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the monarchy's interest in establishing a strong presence in the city. The confraternity organized religious processions and saw to the needs of poor Spaniards in Rome. It thus practiced a sort of ostentatious piety and charity which enhanced the image of Spain. Most importantly it gave institutional structure to the Spanish community, which Dandeleet describes as an example of "early modern nation-building," albeit inside a foreign state (117). The large number of Spanish saints canonized by the church in this period gives expression to the rising visibility of Spaniards in early modern Rome.

The fortunes of Spanish Rome, however, parallel those of the Spanish empire in general; as the power of France waxed in the seventeenth century, Spain's hold on Rome diminished. As the French monarchy stabilized, it became a rival to Spain both as patron and as a military threat in Italy. The pontificate of Urban VIII, an open supporter of France from 1623 to 1644, clearly demonstrated the decline of Spanish influence. Similarly the Spanish population in Rome declined from a peak of perhaps thirty thousand in the time of Philip II to practically nonexistent in 1700. Nonetheless, as Dandeleet argues, even in the late seventeenth century the Spanish colony showed remarkable resilience, and old patterns of Spanish-papal relations remained in place. As he concludes, the Spanish Habsburgs "developed a foreign policy strategy in Rome that was unmatched by any other European power" (216). Dandeleet refers to this foreign policy as "informal imperialism," an imperialism achieved through indirect means. Spain never actually ruled Rome, but through a mixture of external pressure and internal influence the kings of Spain had a very large say in papal affairs.

While Dandeleet amasses a great deal of convincing evidence about the strong Spanish presence in Rome, I think he may overstate his case about the degree of control the Spanish Habsburgs had over the papacy. Contrary evidence tends to be discarded or glossed over. For instance, Dandeleet points to the Holy League of 1571, a military alliance between Spain, Rome, and Venice, as an example of the close relationship enjoyed by Philip II and Pope Pius V (70); actually, negotiations over the League broke down several times, and Philip and Pius had completely different strategic goals (and Philip lost the argument over the League's intended target). Similarly, when describing a dispute between Spain and France over precedence in the 1560s, Dandeleet claims that Pope Pius IV ruled in Spain's favor, thus illustrating Spain's new prominence (63). But then in a footnote, Dandeleet admits that Pius later supported the French position (234). This was a jarring propaganda defeat for Spain, which Dandeleet does not discuss. In the end, this book works much better as social or cultural history than political history. The importance of Spanish people and culture in the development of Renaissance Rome has been long ignored, and Dandeleet's work greatly helps to fill the historical gap.



**Family Life in Early Modern Times 1500–1789.** Ed. David I. Kertzer and Marzio Bagli. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. 365 pp. \$35.00. ISBN 0300089716.

REVIEWED BY: Su Fang Ng, University of Oklahoma

Ever since the publication of Philippe Ariès's *L'Enfant et la vie familiale* in 1960, the family has been an enormously fertile field of historical research. This collection of essays is an ambitious synthesis of the current state of family history. The first volume in a three-part series, it covers the period from 1500 to the French Revolution in 1789. The projected second and third volumes will treat the long nineteenth century, from 1789 to 1913, and the twentieth century respectively.

This first volume's geographical scope is unusually large. It focuses not simply on Western Europe, on which there has been ample research, but encompasses far greater ground, incorporating Eastern Europe up to the Ural Mountains, thus including also the Turkish Balkans. This range allows for a most welcome comparative perspective that takes into account the finer distinctions of local conditions and variations as well as the more general differences between Eastern and Western Europe. The book's methods are similarly broad. The essays in this collection run the gamut of historical approaches, including material, economic, political, demographic, legal, ecclesiastical, and cultural history.

The book is divided into four parts. The first contains three chapters on the relation between family structure and economic factors. Chapter 1, by Raffaella Sarti, is a microeconomic picture of family life, showing how family life was structured by its material conditions. Family possessions were not inert objects but embodied values, emotions, and kinship relations. Sarti traces the appearance of new boundaries in the domestic space with the specialization of rooms, and the increasing use of furniture, saucepans, and cutlery.

The next two chapters view the family from a macroeconomic angle. Karl Kaser examines the intensification and spread of feudalism in Eastern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Offering a nuanced reading without succumbing to stereotypes, Kaser shows how serfdom increased through a variety of ways. There was a strong leaning toward a complex family structure in the region despite differences in agricultural and legal systems, though societies living along the Ottoman borders with Russia, the Habsburg empire, and Venice, in contrast, were relatively free of feudal ties. Ulrich Pfister's careful analysis of protoindustrialization in Western Europe elucidates the ways in which increased productivity of labor and capital in domestic manufacturing affected or modified family structure. Increased economic independence of young adults lowered the age of marriage and weakened economic bonds between parents and children.

While part 1 focuses on economic factors that impinge on family life, part 2 examines the impact of the state, law, and religion. In his survey of civil (Germanic and Roman) and ecclesiastical law, Lloyd Bonfield discovers conflicting notions of what constituted marriage, with Protestant reformers attempting to revise the consent theory of marriage which sanctioned secret unions, though reformers were divided over divorce. Ottoman Europe, on the other hand, permitted, according to Muslim practice, polygamy and divorce. Definitions of marriage and divorce had significant effects on inheritance law, and Bonfield's enlightening essay ends with a consideration of different modes of inheritance and the legal position of married women. In general, while the law puts authority in the husband, in practice the man is often in economic partnership with his wife, or widow after his death. Jeffrey Watt thoroughly discusses the profound impact of the Reformation on marriage—reformers viewed marriage and the family as the fundamental basis of society—and the reaction of the Counter-Reformation. He argues that regions that converted to Protestantism experienced partial secularization of the control of marriage, except for a few areas, such as Augsburg, where it passed completely into the jurisdiction of lay authority. The Reformation's elevation of marriage was accompanied by greater attention to the disciplining of children and greater efforts at controlling illicit sexuality. Watt concludes that sixteenth-century society became increasingly patriarchal with a corresponding decline in economic opportunities for women.

Part 3 is an informative essay by Pier Paolo Viazzo on demographic history. Analyzing the data on mortality crises, nuptiality, fertility, and infant mortality, Viazzo notes that European demographics changed from a high mortality and fertility rate to a lower mortality rate with controls on fertility, as mortality crises decreased in frequency and intensity. The second

half of the essay focuses on the social aspects of demography: how societies dealt with illegitimate births, the mortality differences between genders and among social classes, and household and kin structures.

The final section of the book concentrates on the more intimate aspects of family relations. Chapters 7 and 8 discuss relations within the nuclear family, and chapter 9 examines relations among kin. Linda Pollock's fine essay examines a wide spectrum of topics having to do with parent-child relations, including: the physical welfare of children; parenting and the training, education, and socialization of children; economic issues such as child labor, apprenticeship of youths, and inheritance and its effect on sibling relationships; step-parents' role in the family; and infanticide, abandonment, and abuse of children. Cautioning us from expecting to find modern forms of emotional expression of love and affection, in particular the elevation of the mother-child bond over other forms of attachment, Pollock rightly critiques the notion that a modern concept of childhood emerged with the rise of the nuclear family and points to a more balanced view of family relations. In the next chapter, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux analyzes in detail patterns of marriage, widowhood, and divorce. Paying particular attention to sociological aspects and using ample statistical data, she treats issues such as social control in postponement of marriage, growing numbers of the permanently celibate, seasonality of marriage, differences in marriage patterns and in transmission of patrimony according to social group, the idea of romantic love, intermarriage, gendered differences between widows and widowers, and the secularization of divorce with Protestantism.

Finally, David Gaunt's essay is an absorbing account of the varieties of and changing character of kinship. Beginning with the recognition that family had a double meaning—family was both household and lineage—and that these definitions overlapped, Gaunt examines various kin formations, both the larger, more inclusive one, as well as the narrower group with members tracing their descent back to a single ancestor. But kinship can be “artificial” as well as biological: people without relatives created their own kin groups through such means as religious orders or confraternities, or they gained relatives through adoption; others formed voluntary kinship, for instance becoming godparents, when socially beneficial. Gaunt concludes that while kinship as an idea declined, in immediate social interaction kinship retained its force.

This is a remarkably comprehensive collection of essays. The volume is also good on putting family practices of Western Europe and the Ottoman-dominated Eastern Europe in comparative perspective. Unfortunately, research on Eastern Europe still lags far behind that on Western Europe; thus the authors often have to speculate or extrapolate from available data when discussing Eastern Europe. The editors' choice of beginning with economic and demographic history signals their focus and emphasis. History practiced here is very much a social science, with cultural history taking a back seat. Overall, it serves as an excellent guide to the history of the family for anyone wanting to get a grasp on this vast field.



**Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints.** Ed. Natalie M. Orenstein. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. 323 pp. \$60.00. ISBN 0300090145.

REVIEWED BY: Peter Arnade, California State University, San Marcos

Pieter Bruegel the Elder is best known for his small but significant corpus of paintings, whose rich images of peasant conviviality, village landscapes, and religious parables and allegories have been the subject of a large body of scholarship. Viewed originally through a