The following bibliographical essay is a far more comprehensive listing of scholarship on early modern violence than was possible in the print version of *Violence in Early Modern Europe*. Space constraints confined the published bibliography to a limited number of works, almost all of them in English. This listing presents scholarship – in English and a number of other European languages – that is pertinent to the historical study of violence.

**Introduction**

As we saw in the text of this chapter, historians and sociologists have long sought the causes of behavioral changes among early modern Europeans. Max Weber was a pioneer in this search, as he was in so much else in modern social thought. He warned of the disciplining process imposed on individuals by the growing power of the modern state as well as by the power of other institutions such as the army and by growing modern industries. The result, he alleged, would be an “iron cage” for the individual, a phrase he used in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Talcott Parsons (London: Allen and Unwin, 1948).

Scholars who followed in Weber’s footsteps concurred with his assertion that a process of social discipline resulted from new power dynamics emerging in the early modern period. This was certainly the message of the philosopher Michel Foucault in his works *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965); *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973); and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). In these books Foucault connected basic changes in mentality with developments in punishments and the enforcement of social norms resulting from the rise of the bourgeois-capitalist state. The state, in Foucault’s view, practiced an increasingly subtle repression of the individual designed to modify
behavior – a repression epitomized by the “great confinement” of social deviants in asylums, hospitals, workhouses, and prisons.

Other scholars, many with far more formal historical training than Foucault, also identified increasing disciplining of the individual with growing early modern state power. The German historian Gerhard Oestreich described a process of “social disciplining” by the institutions of the early modern state that he described in a number of works: *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, ed. by Brigitta Oestreich and H. G. Koenigsberger, trans. by David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); “Policey und Prudentia civilis in der barocken Gesellschaft Von Stadt und Staat” in his *Strukturprobleme der frühen Neuzeit: ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1980), pp. 367–79; and “Strukturprobleme des europäischen Absolutismus,” *Viertelsjähreschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 55 (1968), pp. 329–47.

Norbert Elias was one of the first scholars to move beyond simply linking behavioral change to the growing normative power of the early modern state. He described a “civilizing process” in which increasing numbers of people in western Europe internalized social restraints aimed especially at containing violence. His key works, which drew little scholarly attention when published originally in 1939 on the eve of World War II, are now tremendously influential. They are *The Civilizing Process*, trans. by Edmond Jephcott, vol. 1, *The History of Manners* and vol. 2, *Power and Civility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978–82).


A good summary of the work of Elias, Foucault, and Oestreich is Norbert Finzsch, “Elias, Foucault, Oestreich: On a Historical Theory of Confinement” in Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jütte (eds.), *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and the German Historical Institute, 1996). The work of all of these scholars has elicited criticism, and Elias has perhaps received more than his fair share. Hans Peter Duerr, an ethnologist, has criticized the very foundation of Elias’s work in his massive *Der Mythos von Zivilisationsprozess*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1988–97), which denies the sense of shame that Elias saw increasingly serving to repress violence is natural to

Other historians have traced behavioral change to the effects of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, identifying what they have called a process of “confessionalization” in which Catholic and Protestant church establishments enforced improved behavioral standards in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of the first modern work in this direction was done by Wolfgang Reinhard in Bekenntnis und Geschichte: die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang (Munich: Vögel, 1981) and Heinz Schilling, Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung: eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1981). Ronnie Po-chia Hsia’s Social Discipline and the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550–1750 (New York: Routledge, 1989) is a fundamental treatment of confessionalization.


Chapter 1  Representations of crime

An extraordinarily large number of works treat the issues introduced in this chapter. A good, brief introduction to the whole problem of early modern literacy, with an examination of oral culture, is contained in R. A.


Suggestive of the range of pamphlets and small books in French is a comprehensive catalog of the *Bibliothèque bleue*, Alfred Morin, *Catalogue descriptif de la Bibliothèque bleue de Troyes (Almanachs exclus)* (Geneva: Droz, 1975). There are a number of fundamental studies of books and pamphlets, their readers, and circulation within various early modern states. The popular-print culture of the Dutch Republic may be sampled in A. T. Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, trans. by Maarten Ultee


**Chapter 2  States, arms, and armies**


The nobility in our period wielded a great deal of power that today is the possession of the centralized nation state. The problem of this non-state violence, whether in feuds to settle scores or in other forms, has been studied very extensively in German-speaking areas. Still fundamental is a work originally published in 1939, Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, trans. by Howard Kaminsky and James van Horn Melton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992). A modern reassessment of noble military power and its use in feuds is Hillay Zmora, *Feuding and Lordship in Early Modern Germany: The Knightly Feud in Franconia, 1450–1567* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).


The problems raised by mercenary armies are the subject of several excellent works, including Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force. A Study in European Economic and Social History*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964–65) and Michael E. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters in Renaissance Italy* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974). General problems of military administration, including finance, recruiting, and supply, may be explored in André


The Low Countries also suffered greatly from war, and its economic and demographic impact in the principality of Liège is the subject of an


Chapter 3  Justice


A still-provocative introduction to accommodation, both formal and informal, is Alfred Soman, “Deviance and Criminal Justice in Western Europe, 1300–1800: An Essay in Structure,” Criminal Justice History: 1

Finally, the decision to move from infrajudicial to judicial modes of resolving disputes is the subject of several insightful studies in François Billacois and Hugues Neveux (eds.), “Porter plainte: stratégies villageoises et institutions judiciaires en Ile-de-France (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles),” Droit et cultures 19 (1990), pp. 7–142. See also Philippe Henry, Crime, justice et société dans le principauté de Neuchâtel au XVIIIe siècle (1707–1806) (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1844).

The body of historical scholarship on early modern policing is large and growing. Excellent overviews of the problem of policing in the context of state development are available in Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital, and European States, A.D. 900–1990 and in the same author’s edited work, The Formation of National States in Western Europe, especially Chapter Five, “The Police and Political Development in Europe” by David H. Bayley. General studies of police history include those of Jean-Claude Monet, Police et société en Europe (Paris: La Documentation


Early modern public capital punishment has produced a number of provocative historical studies. Still fundamental, because it formed the basis of historians’ debate on this subject for more than a quarter of a century, is Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Also of use in framing the issues raised by public execution are David Garland, *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) and especially Wegert, *Popular Culture, Crime, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Württemberg*. General works on penalties include volumes 56 and 57 of the *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l’histoire comparative des institutions* (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1988–89), which are entirely devoted to penology within a large number of European states, as well as Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press and Reaktion Books, 1999).

There are also a number of studies based on punishment in individual countries, some of which have already been noted above with the works on torture. In addition, on the Dutch Republic there is the important study by Pieter Spijerenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), which uses the work of Norbert Elias to present an important alternative to Foucault that places the decline of public execution much earlier than the nineteenth century. Also significant is the work of Anton Blok, “The Symbolic Vocabulary of Public Executions” in June Starr and Jane F. Collier (eds.),

Finally, several authors address the complex status of the early modern executioner. Gerald D. Robin, “The Executioner: His Place in English Society,” British Journal of Sociology 15 (1964), pp. 234–53, focuses on the English executioner, while the fine study of Kathy Stuart, Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honour and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) draws on research in Augsburg to consider executioners as part of the social group known in Germany as *unehrliche Leute*, that is, people considered dishonorable because of their particular occupations. In addition, there is the diary of an executioner, Albrecht Keller (ed.), *A Hangman’s Diary, being the Journal of Master Franz Schmidt, Public Executioner of Nuremberg, 1573–1617*, trans. by C. Calvert and A. W. Gruner (London: Philip Alan and Co., 1928).

**Chapter 4 The discourse of interpersonal violence**


The evolving maturity of the field is reflected in the appearance of specialized journals on the history of crime and justice in the United States, with *Criminal Justice History* (1980–), and in Europe, first with the Newsletter (subsequently Bulletin) of the International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice (IAHCCJ) (1978–96), and now with *Crime, histoire et sociétés/ Crime, History and Societies* (1997–).


For Italy the work of Peter Burke is fundamental, especially *The


There are a number of specialized historical studies of homicide and assault, as well as much scholarship on such violence within general studies of crime. The number of all of these works has grown extremely large and the following list of necessity is selective.


There is a large and growing number of studies on other countries, too. On Germany there are Blauert and Schwerhoff, Mit den Waffen der Justiz; Richard van Dülmen (ed.), Vebrechen, Strafen und soziale Kontrolle: Studien zur historischen Kulturforschung (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990); Michael Frank, Dörfliche Gesellschaft und Kriminalität: das Fallbeispiel Lippe, 1650–1800 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995); Ute Gerhard (ed.), Frauen in der Geschichte des Rechts: von der frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1997); Ulinka Rublack, The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Gerd Schwerhoff, Köln im Kreuzvehrö Kriminalität, Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in einer frühneuzeitlichen Stadt (Berlin: Bouvier, 1991); and Wegert, Popular Culture, Crime, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Württemberg. There is much scholarship on Italian crime and violence, but regrettably little of it is in English. Good starting points would be Berlinguer and Colao, Criminalità e società in età moderna, which contains a number of studies pertinent to early modern assault and homicide; Peter Blastenbrei, Kriminalität in Rom, 1560–1585 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1995); Cozzi, Stato, società e giustizia nella Repubblica Veneta (secc. XV–XVIII); and Lauro Martines (ed.), Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).


There is a growing literature on the history of domestic violence in the various western European states. On the Austrian Netherlands Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly study domestic problems and the process by which abusive spouses and other family members might be temporarily confined without trial in Disordered Lives: Eighteenth-Century Families and their Unruly Relatives, trans. by Alexander Brown (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

The problem of domestic violence has been studied particularly extensively for England: Anna Clark, “Humanity in Justice: Wifebeating and the Law in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” in Carol Smart (ed.), Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood


Domestic violence in other countries has not produced as many studies. German domestic violence may be approached through two fine monographs: Lyndal Roper, The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) and

Until recent decades, rape received scant treatment by historians. The omission was only partially the result of the research difficulties inherent in documenting this chronically underreported crime; it was also clearly a result of the tendency of a traditionally male historical community to trivialize the crime as the work of a tiny fringe group of sexual deviants.

The advent of modern feminist scholarship has transformed the picture. For a brief treatment of feminist and other theories on rape, see Lee Ellis, *Theories of Rape: Inquiries into the Causes of Sexual Aggression* (New York: Hemisphere Publishers, 1989). A good introduction to recent historiography is Roy Porter, “Rape – Does it Have a History?” in Sylvana Tomaselli and Roy Porter (eds.), *Rape* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 216–36. Porter and many other scholars acknowledge the continuing importance of the seminal feminist work of Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). Brownmiller and many subsequent feminist historians have seen rape as a widespread and fundamentally political act, part of a deliberate strategy of male domination that has kept women living in fear. This point of view has not gone unchallenged, and Edward Shorter, “On Writing the History of Rape,” *Signs* 3 (1977), pp. 471–82, for example, argued that rape in the early modern period represented a release for young men in a society that saw marriage as the only legitimate setting for sexual relations, even while it postponed matrimony until relatively late in the male life cycle.

As with many of the issues raised in this book, scholars have most often worked along national lines in their studies of rape. For the Dutch republic see Manon van der Heijden, “Women as Victims of Sexual and Domestic Violence in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Criminal Cases of Rape, Incest, and Maltreatment in Rotterdam and Delft,” *Journal of Social History* 33 (2000), pp. 623–44.


Rape in Italy has been extensively studied; the major works are those of Guido Ruggiero on violence and sexual offenses, although these deal with the two centuries prior to our period: Violence in Early Renaissance Venice (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980) and The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). More centered on our period chronologically are a number of other works, including that of Oscar Di Simplicio on Siena. “La criminalità a Siena (1561–1808): Problemi di ricerca,” Quaderni storici 17, no. 49 (1982), pp. 242–64, is his investigation of noblemen and their relations with females; while “Sulla sessualità illecita in Antico Regime (secc. XVII–XVIII)” in Berlinguer and Colao, Criminalità e società in età moderna, pp. 633–75, offers an examination of rape, the most common Sienese sexual offense, in conjunction with other sexual crimes. Also adding to our understanding of rape in Italian society are L. Ferrante, “Differenza sociale e differenza sessuale nelle questioni d’onore: Bologna, sec. XVII” in Giovanna Fiume (ed.), Onore e storia nelle società mediterraneana (Palermo: La Luna, Arcidonina, 1989); Elena Fasano Guarini’s discussion of the evolution of more rigorous Florentine laws against rape and other sexual offenses in “The Prince, the Judges, and the Law: Cosimo I and Sexual Violence, 1558” in Dean and Lowe, Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy, pp. 121–41.

More detailed understanding of the Italian experience will come from Gabriele Martini’s study of sexual violence toward minors and the social attitudes reflected in the crime, “Rispetto dell’infanzia e violenza sui minori nella Venezia del seicento,” Società e storia 34 (1986), pp. 793–817; Daniele Peccianti’s treatment of legal aspects of rape in Siena in


Initially something of a by-product of the modern historical study of demography initiated in the 1950s, the study of newborn-child murder grew apace when social historians increasingly turned to judicial records in the 1970s and 1980s. Much of the literature on this problem, however, remains in article form, and a great deal of it relative to the European continent remains without English translations.


German newborn-child murder is especially well served by historical studies. Fundamental on illegitimacy and sexual offenses is Ulrike Gleixner, “Das Mensche” und “der Kerl”: Die Konstruktion von Gerschlecht in Insuchsverfahren der frühen Neuzeit (1700–1760) (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1994). See also Alfons Felber, Unzucht und Kindsmord in der Rechsprache der freien Reichsstadt Nördlingen vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert; Richard van Dülmen, Frauen vor Gericht: Kindsmord in der frühen Neuzeit (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991); Rublack, The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany, pp. 163–96; Wilhelm Wächtershäuser, Das Verbrechen des Kindesmordes im Zeitalter der Aufklärung (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1973) for the legal history of

The scholarship on newborn-child murder elsewhere is less extensive. On Italy there is Maria Pia Casarini, “Maternità e infanticidio a Bologna: Fonti e linee di ricerca,” *Quaderni storici* 17, no. 49 (1982), pp. 275–84, which deals with the early nineteenth century but suggests convincingly an enduring popular belief in an ailment, madrazza, reputed to cause women’s bellies to swell, and of which abortion or delivery were thus simply evidence of its “cure”; and Richard C. Trexler, “Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and Results” in his *Dependence in Context in Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994), pp. 203–24. And, on Geneva, Switzerland, there is Michel Porret, *Le crime et ses circonstances*, pp. 207–23.

**Chapter 5  Ritual group violence**


The charivari in France has been especially well studied by John Cashmere, “The Social Uses of Violence in Ritual: Charivari or Religious Persecution,” *European History Quarterly* 21 (1991), pp. 291–319; Natalie


The early modern observance of Carnival and festivals had great potential to descend into mass violence, and this tendency is the subject of the work by Yves-Marie Bercé, Fête et révolte: des mentalités populaires du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1976). Several excellent studies of occasions on which festivals led to widespread violence include Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Carnival in Romans, trans. by Mary Feeney (New York: George Braziller, 1979) and Muir, Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance.

Despite the pioneering study of Johann Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture (New York: Roy Publishers, 1950), there are still few works on the violence of popular entertainments and how it was affected by the civilizing processes that we have identified. Therefore two works on the subject are notable: Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986) and Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979). See also Roger Chartier, “Sports or the Controlled Decontrolling of


Chapter 6 Violent popular protest


Most work on collective violence is by scholars working within their particular national perspectives. The literature on England is large and, like most work on popular politics and protest, founded in local and regional studies. On sabotage, threats, and terrorism, see Douglas Hay “Poaching and Game Laws on Cannock Chase” and E. P. Thompson, “The Crime of Anonymity,” in Hay et al., Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and

Popular protest in France has been extensively studied – indeed, historians of that country were pioneers in this field. In 1932 Georges Lefebvre published one of the first modern historical studies of crowd psychology, now translated as *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France*. In addition, George Rudé’s, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959) was a pathbreaking study of crowd composition. Pre-Revolutionary popular protest in France also was the subject of pioneering studies of peasant rebellion, many of which stemmed from the debate initiated by Boris Porshnev. A Soviet scholar, Porshnev published in 1948 a study of French peasant revolts based on records of the French chancellor Pierre Séguier, which fell into Russian hands in 1815. Porshnev’s Russian-language study interpreted these revolts in terms of class conflict; as it was translated, first into German and then into French (*Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1963)), it became better known in western Europe and set off a debate as to the nature of these disturbances. Roland Mousnier led the opposition to Porshnev, describing Old Regime society in terms of social orders, not classes, in a number of works, including *Peasant Uprisings in Seventeenth-Century France, Russia, and China*. Mousnier’s students have contributed to his position: Yves-Marie Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants: Étude des soulèvements populaires au XVIIe siècle dans le sud-ouest de la France*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1974); Madeleine Foisil, *La révolte des nu-pieds et les révoltes normandes de 1639* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1970); and René Pillorget, *Mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence entre 1596 et 1715* (Paris: A. Pédone, 1975).


There is a growing literature on popular protest in Germany. The greatest popular rebellion of the period, the Peasants’ Revolt of 1525, has understandably dominated German historiography on popular protest. For much of the last century, historians advanced competing Marxist and non-Marxist interpretations of that revolt. Among non-Marxists the work of Günther Franz, rooted in the comparative history of late medieval unrest, separated the revolt from the Reformation and emphasized its place in the continuing German conflict between lordship and community. His work includes *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, 11th ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977) and *Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1976). The key expression of the Marxist interpretation has been the work of M. M. Smirin, *Die Volksreformation des Thomas Münzer und der grosse Bauernkrieg*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Bundschuh Verlag, 1976). By the 1970s, however, non-Marxist scholars joined Marxists in reexamining the socioeconomic causes of the rebellion, especially David Sabean, *Landbesitz und Gesellschaft am Vorabend des Bauernkriegs: Eine Studie der sozialen Verhältnisse im südlichen Oberschwaben in den Jahren vor 1525* (Stuttgart: G. Fischer, 1972). And some historians have seen the revolts, at least initially, as rooted in a peasant search for greater communal autonomy. See, for example, Horst Buszello, *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg als politische Bewegung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anonymen Flugschrift an die Versammlung Gemayner Paverschaft* (Berlin: Colloquium-Verlag, 1969). More recent research has applied the techniques of sociology and


Perhaps because of the magnitude of the 1525 revolt, historians neglected for a long time unrest in Germany between the Peasants’ War and the disturbances on the eve of the French Revolution. What work has been done has been dominated for almost a quarter of a century by fundamentally conflicting interpretations of this period by two key historians. On the one hand, Peter Blickle has seen disturbances of this period as evidence of peasant unrest in response to the destruction of the autonomy of rural communities by the growing power of the centralized state. Blickle’s works include his edited *Aufruhr und Empörung? Studien zum bäuerlichen Widerstand im Alten Reich* (Munich: Beck, 1980) and *Obedient Germans? A Rebuttal: A New View of German History*, trans. by Thomas A. Brady Jr. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1997). On the other hand, the research of Winfried Schulze emphasizes that revolts were few and far between because the judicial institutions established by German rulers in response to the Peasant’s War created for peasants a sort of safety valve through which they could sue their lords, rather than rising in revolt against them. Schulze’s work includes *Bäuerlicher Widerstand und feudale Herrschaft in der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Fromann-Holzboog, 1980) and his edited works, *Europäische Bauernrevolten der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982) and *Aufstände, Revolten, Prozesse. Beiträge zu bäuerlichen Widerstandsbewegungen im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1983). In English there is Schulze’s “Peasant Resistance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Germany in a European Context” in Kaspar von Greyerz (ed.), *Religion, Politics, and Social Protest* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1984), pp. 61–98.
Only recently have historians begun to challenge the opposing interpretations offered by Blickle and Schultze. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is David Martin Luebke’s *His Majesty’s Rebels: Communities, Factions and Rural Revolt in the Black Forest, 1725–1745* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). Luebke’s study of a revolt against the abbots of Saint Blasien in the Black Forest shows that peasant rebels were far from unified in their opposition tactics and that Habsburg power exploited such divisions.


Central and northern Italy have been less closely explored than the south, but there are some valuable studies: Yves-Marie Bercé, “Troubles


Chapter Seven Organized crime


The poverty in which a great deal of robbery had its roots has been addressed by a generation of social historians, and a number of their works are worthy of note. General studies that synthesize much modern research include Bronislaw Geremek, Poverty: A History, trans. by Agnieszka Kolakowska (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1994); Jean-Pierre Gutton, La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècles) (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974); Robert Jütte, Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Stuart Woolf, The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (London and New York: Methuen, 1986).


No general study of European banditry yet exists, so we must rely on local and regional studies, often in article form. An excellent overview of modern scholarship, based largely on criminal-justice records, is Gerhardo Ortalli (ed.), *Bande armate, banditi, banditismo e repressione di giustizia negli stati europei di antico regime* (Rome: Jouvence, 1986).


General studies on Germany’s versions include Uwe Danker, “Bandits and the State: Robbers and the Authorities in the Holy Roman Empire in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries” in Evans, The German Underworld, pp. 75–107, and the same author’s Räuberbanden im Alten Reich um 1700: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte van Herrschaft und Kriminalität in der frühen Neuzeit, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1988); and Carsten Küther, Räuber und Gauner in Deutschland: Das organisierte Bandenwesen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976). Schinderhannes has been the subject of a number of works, including Wolfgang Stenke, “Schinderhannes & Co.: Kriminalität


Unlike the military, the poor, and bands of robbers, smugglers have not generated a vast historical literature, except for those of France, where early modern smuggling was widespread. There is an overview of French smuggling in the previously cited Olwen Hufton, The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, pp. 284–305. Bernard Briais, Contrabandiers du sel: la vie des faux sauniers au temps de la gabelle (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1984) offers a relatively brief modern history of salt smuggling. Smuggling of tobacco as well as salt is the subject of Marie-Hélène Bourquin and Emmanuel Hepp, Aspects de la contrebande au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969). The structure of the tax system that gave rise to salt smuggling and the Ferme that attempted to collect the imposts on the mineral are accessible in the old but reliable J. Pasquier, L’impôt des