Introduction

Historical research into peace, or historical peace studies as the emerging field is known, aims to investigate the preconditions and limitations for the creation of peace and the changing cultural constructions of peace. This includes topics such as ideas of peace, peace projects, state and non-state peace initiatives, peace treaties and conditions of peace, as well as factors which have inhibited peace in the past.

Most of the research in this field has so far been devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the early modern period has been neglected by comparison. Scholars who have tackled early modern topics have generally either engaged in political and diplomatic analyses of the main peace treaties from a domestic or international point of view or pursued studies in intellectual history which have investigated humanist-irenic and utopian ideas of peace or representations of peace.

Several key developments in the understanding of peace in early modern Europe justify the creation of this handbook. These are:

- The Reformation and the wars which resulted from the emergence of several Christian confessions, which necessitated religious peace agreements.
- The linkage of the confessional conflicts with both internal problems in the various European countries and the struggle for hegemony in Europe more broadly.
- The search for new ideas, concepts, and models with which to restore domestic and inter-state peace on a durable basis.
- The export of European ideas of peace and practices of peacemaking to other parts of the world in the process of European expansion and the transcultural exchange processes occasioned by that.
- The development of a specific culture of peace which served to articulate the values, visions and interpretative patterns associated with peace.

The Handbook does not proceed from a single overarching theoretical framework, but assumes that the notion of peace, like all other historical concepts, is a cultural construct which was constantly linked with new meanings in different historical contexts. Our aim is therefore to explore the specific early modern meanings of peace and to make the existing scholarship on this subject accessible to a wider audience.

The geographical focus of the volume is Europe, especially the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (1495–1806), which leading European jurists saw as a central guarantee for a peaceful Europe. After 1648 many commentators saw the imperial constitution and the Peace of Westphalia (specifically, the Treaty of Osnabrück), which became a fundamental law of the empire, as a model for the establishment of peaceful relations between the European powers. Chapters devoted to the extra-European world will illuminate the political and economic entanglements that accompanied the early modern expansion of Europe. They will also explore the export of European ideas of peace and the conflicts and misunderstandings which their transfer occasioned.

The fifty-one chapters are organised in five sections. The first section is devoted to the fundamental ideas of peace that were characteristic of the early modern period. The second section deals with early modern peace orders, considered from an internal, inter-state and extra-European perspective. The third section analyses practices of peace and peace processes. The fourth section turns to the early modern culture of peace, with its various media and narratives. The volume concludes with a series of chapters devoted to major peace treaties of the early modern period.

Inevitably, not all aspects of the subject of peace in early modern Europe could be included. The editors have, however, focused on what they believe to be the main themes and have assembled a team of acknowledged experts to deal with them.

Section I: Ideas and Concepts of Peace

The handbook opens with a section devoted to ideas and concepts of peace, since in all periods the knowledge of what peace was formed the basis for perceptions and interpretations of the actions of others, as it did for one's own actions. What was meant by peace at different times and in different contexts and cultures was the outcome of multiple processes in which numerous actors with varying backgrounds and interests participated. On the one hand any overview of ideas of peace reveals the idiosyncratic tension between the historically-conditioned nature of notions of peace and their aspiration to universal, immutable validity. On the other hand, the variety of ways in which peace can be conceptualised and articulated enables us to see the constant discursive adaptation and intent of notions of peace and to investigate their recourse to 'authorities' in the context of processes of social and political construction.

The concept of peace was and is a frame of reference for the very varied ways in which human beings have viewed their place in the world and defined their relationship to this world and its inhabitants. This understanding of the world could include both the natural and the supernatural, and could mean anything from the divine peace placed at man's disposal to the individual's peace of mind or the relationship of human beings with nature and the world of animals and plants, or indeed political peace, as it did in the thinking of Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Alternatively, it could also mean the clearly defined relationship between two or more communities, which regulated the relations between them by treaty, as in the *Pax Romana*.

Both forms of peace should not be regarded as disparate levels, for they were in their essence and evolution always imagined with reference to one another. This becomes particularly clear if one views ideas and visions of peace not so much from the perspective of intellectual history but as a system of knowledge. Many studies in the sociology of knowledge have drawn attention to the interplay between those habitual modes of perception and interpretation which human beings experience during their primary socialisation, and the changes and adaptations of these habitual patterns through knowledge gained by experience, and the way that human beings draw upon

and update elements of that knowledge that are relevant to their need to make sense of their lives. Recent studies have combined methods drawn from the sociology of knowledge, praxeology, and discourse analysis, all of which share the belief that social and individual knowledge in order to understand practice, actions and interaction.

In all human societies, 'peace' is one of the central symbolic systems of meaning which enable humans to cope with the world and its contingence. Fundamentally, all concepts of peace not only address the question of how humans shape their relationship with the world, nature, and their fellow human beings, but also the question of what role force plays (should or is permitted to play) in that. If the everyday understanding of peace generally started with scenarios of universal harmony, this was generally only the ultimate objective of the establishment of peace. Much more space was devoted in the relevant literature to the relationship between peace and violence or force. What forms of force are legitimate or illegitimate? How can one prevent illegitimate forms of force from destroying peace and with it the stability which enables human beings to live with contingency?

The relationship between peace and force is prominent in the chapters in this section and it underlines the significance of the early modern period for the development of ideas and visions of peace in Europe. For peace was only ever one, albeit central, meaning-giving system of signs that was always in competition with others that were centred on force and violence.

Hermann Kamp examines the ancient and medieval foundations and core development of ideas of peace to show that theological concepts offered ethical guidelines for individual behaviour which also contained political models of peace in the form of ethical guidelines for the peaceful behaviour of rulers. At the same time, however, and particularly in periods in which there were no overarching political structures, ideas of peace also competed with norm systems that permitted violent action in the service of redefining one's place in the world or the negotiation of the respective places in the world of two or more actors. In the high and late Middle Ages one can see clearly how on the one hand theological notions of peace provided the basis for the common system of knowledge but how on the other hand the means of solving actual problems were perceived to lie in the formulation of legal norms, as seen in the gradual establishment of legal forms in the increasingly widespread initiatives to implement a divine or territorial peace.

Volker Leppin shows just how much such peace processes were tied up with questions of power and conflict. He locates the origins of numerous peace plans of the Renaissance, such as those of Marsilius of Padua and Dante, in the political power struggles of Italy. *Friedrich Beiderbeck* illuminates the impact of key processes of the early modern era, such as the development of the rule of law or 'juridification' and state formation, on the elaboration of notions of peace and the associated techniques of peacemaking. He demonstrates how power-political conflicts within polities and between the various European powers were made more difficult and indeed more dy-

namic by the development of another fundamental process: the emergence of confessions. Even though the political and legal techniques and instruments for the creation and maintenance of peace rapidly became specialised and independent, they did not wholly lose their link with the higher theological frame of reference with its ethical dimension. They were above all evident to differing extents in the media and general discourse of peace and they served primarily as an implicit framework of what was unspoken and taken for granted.

The selection of individual elements from the wide range of knowledge about peace is also characteristic of the genre of utopian writing. In this form of experimental thinking, too, we find very different forms of points of emphasis and perspectives on the problem of peace and force in ideal societies and visions of future political orders, as *Thomas Schölderle* explains.

Beginning in the Enlightenment, there was an increasing tendency to think about peace in relation to temporal, worldly order. This gathered ground against the backdrop of the numerous major military conflicts of the period. It took its cue from the developing legal systems and it also gained impetus from the development of contract theory, as *Thomas Schölderle* demonstrates in his second contribution. The growing significance of legal regulations as instruments for the negotiation of the position of actors in the world becomes particularly apparent here, while ethical concerns relating to individual behaviour ceased to play much of a role. Increasingly, this was now regarded as a private matter for the individual. *Friedrich Dhondt* places this distinctively early modern emphasis on law as an instrument of peacemaking, especially at the level of relations between states, in its legal and intellectual context.

Every selection of articles for a handbook is to some extent arbitrary and what is markedly absent here is any broad comparison with developments in Europe with ideas and visions of peace in non-European cultures. A partial exception is *Murari Kumar Jha*'s chapter on the knowledge and practices of peace (and violence) of the Moghul Empire on the Indian subcontinent.

Together, the chapters in this section invite us to move beyond the common distinction made between abstract and supposedly unrealisable ideas of peace and concrete and applied practices of peace. It suggests the need to combine cultures of knowledge not only with their articulation in texts and expression through art but also with the practices of peacemaking and peacekeeping. Only by recognising their interactions can one understand ideas, images, and practices as social and political constructs which allow us to place the struggle for peace in historical context.

Section II: Peace Orders

The second section deals with peace orders or systems at various levels and with the institutions, rules, and procedures that were designed to create and maintain such orders. The concept of a peace order always has a normative aspiration which is related

to the central question of which kind of peace is to be secured by which kind of order. The aim is always to ensure the durability and stability of a given order, which must be accepted by all relevant parties and secured by mechanisms designed to prevent breaches of the peace by any single party.

As Immanuel Kant suggested, the creation of peace begins within societies, then continues between states, and leads ultimately to the formation of a global community.

The example of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation illustrates the specifically early modern path from internal pacification to an overarching peace order. The idea of creating peace by means of the law was central. The efforts to create an internal peace, which was threatened by the proliferation of feuds in the Middle Ages, led at the end of the fifteenth century to political reform and constitutional change. This created institutions that were designed to secure and preserve the internal peace of the empire (*Landfrieden*) as the basis for the imperial system in perpetuity. *Duncan Hardy* shows just how central this idea was both in the territories and the empire more broadly. He examines the discussions of the term *Landfrieden* between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries and shows how the idea of such a domestic peace became one of the fundamental legitimating principles of the empire at several different levels.

The key point was that violent self-help and feuds would be replaced by the pursuit of claims through legal channels. In contrast to other European countries, in which domestic peace regimes (*Gottesfrieden* or *Landfrieden*) were introduced in specific regions for limited periods of time, the emperor and the imperial estates sought to establish a permanent peace. At the Diet of Worms in 1495 they agreed a 'perpetual, that is open-ended' peace, to be overseen by the Imperial Chamber Court (*Reichskammergericht*). Following the emergence of the Imperial Aulic Court as the empire's second high court during the sixteenth century, both courts ensured that the rule of law prevailed. *Anette Baumann* discusses the different paths taken by other European countries in the creation of legal appeal systems.

The Diet of Worms also established the Diet or *Reichstag* itself as the central institution responsible for executing decisions concerning breaches of the peace in the empire and as forum of communication between the emperor and the imperial estates; legislation and decisions were promulgated in the name of *Kaiser und Reich*. This initiated a comprehensive set of laws designed to combat legal uncertainty and to secure the domestic peace. These included police or public order ordinances and the attempts to compile a single criminal code (the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*). Emperor Charles V commissioned a comprehensive police ordinance in 1521 which was promulgated by the Diet in 1530, despite the growing confessional divide by then. The imperial police ordinance was agreed between emperor and imperial estates and was intended to serve as a normative framework for legislation in the territories. The ordinances introduced in the territories were similarly agreed at territorial diets between princes and estates and the police ordinances in the imperial cities also reflected the

provisions made for the empire centrally. *Karl Härter*'s chapter shows how such legislation helped maintain the peace and what peacekeeping mechanisms were developed in the process.

Alongside the notion of domestic peace (*Landfrieden*) other peace orders existed which applied either to a specific space or group of people or estate. As *Uwe Tresp* shows, the upper nobility made frequent use of inheritance pacts (*Erbeinungen*). These peace agreements were mainly formulated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries between dynasties for the purposes of mutual support, protection from aggression by third parties, and the promotion of good neighbourly relations. They often specified various forms of mediation or arbitration in the event of disputes and they remained valid even after the promulgation of the Perpetual Peace in 1495.

In the Middle Ages there was a whole range of spaces that were protected by special peace agreements because of their particular social importance or their special vulnerability. *Masaki Taguchi* enumerates these various spaces of peace and focuses particularly on the 'castle peace' (*Burgfrieden*) which became a treaty recognised in imperial law in the sixteenth century, in which noble families regulated their use of property which they held in common. The idea of the domestic peace of the family (*Hausfrieden*), analysed here by *Inken Schmidt-Voges*, denotes a specific space that needed to be protected against aggression by third parties. Protection was also combined with an ethical principle that developed ever more strongly in the early modern period as a result of the Reformation and confessionalisation process. It ultimately became a social norm because the family, as the smallest unit of the state, increasingly attracted the interest of the secular authorities.

Religious peace agreements were particularly significant; they were a novel feature in the early modern period, the product of the new phenomenon of confessional pluralisation, and they aimed to secure peace between the Christian confessions until the reunification of Christendom might be possible. The key point was that such peace agreements did not serve to resolve the question of religious truth but rather to create a legal framework which would enable different confessions to coexist within the same polity. *Irene Dingel* describes the very different contractual forms and diverse areas of legislation that extended the domestic peace (*Landfrieden*) in the Holy Roman Empire and in Europe to facilitate the coexistence of different confessions, which led ultimately to religious toleration.

The close relationship between domestic peace orders and inter-state peace agreements is demonstrated in the Thirty Years War, which started as a regional conflict and became a European war in which different power-political and religious factors were closely linked. *Derek Croxton* examines the specific dynamics of the war and the repeated attempts to restore peace. Truces played a significant role, since they were time-limited peace agreements which might lead to an enduring peace. Truces were a frequent feature of the conflicts generated by the increasing confessional pluralisation of Europe in the sixteenth century. As *Gabriele Haug-Moritz* shows, they provided a respite which enabled parties to explore paths to peace. This

device originated in the Middle Ages but declined in significance after the seventeenth century.

The question of peace between states in theory and in practice was, as *Anuschka Tischer* demonstrates, linked with the development of the state system itself and with the experience of the numerous wars of the early modern period. An international order gradually developed and the relations between European states came to be governed increasingly by diplomacy and international law. There were repeated efforts to create a European peace order. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the main objective was to establish hierarchies of power or to prevent the hegemony of a single dynasty. In the early eighteenth century the idea of the balance of power emerged, which implied that peace was to be maintained by the political equilibrium in Europe. *Martin Espenhorst* analyses these new European peace treaties, which were generally signed by two or three parties or their plenipotentiaries or envoys. They were formally recorded with the explicit aim of restoring peace after a war or to preserve a peace which was clearly threatened. To achieve this, early modern European peace treaties contained a mass of rules and regulations that conformed to precise formal criteria. Typically, the distinctive structure of paragraphs, topoi such as amnesties or the restoration of friendship, and specific points such as laments about the brutality of war or references to the specific role played by mediators appeared repeatedly.

Finally, three scholars examine peace treaties between European rulers and non-European rulers or indigenous peoples, where the nature of a peace treaty depended on the different framework within which it was concluded. *Benjamin Steiner* examines the peace agreements with the Ottoman Empire and various African rulers in the Mediterranean. Like Steiner, *Peter Borschberg*, who examines peace treaties between European and East Asian rulers, emphasises that one must relinquish the European perspective on law and the definition of a peace treaty and take alternative views of peacemaking into consideration. It seems that treaties of this kind were not just peace treaties in the European mould. Agreements with non-European rulers often combined issues of peace with commercial matters, as well as agreements about the distribution of territory; some of these aspects were not even recorded in writing but confirmed by special rituals. This was also a feature of the agreements reached between the colonial powers and the indigenous population of North America, as *Katherine Hermes* explains. While the indigenous peoples attempted to assert their own notions of right and diplomacy and to achieve fraternal relations with the colonialists, the Europeans insisted on written agreements which aimed at creating a hierarchical-patriarchal system in which the indigenous peoples were dependent on the colonial powers. This was perhaps the main cause of the growing resistance of the indigenous people to European rule and the regional conflicts which resulted.

Section III: Peacemaking and Peace Processes

This section considers numerous actors in and techniques of peacemaking and early modern thinking concerning how to make and secure peace. The basic assumption is that making peace is a process, which, following the example of the new diplomatic history, is also understood as a specific socio-cultural practice.

The central issue of peacemaking practices has attracted a great deal of attention in early modern research in recent years. This is also true for the sub-disciplines of diplomatic history and the history of international relations, in which praxeological approaches have become increasingly important, though there is no consensus about definitions, theoretical frameworks, or methodology. Indeed, the field of historical praxeology is characterised by openness and plurality regarding approaches and the range of possible interpretations.

In view of this disparate research landscape it cannot be the task of this introduction to attempt a new definition. In what follows, the understanding of 'practices' will therefore be broad and not necessarily synonymous with 'action' or 'acting'. Following Dagmar Freist, 'practices' are understood as supra-subjective patterns of behaviour or everyday routines whose execution progressively draws on, affirms, and sometimes modifies collective patterns of knowledge and interpretation. Such an approach allows us to relate an actor-centered focus (*Volker Arnke*) which examines the routine deeds and words of those who are involved in peacemaking and peacekeeping processes to the key notions of order and the principles that shape their actions and patterns of behaviour.

On the one hand this section examines a selection of themes that have long been the subject of historical research. This includes the many early modern peace congresses (*Johannes Burkhardt*/*Benjamin Durst*) or mediation and arbitration (*Michael Rohrschneider*). On the other hand, the section includes fields which have only recently become important in the context of the cultural turn, such as symbolic communication and early modern ceremonial (*Niels F. May*).

These chapters demonstrate clearly what has been gained from the fruitful interaction of the fields of international relations, the new diplomatic history, and historical peace studies. Analyses of topics which might be regarded as 'classical' areas of research, such as amnesty, neutrality, security, and toleration, are enriched by new approaches and new questions (*Ralf-Peter Fuchs*, *Axel Gotthard*, *Christoph Kampmann*/*Horst Carl*, *Ulrich Niggemann*). This research has undoubtedly benefitted from the new perspectives of the cultural history of politics but in recent years it has also profited from a substantial broadening of the material available: for example, the extensive historical-critical edition of the papers relating to the Westphalian peace congress (the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae*) and the online edition of *Europäische Friedensverträge der Vormoderne* (Premodern European Peace Treaties).

At the same time, recent historical research is characterised by a preoccupation with new paradigms, research questions, and research interests and it has increas-

ingly left behind the old diplomatic and political history with its focus on state protagonists. In this context one might think about Hillard von Thiessen's characterisation of the 'old-style diplomacy' (*type ancien*), with which he wanted to effect a programmatic turn away from a narrow focus on the state and to move away from a preoccupation with foreign *policy* to write the history of foreign *relations*. The practices of physical and linguistic action that are explored in this section (*Maria-Elisabeth Brunert*/*Lena Oetzel*, *Guido Braun*), the dynamic process of negotiation and the communicative structures, as well as the interplay between normative ideas and political-diplomatic practice, place the 'art of making peace' (*l'art de la paix*) in a new light, which is closer to the new approach of historical peace studies than to the study of great men and events with which the older historiography was preoccupied.

It is also striking that the peace conferences of Münster and Osnabrück (1643–1649) and the Peace of Westphalia form such frequent points of reference in this section. There is probably no other peace congress or peace treaty which illustrates the complexity of early modern peacemaking and peacekeeping than this 'greatest peace treaty of the modern era' (Johannes Burkhardt). The availability of plentiful sources in the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae* has already been mentioned. This edition, much of it now also available online (*APW digital*), allows scholars to examine the peacemaking process in considerable detail, sometimes even to follow the day-to-day activities of those involved.

The chapters in this section also demonstrate the diachronic potential of historical research into peace. It is no accident that the fourth centenary of the outbreak of the Thirty Years War occasioned lively debate about the extent to which the seventeenth century could offer an analytical framework for the conflicts of the present, especially those in the Middle East. The key notions of amnesty, neutrality, security, and toleration that are discussed in this section were particularly relevant in this debate, as were the practices or modes of procedure analysed in the various chapters, particularly the tried and tested instrument of mediation.

Historical peace studies cannot offer any blueprints for the resolution of the conflicts of the early twenty-first century. They do, however, yield insights of a general nature into the preconditions for and course of peace processes, which enhances our fund of historical knowledge and might therefore influence the present. Furthermore, the chapters provide answers to the fundamental question of how early modern Europeans attempted to cope with the various challenges (political, confessional, economic, or social) which accompanied both war and peace. This was true not only of the technical-instrumental dimension of peacemaking processes, but also of the mental coping mechanisms and attitudes of the actors and the population generally. More research is needed, especially on these popular attitudes.

Overall, this section highlights that the confrontation since the 1970s of diplomatic and political history on the one hand and social and societal history on the other, which Wilfried Loth has described as a 'dialogue of the deaf', has been rendered redundant by the emergence of new research questions and agendas.

Section IV: Peace Cultures – Media and Communication

Like war, a peace treaty too needed to be justified, explained, and conveyed to the public in terms that went beyond the simple treaty text. The media used for this and the channels of communication – peace celebrations and material objects, artistic production and musical performance, proclamation, interpretation, and the creation of traditions in sermons and literature – were the cornerstones of a comprehensive peace culture which celebrated, propagated, commemorated, and consolidated political, social, and religious peace. All the manifestations of early modern peace cultures had the function of conveying values; depending on the context, they could also have a legitimating purpose; they could provide guidelines for behaviour or set norms. Examining the early modern peace culture makes clear the significance attached to peace processes not only in politics and diplomacy but also in popular culture. It reveals which narratives were associated with representations of peace, what visions and aspirations were attached to notions of a perpetual peace, and what religious and ethical lessons were drawn from the long yearned-for state of peace. In all of this, contemporaries could draw upon a rich fund of topoi from both the ancient classical and the Judaeo-Christian traditions.

The celebration of a peace concluded played a central role in the peace culture of early modern Europe (*Renger de Bruin*/*Alexander Jordan*). Celebrations were of great importance both externally as a marker of a state's position in the new status quo and internally as the self-presentation of a ruler or regime. The public announcement of peace and expressions of pleasure and gratitude combined both secular and religious elements. Services of thanksgiving, which emphasised that humans were responsible for misfortune and that peace was a gift bestowed by God, were a key element in all celebrations of peace. Medals engravings, prints, and paintings proclaimed peace visually and offered snapshots of the peace negotiations. In addition to architectural celebrations of peace in the form of buildings, these images fed into a culture of memory associated with anniversaries and commemorations. Popular festivities, dinners, and firework displays ensured that all levels of society were informed about a peace.

Behind all this lay a complex dynamic of peacemaking and peacekeeping that is also evident in the spatial organisation of peace negotiations, the treatment of peace treaties themselves as material objects, and the production of peace souvenirs as consumer goods (*Harriet Rudolph*). The latter were closely related to the function of peace festivities in the cultivation of a memorial culture. Objects and their use continued radiating far outside the confines of a peace celebration. In the diplomatic sphere it was important to signal the equality of negotiating parties in international law or to perform their equality of rank in spatial terms, even if this was not in fact formally accepted by both sides. Treating peace treaties as objects in the ritualised practice of reading out loud, signing, binding, and sealing aimed to endow them

with greater authority, reinforce their validity, and create security. Souvenirs and consumer goods such as commemorative medals, broaches, cups, and many more, could keep a peace in the minds of all groups in society for a long time. The material culture of peace could forge consensus and confidence, but it could also be interpreted so loosely that continuing disagreements or conflicts could be downplayed or even concealed.

In order to gain acceptance for ideas for peace and to legitimate peace processes, people constantly appealed to a frame of reference based on general ideas, norms, and values. This was founded on a symbolism of peace which drew on biblical traditions and on the topoi of classical and Christian antiquity. This symbolism survived until the late eighteenth century and was employed in different contexts (*Eva Krems*). It comprised pictorial topoi, personifications, allegories, and mythological representations of all kinds. Prominent among them were the idea that human beings originally lived in a state of peace, the 'golden age', Isaiah's eschatological vision of eternal peace, the kiss of justice and peace described in the psalter, and the image of the locked doors of the Temple of Janus (the Gates of Janus) which symbolised peace. In specific contexts, such topoi could be employed as artistic symbols which served to legitimise political principles or political actions.

Ideas and images of peace are also found in musical form (*Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort*). There were numerous genres of peace music: cantatas, serenades, oratorios, operas, as well as purely instrumental compositions. Songs and the compilation of collections of songs, as well as the performance of music in the domestic context, testify to how much the lives of individuals were suffused with the musical performance of peace. Peace scenarios appeared in novel ways in both the secular and religious music of the early modern period and the overlap with the celebrations of peace is evident here. Music not only set the scene for a peace celebration; it also served to broadcast and promote the acceptance of peace treaties. Clerical praise and the realisation of current political objectives thus dovetailed. Music also played a central role in the representation of a new identity which reflected peace. Music expressed both a yearning for peace and joy at its arrival; it celebrated and sealed the conclusion of peace treaties. To this end, composers not only employed the topoi, symbols and allegories of peace that were understood throughout Europe but also used distinctive instrumentations, keys, and tempi to represent peace.

Alongside art and music, sermons also drew on the repertoire of topoi, symbols and allegories of peace. So-called peace sermons became an established genre in the seventeenth century and were frequently delivered in the church services which accompanied peace celebrations (*Henning P. Jürgens*). As a predominantly Protestant genre – Catholic and Jewish peace sermons were far less frequent – they became an important feature of the culture of peace after the Thirty Years War. There was no set liturgical formula for the peace sermon. Preachers could draw on the entire corpus of biblical verses and pericopes und employ the familiar, traditional pictorial language and develop it further. Authorities often decreed that peace celebrations should begin

with church services so that peace sermons, along with peace songs or hymns, were ubiquitous: at court and among the people, at peace conferences and in sessions of parliaments. In printed form, they reached out beyond those who actually heard them being delivered to a superregional reading public. Their content differed widely: from praise to reminders of the suffering experienced in war, combined with the typical components of Protestant sermons, such as teaching and comfort, catechetical instruction and ethical admonition, and sometimes criticism of rulers as well. Common to most sermons was the idea that war should be viewed as God's punishment for human sin and that peace was an undeserved gift by the grace of God. The sermons had a great impact as expressions of joy and thanks, as ethical appeals, and as reflections of the state of society.

The whole peace culture of the early modern period was underpinned and intensified in literature (*Klaus Garber*). Here too the topoi of peace and war that were the legacy of classical, Greco-Roman antiquity were important. These themes were complemented and enriched by Judaeo-Christian motifs. The visions of peace carried forward by these traditions formed a thesaurus on which one could draw in many creative ways for the entire early modern period. Key ideas were the 'golden age' of peace that would reconcile human beings and nature, the paradisal peace that would see wolves make peace with lambs, as well as the image of the peaceful bucolic or arcadian world. All could be combined, fused, varied, and developed further in literature, and often enhanced by laments about war and the hope for the return of Christ as the prince of peace. In the early eighteenth century with the development of early Enlightenment physico-theology, nature became a leitmotif of the peace discourse, soon to be replaced by the themes of the revolutionary movements in which the ideas of love and respect for the dignity of man became established as attributes of peace.

Peace in the early modern period far transcended the political-diplomatic realm. In an all-encompassing culture, peace was legitimised, celebrated in its particularity at any given time, interpreted to provide orientation for the present, and ceaselessly invoked as a utopia.

Section V: Early Modern Peace Treaties

The previous sections have explored early modern concepts of peace, the various forms of peace agreements, peacemaking practices, and the celebration and memorialisation of peace. This final section examines a range of specific peace treaties. They stand as examples of over 2,000 peace agreements formulated in Europe or by Europeans in the early modern period. They have been chosen because they are regarded as landmarks. Contemporaries often viewed them as particularly important. Some set precedents that were widely followed. Some also played an important role in historiography. They became enshrined in traditions of national or European historical writ-

ing, sometimes in narratives that modern revisionist scholars have rejected as distorted or even mythical.

Collectively, the treaties examined here also delineate the broad history of early modern peacemaking. They indicate the distinctive concerns of early modern European society and the development of the European state. They reflect the immense impact of ideas of religious reform on society and politics from the late fifteenth century and the ways in which religious conflict was managed. They document the development of what might be called the first European state system. They show how, cumulatively, early modern peacemaking laid the foundations both for the modern constitutional development of European states and for relations between those states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Of course, the traditional concerns of medieval polities persisted into the early modern period. The desire for domestic peace and for security had generated numerous domestic peace agreements or *Landfrieden*. These became more ambitious in the late fifteenth century and their negotiation was often linked with wider debates over reform and the relations between rulers and estates. This is illustrated here by the Perpetual Peace of 1495 in the Holy Roman Empire (*Hendrik Baumbach*), which continued a long series of time-limited medieval agreements but now set the empire on a new course in legal and constitutional terms by aspiring to perpetual validity.

Several chapters consider the impact of religious reform movements on domestic peace orders, their implications for traditional notions of domestic peace (*Landfrieden*), and new ways of dealing with them. *Alexandra Schäfer-Griebel* discusses the first ever such new-style peace, the religious peace of Kutná Hora. This was concluded in March 1485 by the Bohemian diet to resolve the decades-long conflict between the Utraquist Hussites and the Roman Catholics. Both sides agreed to respect the conclusions of the Council of Basle. The Utraquist and the Catholic faiths were declared equal before the law. The agreement was to be valid for thirty-one years; in 1512 it was renewed in perpetuity.

The agreement to disagree and to protect the legal rights of all proved groundbreaking and exemplary. These principles were key to the first and second Peace of Kappel 1529 and 1531 (*Andreas Zecherle*) which resolved the religious conflict amongst the Swiss Cantons. On a much larger scale, the same principles were instrumental in bringing about the pacification of the Holy Roman Empire in the Peace of Augsburg 1555 (*Armin Kohnle*). The religious issue also played a role elsewhere, often by intensifying existing tensions over political issues; religious conflict sometimes threatened to plunge polities into ruinous civil war. In different ways this was the case in Poland (*Christopher Voigt-Goy*), France (*Mark Greengrass*), and Transylvania (*Mihály Balázs*). In each instance, however, the outcome was a peace which rested on the recognition of the right to worship of two or more confessions. As the French and Transylvanian examples demonstrate, however, a politically motivated agreement did not necessarily lead to religious toleration. The concessions that were made were grudging and

faute de mieux; and they were partially undermined from the outset by rulers determined to favour their own confession.

Two other peace treaties of this time illustrate the larger theme of the struggle for power in sixteenth-century Europe and its defence against the Ottomans. The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrécis 1559 (*Rainer Babel*) ended the long series of Italian wars (1494–1559) in which France fought Spain for control over the Italian peninsula, with a subsidiary war fought between France and England, which was also included in the treaty. The treaty sealed the hegemony of the Spanish Habsburgs in Italy for the next one and a half centuries. In 1606 the Peace of Zsitvatorok, analysed by *Arno Strohmeyer*, marked the provisional conclusion of the long struggle of the Austrian Habsburgs to defend their territories, and much of Europe, from the Ottoman Empire. Hostilities resumed when the treaty expired but it formed a model for the later Ottoman treaties of Karlowitz (1699), Passarowitz (1718), Belgrade (1739), and Sistova (1791).

The Peace of Westphalia (*Siegrid Westphal*) is rightly regarded as perhaps the most important early modern peace agreement. It incorporated elements of all the peace agreements mentioned so far. On the one hand, in the Treaty of Osnabrück, it formulated a new legal and constitutional framework for the Holy Roman Empire. It renewed the Perpetual Peace of 1495. The religious rights of members of three recognised confessions (Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed) were guaranteed. The balance of power between emperor and estates was confirmed. Provision was made for the resolution of conflicts at every level. Remarkably, this new fundamental law, which repackaged the constitutional principles that had been developed in the empire since at least the fourteenth century, secured the peace of the empire until its demise in 1806. On the other hand, the Peace of Münster resolved the conflict between the Netherlands and Spain. A peace treaty between France and Spain, the Treaty of the Pyrenees, followed a decade later.

It is often claimed that the conclusion of the Thirty Years War in 1648 saw the creation of a 'Westphalian system' in which sovereign states interacted in a new European framework of inter-state relations. That certainly was not true of the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, for they were not sovereign but subject to the laws of the empire and the authority of the emperor as the empire's supreme judge and overlord.

It is also difficult to accept the idea of a Westphalian system for Europe as a whole. The various states may have been sovereign but their relations with each other were anything but stable. The conflict between France and the Habsburgs widened to include England and the Netherlands in a protracted struggle that was only finally resolved by the Peace of Utrecht in 1714 (*Klaas van Gelder*). Meanwhile, the north of Europe was also plunged into conflict. This culminated in the Great Northern War 1700–21, which was concluded by the treaties of Frederiksborg (1720), Stockholm (1719 and 1720), and Nystad (1721). As *Dorothée Goetze* explains, almost all the northern powers were involved at some stage, as well as Russia (for the first time in a European conflict) and the Ottoman empire. Then, from 1740, tensions between Brandenburg-Prussia and Austria flared up repeatedly over several decades. At their height,

these confrontations became part of the Seven Years War (1756–63) which has been described as the first truly world war, since it was fought in North America as well as in Europe and involved almost all the major European powers in one way or another. The treaties that punctuated and concluded those conflicts, surveyed in this volume by *Regina Dauser*, did not recalibrate any system; they simply reflected the realisation at various stages of bitter rivals that they had exhausted their military capabilities.

The peace treaties of the period following the French Revolution, finally, culminating in the Congress of Vienna in 1813–15, represented both continuity and change (*Reinhard Stauber*). Gone were the references to individual (confessional) rights that figured in the treaties of the period before 1714 (though such provisions appeared again in the articles of the German Confederation created by the ninth act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815). New elements now appeared in the 1790s in the form of notions of natural frontiers and national self-determination, or the condemnation of the slave trade in 1815. For the most part, though, the upheavals of the period required numerous compensations for territories lost or resources expended in pursuit of the wars. Perhaps the most significant feature of the final peace agreement in Vienna was the aspiration to establish a new order in Europe.

The arrangements made in 1815 were, and are, still often referred to as a restoration. The peace in fact faced the future with a rationalisation and modest reorganisation of the changes wrought by Napoleon. The traditions and practices of peacemaking developed during the early modern period endured into the modern era, but there they met with new realities and a new conceptual vocabulary. As Jacob Burckhardt commented some decades later, the settlement of 1815 was as much a revolution as the events of 1789 had been.