, the politics of opposition, and the culture of class institutions, from neighborhoods and families to taverns and leisure activities.

Intrigued by the post-Civil War clash of Radical Republicans, struggling to resolve the question of race in American political economy, and labor reformers, who demanded that "class" inequality be addressed as well, Montgomery's early research produced a stunningly original account of the years immediately preceding the depression of the 1870s. Breathtaking in its interpretive boldness, Montgomery's *Beyond Equality* (1967) lured students into the world of working-class institutions ideas and industrial struggles via a contentious thesis that Radical Republicanism foundered on the shoals of class conflict.

Before turning to the history of the workplace in the later 19th and 20th centuries, Montgomery produced much-read articles on workers and the preindustrial city, and on artisans and nativism. Appearing at just the moment that many "new left" graduate students began research projects that would later flourish as the "new labor history," these studies, as well as Montgomery's Radical America pamphlet, *What's Happening to the American Worker* (1969), established his reputation in the overlapping circles of activist and academic labor history. A late 1960s stint working alongside E.P. Thompson at the University of Warwick consolidated this prestige, and many graduate students were drawn to Montgomery's imaginatively constructed working-class history seminars at the University of Pittsburgh.

It was in this period that Montgomery began the studies of shopfloor practices that consolidated forms of workers' control at the very peak of American capitalism and managerial innovation (Taylorism and other rigorous efforts to curb the craftsman). These essays eventually appeared in *Workers' Control in America* (1979). Montgomery wove together accounts of 19th-century union work rules, immigrant workers, managerial reform, machinists and the Socialist party, and the World War I battle over whose standards – workers' or employers' – would prevail in industry. He closed the collection with a synthetic *tour de force*, a suggestive account of the state and the workplace that drew on his own researches as well as firsthand experiences with movements that attempted to transcend the coercions and concessions of Washington's ongoing "New Deal Formula." Criticized for his romanticization of craft sectionalism and his inattention to the powerful fragmenting forces of race and gender, Montgomery continued to research and think

through the nature of workplace/state relations and class struggle. His 1987 book *The Fall of the House of Labor* presented a brilliant reconstruction of the layering of working-class America, the first three chapters outlining the experiences of skilled workers, common laborers, and semi-skilled operatives in ways that incorporated race and gender into an appreciation of the pervasive class struggle endemic to the late 19th century. The latter half of the book traced the theme of working-class political and industrial opposition through to the mid-1920s, offering readers a cascade of insights and imaginative interpretations scaffolded on wide reading and empirically researched case studies.

Many critics thought the book less than they had been waiting for, but in looking for the focused thesis, convincingly packaged, they were perhaps expecting what Montgomery rarely produced. His strength as a historian seldom manifested itself in the routine narrative and narrowly-construed academic project. Rather, Montgomery's range across boundaries – both geographic and analytic – and his refusal to be cornered into a particularity meant that he wrote with the intention of graphic generalization, the suggestive parts of the whole often, in the end, outweighing in significance the concluding arguments.

Montgomery's latest book, *Citizen Worker* (1993), returns to themes he first addressed in his studies of Radical Republicanism in the 1960s. Perplexed by the ease with which market "freedoms" and the supposed "values" and citizenship practices of "representative" democracy were ideologically conflated in the 1990s, Montgomery looked to the experience of workers in the 19th-century United States with the economic and political realities of bourgeois order. He found a paradox. Popular democracy expanded in the formal sense, but grew at the same time as the substantive restrictions of exploitative "free" market relations circumscribed its material meanings, narrowing the role of "government." Studies of master-servant doctrine and the bondage of African American workers, the policing of the dangerous classes, and labor's relation to the established political party system provide the substance of his commentary.

To appreciate Montgomery is to appreciate the complexity and combativeness of American workers. His texts are never far from the workplace, where so much of class antagonism is born, but they are not removed from other spaces where identities and understandings are also forged. No historian of United States workers can capture the lived experience of labor as Montgomery has for the last thirty years. Watching him perform in a public lecture has always been observing a theatrical act of reconstruction: the text unfolds as Montgomery revels in the culture of the Chicago anarcho-communist milieu, parading across the stage in ribald ribbing of the 19th-century bourgeoisie, or bends over the arduous tasks of rough canal navvies or sweat-drenched puddlers. Whatever his subject, his concern is work and the politics of change. Quoting Samuel Gompers at the end of *Citizen Worker*, Montgomery summarizes his own perspective: "There never yet existed coincident with each other autocracy in the shop and democracy in political life."

BRYAN D. PALMER

See also Commons; Labor; Social; United States: Historical Writing, 20th Century

Biography

Born Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1 December 1927. Received BA, Swarthmore College, 1950; MA, University of Minnesota, 1960, PhD 1962. Taught at Hamline University, 1962–63; University of Pittsburgh, 1963–77; University of Warwick, 1967–69; State University of New York, Buffalo, 1977–78; and Yale University from 1979. Married (2 children).

Principal Writings

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Moody, T.W. 1907–1984

Irish historian

T.W. Moody was a leading historian of Ireland, and was perhaps the leading promoter of modern Irish historical practice. In his many roles as mentor, historian, editor, and public cultural figure Moody had an impact on the practice of Irish history that is without equal. In the process Moody's legacy has become the source of some controversy within Ireland, as his emphasis on demythologizing Ireland's past through detailed research in primary sources, and his disinterest in theoretical problems, played a major role in the development of a selfconsciously "revisionist" history of Ireland.

Perhaps because of Moody's lack of interest in theory it is not easy to characterize his research interests and publications. Author of three major books, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–41* (1939); *Queen's Belfast, 1845–1949* (1959); and *Davitt and Irish Revolution, 1846–82* (1981), as well as co-author/editor of the most widely read Irish history text, *The*

Course of Irish History (1967), Moody's writings all bear the hallmark of extensive research into primary documents and a rich awareness of the historiography of his various subjects. Despite the step forward his *Londonderry Plantation* came to represent in Irish social history, it is not Moody's research that reveals the important place he came to have in the practice of Irish history. Moody's significance is due more to his promotion of his profession and his general cultural and pedagogical influence over large numbers of graduate students than it is to his particular skill as a historian.

Along with his former student Robert Dudley Edwards, Moody played the decisive role in the founding of two historical societies, one in Belfast in 1936 and another in Dublin in 1937, with the expressed goal of creating a more formal academic tone in the practice of Irish history. This was followed by the establishment of the first Irish historical journal, *Irish Historical Studies*, in 1938 with Moody and Edwards as co-editors. The editors hoped to emulate the standards of journals such as the *English Historical Review* or the *Historische Zeitschrift* to encourage archival research into unused sources at the same time that they acknowledged that the project intended to increase knowledge of Ireland's past among teachers and the public. Critical to this effort was confronting historical "myth" and fostering the "revision" of that history. Moody and Edwards admitted that what they had in mind was an agenda akin to that of the London-based Historical Association, founded on the notion of "fact"-driven history, dedicated to increasing accurate public understanding of the past.

This project moved beyond the usual work of academic historians. With time Moody came to take a pivotal role on a number of governmental and quasi-governmental bodies focused on disseminating Irish history through radio and television broadcasts both in Northern Ireland and in the Republic. Out of a series of 21 television lectures came *The Course of Irish History*, co-authored/edited with F.X. Martin, which has remained in print in revised editions ever since.

In academic history Moody's accomplishments with *Irish Historical Studies* were paralleled in his role in the 1940s in developing monograph series publishing dissertations in Irish history, first with the publishers Faber and Faber and then with Routledge and Kegan Paul. He followed this with his grandly envisioned *A New History of Ireland*. In his 1967 presidential address to the Irish Historical Society, Moody announced a monumental multivolume and multi-author project to create a standard history of Ireland conceived along the lines of the Cambridge histories. This project was slow to develop and resulted in only one published volume and the completion of another at the time of Moody's death in 1984. Nonetheless, the project continues to publish additional volumes in the series.

Moody's writing was varied, detailed, archivally driven, and bears the marks of a considerable stylist. But his agenda was much more theoretically determined than he was aware of or willing to admit. The focus on myth and demythologizing, and the assumption of a more "objectively based" history, particularly in the Irish context, has led to criticism that Moody and his students were and are revisionists determined to deny the nationalist vision of the Irish past – a debate with profound implications for present-day Irish politics and culture. While this criticism of many of those who followed his lead has merit, Moody's own work was notable for its tolerance and

openmindedness. His work on the Irish landowning classes anticipated much of the literature that followed him in its insistence on a broader, and less hostile, approach to the oft-maligned landowners. However, his work on the radical land agitator Michael Davitt is open to criticism as too accepting of Davitt within a legal and constitutional tradition in 19th-century politics – it is clearly the work of an admirer who wished Davitt to be seen as an exemplar.

Moody's accomplishment has been a profound one. In many respects he made the practice of Irish history what it is today and because of it deserves praise and criticism. Without *Irish Historical Studies* it is difficult to see how Irish history would have moved past a 19th-century nationalist agenda, but with it, the criticism that Irish history is now mainly revisionist and positivist, often imitative of British historical models, and with little awareness of the theoretical problems inherent in a practice of "scientific" history, seems hard to refute. Nevertheless, as a part of a tradition in European historiography, and more specifically as a part of the British tradition of historiography, Moody's career and influence in Irish history are almost without equal.

SEÁN FARRELL MORAN

See also Ireland; Lyons

Biography

Theodore William Moody. Born Belfast, 26 November 1907, son of an engineer. Educated at Royal Academical Institution, Belfast; BA, Queen's University, Belfast, 1930; PhD, Institute of Historical Research, 1934. Taught at Queen's University, Belfast, 1932–39; fellow/professor, Trinity College, Dublin, 1939–77 (emeritus). Married Margaret C.P. Robertson, 1935 (1 son, 4 daughters). Died 11 February 1984.

Principal Writings

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 Editor with others, *A New History of Ireland*, 1976–
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Moore, Barrington, Jr. 1913–

US sociologist and political theorist

Barrington Moore, Jr. is the author of seminal books on an astonishing variety of topics, from specific studies of Soviet politics and society to a wide-ranging investigation of the origins of conceptions of privacy in antiquity. All of his work, as James J. Sheehan has observed, combines the conservative's sense of the harsh limits of the human condition with the radical's anger at the persistence of injustice. But one book stands out as his masterpiece: *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966) is among the most influential and widely cited works of the 1960s. Moore is a sociologist and political theorist with intellectual debts to both Marx and Weber, and he is skilled in the art of using historical studies for comparative purposes. His great book combined a global thesis about the social origins of political regimes with extensive case studies of specific patterns of development in England, France, the United States, China, Japan, and India.

Moore argued that in order to understand why certain social and political alignments have proven more favorable to democratic outcomes than others, it is essential to investigate agrarian social relations, and particularly the fates of landlords and peasants during the process of modernization. If a powerful class of privileged nobles presides over the transition to commercial agriculture, they are likely at some stage to form anti-democratic coalitions with large industrialists: the result may be some form of fascist dictatorship (Japan, Germany). If oppressed peasants persist in large numbers, and the landlord class succeeds in inhibiting the development of a bourgeoisie, the eventual result may be a peasant revolution that issues in a communist dictatorship (China, Russia). Only if the combination of labor-repressive landlords and non-commercial peasants is dissolved in the course of historical development is a democratic outcome likely. But such a consummation is rarely achieved, according to Moore, without some episode of violence (the French Revolution, the American Civil War) or some measure of coercion (the English enclosure movement). And where no dissolution of the backward agricultural sector occurs, the result is stagnation (India).

This bold argument elicited cloudbursts of criticism – from specialists who questioned Moore's grasp of the literatures of their particular fields, from conservatives who objected to his neo-Marxian emphasis on conflicts and coalitions between social classes, and from liberals who objected to his suggestion that social revolution has been a prerequisite for democracy. Ten years after *Social Origins* appeared, Jonathan Wiener published a brilliant survey of several dozen substantial critiques. And thirty years after its initial publication, the book is widely recognized as a classic contribution to modern historical sociology, a provocative stimulus to further comparative analysis by admirers and critics alike.

In subsequent books Moore continued to pose large questions and to examine the causes, costs, and limits of revolutionary action. In *Reflections on the Causes of Human Misery, and upon Certain Proposals to Eliminate Them* (1972), a small book with a grand 18th-century title, he examined the structural bases of predatory politics in the contemporary world. In *Injustice* (1978), he turned to the case of German workers in the 19th and 20th centuries, looking for the factors that determined either revolutionary action or political passivity at critical points in modern German history. Here the emphasis was on working-class consciousness and agency, and Moore's conclusions about the efforts of German workers at once to preserve and to renegotiate the terms of the social contract ran very close (though in a more pessimistic key) to E.P. Thompson's conclusions about the making of the English working class.

Like Thompson, Moore tended increasingly in his later work to draw on the insights of anthropology. But whereas Thompson (the romantic) used anthropological concepts to illuminate specific aspects of a particular culture, Moore (the rationalist) was in search of certain universal features of the human condition: conceptions of injustice, of reciprocity, of privacy, that transcend the limits of any one culture. Hence his use of the comparative method and his willingness to pursue data and to draw conclusions from very diverse types of societies. The result has been an extraordinary body of work, which continues to stimulate bold approaches to comparative historical studies.

BRUCE THOMPSON

See also Mayer; Sociology; Tilly, C.; World

Biography

Born Washington, DC, 12 May 1913, son of a forestry engineer. Received BA, Williams College, 1936; PhD, Yale University, 1941. Research analyst, US Justice Department, 1941-43; and Office of Strategic Services, 1943-45. Taught at University of Chicago, 1945-48; professor, Harvard University, from 1948. Married Elizabeth Carol, 1944.

Principal Writings

Soviet Politics – The Dilemma of Power: The Role of Ideas in Social Change, 1950
Terror and Progress USSR: Some Sources of Change and Stability in the Soviet Dictatorship, 1954
Political Power and Social Theory, 1958
Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World, 1966
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Moreno Friginals, Manuel 1920-

Cuban historian of Latin America

Few historians of Latin America have had the enormous influence of Manuel Moreno Friginals, born in Cuba in 1920 and still active in research, teaching, and writing in 1998. His has been an unusual and extraordinary career. After a degree in law at the University of Havana, Moreno studied history with the eminent Silvio Zavala and Rafael Altamira at the Colegio de México in the mid-1940s. In Mexico he began a steady stream of publications that explored several aspects of Mexican and Cuban history and society, notably *¿Nación o plantación?* (Nation or Plantation?, 1948), *Augustín de Iturbide: Caudillo* (Augustín de Iturbide: Caudillo, 1950), and *Misiones cubanas en los archivos europeos* (Cuban Missions to European Archives, 1951). With a boundless intellectual curiosity, tireless energy, and focused attention, Moreno began a lifelong professional interest in Cuban society in all its varied dimensions, but especially the impact of the slave labor-based plantation society that developed in the later 18th and 19th centuries.

Exiled by the dictator Fulgencio Batista in the early 1950s, Moreno spent several years in Venezuela, where he engaged in a variety of lucrative businesses. He would bring to his later histories, when he returned to that vocation after 1959, valuable insights from the world of commerce, especially the way in which businessmen deal with investments and production. His scholarly production has been prodigious. Moreno has also contributed more than a hundred scholarly articles to journals published in dozens of countries in dozens of languages.

Moreno's major contribution to the historiography, however, derives from his various studies of Cuban slave society, none more insightful than *El ingenio* (1964; *The Sugarmill*, 1976). Much more than a narrow study of sugar and slavery, it is a complex and magisterial analysis that seamlessly combines economics, politics, anthropology, labor management principles, social mores, and general culture into a multifaceted study illustrative of the overall changing mentality of Cuban society throughout the 19th century. *The Sugarmill* elevated studies of American slave societies to a higher plane by demonstrating their inherent dynamism and flexibility. After its publication, studies that saw a simple, polarized world of mutually antagonistic masters and slaves no longer proved acceptable. Moreno's works gave greater agency to slaves in the day-to-day operation of Cuban plantations and argued that slave owners were not inhumane simpletons. That observation has contributed much to the understanding of the operation of slave plantations in the 19th century. His other main thesis, that slavery and technological innovation were incompatible, has not withstood the test of further research as well. Nevertheless, *The Sugarmill* was sufficiently path-breaking to gain for its author in 1982 the prestigious Clarence Haring award of the American Historical

Association for the best publication from Latin America in the previous ten years.

FRANKLIN W. KNIGHT

See also Cuba

Biography

Born Cuba, 1920. Received law degree, University of Havana, 1944; then studied with Silvio Zavala and Rafael Altamira at the Colegio de México, MA 1947. Exiled from Cuba, and worked in Venezuela before taking up research/writing career from 1959. Distinguished visiting professor, Florida International University, 1997–98.

Principal Writings

- ¿Nación o plantación? (Nation or Plantation?), 1948
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El ingenio: el complejo económico social cubano del azúcar, 1760–1860, 1964, revised in 3 vols., 1978; vol. 1 in English as *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba, 1760–1860*, 1976
 Editor, *Africa en America Latina*, 1977; in English as *Africa in Latin America: Essays on History, Culture, and Socialization*, 1984
 Editor with Stanley L. Engerman and Frank Moya Pons, *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century*, 1985
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Morgan, Edmund S. 1916–

US historian of early America

Edmund S. Morgan's career as a historian of early America has spanned more than half a century. From assessing Puritan beliefs and behavior in 17th-century New England to understanding the rise of slavery in the South to pinpointing the ideological forces undergirding the American Revolution, Morgan has investigated a variety of topics covering more than two centuries of early American history. In the process, he has resisted being categorized into a historiographical slot. This, however, has not dissuaded certain members of the academy from trying. While some have argued that Morgan is a "Niebuhrian," others have labeled him as a "left-liberal" housed under a consensus roof. Rising out of his exhaustive quest to study the primary source material, Morgan's prose does demonstrate one undisputable pattern: an empathy for

people and a fascination with their ideas. Assisting him with his intellectual forays into the past was his wife and sometimes co-author, Helen M. Morgan.

Trained under Perry Miller at Harvard University, Morgan completed his doctoral degree in 1942. Morgan's dissertation, a study of the Puritan New England family, called attention to the paucity of scholarship on what went on inside the household. Remedying this omission, Morgan's work considered covenant theology's effects on such matters as child rearing, affective emotions, marriage, and household management. His dissertation published as *The Puritan Family* (1944) and numerous articles and books published afterwards revealed his continued interest in New England Puritanism. Subsequent studies published by Morgan urged his readers to consider the political activism of a Roger Williams or an Anne Hutchinson, not to mention the brooding poetry of a Michael Wigglesworth or the intellectual vision of an Ezra Stiles.

Morgan's early scholarship revealed his unwillingness to join with Progressive historians such as Vernon Parrington who had cast Puritans in an unsavory light. Rather, Morgan's work humanized the intense intellectual and emotional energy that went into what he referred to as the "Puritan Dilemma," namely the struggle of the godly to wrestle with inner- and other-worldly demands. Countless students have pondered this conflict as they traced the life of the Bay Colony's first governor, John Winthrop, in Morgan's elegantly written volume *The Puritan Dilemma* (1958). Five years later, Morgan completed perhaps his most substantial work, *Visible Saints* (1963). Dedicated to Perry Miller, it was an important reinterpretation of a Puritan ideal: the church of the Elect. Disputing the contention that the criterion for church membership was fixed prior to their departure from English ports of call, Morgan argued that a short time after their arrival New Englanders had altered membership to a gathered church composed exclusively of tested Saints.

Intrigued by what people were doing outside the confines of New England, Morgan's efforts to reconstruct life in Virginia produced what was arguably his most controversial book: *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1975). In his analysis of how African slavery replaced indentured servitude as the dominant form of labor in the Chesapeake, Morgan argued that the rise of slavery and the concomitant espousal of liberty and equality by Virginia planters was the "central paradox of American history." As the imperial crisis deepened in the 1760s and 1770s, Morgan's research revealed Virginians to be remarkably comfortable in their ability to express republican ideas arising out of the freedom they enjoyed and the enslavement they imposed on their workers.

Morgan's interest in the rhetoric of revolutionaries began long before *American Slavery, American Freedom* appeared in print. Investigating the deepening chasm between the American colonies and Britain prompted Morgan and his wife to write *The Stamp Act Crisis* (1953). Through a series of biographical sketches, the Morgans put human faces on a political crisis. Three years later, Morgan completed a narrative survey of the Revolutionary period in *The Birth of the Republic, 1763–1789* (1956). Because he discounted the notion that class conflict held as much significance as republican ideals in the march toward revolution, some of Morgan's readers placed him in a "Neo-Whig" school of post-World War II historians. Nonplussed by

this attempt to label him, in *The American Revolution* (1958), Morgan decided to categorize others, offering his candid assessment of the work of past historians and the various schools of interpretation. He then challenged his peers to delve deeper into the Revolutionary generation for new clues and insights.

Morgan's clarion call fell on a ready audience of scholars, including himself. In a prize-winning essay published in 1967 entitled "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," Morgan discussed the linkages between the revolutionaries and their Puritan forebears. As America's bicentennial approached, a plethora of studies on the American Revolution and republican ideology appeared. Morgan contributed to this scholarship, publishing a collection of essays entitled *The Challenge of the American Revolution* (1976). Another book published that year, *The Meaning of Independence*, was a chance for Morgan to illuminate the beliefs of the first three presidents of the United States: George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson.

Although Morgan retired from his post as Sterling professor at Yale University in 1986, his affection for Clio still continues. A coterie of former graduate students, many of whom are distinguished professors in their own right, produced *Saints and Revolutionaries* (1983) in his honor. In 1988, Morgan published a provocative study entitled *Inventing the People*. Morgan's study charted the ideological shift from the divine right of kings embraced by the early Stuarts to the triumph of the sovereignty of the people by the time of the American Revolution. After investigating these two extremes, a questioning Morgan claimed that divine right kingship and popular sovereignty were both a "necessary fiction" created by political elites. With some calling him "Whiggish" and others calling him "impish," Morgan's latest work has once again caused historians to mine the primary sources to see if he is right.

ELIZABETH T. VAN BEEK

See also Gipson; Slavery: Modern

Biography

Edmund Sears Morgan. Born Minneapolis, 17 January 1916, son of a lawyer. Received BA, Harvard University, 1937, PhD 1942; studied at the London School of Economics, 1937–38. During World War II worked as machinist, Massachusetts Institute of Technology radiation laboratory. Taught at University of Chicago, 1945–46; Brown University, 1946–55; and Yale University, 1955–86 (emeritus). Married Helen Theresa Mayer, 1939 (2 daughters).

Principal Writings

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The Challenge of the American Revolution, 1976
The Meaning of Independence: John Adams, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, 1976
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Morison, Samuel Eliot 1887–1976

US historian

Disavowing any allegiance to particular philosophies of history, unaffiliated with specific schools of historical thought, and having trained few graduate students in any definite historical methodology, Samuel Eliot Morison is nonetheless considered by many the "dean of twentieth-century American historians." His renown derived from the longevity and the prolific quality of his career as well as from his ability to reconcile the scholarly objectives of his profession with the popular demands of lay audiences. Primarily a historian of the sea and of intellectual history, Morison gained notoriety by restoring the reputations of fallen historical figures such as John Paul Jones, William Bradford, and Matthew C. Perry, heroes who had been "taken from the people" in Morison's estimation by irreverent professional historians of the early 20th century. Some viewed the resurrections of these "dead, white males" as undesirable – reversions back to the patriarchal traditions of 19th-century "romantic" historians such as Parkman, Prescott, and Motley – while others considered them as necessary correctives to the iconoclastic revisionism of 20th-century historians. Morison cared little for such methodological debates, however: he simply wished to attract readers of all types to his balanced and highly readable books, which he inevitably did.

Morison's intellect was shaped by the "great triumvirate" of American historians at Harvard University at the beginning of the 20th-century – Edward Channing, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Albert Bushnell Hart – who instilled in him a love for social history, regionalism, and cultural history. This wide-ranging training enabled Morison to pursue an awesome array of scholarly interests, including in the first twenty years of his career major works on such diverse topics as 17th-century Puritanism, the tercentenary history of Harvard, the maritime history of Massachusetts, and a biography of Christopher Columbus. In this last work, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (1942), Morison reversed the prevailing negative portrait of Columbus in the works of Henry Vignaud and others by employing a historical technique patterned after the participatory models of Thucydides and Parkman. Resailing Columbus' sea voyages, Morison attempted to answer certain perplexing questions

about the discoverer by identifying self-consciously with him. This empathetic approach to historical inquiry was praised by some as "controlled imagination" and criticized by others as "reckless subjectivity," but most readers agreed that Morison's dramatic narrative style made the biography worthy of its Pulitzer prize.

The most extensive use of this participatory technique came in the field of military history, where Morison's struggles against debunkers had crucial implications for foreign policy. Historian Charles Beard had argued in *The Devil Theory of War* (1936) that reluctant Americans had been drawn into World War I by disreputable leaders motivated purely by selfish political and economic concerns. When Beard advanced a similar argument in the early 1940s with regard to Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to enter World War II, Morison labeled him a "dialectical materialist," a bitter, contemptuous historian who was capable of seeing the world only in conspiratorial terms. In an inflammatory article facetiously titled "History Through a Beard" (1948), Morison argued that his nemesis was practicing history with the "economic autarchy" of a Hitler by "endeavoring to inculcate in the rising generation the same self-pity about being tricked into war that bedeviled the generation of the 1920s and 30s." Determined to uncover the true story of the coming of the war and to chronicle its activities from a firsthand perspective, Morison secured a commission from Roosevelt to serve as the "official" historian of naval operations during the war. He gained berths on patrol boats, destroyers, and heavy cruisers; participated in planning sessions for invasions; witnessed sea battles; narrowly escaped death at the hands of a Japanese kamikaze pilot; and conducted post-operational interviews with commanders in the Pacific theater. The result of his labors and those of his hardworking assistants was a 15-volume study which took him nearly two decades to complete.

The History of United States Naval Operations in World War II (1947–62) not only argued against the economic determinism of debunkers such as Beard, whom Morison derided as "arm-chair historians" who had never "seen" war, the series also challenged many of the standard interpretations of military history. Refusing to adopt the congratulatory tone of traditional government-sponsored military histories, Morison pointed to deficiencies in US naval operations where evident. He also rejected the conventional notion advanced by 19th-century historians such as Jacob Burckhardt that only absolutist regimes made effective fighting nations, arguing instead that "the history of modern warfare proves that they cannot win over representative governments in the long run." And Morison was one of the first military historians of note to popularize (without glamorizing) the story of naval operations in war, sailing a path between the excesses of Winston Churchill's "Hornblower" treatment and the obsessive detail of Admiral Richard Bates' Naval War College history of battle strategies.

The capstone of Morison's scholarly career, a 1-volume survey of United States history entitled *The Oxford History of the American People* (1965), was a highly subjective assessment of his nation's past. As with nearly all of Morison's works, it challenged the "bland concoction of orthodoxies known as 'standard history,'" not by providing any thematic unity or alternative hypothesis to the prevailing interpretations of the American past, but by injecting Morison's "distinctive personality" into a compelling and highly readable narrative

grounded in sound scholarship and decades of personal participation in American life. Although historians such as Daniel Boorstin accused Morison of avoiding explanatory theories by plunging "without direction into the dark and muddled well of personal feelings, hobbies and prejudices," Morison preferred to think of the volume as the crowning moment in a long career devoted to making the past accessible and enjoyable to a people jaded by the "dull pedantry" of traditional scholarship.

GREGORY M. PFITZER

See also Commager; Latin America: Colonial; Miller, P.; Parkman; Popular; United States: Historical Writing, 20th Century

Biography

Born Boston, 9 July 1887. Attended Noble's School, Boston; St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire; BA, Harvard University, 1908, MA 1909, PhD 1912; also studied at the Sorbonne, Ecole des Science Politiques, Paris, and University of Grenoble. Taught briefly at Radcliffe College and the University of California; joined Harvard faculty, 1915. Served in the US army during World War I; delegate to the Paris Peace Conference. Harmsworth professor of American History, Oxford University, 1922–25; professor, Harvard University, 1925–55. Historian of naval operations during World War II, and served in many theaters of operation. Married 1) Elizabeth Shaw Green, a painter, 1910 (died 1945; 3 daughters, 1 son); 2) Priscilla Barton, 1949 (died 1974). Died Boston, 15 May 1976.

Principal Writings

The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860, 1921

Oxford History of the United States, 2 vols., 1927

Builders of the Bay Colony, 1930

The Growth of the American Republic, with Henry Steele Commager, 1930; 5th edition 1962

The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century, 1935; as *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England*, 1960

Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus, 2 vols., 1942; as *Christopher Columbus: Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 1942

The History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, 15 vols., 1947–62; condensed as *The Two-Ocean War: A Short History of the United States Navy in the Second World War*, 1963

John Paul Jones: A Sailor's Biography, 1959

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Morton, W.L. 1908–1980

Canadian historian

W.L. Morton was a dominant figure in the writing of Canadian history, working at a time when three men – Morton, A.R.M. Lower and Donald Creighton – cast a large shadow over the historical profession in the country. Morton brought a conservative, western perspective to Canadian history, his work best summarized by Carl Berger's description as a "delicate balance of region and nation." A westerner by birth and conviction, Morton nonetheless took an active role in the sweeping debates about the origins and meaning of Canada.

Morton's first major contribution to Canadian historical scholarship came through the publication of *The Progressive Party in Canada* (1950). This work, part of a series of studies on the emergence of the Social Credit phenomenon in western Canada, was a detailed and insightful investigation of the roots of western alienation and protest. It offered an important counterbalance to the prevailing tendency to interpret western political uprisings in personal and radical terms, and instead provided a perceptive analysis of the broad-based support for non-mainstream parties in the region and of the many regional contradictions that prevented the Progressive movement from becoming a lasting national force. Perhaps his most notable work, and the one that established him as the leading historian of the west, was the monumental *Manitoba: A History* (1957). Morton's *Manitoba* revealed both the passion of a regional advocate and the insight of the scholar. Arguably, it was also his best written work, evoking time and place in a way that remains unique in the writing of Canadian history.

Regional concerns played a major role in Morton's work throughout his career. His introduction to Alexander Begg's *Red River Journal* (1956) is one of the best pieces of writing on the western fur trade. His work, particularly in his books on Manitoba, and, more generally, in his seminal article, "The 'North' in Canadian Historiography," revealed his conviction that the environment played a major role in shaping of Canadian history and regional societies. Throughout this writing, and perhaps in reaction to the continued assertiveness of western Canadian politicians, Morton sought to explicate the important connections between regional distinctiveness and the essence of being Canadian. While he found much that was unique in being western Canadian, he consistently argued that too much could be made of the differences and that the west was an inherently Canadian place.

This conviction that Canada could not be understood without reference to its regions and the regions had to be explained in a national context, pushed Morton to tackle broader, national topics. He became the executive editor of the Canadian Centenary series, a consciously nation-building act of scholarship, designed to explore Canada's historical roots, and contributed a key volume on the years surrounding Confederation in 1867. Morton continued his search for the broader "relevance" of Canadian history and believed that he found it in the country's curious combination of commitment to the British crown, its northern location, its legacy of dependence, and its emerging international role. In a survey text, *The Kingdom of Canada* (1963), Morton shaped these ideas into a detailed narrative. A more accessible publication, *The Canadian Identity*

(1961), provided a powerful statement of Morton's conservative, environmentalist, and emphatically nationalistic view of Canada. While his approach fell from favor in the more historiographically divisive era of the 1960s and 1970s, Morton remained convinced that the special character of Canada could be best explained through broad patterns and national-level analysis.

Toward the end of his career, Morton turned his attentions to the link between the fur trade and the development of Canada. He was, at the time of his death, working on a biography of Donald A. Smith, fur trader and railway developer, and one of the key figures in the integration of the prairie west into Confederation. Perhaps his greatest intellectual legacies were his constant effort to bring the west to the attention of the nation's historians, no easy feat in the 1950s and 1960s, and his search for broad patterns in the study of Canada's past. A passionate nationalist, disturbed by the disintegrative impulses that rocked the country in the 1960s and 1970s, Morton believed that historians had a major public role to play in contemporary political debates. He played a significant intellectual role as a counterbalance to the liberal ideas that dominated Canada after the 1960s. Canadian historians shifted their attentions to what J.M.S. Careless described as the nation's "limited identities," the bonds of region, race, class, and gender that played such an influential role in shaping the country's past; Morton's emphasis on national themes and processes seemed out of step with historiographical realities, but he persisted in his belief that region and nation were not inherently in conflict.

Morton's scholarship both reflected and influenced the changing nature of Canadian scholarship. He is remembered best for his regional histories, which set high standards for their depth of research, quality of writing, and sensitivity of analysis. Much of this work, on the Métis, Manitoba, the fur trade, and western protest, remains of considerable significance. His national-level analyses have not held the attention of the country's historians in the same manner, for the meta-historical analysis that Morton offered does not find much favor in these more context-driven and theoretical times. Morton's most enduring legacy, however, may yet prove to be his struggle to explain the uniqueness of Canada as a political and social experiment. His belief in the importance of Canada being a northern nation, his conviction that the struggle between region and nation need not wreck the national fabric, and his belief in the continuing importance of Canada's British connections as a counterbalance to American influences speak to issues of continuing importance in Canada.

KEN COATES

See also Canada; Ormsby

Biography

William Lewis Morton. Born Gladstone, Manitoba, 13 December 1908, son of a farmer. Received BA, University of Manitoba, 1935; Rhodes scholar, Oxford University, BA 1934, MA 1937. Served in the Canadian Army Reserve, 1940–45. Taught at St. John's College, Winnipeg, 1935–38; United College, Winnipeg, 1938–39; University of Manitoba, 1939–40 and 1942–67; Brandon College, 1940–42; and Trent University, Peterborough, 1966–69. Married Margaret Orde, 1936 (2 sons, 1 daughter). Died Medicine Hat, Alberta, 1980.

Principal Writings

The Progressive Party in Canada, 1950
 Editor, *Red River Journal*, by Alexander Begg, 1956
Manitoba: A History, 1957; revised 1967
The Canadian Identity, 1961; revised 1972
 With Martha Arnett MacLeod, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown: Warden of the Plains of Red River*, 1963
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Mosse, George L. 1918–

US (German-born) intellectual/cultural historian

As a teacher and scholar, George Mosse has posed challenging questions about what it means to be an intellectual engaged in the world. The central problem Mosse has examined throughout his career is: how do intellectuals relate their ideas to reality or to alternative views of that reality? In other words, how do intellectuals adjust their ideas and beliefs to everyday life? In order to answer these questions, Mosse has chosen to focus on intellectuals and the movements with which they were often connected at their most intemperate. He does this in order to compel individuals to confront the implications of ideas and movements, for Mosse feels that it is the historian's task to force people to face reality. For Mosse, the role of the historian is one of political engagement; he or she must delineate the connections (and disconnections) between myth and reality.

Mosse's priorities as a scholar may well stem from his youth as an assimilated German Jew. His family owned the Mosse publishing house in Berlin (publishers of the *Berliner Tagesblatt*), and they were forced into exile with Hitler's ascension to power. While not allowing his status as an erstwhile refugee to generate self-pity, Mosse's experience of the National Socialist regime and his Jewishness seem to explain his focus as a scholar.

In his work Mosse eschewed a more traditional approach to intellectual history, preferring to concentrate on intellectual history as a cultural phenomenon. His approach demanded that he not confine himself to the giants of intellectual history, but to focus also on the works of secondary thinkers, popular writers, polemicists, and pamphleteers. In this way Mosse hoped to see how ideas make their way through popular thought and, more specifically, how ideas devolved from elite culture to National Socialism.

Mosse's career has had two parts, the later study of modern nationalism, National Socialism, and the position of Jews in modern society and an earlier engagement with the early modern period. It should be said that although he has studied two very different eras, Mosse's theoretical focus has remained much the same. He has always been interested in the way

symbols mediate between intellectual elites and the masses and how this applied to the functioning of everyday life. One of his first major works, *The Holy Pretence* (1957), was an examination of how Puritans, while sincere in their beliefs, made compromises with everyday life.

In switching his focus to modern Europe, Mosse attempted to determine the place of political symbols in mass politics, including how they are appropriated on a popular level. He saw this process as a secularization of religious impulses, with political leaders (as opposed to clerics) using symbols to draw people into political movements (as opposed to religious organizations). In one of his most important works, *The Nationalization of the Masses* (1975), Mosse showed how symbols impose form and, as such, disguise reality, within a more general study of how nationalism and politics in Germany became mass politics and the role of mass political rituals in this process. He cited many examples of how people in power manipulated symbols for their own ends. Mosse revealed this process as one of "mystification," arguing that it is the historian's job to disconnect symbols from reality in a process of demystification. Mosse qualified his view of mystification somewhat when he stated in *Nazism* (1978) that leaders of fascist and National Socialist movements did not merely manipulate their followers but captured in rhetoric what their followers already felt. Mosse also pointed out how, while leaders shaped symbols and language to their own agenda, they were also constrained by the same symbols and language. In other words, they were compelled to become their own ideologies.

In *The Nationalization of the Masses*, Mosse concluded that one cannot understand history as a reasonable progression, fitting easily into rational structures. Movements such as National Socialism and fascism were, for Mosse, more attitudes than rational political systems, focusing on feelings rather than on ideas. Despite this, Mosse has not been dismissive of these movements or their adherents as he saw that perceptions of reality, no matter how skewed, were as concrete for those who held them as reality itself.

In *Nazism* Mosse expressed the idea that people, for the most part, have false rather than true consciousness. He recognized this falseness as arising from a faulty match between interests and perceptions. To get at this, he examined how interests are expressed within the interplay of symbols, myths, and ideas. An example of this is anti-Semitism, which Mosse in several of his books has seen less as an actual fear or hatred of Jews *per se* than as an abstraction of middle-class angst over economic and social insecurity. This theme was also taken up in *The Nationalization of the Masses*, wherein Mosse pointed out how seemingly irrational beliefs have been used to rationalize mundane problems.

Another major theme of Mosse's work has been the brutalization of politics. Mosse understood the National Socialist corruption of traditions and values as part of this brutalization, but he also realized that the process predated the Nazis. As he stated in *Nazism*, "It's part of a growing brutalization – a part of the idea of a total war which you already have in World War I: The enemy must be killed and to kill the enemy is a good act."

In *Fallen Soldiers* (1990), Mosse examined how the dual themes of brutalization and manipulation of symbols interact to produce the "Myth of the War Experience." By this, Mosse

referred to a system of beliefs prevalent after World War I in which death in war, through apotheosis of the war dead, redeemed the nation as a whole in a way similar to Christian beliefs in Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. As such, death in war was seen as transcendent. Mosse argued that the peoples of Europe required such a myth to deal with the impact of the mass carnage of World War I. However, a political movement like National Socialism used the myth for its own ends as a glorification of war and the German nation, as defined by Nazi racial doctrine.

Some cultural historians have criticized Mosse for implying that myth is a manifestation of false consciousness, arguing that there is no such thing as a true, unmediated consciousness. Also, Mosse has tended to focus most acutely on those ideas and movements that played out into the National Socialist period. As such, some of Mosse's critics have claimed to detect a sense of teleologism in his work. Mosse has addressed this criticism in *Confronting the Nation* (1993), a study of how nations manifest themselves and how Jews have reacted to this. In this work, he emphasized that nationalism was, at its inception, the intellectual property of the Western liberal tradition and that nationalism only gradually became co-opted by irrational and extremist thinkers and politicians. In the book's introduction, Mosse calls for us all to remember this fact and for Western liberalism to reclaim nationalism in the name of liberal humanist principles.

JAMES E. FRANKLIN

See also Masculinity; Nietzsche; World War I

Biography

George Lachmann Mosse. Born Berlin, 20 September 1918, to a publishing family. Emigrated to the US, 1930s. Received BS, Haverford College, 1941; PhD, Harvard University, 1946. Taught at University of Michigan, 1944; University of Iowa, 1944–55; and University of Wisconsin, Madison, from 1955 (emeritus).

Principal Writings

The Struggle for Sovereignty in England, From the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Petition of Right, 1950

The Holy Pretence: A Study in Christianity and Reason of State from William Perkins to John Winthrop, 1957

The Culture of Western Europe: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, an Introduction, 1961

The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich, 1964

Editor, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural, and Social Life in the Third Reich*, 1966

Editor with Walter Laqueur, *1914: The Coming of the First World War*, 1966

Editor with Walter Laqueur, *Literature and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, 1967

German and Jews: The Right, the Left, and the Search for a "Third Force" in Pre-Nazi Germany, 1970

Editor with Walter Laqueur, *Historians in Politics*, 1974

Editor with Bela Vago, *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe, 1918–1945*, 1974

The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich, 1975

With Michael A. Ledeen, *Nazism: A Historical and Comparative Analysis of National Socialism*, 1978 [interview]

Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism, 1978

Editor, *International Fascism: New Thoughts and New Approaches*, 1979

Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality, 1980

German Jews beyond Judaism, 1985

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Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism, 1993

The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity, 1996

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George L. Mosse, the Holocaust, and European Cultural History," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* 5 (1988), 187–202

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Motley, John Lothrop 1814–1877

US historian of early modern Europe

One of the leading American historians of Europe during the 19th century, John Lothrop Motley's dramatic narrative, his love of liberty, and his emphasis on heroic characters make his work a classic example of American Romanticism. His *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (3 vols., 1856) met with popular acclaim, but was flawed by its Protestant bias and inadequate research. Later works reflected a more sophisticated methodology, but were less successful with the reading public.

Motley entered Harvard at the age of 13, and, drawn to the German Romantic writers, published a translation of Goethe while still a student. After graduating, he traveled to Germany, obtaining a doctorate from Göttingen. There he began a life-long friendship with Otto von Bismarck, who became the model for a character in one of Motley's two novels, *Morton of Morton's Hope* (1839). After serving in the US legation to the court of St. Petersburg and a term in the Massachusetts legislature, Motley began work on a history of the Dutch revolt against Spain in the 16th century, a topic to which he was drawn by his interest in the writings of the German Romantics, notably Goethe and Schiller.

Motley's account of the revolt, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, was constructed as if it, too, were a novel, one which centered on the epic clash between two giants: the noble William the Silent and the nefarious Philip II of Spain. His comic passages and powerful characterization produce an absorbing work, but critics have found fault with his bias against Catholicism and his projection of 19th-century republican sentiments onto 16th-century burghers. Motley had to underwrite the publication of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* himself, but it became an immediate bestseller and critical success, winning praise from Washington Irving and François Guizot, among others. It remained in print for more than a century.

The Dutch translation of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* won generous praise from Dutch historians, notably Bakhuizen van den Brink, Groen van Prinsterer, and Robert Fruin, despite the fact that their analyses and use of sources were far more sophisticated than Motley's. Indeed, Dutch historiography at this time

was nearly as advanced as that of German historians. Fruin did mix criticism with his praise, noting that Motley's description of the siege of Leiden contained a number of inaccuracies.

Motley's next project was the *History of the United Netherlands* (4 vols., 1860–67), which carries his account of the revolt up to the 1609 truce between the Dutch and the Spanish. Possibly influenced by the professionalism of Dutch historians, Motley based this work on research in French, Spanish, Dutch, and British archives. No longer celebrating the triumph of liberty, he now aimed to place the revolt in its wider European context, demonstrating its effects on British and on French history. Recasting himself as a diplomatic historian made his position as an outsider an advantage, but his scholarly approach was less popular than his earlier style, and sales of *History of the United Netherlands* never matched *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

Motley's diplomatic career took precedence over his scholarly one for some time after the publication of *History of the United Netherlands*. He was appointed minister to the Habsburg court in Vienna, and later minister to London, but was caught in a power struggle between Hamilton Fish, the secretary of state, and Charles Sumner, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and this led to his dismissal. He spent the remainder of his life in England, where he wrote *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland* (2 vols., 1874). This was his most scholarly work, written after Motley had reviewed stacks of documents in Oldenbarneveltd's nearly illegible handwriting, most of them neglected by historians to that point. He championed Oldenbarneveltd in this account, casting Maurice of Nassau in an unfavorable light. That made him the object of harsh criticism from a former friend, Groen van Prinsterer, defender of the royal House of Orange-Nassau.

Motley died in 1877, still intending to write a history of the Thirty Years' War. His pioneering use of a variety of national archives had played a key role in winning respect for the work of American historians abroad, and his lively style attracted several generations of Americans to an interest in European history.

MARYBETH CARLSON

See also Fruin

Biography

Born Dorchester, Massachusetts, 15 April 1814, to a well-off merchant family. Received BA, Harvard University, 1831; then postgraduate study at Göttingen and Berlin. Unsuccessful as a novelist, he served as a diplomat and turned to writing history. Married Mary Benjamin, 1837 (3 daughters, 1 son). Died Kingston Russell, near Dorchester, England, 29 May 1877.

Principal Writings

The Rise of the Dutch Republic, 3 vols., 1856
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Mousnier, Roland 1907–1993

French political/institutional historian

Roland Mousnier was a distinguished historian of the highest rank who is best known for his institutional histories of early modern French government and society. Mousnier holds an interesting place in the hierarchy of French historians because he eschewed the Annales school of social history at the height of its 20th-century popularity and pursued a more traditional, often highly narrative, approach to historical analysis. He also vehemently rejected Marxist reductionism and any notion that class was a useful method of analysis for early modern society. Mousnier was thus something of an outsider among his scholarly peers. While it was fashionable to study peasants, he concentrated on nobles. While it was common to search for conflict between those who controlled the means of production and exploited workers, Mousnier focused on tensions he perceived between elites in French society: the traditional nobility of the sword and the administrative nobility of the robe. Because of these differences Mousnier stimulated many historical debates during his long career and was well known to British and American audiences through the translation of many of his works into English.

Mousnier published his doctoral thesis in 1945, *La Vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (The Venality of Offices under Henry IV and Louis XIII), and first introduced his interpretation of early modern social stratification as a "society of orders." According to Mousnier early modern Europeans most valued status, honor, and social esteem so that their "society of orders," was divided vertically by ranks as opposed to horizontally by classes. Mousnier incorporated this theme with single-minded certainty into most of his publications. It was fully elaborated in his 2-volume work, *Les Institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue, 1598–1789* (1974–80; *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy*, 1979–84).

In the 1950s and 1960s Mousnier launched a critical attack on Boris Porchnev, a Soviet Marxist historian who used class as an explanation for 17th-century French popular revolts. Mousnier denounced the idea of class warfare in preindustrial society and even argued in *Les Hiérarchies sociales de 1450 à nos jours* (1969; *Social Hierarchies, 1450 to the Present*, 1973) that societies based on orders were historically more common and numerous than societies based on class or caste. In volume 2 of *The Institutions of France*, however, Mousnier modified

his thesis somewhat to emphasize transition and change. He concluded that in the 18th century France evolved from a society of orders to a society of classes as attitudes changed and the country moved closer to a market-based economy.

Although not part of the Annales school, Mousnier was very interested in social history and traveled to the United States to study anthropology and sociology. He even turned away briefly from his study of the nobility and published a work on the peasantry in 1968, *Fureurs paysannes (Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth-Century France, Russia, and China, 1970)*. His work in the 1960s and 1970s grew more multidisciplinary and comparative, but the results were not entirely satisfactory. In *Social Hierarchies*, for example, Mousnier used Bernard Barber's functional theory of social stratification to examine various societies across time in (among others) France, Russian, China, Tibet, and Nazi Germany. Mousnier did all this in under 200 pages so that most of his discussion was far too generalized. Theodore Rabb and Charles Tilly both criticized him for oversimplifying the societies he examined and the social theory he used. Mousnier was an outspoken right-wing conservative and a devout Roman Catholic, and many thought he wrote *Social Hierarchies* to warn the world against communism and/or "technocratic orders."

One of Mousnier's most successful books examined the assassination of France's popular king, Henry IV. The work, *L'Assassinat d'Henri IV* (1964; *The Assassination of Henry IV, 1973*) delineated two themes. First it considered the society that produced the assassin, François Ravaillac, and the forces that drove him to murder his king. Mousnier uncovered societal angst surrounding Henry IV's kingship by showing that many of his subjects disapproved of his actions and policies. Mousnier concluded that there were many "potential Ravaillacs" in French society ready to do away with the king. The author's second theme hypothesized that the impact of Henry's assassination strengthened the "triumph of absolutism in France." Mousnier produced this work long before revisionists began to attack the very idea of "absolutism" and rendered his discussion outdated. The book remains highly useful, however, for Mousnier's insight into the tensions that divided early modern French society.

Perhaps Mousnier's most lasting contribution to early modern French scholarship concerns his recognition of the importance patronage and clientage played in the early modern world. His "society of orders" included an understanding of the complicated ties that bound social superiors and inferiors in reciprocal relationships. Mousnier termed these linkages *maître-fidèle* relations and explained they involved ties of total devotion between kings and subjects, and between gentlemen and their patrons. Mousnier contended that fidelity was the definitive characteristic of patronage ties. Although his definition of fidelity was later criticized as too narrow by American scholars such as Sharon Kettering and Robert Harding, his exploration of patronage fostered numerous studies of the issue by French, British, and American scholars, most notably by Yves Durand, Arlette Jouanna, and Jean-Marie Constant.

In developing a model of 17th-century French society, Mousnier's "society of orders" often overlooked merchants, artisans, peasants, and women. He never incorporated economic differences as elements of classification in his social model, and he too readily accepted the words of legal jurists as

perfect indicators of how French society functioned. Whether historians agree with his "society of orders" or not, however, they are still indebted to Mousnier for his investigations of institutions and the social relationships they encompassed. Peter Burke commented in 1992 that Mousnier's arguments are dated, but they provoked useful inquiry and forced a generation of post-World War II scholars to re-think assumptions about old regime society.

ANNETTE FINLEY-CROSWHITE

See also France: 1450–1789

Biography

Roland Emile Mousnier. Born Paris, 7 September 1907. Attended lycée in Paris and studied at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, PhD 1931. Taught at Lycée Corneille, Rouen, 1932–37; Lycée Janson-de-Sailly, Paris, 1937–40; and Lycée Louis-le-Grand, Paris, 1940–47. Joined the French Resistance during World War II. Professor, Faculty of Letters and the Institute of Political Studies, Strasbourg, 1947–55, and Faculty of Letters, Sorbonne, 1955–77. Founded Centre de Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Civilisation de l'Europe moderne, 1958, and Institut de Recherches sur les Civilisations de l'Occident moderne, 1970; president, Comité français des Sciences historiques, 1971–75. Married Jeanne Lecacheur, 1934. Died 9 February 1993.

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- Les XVIe et XVIIe siècles: la grande mutation intellectuelle de l'humanité: l'avènement de la science moderne et l'expansion de l'Europe* (The 16th and 17th Centuries: The Great Intellectual Awakening of Humanity: The Beginning of Modern Science and the Expansion of Europe), 1953
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Mumford, Lewis 1895–1990

US architectural and cultural historian

Lewis Mumford belonged to a rare and declining species in 20th-century America: the public intellectual. Living into his tenth decade, Mumford published thirty books and thousands of articles. Although he never earned a college degree or held a long-term academic post, he extended and deepened public awareness about the importance of architecture, cities, and technology to culture, thought, and everyday life.

In 1916 at the age of 21, Mumford dropped out of college. He aimed instead to make New York his university. "My present interest in life," the young Mumford wrote, "is the exploration and documentation of cities." And while his interests influenced the formation of two scholarly disciplines – American Studies and the history of technology – his most significant contributions came as a writer about cities and architecture. Through his "Sky Line" column in the *New Yorker*, which he wrote from 1931 to 1963, and *The Culture of Cities* (1938), his most important book, he helped define the debates over urban development and city planning.

More than just a history of urban places, *The Culture of Cities* contains plans for future cities, attacks the megalopolis, and calls for regional planning. In fact, Mumford first entered public prominence when, in 1923, he joined with a group of architects, planners, and environmentalists to form the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA). The group planned to advocate the building of several garden cities, an idea borrowed from British planners. Mumford, his biographer notes, acted as the RPAA's spokesperson and theoretician.

While the RPAA captured limited attention during the New Deal years of the 1930s, their ideas never won widespread appeal. Mumford's regionalism did not reflect nostalgia for smalltown life. Rather, Mumford, a resident of New York City for his first forty years and of a small upstate New York town for the remainder of his life, thought planning could disperse and thus preserve the benefits of urban life. He contended that a "polynucleated" city was superior to a "mononucleated" city. He wanted cities to remain manageable in size and scope.

Throughout much of his life, Mumford appeared out of step with American society. One notable instance was his powerful denunciation of American neutrality as Europe drifted toward war in the late 1930s. His stance, articulated in *Men Must Act* (1939) and *Faith for Living* (1940), ruptured several friendships with other intellectuals.

Mumford's thoughts about technology matched his views on planning. During the 1930s, the decade in which Mumford had his greatest influence, he published *Technics and Civilization* (1934), a path-breaking study of the history and culture of technology. In the book he argued that mega-machines of the day

represented a dangerous abandonment of limitations in modern society. Mumford, who distrusted specialization, searched and pleaded for holistic solutions to renew and balance American culture.

His vision darkened in the postwar years, when he spent a good deal of his time assailing the development of American society. He continued to write and publish books about cities, architecture, culture, and technology, in particular his multi-volume "Renewal of Life" series (1934–51), *The City in History* (1961), and the 2-volume *The Myth of the Machine* (1967–70). Mumford, the citizen, helped defeat the New York City planners who wanted to build an expressway that would have decimated a vibrant city neighborhood. His concerns were global as well. He worked in the movement against nuclear proliferation and he protested the war in Vietnam.

A great irony in Mumford's life was that admirers honored him with awards in his later years even as they (and mainstream American culture) ignored or forgot his ideas. America's messy urban sprawl and its fascination with and dependence on technology and machines have obliterated Mumford's social vision.

CHRISTOPHER MACGREGOR SCRIBNER

See also Hughes, T.; Sauer; Technology; Urban; United States: Historical Writing, 20th Century

Biography

Born Flushing, New York, 19 October 1895, illegitimate son of a New York lawyer. Studied at City College of New York; New School for Social Research; Columbia University. Served as radio operator, US Navy, 1918. Associate editor, *Fortnightly Dial*, 1919; acting editor, *Sociological Review*, London, 1920; co-editor, *American Caravan*, 1927–36; independent author. Married Sophia Wittenberg, 1921 (1 son, 1 daughter). Died Ameniam, New York, 26 January 1990.

Principal Writings

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Muratori, L.A. 1672–1750

Italian medievalist

Every present-day student researcher into medieval Italian history rapidly becomes acquainted with the name of Muratori, probably first by encountering the 25 volumes of *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Writers or Historians of Italian Affairs, 1723–51). This immense compilation, the fruits not only of Muratori's own labors but of his collaboration and correspondence with a network of scholars in Italy and beyond (more than 6000 of his letters survive), made available works, both Latin and Italian, which in many instances had lain for centuries unpublished or even if published, in the obscurity of long-forgotten editions. The day is still far distant when the original *Scriptores* will be superseded either by the new edition, initiated in 1900 under the editorship of Giosuè Carducci, or by piecemeal re-editions elsewhere. The new *Scriptores* (commonly referred to together with the old under Muratori's name) has combined the re-editing of many of the texts he published with editions of others unknown to or untouched by him, but the works for which we still have recourse to the original are numerous and considerable. Eric Cochrane professed himself content if his *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (1981) should be used as "a guide to Muratori."

Muratori of course had his progenitors both as "Italian" historian and more generally as a pioneer of the study and publication of sources. His Italian medieval agenda was in large part set by the *De Regno Italiae* of Carlo Sigonio (1523–84), of whom he wrote an appreciative biographical sketch. Sigonio helped to focus Muratori's attention not only on the period of the "kingdom of Italy" (as distinct from the empire of Rome) but on the sources for its study. Around the time of Muratori's birth both the compilation and the criticism of the sources for ecclesiastical history were becoming established scholarly activities on a large scale; it is sufficient to mention the Bollandists and the Maurists. Of significance for Muratori were Cardinal Baronius (1538–1607), whose *Annales Ecclesiastici* was updated by a series of continuators including Muratori's younger contemporary Mansi, and the Cistercian Ferdinando Ughelli (1596–1670), whose *Italia Sacra*, a compendium of historical information arranged by province and diocese, appeared originally between 1644 and 1662 and was revised by Nicolò Coleti (1723–33).

Muratori's *Scriptores* are an almost everyday resource for the medieval Italian researcher; the 6-volume *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi* (Ancient Italy in the Middle Ages, 1738–42) occupies a particular place in the regard of modern scholars as a pioneering work that breaches the limits of narrative history to take notice of other documentary sources and of such physical mementoes of the past as coins, seals, and medals. The work consists of 75 "dissertations" on topics which range from the ranks of society and the structure of government to coinage, heresy, poetry, hospitals, and parishes; each topic is illustrated by extensive quotation of sources and by engravings where appropriate. Less used today, perhaps, are the twelve volumes of *Annali d'Italia* (Annals of Italy, 1744–49), in which Muratori endeavored to extrapolate a chronological survey of Italian history from the sources.

The coverage attempted in the *Annali* continued down to 1749; by contrast, both the *Scriptores* and the *Antiquitates* are monuments to a still-familiar concept of the "Middle Ages" which Muratori helped to establish, to the point that he enforced a cut-off date of 1500 on the chronicles he published in the former. Even if the date seems, and is, arbitrary, it is understandable that an Italian should feel that the history of his country had reached an epoch at the end of the 15th century, with the imposition on the peninsula of a framework of "foreign" rule within which native powers, including the papacy, were to function down to Muratori's own time and for the foreseeable future. By extension, the history of the centuries before 1500, which had witnessed the formation of a distinctive Italian civilization in the aftermath of the fall of Rome, had an identity that deserved study and commemoration in greatly changed times.

This assertion, which still needed making in face of the long dominance of historical interests by Greece and Rome, also had a clear political resonance, insofar as it implied an ongoing historical identity for "Italy." In that sense, Muratori was compiling materials for the use of the Risorgimento as well as for the more disinterested purposes of modern scholarship. Felix Gilbert saw him as among the foremost of those intellectuals who between the 16th and 18th centuries upheld the sense of an Italian identity. This did not, however, necessarily or obviously imply opposition to the existing system of Italian states. As librarian of the dukes of Este at Modena, one of the oldest of Italy's native ruling dynasties, who had found their niche within the Habsburg system, Muratori too enjoyed the favor and protection of the imperial house on those occasions when he threatened to fall foul of Rome as his works enjoyed considerable fame and influence in Austrian Enlightenment circles. Rather, it was in the nature of his scholarly enterprise that he drew to the attention of contemporary Italians, and their rulers, the historical record of their past, of both the intimate and complex interrelationships of the states in which their predecessors had lived and their jealous pursuit of independence. Several possible blueprints for Italy's future, as the next century would show, could be derived from the contemplation of its history.

Towards the end of his life Muratori rendered the *Antiquitates* into a 3-volume Italian edition, implying a bid for an educated readership which lay beyond the confines of the narrow scholarly community. He was an advocate of the vernacular reading of the scriptures to the people, and even published a translation of the Catholic Mass to aid understanding. To be aware of his activity as a moderate Catholic reformer, who became embroiled in controversies over the reality of witchcraft and the abolition of excessive saints' days, is to supply a context in which his historical scholarship takes on a fuller meaning.

DIANA WEBB

See also Historiology; Italy: since the Renaissance; Manzoni

Biography

Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Born Vignola in Modena, 21 October 1672, to a poor family. Educated by the Jesuits, then at the state school of Modena; took minor orders and received degree in canon and civil law, 1688. Ordained priest, 1695; nominated curator, Ambrosian Library, Milan, 1695; chief archivist, court of Modena, 1700–50. Died Modena, 23 January 1750.

Principal Writings

- Primi disegni della Repubblica letteraria d'Italia* (First Designs for a Literary Republic of Italy), 1703
Riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nelle scienze e nella arti (Reflections on Good Taste in the Sciences and the Arts), 1708
Rerum italicarum scriptores (Writers or Historians of Italian Affairs), 25 vols., 1723–51
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Musicology

Musicology is the scholarly study of music. In its modern guise, it began in the 19th century, prior to which there was little interest in the historical study of music, since the music performed was largely that of the present (although past ideas and certain theoretical concepts from the past were often part of current thought about music). The first music to remain in the repertory a generation beyond its composition was that of Ludwig van Beethoven; since the middle of the 19th century, performers have continually reached further back in time to revive older musical works, developing in the process a canon of "masterpieces." That this phenomenon should have begun in the 19th century is not surprising, for it was part of the historicizing tendency prevalent in that century; it also reflected the growing interest in the notion of genius. Hence, until recently, much of the focus of musicological work has been on archival research, textual criticism, problems concerning performance, the broad delineation of style based on the canon, and biographical studies.

The attempts to systematize the discipline were by Germans, notably by Guido Adler. These early musicologists used the term *Musikwissenschaft* to encompass all thinking about music. Adler proposed two divisions to be made within the discipline:

the "historical" and the "systematic" (the second encompassing acoustics, psychology, aesthetics, theory, pedagogy, and the study of non-western musics). In the later 20th century, especially in North America, musicologists have been most concerned with Adler's first category, and also to some extent with aesthetics, while music theorists have dealt with theoretical matters, and ethnomusicologists have studied non-western musics.

Throughout the history of the discipline, archival research and the editing of musical texts and musico-theoretical documents have been the occupation of many prominent scholars and have resulted in critical editions of certain repertories (14th-century polyphony, for example), of the works of certain composers (the Bach-Gesellschaft's edition of the works of J.S. Bach beginning in 1851 being the earliest example), of works deemed of national importance (the German and Austrian *Denkmäler* series), and of facsimile editions (the Solesmes monks' *Paléographie musicale*, 1899–, which reproduces the earliest notated music in the West). Many medieval and Renaissance theoretical writings have been edited and published, especially in the series *Corpus scriptorum de musica* (1950–); these works are now appearing in a computer data base called *Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*.

As far as performance practice is concerned, fewer problems surround music that has never left the current repertory (such as much 19th-century music) than music more removed from the present. In some cases, it is extremely difficult to recover lost performance traditions. Landmarks in the study of historical performance include work on the performance of baroque music. For medieval and Renaissance music, a great deal of effort was at first expended on deciphering archaic notation systems, but also on questions of text underlay, tuning, and more recently, the range and quality of singers' voices.

Broad-based discussions of musical style, which move chronologically, have also been the purview of musicologists, for example Jan LaRue's *Guidelines for Style Analysis* (1970). Periods in music history (which correspond roughly to those of art history) have been delineated on the basis of major stylistic shifts, and so there have also been important works devoted to the music of each period, for example the series published by Norton, which includes books on Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and 20th-century music, each by a specialist in the music of that period. There are a vast number of studies of the music and biography of individual composers: Alexander Thayer's *Life of Beethoven* (1866–79) is an early example on which many subsequent studies have been based.

There continue to be valuable studies such as these made in the field of musicology, but since the 1960s several musicologists have called into question the aims and methods of musicological enquiry, and there was a decisive shift in the discipline with the publication of Joseph Kerman's *Contemplating Music* (1985). Kerman called for musicologists to move away from "positivistic" studies towards "criticism"; not only did the majority of musicological studies up until this time concentrate on the "objective" search for historical truth, but there was also a long tradition of regarding musical works as transcending the people, places, and times from which they came. Debates concerning music's autonomy were prevalent in the mid-19th century (see, for example, the writings of the music critic Eduard Hanslick), and this idea has been carried

into the 20th century, albeit tacitly. A new generation of musicologists responded to Kerman with works in which the production of social meaning through music became the focus, drawing for models (belatedly, compared to other disciplines) on poststructuralist cultural criticism. Addressing social and political meaning – indeed meaning of any kind – in music is particularly difficult, since music is not a language in the ordinary sense, but “new musicology,” as it is being called, holds that particular sound structures (melodic, rhythmic, harmonic, timbral, etc.) are, indeed, socially determined. Watershed studies in this new direction have come from Susan McClary, whose work has focused on music, gender, and sexuality (for example, she has studied the opera *Carmen* to reveal how the characters’ masculine and feminine qualities are depicted in the music) and Lawrence Kramer, who has drawn on, among other writings, Foucault’s theory of cultural archaeology to determine how music of certain historical moments reflects other cultural concerns of the time and place. Collaborative volumes of essays have also appeared, for example Solie’s *Musicology and Difference* (1993) and Brett, Wood and Thomas’ *Queering the Pitch* (1994), the former concerned with gender studies, the latter exploring homosexual composers and issues in music. Works such as these have gone far to recover composers who have been marginalized. In Bergeron’s *Disciplining Music* (1992), the issue of the musical canon is addressed: musicologists have traditionally been exclusively concerned with western “classical” music, and even this tradition has been stratified into acceptable and less-acceptable composers and works to study; but recently musics that have hitherto been neglected have begun to receive critical attention, including popular music (sociologists have long studied it, but without much discussion of the music itself). Richard Middleton’s theoretical work, *Studying Popular Music* (1990) has been very important in this respect. Jazz has, for the past twenty years, enjoyed comparatively wide acceptance as an area for serious enquiry and many fine musicological works have been produced, notably Gunther Schuller’s *The Swing Era* (1989). Traditional musicology has concentrated on the notated score, but now performance (both live and recorded) is receiving attention, not only with respect to the sound made, but with the relationship of musical production to the body (see, for example, Carolyn Abbate’s *Unsung Voices*, 1991).

SUSAN FAST

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