



Northern Antiquities and National Identities

Symposium held in Copenhagen August 2005

Edited by

Knud Haakonssen & Henrik Horstbøll

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Northern Antiquities and
National Identities.
Perceptions of Denmark
and the North
In the Eighteenth Century

Symposium held in Copenhagen
August 2005

Edited by Knud Haakonssen & Henrik Horstbøll

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Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
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INTRODUCTION
A
L'HISTOIRE
DE
DANNEMARC,

OU
L'ON TRAITE DE LA RELIGION, DES
Loix, des Mœurs & des Usages des
Anciens Danois.

*Par Mr. MALLET, Professeur Royal de Belles-Lettres Françaises,
Membre de l'Académie des Sciences & Belles-Lettres de Lyon.*



A COPENHAGUE

M. DCC. LV.

Abstract

Northern Antiquities and National Identities. Perceptions of Denmark and the North in the Eighteenth Century

From the constitutional change in the 1660s onwards, Denmark was seen in Europe, especially in Britain, as the “model” of absolutism. This idea of Denmark deeply influenced Danes’ own perception of the identity of their national culture. This volume explores several important episodes in this process of identification, self-identification and the interaction between the two, ranging from Robert Molesworth’s neo-republican version of the history of Denmark to the national historiography that flourished in the aftermath of the fall of J.F. Struensee. Perceptions of Denmark and the North partook of a broad European political tradition which saw a close conceptual and practical link between patriotism and absolutism, but in the Danish political thought this was considered a tool for the restoration of a distinctively “Northern” form of liberty. Across the chapters of the book special attention is devoted to the writings of Ludvig Holberg, Paul-Henri Mallet, Peder Kofod Ancher, Jens Kraft, J.S. Sneedorff, Peter Frederik Suhm, Johannes Ewald and Tyge Rothe. These studies of Denmark are connected with broadly interdisciplinary scholarship on the European Enlightenment and especially the legacy of Samuel Pufendorf, Christian Thomasius, Christian Wolff and Montesquieu.

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Frontispiece: The title page of Paul-Henri Mallet.
Introduction a L’Histoire de Dannemarc 1755 with the portrait of Frederik 5. by Carl Gustav Pilo.

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Preface

The essays in this volume are based upon papers that were presented to a symposium held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen on August 25th-26th 2005. We thank the contributors for their readiness to accept our invitation and for their pleasant and productive cooperation in the subsequent labour of revision. We and they are indebted to all the other participants in the symposium for making the event into a lively and wide-ranging discussion. A special note of thanks goes to Professor John Pocock whose questions to both of us about early-modern ideas of aboriginal Nordic freedom inspired our plans. We are grateful to the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters and to the Carlsberg Foundation for their generous support of both the symposium and the publication of this volume.

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Introduction

Knud Haakonssen

Like many other developed countries in recent years, Denmark has seen an intensification of public debates about national identity.¹ Like elsewhere, the main causes of this development are commonly seen to be a growth in immigration and the general globalisation of the ways and means of daily life. Again following a common pattern, national history is much in demand as an argumentative resource in these debates. In so far as there is anything peculiar about the Danish debate, apart from the occasional stridency in an otherwise somewhat sedate culture, it may be the extent of agreement about what Danish history is. Across otherwise deep divisions – in politics, ideology and cultural values – there seems to be a surprising unanimity about some very basic features of the history of Denmark.

First of all, there is the assumption that the history of Denmark is indeed a *Danish* history, a matter of the life and times of a distinct and homogenous people easily identified in terms of nationality and geography. Closely associated with this is the idea of the continuity of this Danish history. Across apparently big political, social and economic transformations, there is a strong tendency to discern underlying steady factors, often of a cultural, even spiritual, nature. The R-word is used with great hesitation, if at all, be it about 1536 (the Reformation), 1661 (the introduction of absolutism), or 1849 (the adoption of the free constitution). These events may be deemed revolutionary in this or that respect, but rarely a Revolution. Often, of course, a good deal of progressivism goes along with such perceptions of continuity; if contemporary Danes are so similar to their forebears and have issued so smoothly from them, the history of Denmark is really an account of the emergence and eventual flourishing of modern Denmark. And so the Reformation, although of course a religious upheaval, was somehow really sowing the seeds of the secular society; the absolutist system, despite all its faults, was really laying the foundation of the rule of law; the successive abject military defeats of the nineteenth century, although they led to the loss of vast areas of the realm and prolonged economic and social depression, were for that very reason really the clarion call

to the dormant Danish spirit of solidarity that is the supposed backbone of the welfare state; the parliamentary constitution of 1849, while a momentous step into the modern world of democracy, was in fact also a ratification of notions of freedom and equality with deep roots in the Danish spirit; and so on.

Along with ideas of distinctiveness, homogeneity, continuity and communal progress, one normally finds exceptionalism, and, indeed, the notion that Denmark is unique is wide-spread even in the more serious literature. Some degree of exceptionalism is, of course, a common denominator in most forms of nationalism. It tends to have an evangelising edge to it – distinctly so, for example, in the Swedish version – and this may tempt to aggression, as with the United States of America. But this is not so in Denmark, and here we may be approaching something with a serious claim to Danish peculiarity. Those who trumpet Danish uniqueness have rarely shown much interest in converting the outside world – Olof Palme would have had a difficult career in Denmark – let alone in doing so forcibly. Danish exceptionalism is strikingly inward looking, indeed, that is its very point. We are led to believe that only those who are of Danishness can see it; that it is a spiritual quality, not easily adopted or even absorbed and certainly not something to be conveyed by simple means. The long-standing and strong pacifist element in modern Danish history is not least to be seen against this background. It is this inwardness combined with a certain preciousness and exclusiveness that strike outside observers as very difficult to understand. Indeed, one such spectator to the ways of contemporary Danes came to the conclusion that they live to such a degree in imaginative seclusion that they must be considered a tribe more than a modern nation on a par with others.

In this collection of essays we prefer to see the matter in a historical rather than an anthropological light. What I have outlined here in simple terms is of course a special case of the survival value of romantic nationalism. The self-conception that is being displayed in modern Danish debate and undergirded by a great deal of historical writing is a direct legacy of the ideas of Denmark as a nation state and of its nationality as identical with Danish ethnicity conceived in cultural and spiritual terms and issued with a history made up to fit the bill. What gave this common European story a special twist in the case of Denmark was the defeatism that comes of defeat, mingled with the grandeur of a

communal spiritual experience supposedly closed to all outsiders and to be maintained closed (as reflected, for example, in the relatively poor record of translation of great Danish literature compared with literatures of similar size).

If the producers and consumers of Danish history would take quite seriously the possibility that several of the most elementary premises for the history they are producing and consuming are themselves the outcome of a distinct episode, or series of episodes, in the history of Denmark in the nineteenth century, then much might be gained. First of all, people would discover what at present only a relatively few specialists appreciate, that Denmark has a long history as a multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, intercontinental country. Similarly, it could become common knowledge that while this complex country had its ups and downs, it drew upon a range of shared European ideas in the early modern period of the political, institutional, economic, military and ideological means that were required to maintain unity. For example, it might be salutary to reflect in particular upon the fact that Denmark partook of a broad European political tradition that emerged in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which saw a close conceptual and practical link between patriotism and absolutism. For while few would have any appetite for absolutist rule – however rosy an image may have been painted of the Danish variety thereof – the more general idea that patriotism got its modern shape as a value centred on an institutional arrangement, a form of government, and not as an inherent part of ethnicity or nationality, might be worth updating for liberal democratic circumstances. Along with such practical lessons from pre-romantic and pre-nationalist times might come a more flexible idea of how to account for the history of Denmark. For despite all its obvious limitations, the history writing of the Enlightenment is a liberating acquaintance simply because it has not yet adopted the monotone consensus that has narrowed the Danish horizon so disturbingly for nearly two centuries.

When we turn to Danish historiography in the Enlightenment, we see that its narrative follows a basic pattern that is well known in other historiographies (Kidd).² It is a tale of pristine Northern – “Gothic” or “Celtic” – liberty, spread across parts of Europe, antithetical to Southern unfreedom, eventually lost to feudal lords and now defining the true task of, or challenge to, the existing polity. Within this general history

of liberty we find a repertory of ideas and events that bear upon questions of identity in the Danish realm. However, the document that more than any other brought about an ongoing explicit debate about the nature of the Danish political nation was in fact more concerned with the ideological moorings – domestic and European – of the English, Irish and Scottish kingdoms under their new ruler after 1688 (Hayton). This was Sir Robert Molesworth's neo-republican version of the history of liberty lost across most of Europe – as epitomised in Denmark – but now re-secured in the virtuous republican monarchy of England and its dependencies. This provocation set off a series of Danish responses based upon the most recent developments in Protestant natural law, a circumstance that may appear paradoxical and which has not been well understood. For it has long been recognised that Denmark had been outside the profound influence of Roman civil law that most of Europe to the south had experienced, and consequently Danish thinkers did not live with the main source material for the Protestant renewal of natural law from Hugo Grotius onwards. Not only that, but it became a mark of perceived Danish identity that the realm had remained more or less un-Romanised in law and politics. Here the contrast with Scotland is instructive, for while she likewise had remained largely outside of Rome's tentacles, her status as the junior partner in the conglomerate British state made it attractive to accentuate her distinctiveness by modernising her law through the means of Roman law, and with this came the modern developments in natural law that became so central to the Scottish Enlightenment (Cairns).

When Denmark nevertheless eventually took up natural law, it was because a variety thereof had become available during the closing decades of the seventeenth century which suited the state of its political culture particularly well. This was the immensely influential theory of Samuel von Pufendorf and, of special importance in Denmark, its development by Christian Thomasius. While natural law theories had taken many forms, they had in common the suggestion of some form of transcendent, in the end religious, source of the validity of all normative structures – moral, political and legal. In these various theories the distinction between natural and divine law was a matter of how their source was accessed, by "natural reason" or by revelation. Pufendorf dramatically changed the approach to natural law when he suggested that while the divinity was the ultimate ground of natural law, as of everything else in creation, human reason had no agreed-upon access

to what this meant and had to rely on the simple empirically ascertainable “norm” that we have to seek peace in order to live. How we do this, what sort of polity we adopt, is a matter of time and circumstance. While Pufendorf’s immediate aim was to deprive orthodox Lutherans and other confessional religionists of their claims to privileged access to the character of divine law, he did in fact provide an argument that was aimed against all forms of foundationalism in morals and politics.

It was in this argumentative realm that early Enlightenment thinkers in Denmark could offer a coherent response to the likes of Molesworth. As the great Ludvig Holberg spelled out for the Englishman, the state’s primary purpose was peace and security, not moral uplift (Olden Jørgensen), a point re-inforced by Jens Schelderup Schneedorff (Tamm). In this perspective Denmark’s absolute monarchy could be presented as modern and progressive, having left behind traditional moralised and moralising structures of authority. This line of argument had obvious and important religious targets in both Church and State, as demonstrated in a famous confrontation between Thomasius himself and the Danish court preacher Hector Gottfried Masius (Olden Jørgensen), but that is a topic too extensive for this volume.

The idea of civil society as a purely conventional means of seeking peace and security in a fractious world was of course well suited for early-modern polities that were conglomerates of several very different peoples, such as the Danish empire. For as Colin Kidd points out, there were no expectations in early-modern Europe that political communities had to be based on ethnic uniformity and integrity. In hindsight we might say that in a Pufendorffian perspective ethnicity and nationality are similar to transcendent religion and metaphysics in their assertion of a privileged ground of justification that stands outside of the mere flow of events. For the Pufendorffian, all of these are sources of the very opposite of the political state’s purpose, namely peace.

At the same time, Pufendorf had opened up a historical perspective on society, law and politics. If these normative structures are conventional responses to the need for peace, then they are to be understood in their particular circumstances and, what is more, the account of them – their history – becomes a tool for the rhetoric to justify them and secure them. In this regard, too, Holberg initiates a modernisation of Danish historiography in both theory and prac-

tice with his major national and dynastic histories. Much of the historical work that ensued was concerned with patriotism but, as mentioned earlier, a patriotism focused on the institutional apparatus that tied together the conglomerate state and which was personified in the official person of the monarch. This form of patriotism – common in early-modern Europe – was obviously particularly well suited to a polity without ethnic or political uniformity. In addition, on a Pufendorfan understanding of a state such as Denmark, patriotism could be seen as an Ersatz public morality much more serviceable for civic peace than the higher grounds clamoured for by religionists. It is therefore hardly surprising that there was an ongoing debate in eighteenth-century Denmark about the nature and requirements of patriotism (Olden-Jørgensen, Feldbæk).

The exploration of forces that secure the cohesiveness of civil society did, however, go much beyond patriotism among thinkers concerned with the nature of the Danish state. Christian Thomasius, Pufendorf's greatest disciple, had put forward sophisticated ideas of how mores, fashion and conventional forms of behaviour function to stabilise society; they are in effect a social contract by other means. This line of argument was forcefully propagated in the Danish realm by an array of very different thinkers, such as Christoph Heinrich Amthor (Eskildsen), Holberg (Eskildsen, Laursen), Otto Thott and Bolle Willem Luxdorff (Laursen). But Thomasius's argument was given an important twist. Whereas Thomasius himself had tended to focus specifically on French fashion as normative, Amthor saw fashion as the expression of local custom, thus further strengthening the historical particularism that we have noted earlier and that is integral to Pufendorf's conventionalist philosophy. Much more important and effective in public debate was, however, Holberg's pursuit of this programme in his plays and much of his essayistic oeuvre where he analysed an astounding ensemble of personae and offices from different parts of the Danish conglomerate state. Nobody before or since has done more to capture the question of identities in a state such as Denmark (Eskildsen). Against this background, the popular rejection of the short-lived Prime Minister Johann Friedrich Struensee's drastic Enlightenment reform programme acquires a deeper ideological dimension; for here was a man who – perhaps on the basis of Cynic philosophical ideas – simply rejected the importance of conventional forms altogether (Laursen).

If the conglomerate Danish state with its absolutist form of government in the first half of the eighteenth century could be analysed by its leading thinkers as perfectly intelligible in Pufendorbian and Thomasian terms, it was also well prepared for receiving the comparative and historical approach of Montesquieu. True, Holberg rejected the Frenchman's climatic theory as swiftly as he had done away with all the other attempts to anchor politics in something over and above its own sphere, which was the concern with security and the business of day-to-day life. But Holberg appreciated the historical interpretation of *The Spirit of Laws*. The latter was also pursued by Peder Kofod Ancher who elaborated the importance of national particularity, stressing how the North had remained independent of Roman and German law, and how the special path of Denmark had led to a regime that was absolute without being despotic (Tamm).

This new historicism was significantly boosted through the work of Paul-Henri Mallet who adapted his Genevan republicanism to a theory of Danish monarchy as rooted in a distinctively Nordic aboriginal liberty. Secure outside the reach of Rome, Nordic peasantry had enjoyed a singular liberty which they eventually planted in the slavish South as opportunity arose (Kidd; Horstbøll). Monarchs were elective; government was by consent, as also Peter Frederik Suhm insisted. But all was lost to feudalism, from which only strong monarchy provided safety. With its emphasis on peasant freedom as the justifying objective, this was a line of argument with at least ambivalent political implications. However, much the most original Danish thinker in this vein, Tyge Rothe, saw that while peasant servitude must be condemned, a modern society could not be based upon small landholders. Having re-told the story of Nordic liberty in the brilliant terms provided by Book III of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Rothe stressed the structural importance of trade between country and town and suggested that in a country such as Denmark this could only be effective if an agrarian capitalism was encouraged (Horstbøll). Concern with the distinctive problems of Denmark could hardly have led to a more un-Danish argument.

The importance of Pufendorbian and Thomasian themes in the major Danish attempts at self-understanding in the first half of the eighteenth century is perhaps unique in Europe. Even so, it was not by any means unrivalled; in fact, the philosophy of Christian Wolff was soon a major

intellectual factor on many fronts, especially in the academic world. It is striking, however, that several Danish thinkers were particularly concerned to bring about the unlikely marriage of Wolffianism and historicism. The most obvious explanation is that the need for a historical approach already had set down deep roots due to the earlier impact first of Pufendorf and Thomasius, then of Montesquieu. Thus the previously mentioned legal historian Kofod Ancher saw himself as a student of Wolff while at the same time pursuing his historical inspirations from Montesquieu. The key was the common Enlightenment idea that there is a universal human nature – to be deduced with Wolffian precision – but that this humanity expresses itself under such different circumstances through time and across space that it has to be studied comparatively. This was worked out with particular originality by the greatest of the Danish Wolffians, Jens Kraft, once he took up Joseph-François Lafitau's extraordinary work on indigenous Americans. But while Lafitau's overriding concern was, through a comparative study of American with ancient civilization, to show how a basically static humanity had spread across the world from the original couple while preserving the kernel of true religion, Kraft was a thorough natural historian. For the Dane had read Fontenelle and argued that while human nature was universal, it was progressive and could be studied by the comparative method without presupposing fanciful diffusionist ideas pressed by confessional religion (Aarsleff).

While the philosophical basis might shift, the Danish interest in historical anthropology persisted, especially the concern to explain the special path of Nordic freedom. This got a new and dramatic political twist with the – ultimately successful (1788) – campaign to abolish the adscription (serfdom) of the peasants. In one of the most remarkable public relations coups of the absolutist Enlightenment, the government succeeded in marshalling the old idea of the king as the true protector of the ancient liberty of the peasant and in closely associating this with the rhetoric of patriotism. If the king was to be the restorer of liberty, he had to be supported by the patriotic loyalty of his subjects. This led to a wave of patriotic activities, mainly the formation of patriotic societies for anything from agricultural improvement to the support of widows. While this line of argument was good government policy, it also opened the way for a rather more modern tenor in the argument about the kind of liberty that was being protected and restored, namely a discernibly individualistic tendency so that the old language about

patriotism, peace and security now was joined by personal freedom. In this connection it is remarkable that the Danish debate already as a matter of course employed the locution of human rights (*menneskerettigheder*) (Bregnsbo).

This pursuit of patriotism as the epitome of peace, safety and freedom was seen and cultivated as the highest form of civic virtue and became a distinctive and long lasting feature of the late absolutist Enlightenment in Denmark (Lundgreen-Nielsen). In its very structure it was of course “non-political” in the sense that it did not concern itself with the sovereign rights of the monarch. Yet the very fact that such a debate was undertaken with all the attendant efforts to create new social institutions contributed significantly to the building up a social sphere in which public opinion was crucial (Munck), and this was a legacy of great importance for the political changes of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth-century debates about the nature and direction of the state of Denmark, the importance of the comparative historical approach played an absolutely crucial role, as we have seen. This was the main way in which the participants in these debates could achieve some degree of external perspective on their place in the world. However, as the century wore on, this received an important supplement in the form of outside observation by contemporaries. In a literature of travel, ethnography, reports of oral testimony and other genres, subjects of the Danish realm, including many who were not “ethnic” Danes, complicated the self-perception of the latter through their accounts of the far flung peoples of the realm (Harbsmeier). This growing new literature had important ties to the historical anthropology of the North that had been central to Danish Enlightenment thinking.

In a very short span of time, the developments in the late Enlightenment’s political discourse were themselves to be transformed out of all recognition. Patriotism became nationalistic, and nationalism became ethnically defined, especially as defeat in war and loss of major parts of the realm occurred. At the same time, the idea of liberty as individual freedom based on productive landholding – however mythical, perhaps exactly because mythical – was transformed into dreamy notions of spiritual freedom through self cultivation, but a self that was collectivized by an ideal of community as the only authentic means of evoking

self-realisation. Ultimately this was a religious matter. And once ethnic nationalism and spiritual liberation were coupled with a distinctively folkish evangelical Christianity, the foundations were laid for a national historiography with little appreciation of the complexities exhibited by the Danish realm and its multiple attempts at self-understanding in the Enlightenment. This volume does not pretend to offer more than a series of glimpses of these complexities, especially since we deliberately have shied away from religious developments as being too much for the present occasion. However, Enlightenment in glimpses does not seem inappropriate for its Danish version.

1. Northern Antiquity: The Ethnology of Liberty in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Colin Kidd

Historians of ideas have generally paid scant attention to the ethnological dimension of eighteenth-century political thought. While it is a historiographical commonplace that a kind of speculative anthropology underpinned many central features of eighteenth-century political thought, including contractarianism and stadialism, there has been a reluctance on the part of historians to acknowledge that ethnology – that is, knowledge about ethnicities and races – had any significant part to play in political thought. This is eminently understandable. For it is conventionally understood that the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed a marked disjunction in political discourse, with the displacement of universal humanistic values by dark particularisms, most obviously romantic nationalism and scientific racialism.³ Both of these new strains of discourse accorded a central role to ethnic factors in political analysis and argument. By contrast, so most historians – including this one – believe, the pre-modern world had been largely devoid of nationalist and racialist doctrines; its political thought had focussed upon laws and institutions rather than peoples; and where peoples had been the subject of political inquiry it was in order that they might yield up universal truths about humanity and the political condition.⁴

Prior to the late eighteenth century ethnicity was largely construed as a theological problem, not as a political concern. The principal matter of ethnicity was to be found in chapters ten and eleven of Genesis. These chapters related the peopling of the world by the various descendants of Noah after the universal Flood and the confusion of languages at Babel. Here, orthodox readers of scripture from both Catholic and Protestant confessions believed, was the crucial unimpeachable evidence required for making sense of the world's peoples, cultures and languages. There was some scope for intellectual debate within the parameters of confessional orthodoxy. How many languages had been created at Babel? How were the various races and nations

of the world related through Noah's sons Ham, Shem and Japhet? By the same token, the boundaries of early modern ethnology marked the frontiers of permitted religious speculation. In particular, polygenist suggestions that all the races of the world might stem from a plurality of racial ancestors and might not, therefore, share a common descent from Noah – or ultimately from Adam – were deemed heretical, and, brought forth the anathemas of theologians. Themes of ethnicity, race, culture and language belonged to a realm of discourse adjacent to theology and at a considerable remove from politics. The higher profile enjoyed by these themes within a para-theological sphere contributed, in part, to the limited salience of ethnicity – at least relative to modern expectations – within political analysis and debate.⁵

The traditional concerns of the orthodox with the unity of mankind persisted into the Enlightenment. Indeed, the Enlightenment's attempts to formulate a robust science of society were predicated upon basic uniformities in human nature across races, continents and centuries. Circumstances – environmental, material, and institutional – might change, and with them manners. But the basic stuff of humanity remained the same. Otherwise the comparative method and the conjectural approach to history would become impossibilities; and moral philosophy itself would amount to a fool's errand. The extension of the experimental method from the natural sciences to the human sciences – what has been called the Enlightenment Project – rested upon the underlying unity of human nature. Thus, it was not only conservative clerics who strove to rebut the polygenist heresy associated with the mid-seventeenth-century Biblical critic Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676); so too did the conventional mainstream of the moderate Enlightenment.⁶ Only on the fringes of the Enlightenment – among outspoken critics of priestcraft and Biblical authority such as Voltaire – did polygenesis – the idea of multiple creations of distinct races – gain intellectual purchase. According to Michèle Duchet in his history of eighteenth-century French anthropology, Buffon's scheme of monogenesis was more typical of the French Enlightenment than Voltairean polygenesis.⁷ Similarly, when the Scottish thinker Lord Kames (1696-1782) appeared to toy with a polygenist anthropology, his speculations were drowned out by a chorus of complaint within the Scottish Enlightenment.⁸

Ethnicity was invisible in other ways. Silence reigned in eighteenth-century political thought about the lack of congruence between ethnici-

ties and allegiances in the European states system. Commentators did not judge the inter-state transfers of populations and territories at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 according to benchmarks of ethnic coherence or by the lights of nationhood. On the other hand, eighteenth-century political theorists did ponder the geographical limits of effective self-government: how big might a republic be before its very size undermined its constitution? Monarchy, conventional wisdom held, was the only form of government capable of effective rule over imperial-sized territories. Some critics did challenge this view. Montesquieu, for instance, was alert to the possibilities inherent within *républiques fédératives* of reconciling self-government with territorial expanse, while Hume questioned received assumptions regarding the politics of extent.⁹ Nevertheless, there was no parallel debate about the ethnic limits of effective governance. Similarly, political commentators did worry about the overconcentration of political power in large, expansive empires; but the issues at stake largely concerned the balance of power, not the cultural and ethnic incoherence of polyethnic, multicultural empire. The ethnic integrity of political communities was not on the agenda of political discussion.

Of course, character stood at the heart of the classical tradition of political thought. Civic humanists or classical republicans obsessed over the character, manners or virtue required of peoples who embarked on the risky enterprise of republican self-rule. Yet this obsession rarely manifested itself in an interest in the ethnic provenance of a people's character, morals or virtue. The histories of the republics of classical antiquity opened a valued window onto the moral and political snares – timeless, non-culturally specific and intrinsic to human nature – which dogged all attempts at self-governance. In his 'Discourses upon Tacitus' – which were translated into French in 1742, and republished again in France in 1749 and twice in 1751¹⁰ – Thomas Gordon (d.1750), a radical whig journalist and historian, argued that ancient communities had experienced drastic internal transformations of character, culture and morality. A declension in virtue or morality could render a people – say the Athenians, the Spartans or the Romans – almost unrecognisable to its ancestors, notwithstanding underlying continuities in culture and ethnicity. For instance, Gordon contrasted the Athenians and Spartans of later centuries with those communities in the virtuous eras of Solon and Lycurgus, contending that successor generations 'seemed afterwards another race of men, though their blood and climate were still

the same.' The same significant disjunction could be observed, Gordon claimed, in the case of the Romans: 'Between the Roman people under the commonwealth, and the Roman people under the dominion of the emperors, the difference was as great as between different nations, and they only resembled each other in language and dress. They were indeed as different, or rather as opposite, as men uncorrupted and free are to debauched slaves.'¹¹ Few early modern interpreters read the classics for the illumination they cast upon the ethnic particularities of Greek and Roman political cultures; rather the classics were valued for the insight they afforded into the human predicament and the problems of government in general.

Nevertheless, the message of Tacitus's *Germania* pointed in another direction, and significantly qualified the conventional non-ethnocentric humanistic legacy of the classics. Written in 98 A.D. Tacitus's *Germania* was not only a work of ethnography which traced the culture and manners of the Germanic peoples beyond the northern bounds of the Roman Empire; it also made a point of contrasting the vigorous, libertarian way of life enjoyed by the Germans with the declension of post-republican Rome. Indeed, Howard Weinbrot has argued that the *Germania* transformed the reputation of the cynical historian of Roman politics, turning 'the constitutional historian of the declining European South' into 'the constitutional ethnographer of the growing European North.'¹² The *Germania* was one of the foundational texts of early modern European political culture, and it retained this status throughout the eighteenth century.¹³ Its influence in the early modern Germanic world is not difficult to explain, lauding as it did the hardy, freedom-loving culture of the ancient ancestors of the German people.¹⁴ However, the *Germania* was equally central to the political cultures of eighteenth-century Britain and France. According to the English whig cleric and historian Samuel Squire (c.1714-66) 'so great is the conformity, so exact the resemblance which has been remarked between the customs, laws, and modes of governing in use amongst the several nations...however distinguished from each other by different names, that whatever is affirmed by the ancients of Germany in general, may with equal truth be applied to each particular state of it'.¹⁵ Similarly, Edward Gibbon took the view that the 'most civilised nations of modern Europe issued from the woods of Germany, and in the rude institutions of those barbarians we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners.'¹⁶

In both England and France antiquaries traced the origins of their ancestors – the Saxons and the Franks – and, significantly, the origins of their political institutions, back to the *Germania*. Indeed, Samuel Kliger argued that it was because the *Germania* ‘embodied’ a ‘full description’ of Germanic institutions, that it became ‘the most important text in the Gothic tradition in England.’¹⁷ Catherine Volpilhac-Augier has explored the central role played by the *Germania* in eighteenth-century French political culture in the debates between Germanists and Romanists, that is between broad schools of historico-political interpretation of the French state as either a Germanic constitution which took its rise in the customs of the Franks or as a monarchy which – despite the arrival of the Franks – preserved the ancient authority of Roman imperial majesty. The *Germania* – precisely because it offered a full description of the government of the ancient Germans – became the central textual evidence for those French political commentators who believed that there had been a decisive Germanic discontinuity in the ancient history of late Roman Gaul.¹⁸ These parallel national cults of the *Germania* drew strength from the attractive picture the text provided, so its champions claimed, of free proto-Anglo-Saxons and proto-Franks¹⁹ governed not by absolute monarchies but by mixed constitutions in which the power of the monarch was limited. In England the ancient Germanic pedigree of the English nation and its institutions bolstered the case for Whiggish Revolution principles, justifying the enforced abdication of James II in 1688; in France it boosted the arguments of those who argued that – whatever the apparent powers of the French monarchy since the era of Louis XIV – kings of France were bound by an ancient constitution to govern through intermediaries, whether the *noblesse d’épée* or the parlements. These bodies lay at the heart of the two distinct anti-absolutist discourses of eighteenth-century France, which furthered respectively the claims of the grand nobility of the sword and the judicially-robed nobility of the bench; yet as Franklin Ford noted, ‘both the robe and the sword were committed to the Germanic theory of French history’. The history of the Franks was central to political contestation in eighteenth-century France, with Ford counting no fewer than twenty-seven works on the Merovingian period alone published in France between 1715 and 1748.²⁰

It was the proto-Frankish spin imparted to Tacitus’s account of the ancient Germans which made the *Germania* such a canonical text within eighteenth-century French political culture. In 1753 a volume was pub-

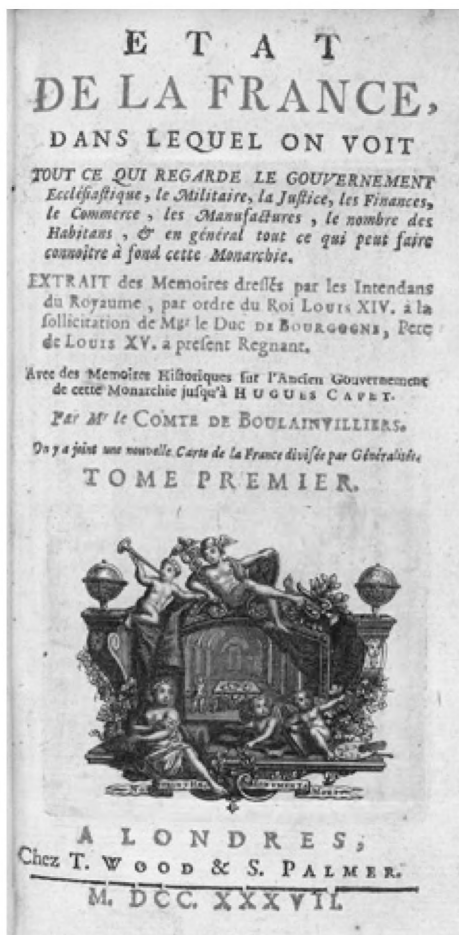
lished in Paris which combined a French translation of the *Germania* with an edition of *Les mœurs et coutumes des François, dans les premiers tems de la monarchie* (1712) by the Abbé Louis Legendre (1655-1733). As Legendre's text made clear, the Franks were a Germanic people, and had been governed by institutions similar to those described by Tacitus in the *Germania*.²¹ The Abbé Rene Aubert de Vertot (1655-1735), one of the most prolific and popular historians operating in eighteenth-century France, published a paper in the proceedings of the Académie des belles-lettres entitled 'Parallèle des mœurs des François avec celles des Germains', which noted close similarities between the manners of the Germans, as described by Tacitus, and those of the Franks described by Gregory of Tours.²² In his 'Remarques sur la Germanie de Tacite', the Abbé Jean Philippe Rene de la Bléterie (1696-1772) noted that while there had been undoubted variations in the forms of government found among the ancient Germanic peoples, in general liberty had prevailed in the German world, with the power of kings constrained, for the most part, within narrow bounds. In particular, the ancient kings of the Franks, La Bléterie claimed, had been limited monarchs of this sort.²³

Tacitus's *Germania* was not the only ancient text to inspire interest in the Gothic peoples. The *Getica* or *De Getarum sive Gothorum origine* of the Gothic historian Jordanes, written in 551 A.D. retailed the history of the Gothic peoples. In particular, Jordanes's famous description of Scandza as the *officina gentium*, the storehouse of the Gothic nations, became a common trope of early modern European historiography, with several editions appearing between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries. It served as a check upon national solipsism, reminding historians that the pedigree of parliamentary institutions was to be found Continent-wide in the pan-European wanderings and settlements of the Goths. In addition, the common reception of Tacitus and Jordanes as variant accounts of the same ethnic matter led to some perplexity and vigorous debate over the ethnogenesis of the Germanic or Gothic peoples, but did nothing to undermine the widespread recognition that in these texts was to be found the origins and ancient liberties of the peoples who now comprised the nations of western Europe.

Under the twin inspirations of Tacitus and Jordanes, eighteenth-century England and France witnessed remarkably similar cults of the an-

cient barbarian north. England's Whiggish writers celebrated the wider Gothic heritage from which the English constitution had derived. In his *History of the High Court of Parliament* (1731) the English antiquary Thornhagh Gurdon (1663-1733) asserted that the 'original of the English government' was 'much after the manner of that brought into Germany by the Saxons, by the Franks into Gaul, the Visigoths into Spain'.²⁴ Medieval Europe, in John Oldmixon's vision, had been a patchwork of free Gothic nations: 'The great swarms of people that came out of the North, overran the Roman Empire, and settled themselves in Italy, Spain, Africa, France and England' had controlled their kings, being ruled by the kings' '*concilia magna*, or parliaments, without whose consent no laws were enacted, or scarce anything of importance done.'²⁵

French political culture shared some of the same Gothicist traits. The leading champion of the *thèse nobiliaire* was Henri de Boulainvilliers, comte de Saint-Saire (1658-1722).²⁶ Boulainvilliers's posthumously published works on Frankish history were central to French political debate during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and were also read in England. Indeed, a French edition of his *Histoire des anciens parlements de France* was published in London in 1737. After all, English Whigs and French constitutionalists alike seemed to draw upon the same matter of northern antiquity, and there were also English editions of the work of Boulainvilliers's sixteenth-century Germanist predecessor, François Hotman. Indeed, Boulainvilliers, like most eighteenth-century Gothicists, had broad pan-European sympathies, and set the ancient Frankish constitution within a wider European context of Gothic liberties. Parliamentary institutions could be found under different names within the several barbarian kingdoms which had arisen in Europe upon the demise of the Roman Empire. Wherever one looked in early medieval European history, there were national assemblies: 'La même institution se trouve par tout, quoique que sous de noms differens, comme ceux de Diètes en Allemagne et en Pologne; de Parlements en Angleterre; d'Etats en France, en Suede et Dannemarc; de Cortès en Arragon, en Portugal et même en Castille'. The pedigree of these various parliamentary institutions Boulainvilliers ascribed to the characteristics of the barbarian peoples, who had come from lands outside the Empire, either 'du fond du Nord, ou des extremités de la Scythie'. In eighteenth-century ethnology, as it happened, Goths and Scythians were overlapping categories of ethnic classification. Boulain-



The title page of Henri de Boulainvilliers *Etat de la France* (London 1737).

villiers conceded that these barbarian peoples had lacked the sophisticated political wisdom of the ancient Greeks; yet, despite their unphilosophical simplicity, they had nonetheless managed to come up with a practical solution to their political needs. They required monarchs to lead them in battle, but, equally, they had been aware of the inconveniences which might ensue from unconstrained monarchical authority, and had established 'assemblées communes' to circumscribe the authority of their kings. Such, of course, had been the case of the ancient Franks. Under the ancient Frankish constitution kings had ruled with the consent of the assemblées générales of the Champ de Mars or the Champ de Mai.²⁷

In a celebrated passage of his *Lettres persanes* Montesquieu traced the origins of Europe's distinctive pattern of government to the various northern nations which had burst out of their Nordic homeland and established barbarian kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman Empire. What characterised these peoples was their libertarian manners: 'Ces peuples étaient libres; et ils bornaient si fort l'autorité de leurs rois, qu'ils n'étaient proprement que des chefs ou des généraux'. Thus, although founded upon force, the kingdoms of medieval Europe had not been subjected to the yoke of despotic conquerors. Instead these freedom-loving northern nations had established limited monarchy as the basic form of government in post-Roman Europe: 'les peuples du nord, libres dans leur pays, s'emparant des provinces romaines, ne donnèrent point à leurs chefs une grande autorité. Quelques-uns même de ces peuples, comme les Vandales en Afrique, les Goths en Espagne, déposaient leurs rois dès qu'ils n'en étaient pas satisfaits: et, chez les autres, l'autorité du prince était bornée de milles manières différentes: un grand nombre de seigneurs la partageaient avec lui; les guerres n'étaient entreprises que de leur consentement: les dépouilles étaient partagées entre le chef et les soldats; aucun impôt en faveur du prince; les lois étaient faites dans les assemblées de la nation.' Limitations upon monarchy, Montesquieu contended, constituted 'le principe fondamental' of the many states which the northern peoples set up across Europe.²⁸

However, in Britain this pan-European identification with the Goths took on a distinctive patriotic colouring. Britons were acutely conscious that they alone of the Gothic kingdoms of medieval Europe preserved intact their constitutional heritage. The British parliament created by the Anglo-Scottish parliamentary union of 1707 was a continuation of the medieval English parliament – and technically speaking also embodied the liberties of the medieval Scottish parliament – while the English Protestant colonists of Ireland perpetuated the liberties of the medieval Irish parliament. Yet elsewhere in Europe Gothic constitutions had yielded in recent centuries to the nascent powers of fiscal-military despotisms. Britons celebrated their avoidance of such a fate, though an awareness of British exceptionalism was often tinged with a keen sense of anxiety that Britain's ancient Gothic constitution might well be the next to fall. Nevertheless there was a widespread realisation that the recent historical trajectory of Britain's Gothic inheritance diverged widely from that of other kingdoms. In 1698 the Irish

patriot William Molyneux (1656-98) argued that parliamentary government, 'once so universal all over Europe, is now almost vanished from amongst the nations thereof. Our king's dominions are the only supporters of this noble Gothic constitution, save only what little remains may be found thereof in Poland.'²⁹ Similarly, over seventy years later, the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* noted that the 'mixed form of government' bequeathed to medieval Europe by the Goths was 'now driven almost out of Europe, in some parts of which we can hardly find the shadow of liberty left, and in many there is no more than the name of it remaining. France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark and part of Germany, were all, an age or two ago, limited monarchies, governed by princes...But now all their valuable rights are swallowed up by the arbitrary power of their princes: whilst we in Great Britain have happily preserved this noble and ancient Gothic constitution, which all our neighbours once enjoyed.'³⁰

There were other national variations, as one might expect, in the eighteenth-century cult of northern antiquity. In France it took on the colouring of caste politics, the noblesse insisting upon a distinctive ethnic genealogy which distinguished the aristocracy and its privileges from the conquered Gallo-Roman peasantry of the third estate. In England, while there was a major political and legal debate between whigs and tory-royalists over the question of whether the Norman Conquest of 1066 amounted to a significant discontinuity in the history of England's parliament and common law,³¹ this debate did not acquire the caste overtones of the French debate between Germanists and Romanists. In England whigs and tories both avoided the caste implications of the Norman Conquest, and the case against a Norman aristocracy was confined to the radical fringes of political culture where England's prevailing political order was denounced as a Norman Yoke imposed upon the freedom-loving peasantry of Anglo-Saxon England.³² However, one should not exaggerate these local contrasts in the cult of northern antiquity. What now seems so remarkable is that – in spite of the huge differences in political and social structure between eighteenth-century Britain and France – the cult of the Gothic past should enrapture the literati of both cultures in so very similar ways.

Many of the most important issues raised by the cult of northern antiquity surface in one of its most influential texts, Paul-Henri Mallet's *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarck* (Copenhagen, 1755). Mallet

(1730-1807) was born in Geneva and came to Copenhagen in 1752 as Professor of Belles-Lettres. Absolutist Denmark had since the 1690s enjoyed a bad press, not only among English speakers where its contemporary rottenness had been exposed by Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*,³³ but also in the francophone Enlightenment. Molesworth's black analysis of the Danish descent into despotism had not only gone through various English editions, but had also enjoyed a similar success in French translation. In France as well as England, Denmark had become a by-word for modern despotism. The Danes needed an objective foreign-born historian to put the record straight, ideally in the language of the Enlightenment. Frederick V's chief ministers Johann Bernstorff (1712-72) and Adam Moltke (1710-92) recruited Mallet for this task in the hope that he might present a more nuanced version of Denmark's history to francophone Europe. However, Mallet's *Histoire de Dannemarc* was preceded by a book-length *Introduction* (1755) which explored the manners of the ancient freedom-loving peoples of northern Europe. Mallet's *Introduction* was also followed the next year by a companion volume, *Monumens de la mythologie et de la poésie des Celtes et particulièrement des anciens Scandinaves: pour servir de supplément et de preuves à l'Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc*, in which he published French translations of the Icelandic Edda and various other pieces of Nordic literature. Mallet enjoyed a tremendous success with the *Introduction*, and it, along with its supplement, the *Monumens*, went through further French editions in 1763 and 1787.³⁴ Moreover, Mallet's *Introduction* and *Monumens* were published in a two-volume English translation by the antiquary Thomas Percy (1729-1811) in 1770 under the title *Northern Antiquities*.

In certain ways Mallet's account of northern antiquity in the *Introduction* ran along conventional lines. Most obviously, Tacitus's *Germania* featured prominently in his treatment of the political culture of the ancient north. Tacitus's account of the institutions and freedom-loving manners of the Germans contained, so Mallet wrote, 'toutes les notions principales du gouvernement des anciens Scythes et Celtes'.³⁵ However, Mallet's study of the Edda brought a new dimension to his appreciation of Tacitus. For the Icelandic sagas, so Mallet believed, provided historic corroborating evidence to confirm the hitherto unique ethnographic materials found in the *Germania*. Mallet also became involved in the ongoing antiquarian debate over the origins of the Goths. This debate had originated with the claims of the Swedish antiquary and polymath,

Olaus Rudbeck, in his *Atlantica* (1679-1702), that Gotland had been the Atlantis of the ancients and that all the peoples descended of Japhet had come from ancient Scandinavia. While many antiquaries scoffed at the outrageous claims made by Rudbeck, there was a more serious issue, which drew the attention of figures as eminent as Bishop Edward Stillingfleet (1635-99), Montesquieu, and the poet Thomas Gray (1716-71), about the original homeland of the Goths.³⁶ Some scholars argued that Jordanes had committed a major blunder in confusing the Goths and the Getes, while others, such as the late seventeenth-century English antiquary Robert Sheringham (c.1604-78), argued that the Goths and Getes had indeed been one people.³⁷ Had the Goths come from Scandinavia, as Montesquieu believed, or from Germany itself, or perhaps ultimately from the Scythian regions of west-central Asia? Mallet adopted the third position, arguing that the Getes, an ancient tribe associated with the area around the Black and Caspian Seas were 'sans doute les ancêtres de ceux qui s'établirent ensuite dans le Nord.'³⁸

However, Mallet also touched on other issues which help to parse the eighteenth-century ethnology of liberty. Like other commentators on the libertarian North Mallet argued for the ethnic provenance of European liberties and the institutions in which they were enshrined. But why were the northern peoples different? Did this mean that race was an independent factor in political analysis? Did it carry the further implication that the world was peopled by a plurality of races, each with its own peculiar characteristics? Mallet's ethnological beliefs drew heavily upon Montesquieu's theories of climate and physiology. The distinguishing characteristics of the northern peoples were not the product of innate or aboriginal racial difference, suggested Montesquieu and Mallet; rather they were the product of climatic conditions which had served to invigorate the spirit of the northern peoples. In book xiv of *De l'esprit des lois* Montesquieu set out the physiological mechanics which he believed underpinned significant emotional and moral differences between peoples. Cold air, Montesquieu argued, affected the extremities of the external fibres of the body, rendering them more elastic, which in turn speeded up the blood's return from the extremities of the body to the heart. In addition, cold air also contracted the fibres, as a result also increasing their force. As a result, cold air produced a superiority of strength in the body which, in turn, inspired boldness and courage in the inhabitants of cold regions. The opposite trends took effect in warmer regions.³⁹ Although a disciple of Montesquieu's

in these matters, Mallet nevertheless attempted to answer the irritating puzzle which confounded a straightforward environmentalist explanation of Nordic characteristics. If the principal causes of the ancient libertarian manners of Scandinavia had been the climate, why had the effect of the cold climate not persisted into the present? There were two elements to Mallet's answer. In the first place, Mallet argued that in primitive times manners were the direct result of the climate, but as history unfolded and peoples became less isolated and borrowed more from one another, moral causes complicated and took over from physical causes in determining manners and customs: 'une nation ne cède aveuglement à l'influence du climat que dans le tems de son enfance.' In addition, Mallet also speculated that Europe had been colder in antiquity than it was in modern times. Did not the ancients describe regions such as Germany, Thrace and Pannonia as snow-covered for the majority of the year? Similarly, there were accounts in the ancients of the Loire and Rhone regularly freezing over, and even of the Tiber freezing.⁴⁰

A deeper question, one of the central preoccupations of the eighteenth-century ethnology of liberty, concerned the fundamental contrasts in political life which differentiated the experiences of Europe and Asia. Why were these adjacent continents so markedly different in the underlying patterns of their forms of government? Mallet – like other Gothacists, such as Boulainvilliers – celebrated the Gothic forms of government bequeathed to the various nations of Europe as a pan-continental legacy which served to distinguish European governments – however corrupted in their ancient constitutions – from the dead hand of Asiatic despotism. The manners and spirit of the ancient barbarians of northern Europe had fostered an enduring aversion across Europe to slavery and tyranny. But why did the history of Asia follow such a strikingly different pattern? For, as Mallet noted, the peoples of the adjacent continent had succumbed for most of their history to absolutism: 'tandis qu'à côté d'eux, depuis des tems presque aussi reculés, on voit la plupart des nations de l'Asie, soumises à des maîtres absolus'.⁴¹

It has become a standard assumption in the decades since the late Edward Said began his unmasking of the European Orientalist tradition to ascribe such distinctions to a deep inlaid European caricature of Oriental otherness, whether religious, racist, or cultural. Certainly, Mallet made no attempt to refine his picture of Asiatic despotism, but pre-

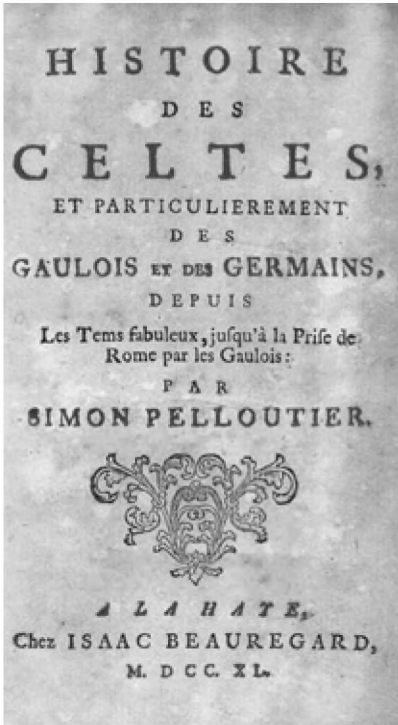
sented it in very stark terms as the alien antithesis of European liberty, a convenient foil for his account of European exceptionalism. Indeed, Oriental despotism became one of the clichés of eighteenth-century political discourse. Yet the differences between Asiatic government and those of Europe also provoked some insightful lines of analysis which operated at some remove from crude Eurocentric prejudice. Montesquieu, for example, in book XVII of *De l'esprit des lois* advanced a geographical explanation of the political contrasts he perceived between the governments of Europe and Asia. Whereas the natural features of the European continent contributed towards the creation of a cluster of states of moderate extent, the great plains of Asia rendered it suitable for imperial government. Thus, while Montesquieu's explanation for the contrast between Asia and Europe, served to qualify the Nordic Gothicism which can be found elsewhere in his work, it also distanced his interpretation of Asiatic despotism from racialism.

However, there was also a neglected current of eighteenth-century thought which ran decidedly counter both to the standard Enlightenment contrast of East and West and to postmodern Orientalist assumptions about European attitudes to the Asiatic Other. Indeed, as John Pocock notes, during the Enlightenment commentators on historical geography treated the North as 'an elastic concept'. For Voltaire it stretched as far east as Siberia; on the other hand, the learned French antiquary and orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800) seemed to regard Scandinavia, in the words of Pocock, as 'a promontory of northern Asia'.⁴² Given this geographical imprecision, it is perhaps unsurprising that for some eighteenth-century antiquaries northern antiquity was part of a wider Eurasian sphere of libertarian manners and limited governments. Asia, it seemed, had not been a uniform scene of despotic desolation. The Tartar peoples had been different. Indeed, did the Tartars not hail from the North – albeit northern Asia? Moreover, were the manners of the Tartars not Goth-like in certain respects? The English legal antiquary James Ibbetson (1717-81) proposed a Eurasian approach to the history of the northern peoples: 'the Saxon on the shore of the Baltic was not to be distinguished from the Hun on the banks of the Araxes'. Ibbetson contended that 'the various tribes of barbarians that inhabited the northern regions of Europe and Asia were closely connected in their manners, customs, and institutions', perceiving that, although they differed in some minor respects, the same basic characteristics and forms of government were found among the north-

ern barbarians in both Europe and Asia.⁴³ The Scots orientalist John Richardson (1740/1-95) claimed in his *Dissertation on the Languages, Literature and Manners of the Eastern Nations* (1777) that there appeared 'every probability' that Tartary was 'the great *officina gentium*' and that the Gothic institutions which enshrined 'European' liberties were ultimately Asiatic in provenance. Richardson argued that the Tartars had held parliaments called 'kouriltai', which bore 'so near a resemblance to the diets of the Gothic nations', that he suspected that this might provide convincing support for the hypothesis of ancient Tartar settlements in Germany and Scandinavia. Among the 'several strong traces of Gothic government' which he detected among the Tartars, he perceived 'the ruder draughts of states general, of parliaments, of juries'. Similarly, Richardson found close resemblances to Gothic feudal practices in the customs of the Tartars, despite the fact that the pastoral and nomadic Tartars did not have settled land tenures. Indeed, the feudal system, which could still be found, for example, in the 'zayms' and 'timariots' of the Ottoman world, was, he contended, an eastern institution which had been transplanted to Europe and subsequently modified by the situation of a settled landed society.⁴⁴ This connection had also surfaced in the lectures on government delivered by Adam Smith at the University of Glasgow. According to student notes of his lectures Smith took the view that the Gothic constitutions of medieval Europe had taken their 'rise from the same Tartarian species of government'.⁴⁵ Along similar lines, French scholarship also refined traditional renderings of a monolithic Asia. In his massive five-volume *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols et des autres Tartares occidentaux* (1756-8) de Guignes subtly rejected the prevailing notion that the history of the Orient was an unedifying and tedious tableau depicting a lethargic political stasis. Rather, the Orient had its own energetic history of barbarian irruptions and 'grandes révolutions'. De Guignes too noted the existence of the couroultai, the 'assemblée générale' of the Mongols.⁴⁶ It was never made entirely clear in these accounts of Eurasian libertarianism whether the close resemblances between the manners of the Goths and Tartars were to be ascribed to ethnicity. Were the Goths and Tartars kindred nations descended from a common northern Eurasian stock? Or had the Goths and Tartars been exposed merely to the same sociological situation as primitive barbarian peoples under the regime of the same kind of cold climate? This ethnological ambiguity remains difficult to unravel.

However, other ethnological ambiguities which had clouded early eighteenth-century knowledge of ethnic relationships were to be decisively clarified in the wake of Mallet's work. Not that Mallet's *Introduction* solved the problem; rather it served to provoke a solution from Mallet's severest critic, his English translator Thomas Percy. While some antiquaries and historians traced the constitutional features of European government back to the libertarian characteristics and parliamentary bodies of the Gothic peoples who had conquered the Roman Empire; others, such as Mallet, contended that these same manners and institutions could also be found among the Celtic peoples of ancient Europe. Indeed, they went further arguing that Goths and Celts were together part of a common ethnic stock, a Celto-Scythian race from which most of the peoples of western Europe descended. Indeed, several eighteenth-century literati took the view that Caesar's *Gallic War* and Tacitus's *Germania* described similar manners and political institutions among the ancient Gauls and Germans, providing confirmation of the assumption that the Celts and Germans were one and the same people.

In his *Introduction* Mallet had drawn heavily upon, and openly acknowledged his debt to, Simon Pelloutier's *Histoire des Celtes, et particulièrement des Gaulois et des Germains* (1740), an influential work which went through further editions in 1750 and 1770-1. Pelloutier (1694-1757) came from an exiled Lyonese Huguenot family. Born in Leipzig, he ministered to the French church in Berlin and also served as librarian of the Berlin Academy. Pelloutier claimed that the ancient Celts had cherished the idea of liberty and had subscribed to the view that 'un peuple libre doit avoir le droit de choisir lui-même ses magistrats, et de leur prescrire les loix par lesquelles il veut être gouverné.' The authority of Celtic leaders had been limited by the powers of 'l'assemblée générale', to which these rulers were held accountable. Within such assemblies all issues had been decided 'à la pluralité des voix', a procedure which Pelloutier identified as 'le plus ferme rempart de la liberté des nations celtiques.' Not only did Pelloutier ascribe Germanic characteristics to the Celtic peoples: he believed, as the title of his work suggested, that the Germanic and the Gaulish peoples had both been parts of the wider Celtic race, and that German was a descendant of the ancient language of the Celts. Indeed, Pelloutier argued that antiquaries should not be misled by the multiple names attaching to ancient nations, noting 'divers noms que les peuples Celtes portoient autre-



The title page of Simon Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes* (La Haye 1740).

fois', including 'Scythes', 'Iberes', 'Gaulois' and 'Teutons'.⁴⁷ However strange Pelloutier's – or indeed Mallet's – ethnic categories seem to modern eyes, they were intellectually respectable in an age of Enlightenment, when ethnology remained indebted to seventeenth-century paradigms of ethnological and linguistic classification.

Between the early seventeenth century and the mid eighteenth century the dominant paradigm of ethnic classification was that formulated by the German geographer Philip Cluverius (1580-1622). In the Cluverian scheme – set out in his *Germania antiqua* (1616) – the Celts were closely related to the Germans. Europe, Cluverius argued, had been populated by two distinct ethnic groupings, the Sarmatians and the Celts. The Sarmatians were the people we would now describe as the Slavs, while the peoples listed by Cluverius under the rubric of 'Celts' included Gauls, Britons, Germans, Saxons and Scythians.⁴⁸ It became common to treat Germanic and Celtic peoples together as cognate elements in the ethnological history of Europe, as, for example, in the *An-*

tiquitates selectae septentrionales et celticae (Hanover, 1720) of the German antiquary Johann Georg Keyser (1693-1743).

However, it should also be noted that the early modern idea of the Celts differed considerably from our own. Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century philologists did not always identify the Gaelic peoples as part of the 'Celtic' group. The philological consensus in early modern Europe identified the Goidelic languages – Scots Gaelic and Irish – as distant tongues with no apparent connection to the other languages of Europe, including the Brythonic languages, such as Welsh and Breton (which modern linguistics now groups with Goidelic as the Celtic branch of the Indo-European language group). On the other hand, the Germanic languages were held to be closely related to Brythonic within the vast, baggy and loosely defined Ur-European category of Celtic, or sometimes Scythian, or indeed Celto-Scythian languages and peoples.⁴⁹ No less a figure than Leibniz took the view that the Brythonic languages, the closest surviving relatives of ancient Gaulish, were kin to the Teutonic.⁵⁰ Although such pioneering figures as George Buchanan (1506-82) and Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) did identify links between the p- and q- branches of the Celtic languages, most early modern philologists tended to group the Brythonic languages with the German as part of a Celto-Scythian supergroup, and tended to miss the connections between the Brythonic languages and the Goidelic languages which often tended to be excluded from the ranks of the Celto-Scythian languages.⁵¹ In other words, it was quite common for the Gaelic peoples to be excluded from the category of Celtic, while it was just as common for the German peoples and languages to be awarded that distinction. However, to complicate matters even further, there were some philologists, such as the German scholar Justus Georg Schottel (1612-72), who did include the Goidelic within the Celto-Scythian grouping, though without overturning the Celtic-Germanic connection.⁵²

Only with the publication in 1770 of Percy's subversive edition of Mallet's *Introduction* did a more familiar distinction between Celts and Germans become an established feature of the currency of literary and ethnological discussion, though the new system of classification had also surfaced in the *Vindiciae Celticae* (1754) of Johann Daniel Schoepflin (1694-1771).⁵³ Indeed, in the late 1750s and early 1760s, as Margaret Clunies Ross notes, Percy had often employed the formulation 'Celtic or Runic' when referring to Old Norse poetry.⁵⁴ Whereas Mallet's in-

fluent work had followed the conventional Cluverian line of Celto-German affinity, the editorial apparatus of Percy's English version – entitled *Northern Antiquities* – broke decidedly from conventional wisdom. Indeed Percy defiantly set out to challenge 'an opinion that has been a great source of mistake and confusion to many learned writers of the ancient history of Europe, viz., that of the ancient Gauls and Germans, the Britons and Saxons, to have been originally one and the same people; thus confounding the antiquities of the Gothic and Celtic nations.' Moreover, Percy insisted that the Celts and Germans had 'differed no less in their institutions and laws' than in their languages and mythologies. In particular, he noted that 'the Celtic nations' did 'not appear to have had that equal plan of liberty, which was the peculiar honour of all the Gothic tribes.'⁵⁵ Percy's disaggregation of the Celts and the Germans and his dismissal of the Celtic association with ancient freedom would lead in time to the new ethnic caricature that the Celts were a slavish people, unfit for liberty, and, ultimately, to the view that the Celts and the Germans were physically of different races. Indeed, within twenty years of the appearance of Percy's *Northern Antiquities* the Scottish antiquary John Pinkerton, a Celtophobe and polygenist in the Voltairean mould, had published *A dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians or Goths* (1787), an account of the ethnology and history of Europe centred on the innate racial distinction between freedom-loving Goths and lazy, slavish Celts.⁵⁶ Mallet's ethnology of liberty had been turned inside out and infused with racialist distinctions. However, even in Pinkerton's Scotland the old ethnological paradigm still had its adherents. 'Tacitus ascribes to the old rude Germans all the virtues which Ossian ascribes to his heroes, who were originally the same people, and had the same customs, religion and laws,' wrote the Reverend John Smith of Kilbrandon, whose *Galic Antiquities* (1780) complacently lumped together Scandinavian scalds and Celtic bards.

Mallet's *Introduction* also provided inspiration for another ideological turning point, of much greater significance. The gradual transition towards romantic nationalism was inaugurated during the third quarter of the eighteenth century under the influence of a group of mutually reinforcing texts, of which Mallet's *Introduction* and *Monumens* were of central importance. These texts also included James Macpherson's *Fragments* and his reconstituted Ossianic epics, supposedly from the third century A.D., *Fingal* and *Temora*; Rousseau's *Du contrat social*; the various works of Herder on language and culture; and the discussion

Northern Antiquities:
 OR,
 A DESCRIPTION
 OF THE
 Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws
 OF THE
 ANCIENT DANES,
 And other Northern Nations;
 Including those of
 Our own SAXON ANCESTORS.
 WITH
 A Translation of the EDDA, or
 System of RUNIC MYTHOLOGY,
 AND
 OTHER PIECES,
 From the Ancient ISLANDIC Tongue.
 In TWO VOLUMES.

TRANSLATED
 From Monf. MALLET's *Introduction a l' Histoire
 de Dannemarck, &c.*

With Additional NOTES
 By the English Translator,
 AND
 Goranson's Latin Version of the EDDA.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
 Printed for T. CARNAN and Co. at No. 65. in
 St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCLXX.

The title page of Thomas Percy *Northern Antiquities* (London 1770).

of the vigorous manners and ancient songs of the contemporary Balkan Morlacchi found in the *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (1774) of the enlightened Paduan Abbé Alberto Fortis (1741-1803), which was soon translated into English in 1778 as *Travels into Dalmatia*.⁵⁷ Together these works fostered a new sensibility – perhaps not yet properly romantic or nationalist – whose roots lay not in the classical world of Greco-Roman antiquity, but in the primitive, freedom-loving ethnic cultures of a lost Europe, the North broadly defined, though it stretched as far south as inland Dalmatia. Indeed, Fortis further complicates the eighteenth-century European notion of the Gothic North. He acknowledged not only the Gothic ancestry of northern Italy, but also the deeper Scythian roots shared by the Goths and the Slavic and Asiatic barbarians who had overrun Europe, some of whom had found their way into Dalmatia where they formed the stock of the proud, independent Morlacchi of the interior.⁵⁸ While the roles of Ossian and Herder in this process are widely recognised, the significance of Mallet has not achieved the same degree of historical recognition. Nevertheless a few historians have identified the central role played by Mallet's work in this major cultural shift towards a more explicitly ethnological treatment of politics. Most notably, Franco Venturi argued that Mallet's work stimulated a 'European wave of passionate interest in the mythology and poetry of Nordic peoples, a wave comparable only to the one raised contemporaneously by Ossian'. According to Venturi Mallet had found in the Icelandic Edda 'documents that permitted him to trace the origins of modern political and social liberty'.⁵⁹ Similarly, Anne-Marie Thiesse has also identified the importance of Mallet's work in assisting the emergence of cultural nationalism.⁶⁰ Mallet's work was pivotal in broadening the scope of the cult of northern antiquity to embrace literary and mythological themes, in addition to the traditional humanistic theme of virtuous liberty and the interest in ethnogenesis fostered by the quest to locate Jordanes's *officina gentium*. The Edda; the songs sung by the Morlacchi to the accompaniment of the one-stringed guzla, versions of which – including German reworkings of Morlackisch lyric poetry – Herder would include in his *Volkslieder* of 1778⁶¹; the various other folk songs from several cultures anthologised by Herder; and Macpherson's Ossianic epics – together these exhibited the richness of non-classical cultures which had slipped below the literary radar of an early modern Europe attuned to the universal standards of the classics.

Henceforth ethnology would no longer be quite so marginal to political argument and analysis, but would become for many its very essence. Indeed, as Han Vermeulen has shown, the very nomenclature of 'ethnology' was 'conceptualised' during the 1770s and 1780s at the same period as this new ethnic consciousness first surfaced in European patriotisms. The term 'ethnologia' first appeared, Vermeulen believes, in a Latin treatise published in Vienna in 1783, and rapidly found its way into the European vernaculars as 'ethnologie' in French in 1787 in Lausanne in francophone Switzerland and 'Ethnologie' in German in Halle in the same year. Vermeulen also notes that 'Ethnographie' was coined in Göttingen in 1771 and that 'Volkskunde' appeared in 1782.⁶² The new discourses of ethnology developed rapidly and soon came to assume a central place in European thought. Increasingly environmentalist explanations of national and ethnic differences yielded to theories of innate physical differences between peoples and races. By 1847 when a new edition appeared of Percy's translation of Mallet's *Introduction*, Percy's distinction between the Celts and the Germans had become a physical one. Mallet's new editor, I.A. Blackwell, insisted upon the psychological, anatomical, physiological and craniological differences between Celts and Germans.⁶³ No longer was the ethnic provenance of liberty the effect of climate upon peoples, but of ineradicable racial differences which marked the Germanic race from their racial inferiors.

The cult of the North remains difficult to parse, not least because it went through a series of overlapping phases between the humanistic reception of Tacitus and Jordanes in the Renaissance era and the emergence of Nordic racialism in the nineteenth century. Not only did the emphasis of septentrionalists shift significantly over this period from textual scholarship to anatomy and craniology, but the ethnic content of the Northern grouping of peoples also changed markedly. Whereas early modern observers identified the French, Spanish and Italian peoples as heirs of Gothic ancestors, by the nineteenth century there was a sharp distinction between the Nordic peoples of northern Europe and the Latins of the south. Nevertheless, the concept of the Northern peoples was always an unstable one, especially within its geographical remit, extending as it did during the eighteenth century to the Celts of western Europe and to the Scythians of the East, and even further beyond to the barbarian peoples of the Asiatic heartland.

2. The Personal and Political Contexts of Robert Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*

D. W. Hayton

I

The *Account of Denmark* that the Anglo-Irishman Robert Molesworth published in 1694, just two years after the conclusion of his unhappy and unsuccessful embassy to Copenhagen, was neither the first, nor the only contemporary description of the country to appear in English in the late seventeenth century. The occasion of the marriage of James II's daughter Anne to the Danish Prince George in 1683 had been marked by the publication of two separate works, by the Huguenot exiles Miège and Pierreville, both entitled *The present state of Denmark ...*, and both seeking to capitalise on the topical interest of the northern kingdom.⁶⁴ The travel writer William Carr had also included Denmark in the kingdoms visited in his *Travellers guide ...*, a work which went through several editions under different titles between 1690 and 1693.⁶⁵ But whereas each of these preceding accounts of Denmark had been factual and largely favourable, Molesworth's, as is well known, was highly opinionated, and generally acerbic. By the simple expedient of being rude in print about the Danes and their country, Molesworth ensured that his name would be remembered (and execrated) by succeeding generations while those of his contemporaries were forgotten.

But while Molesworth's name has always been familiar to Danish historians, and the Danish reading public, until relatively recently he did not enjoy anything like the same celebrity in England, or in his native country, Ireland. Indeed, when his personal and family archive was offered for sale to the Bodleian Library in the 1970s, the then Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, Hugh Trevor-Roper, reputedly advised against its purchase, on the grounds that Molesworth was a second-rate historical figure.⁶⁶

At that time, British and Irish historians had taken only a fleeting interest in Molesworth's political career: his attempts to enlist himself in Lord Treasurer Godolphin's court whig faction in England in 1705–8



ROBERT VISCOUNT MOLE'SWORTH

Published 3 Nov. 1798 by S. Harding, 127 Pall Mall & P. Brown, Crown St. Sch.

had been briefly noticed; as had his contribution to the Irish whig campaign against the tory administration of 1710-14.⁶⁷ In so far as he was remembered, it was primarily for his writing, and even then, the only scholar outside Denmark to have paid him much heed was Caroline Robbins, whose *Eighteenth-century commonwealthman*, published in 1959, had placed him at the hub of a circle of Irish 'commonwealth whigs' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, having a minor but not inconsequential part to play in the transmission of civic republican ideas from Civil War England to revolutionary America.⁶⁸

In the past three decades, however, Molesworth's stock has risen appreciably among historians of early modern Britain and Ireland. Two processes have been in operation: the first a veritable explosion of historical writing on the development of political ideas in the Anglophone world in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, inspired and led by Professors Quentin Skinner and John Pocock; the second a revival of interest in the political, social and cultural history of Ireland in the fifty years or so after the Williamite conquest. In both literatures the author of the *Account of Denmark* now appears very much as a figure to be reckoned with.

Molesworth's contribution to the development of political ideology in England and Ireland was as an exponent of 'old' or 'true' whiggism. This may be construed as a defence of principles of 'classical republicanism' – civil liberties, a mixed constitution, and the right of the subject to resist a tyrannical ruler – in increasingly unfavourable political, social, and economic circumstances. Molesworth's commitment to this traditional whig doctrine was expressed in a number of different books and pamphlets, most notably perhaps in his preface to the English translation of François Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, published in 1721.⁶⁹ In this and some of his other writings he conformed perfectly to the pattern of the 'true whig'. He denounced absolute monarchy and court corruption; praised the republican political systems of classical Greece and pre-imperial Rome, and the ancient Gothic constitutions of northern Europe; and he idealised rugged, incorruptible, aristocratic political virtue as a counterweight to the spreading corruption of courts and commerce. Needless to say, these preoccupations coloured the *Account*

Left: Engraving of Robert Molesworth. Published 3. Nov. 1798 by S. Harding 127 Pall Mall & P. Brown. Crown S. Soho.

of Denmark, especially his admiration for the ancient Gothic constitution of the Danes and condemnation of what he saw as a decline in traditional standards of public virtue, manifest in the behaviour of court society in Copenhagen. In a typical passage he dismissed those English visitors to the Danish royal palaces who were seduced by the luxury and pageantry on display: "they prefer gilded slavery to coarse domestic liberty, and exclaim against their old-fashioned countrymen who will not reform their constitution according to the new foreign mode".⁷⁰ After his return from Denmark, and the publication of the *Account*, Molesworth could be found at the heart of the most advanced coteries of radical whigs in England, those who frequented London's Grecian Tavern: men like the veteran republican Henry Neville, the pamphlet campaigners against the standing army, Walter Moyle and John Trenchard, and the egregious anti-clerical journalist John Toland, all of whom were personally known to Molesworth and in some cases were closely connected to him.⁷¹

By this time Molesworth was also dancing attendance on a rather different kind of political thinker, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, philosopher grandson of the founder of the whig party.⁷² Molesworth sought out Shaftesbury as a potential patron during a long period of self-imposed exile in England (Irish political society having failed to recognise his talents); wrote him ingratiating letters; consorted with others of his friends and clients, like Sir John Cropley and the young James Stanhope (later to rise to the position of joint first minister under King George I); and sought to obtain, through Shaftesbury's help, a seat in the Westminster parliament. Although the Earl proved too sickly, or too precious, to make much of a lasting mark himself on parliamentary politics, and Molesworth was obliged to transfer his attentions to others to secure the office his fragile finances required him to occupy, he did not relinquish the connexion he had worked so hard to establish, and even after Shaftesbury's death in 1713, maintained a devotion to the Earl's memory.⁷³

Shaftesbury has been much studied, as a thinker and writer. Particular attention has been paid to his emphasis on the preservation of civic virtue through education and through the promotion among the social elite of the values of 'politeness' in taste and morals. This cult of the 'polite' has been elevated by some modern students, most notably Dr Lawrence Klein, into an ideology that supposedly succeeded in accom-

modating classical ideals of civic virtue to the modernising trends of an increasingly commercial society.⁷⁴ In this progressive tableau Shaftesbury is seen as providing an intellectual link between seventeenth-century commonwealth whigs and eighteenth-century moral philosophers; and Molesworth is often depicted at his side.

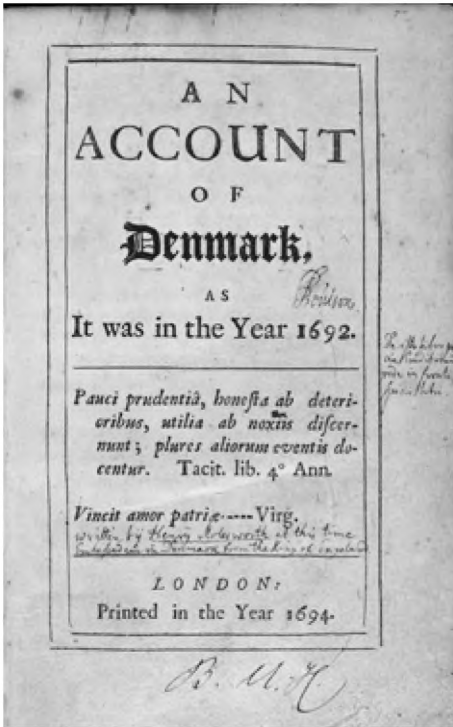
Students of Irish political thought have followed the “Shaftesbury connexion” across the Irish Sea. When Molesworth abandoned England after the Hanoverian Succession – in another pique of disappointed ambition – and resettled on his estate at Breckdenston, near Swords in County Dublin, he in turn patronised young politicians, philosophers, pamphleteers, and journalists, much as Shaftesbury had done. Historians such as M. A. Stewart, Ian McBride, and Michael Brown have described a “Molesworth circle” in operation in Dublin in the late 1710s and early 1720s, which included John Toland (who once described Molesworth as “my dearest patron”), and the fledgling moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson, later to emigrate to Scotland and become a key figure in Scottish intellectual history.⁷⁵ The activities of the “Molesworth circle” are presented as crucial to the onward transmission of Shaftesburian ideas: Molesworth brought notions of politeness from England to Ireland, influencing in particular the young Hutcheson, who developed these further in his professorial career in Glasgow. Thus Molesworth may be depicted, albeit with a little exaggeration, as one of the *accoucheurs*, so to speak, of the Scottish enlightenment.

At the same time, scholarly interest in the history of early eighteenth-century Ireland has also been undergoing a marked revival, and here again Molesworth’s name has come to the fore. We now have a greater appreciation of the vitality of the Irish political scene in the generation after the Glorious Revolution, and of the emergence of the Irish parliament as a necessary element in the governance of the kingdom (what Dr C. I. McGrath has described as an Irish constitutional revolution).⁷⁶ The very fact that Molesworth was such a prominent figure in the whig parliamentary faction in Dublin during the ‘rage of party’ under King William III and Queen Anne is enough to invest his career with interest. Even more important was his role after 1715 at the centre of the so-called ‘patriot’ party, staunchly defending the rights of the Irish parliament against interference from Westminster and Whitehall. It is here that we can for once see a clear continuity between his political preaching and practice.

Irish historians' interest in Molesworth is not, however, confined to his influence in the political arena. He also features strongly in the burgeoning literature on the material culture of the Irish Protestant land-owning elite: as a member of a so-called "new junta for architecture", helping to introduce the principles of Palladianism into Irish house-building;⁷⁷ and as the owner and presumed designer of a fashionable and innovative garden in his County Dublin demesne, which a recent historian has hailed, rather over-enthusiastically, as marking the emergence of a distinctively Dutch and whiggish approach to Irish garden design.⁷⁸

Clearly, if Molesworth's papers were now to be offered for sale there would be no difficulty in securing a positive opinion of their value. For he has come to be perceived as a first-rate figure in British and Irish history, with many claims on our attention, most notably his part in the development of whig ideology, first in England and then in Ireland. Recent historical writing has thus done a great deal to elucidate his milieu, and the mainsprings of his thought and actions. Among other things, these discoveries have thrown fresh light on the personal and political contexts in which the *Account of Denmark* was written. They have already encouraged one author, Hugh Mayo, to look again at the background to the text.⁷⁹ His conclusion is that we should view Molesworth not simply as another 'commonwealth' whig, in the style of those studied by Caroline Robbins and her successors, but as a representative of a specifically Irish form of whiggism; and we should understand the *Account* as having been informed by the particular concerns and prejudices engendered by the traditions of Irish political theory and a political upbringing in the atmosphere of Restoration Dublin.

The present essay intends to make use of the insights of the newer historiography in a similar way but with a different emphasis. Its argument is based primarily on a re-consideration of what is known of Molesworth's early life and career, up to and including the publication of the *Account*, and of the precise political context in which the book was written and prepared for the press; together with a re-examination of his private correspondence at the time of his Danish embassy. What emerges is an interpretation that emphasises the formative influence of Molesworth's experiences in the reigns of Charles II and James II, and during the Williamite Revolution; and his anxiety for the safety of the revolution settlement, both at home and abroad. There is of



The title page of Robert Molesworth *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692* (London 1694).

course evidence of a pervasive personal animosity towards the Danish king and his ministers, but the tone and direction of the *Account* also reflects the uncertainties of English, Irish, and European politics at the time of Molesworth's embassy, and during the subsequent writing and publication of his book.

II

The first point to be made about the text of the *Account* is that, despite its continuing impact on Danish national sensitivities, its author seems not to have focused on issues of national identity and national character. He does indeed have things to say from time to time in his *Account* about the Danes as a people: their "whining" national tongue, their fondness for drink, their prodigality, the effete nature of their aristocracy and the baseness of character of the downtrodden peasantry.⁸⁰ But his disdain for what he has encountered does not derive from any sense of the natural or genetic inferiority of Danes, in the way

that some of his contemporaries wrote about the Irish among whom he himself lived. Molesworth's references to the Gothic origins of the Danes are confined to his comments about their former constitution with its elective monarchy.⁸¹ Rather, he attributes any defects of character to the pernicious nature of the political, social, and economic systems under which the people laboured, in much the same way as Sir William Petty (by whom he may have been influenced) ascribed Irish faults to climate.⁸²

This absence of concern with a subject that modern authors find obsessively interesting may derive from Molesworth's 'Anglo-Irish' heritage, for he shared the ambivalent, flexible – or perhaps a better word is indeterminate – notion of nationality characteristic of his class.⁸³ The adjective 'Anglo-Irish' is of course an anachronism, and worse still, can be a term of abuse, used by nationalists against the nineteenth- and twentieth-century landed aristocracy as a means of insinuating that they were not properly Irish, and resented accordingly. In consequence, much printer's ink has been expended – by modern historians and by representatives of the Anglo-Irish themselves – in an effort to define what an 'Anglo-Irish identity' means. For some, it is consonant with a kind of elevated Irish patriotism, constructively non-sectarian; for others, like the twentieth-century novelist Olivia Manning, it meant having no identity at all, caught between two worlds and belonging nowhere. This was not how seventeenth-century Irish Protestants would have understood their position. In certain circumstances – when, for example, Irish economic interests ran up against those of England, or when the rights and privileges of the Irish parliament were disparaged or threatened – they readily identified with Ireland as their native land. Yet they also defined themselves as the crown's "English subjects of Ireland". The Irish propertied elite was still largely a planter class, with only a minority of families able to trace their residence in Ireland back more than two generations, and they were conscious of representing the "English interest" in Ireland. When writing about domestic politics they often used "the Irish" as a shorthand term for Catholics. Far from being uneasy about their identity, Irish Protestants of Molesworth's generation shifted comfortably between national identities. If protesting at the English parliament's casual discrimination against Irish trade or industry, they were "Irish"; if contemplating the prospect of a resurgent Catholic power in the Ireland of James II, they were "English".

Molesworth's attitude to Ireland conforms perfectly to this paradigm. He was born in Dublin, educated there, at Trinity College, married into the Irish landed class, and, apart from a brief spell at Lincoln's Inn in London, and some travels in Europe in the later 1680s, lived most of his life in Ireland. He was capable of outbursts of a kind of political patriotism, in defence of the rights of the Irish parliament, especially in the latter stages of his career, when he had at last settled for good in the country of his birth. But these were not nationalist outbursts, calling on his countrymen to throw off the Saxon yoke; they were instead reasoned defences of the right of any people to enjoy representative government, wherever they might live, and were also expressions of concern lest Westminster tyranny weaken the English Protestant interest in Ireland. At other times he was happy to describe himself as English, which he did at several points in the *Account*, a book expressly written by an Englishman for English readers.⁸⁴ And occasionally he was capable of a breathtaking disregard for the country of his birth. Indeed, at several crises in his life he declared that he would leave Ireland for good and settle on his English estate, at Edlington in Yorkshire. Irish politics were hopeless. Ireland would be his "pis aller", the bog in which his talents would for ever lie hidden from public view.⁸⁵ It was only when he admitted the irrevocable failure of his attempt to make a career at Westminster that he returned to Dublin to assume the attitude of the outraged Hibernian. Moreover he never had much time for the Gaelic Irish, their traditions, culture and religion, or their language. The passage in the *Account* which sneers at the Danish language does so by comparing it to the Irish: "it is very ungrateful, and not unlike the Irish in its whining, complaining tone".⁸⁶

Admittedly, the fact that he belonged to the Irish propertied elite would have made Molesworth especially conscious of the issue of nationality, because of the identification of political with national causes in contemporary Ireland. From this perspective he would also have been aware of the ways in which some aspects of social and political behaviour among the 'native Irish' had been, and to some extent still were, explained by reference to ethnic origins. But the flexibility of his attitudes to national identity (in common with those of his class) would have blunted any deterministic impulses. Ethnicity had also to compete, as an interpretive force, with the other powerful influences and preoccupations which shaped Molesworth's political thought: a libertarian whiggism, of a traditional kind, suspicious of courts and in favour of limiting the powers of

monarchs through the agency of representative assemblies; a commitment to economic improvement, which would be obstructed by authoritarian regimes in church and state; a vigorous anti-popery, which should not be confused with anti-Catholicism; and last but not least, a profound fear of French military power, especially when exercised by King Louis XIV. These are what really coloured his responses to his experiences in Copenhagen, and his representation of Denmark in the *Account*.

III

To understand Molesworth's cast of mind, it is necessary to trace his personal history and political development until and beyond the ill-fated Danish embassy. As an Irish Protestant, he would not have been able to participate in parliamentary politics in his native country before the Williamite revolution. The Irish parliament was not summoned after 1666, and as a consequence Irish politics remained in a kind of limbo in Charles II's reign. But he would certainly not have been insulated from events in England. He spent some time in London in the mid-1670s, at Lincoln's Inn, and while in Dublin he would have received news of events across the water from friends and relations, and from the reports of Irish men and women returning home. In many respects this was a unified political world. Thus he would have been well aware of the attacks being made on Charles II's administration in the 1670s for corruption, the suspicion of the king's secretly pro-French foreign policy, and the fear engendered by the allegations in 1678 of a 'popish plot' to murder the king and replace him with his Catholic brother, the Duke of York. He would also have followed closely the events of the so-called Exclusion crisis of 1678-81, in which the parliamentary faction headed by the first Earl of Shaftesbury sought in vain to exclude the Duke of York from the succession and introduce limitations on the power of the monarchy.

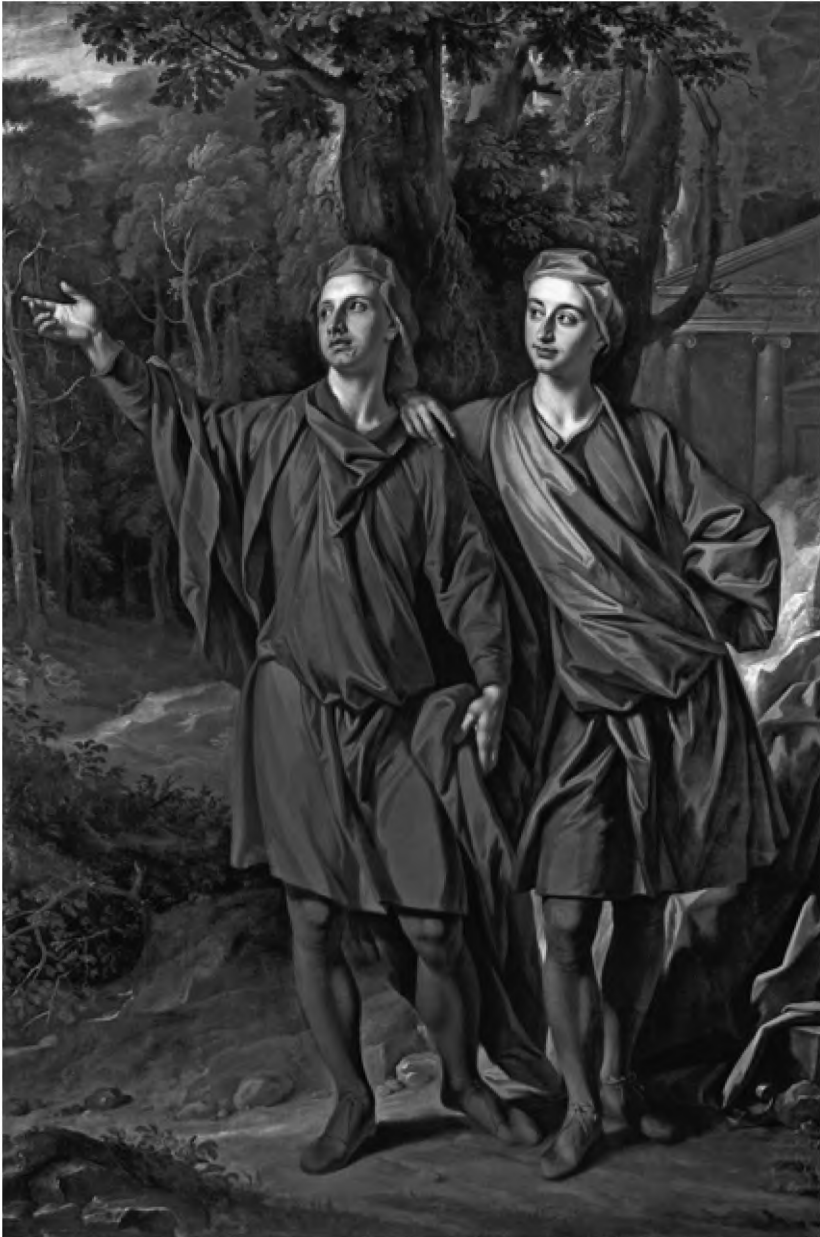
Without a parliament in Dublin to focus discontent, Ireland escaped the political turmoil that engulfed England in the late 1670s. However, as the English body politic became bitterly divided between loyalists and exclusionists, or, as they became known, whigs and tories, Irish Protestants like Molesworth were inevitably drawn in to the events they were watching at a distance, and began to develop political sympathies along whig or tory lines. Throughout 1679 and 1680 Irishmen were confidently expecting that a parliament would finally be called in Dub-

lin: presumably King Charles's advisers lost their nerve at the prospect of criticism on the grounds (real or imagined) of Irish ministerial leniency towards Catholics.⁸⁷ Then in the immediate aftermath of the defeat of the exclusionists, the lord lieutenant, Ormond, instigated repressive action against Presbyterians in Ulster, suspecting them of sympathising with Covenanting rebels in Scotland and whiggish conspirators in England.⁸⁸ In this tense atmosphere the loyal addresses sent in to the crown from Irish counties, boroughs and corporate bodies showed a distinct party-political bias, aligning their sentiments with the views of English whigs or, less often, with the tories.⁸⁹

The Exclusion crisis may not, however, have been as important a formative experience for Molesworth as its aftermath. In England after 1681 Charles II's government conducted a systematic campaign against its whig opponents, resulting in a series of high-profile judicial killings, including the influential political writer Algernon Sidney (who had of course also served as an envoy to Denmark, and with whom Molesworth may subsequently have identified⁹⁰). In Scotland the suppression of the covenanter rising was followed by a similar reaction: punitive fines, arrests, the torturing of detainees, and a significant number of executions. Research by Tim Harris has demonstrated the impact of these events across the three kingdoms.⁹¹ It is at this point that we find the first tentative indication of Molesworth's political predilections, though the evidence is allusive. In a later autobiographical fragment he claimed to have begun to travel to the continent in the 1680s, and to have made a point each time of visiting Holland.⁹² If this was the case he would have come into contact with a number of English and Scottish political exiles and presumably also with the court of William of Orange, for whom, in this document, he also professed to have acted as a courier, bringing messages to Orangist sympathisers in England at the time of the Glorious Revolution. It is difficult to know how seriously to take these assertions. But there must surely have been some form of prior contact between Molesworth and Prince William for such a comparatively obscure Irishman to have been chosen as envoy to Denmark. It has been suggested that the link may have been through members of his wife's family, which is perfectly possible.⁹³ But the real significance of Molesworth's claim of an pre-revolutionary association with Prince William lies in the suggestion of an early commitment to a whig, or at least whiggish, political position before the crisis that developed in England and Ireland with the accession of King James II.

Irish Protestants had found themselves in a rapidly worsening predicament following Charles II's death in 1685. James II's reign began with the Anglican loyalist, Clarendon, the king's brother-in-law, retained as viceroy in Dublin Castle, but within two years Clarendon had been replaced by a Catholic lord deputy, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, who embarked upon nothing less than a political revolution. Tyrconnel suspended the penal laws against Catholics, remodelled the Irish army so that it became a largely Catholic force, appointed Catholic officials to places in central and local government, and interfered with the government of borough corporations to promote Catholic interests and ensure that when a new Irish parliament was elected it would be dominated by Catholics. When William of Orange landed in England in November 1688 Molesworth, along with the majority of his co-religionists outside Ulster, left for the security of England. Whatever political views Irish Protestants might have entertained previously, the events of James II's reign and the ensuing revolution rendered all but a handful into staunch supporters of the whig and Williamite cause. After the defeat of James II, when a Protestant parliament was summoned in Dublin in 1692, it was clear that there were very few tories as such in Ireland and almost no Protestant Jacobites. Subsequently, for reasons unconnected with the revolution, a tory political interest did arise in Ireland, but it would be fair to say that Irish Protestants in 1689 and 1690 were naturally whiggish in their political inclinations.⁹⁴

Whatever his party-political affiliations in 1689, by the time Molesworth returned from Denmark he was indisputably a whig. From the evidence of parliamentary lists and reports of debates it is clear that he was reckoned as such after his election to the English parliament in 1695.⁹⁵ But whiggism was undergoing a fundamental change in the decade after the revolution. When the English whig leaders, the so-called Junto, became the party of government in the mid-1690s, they began to distance themselves from those aspects of the programme of the first whigs that were uncongenial to government, opposing measures to restrict court influence over parliament or in some cases to preserve individual and popular liberties against encroachment by the state. Not all their followers could stomach this reversal of principles, and a distinct group of unreconstructed 'old' or 'country' whigs soon appeared, some of them gathered around the third Earl of Shaftesbury. It was among these 'country' whigs that Molesworth was to be found in the mid-1690s, voting in the House of Commons for electoral reform, for the exclusion



Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), and his brother Maurice Ashley (1675-1726), by John Closterman, c. 1702 (National Portrait Gallery, London)

of office-holders from parliament, and against the maintenance of a standing army in peacetime.⁹⁶ He followed a very similar line when attending the Irish parliament in Dublin, to which he had also been returned in 1695, supporting the adoption in Ireland of habeas corpus, the passage of an Irish bill of rights, and the ending of government interference in the Irish legislative process.⁹⁷

IV

This is the side of Molesworth's thinking that historians know best. His credo as a 'country' whig (or as contemporaries might also have put it, an 'old', 'true' or 'real whig'), was set out most clearly in the preface to Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, the history of the flowering of the Gothic constitutions in the medieval west.⁹⁸ This was in effect a manifesto justifying the right of resistance against a tyrannical ruler and calling for the preservation of individual liberties, religious toleration, annual parliaments, electoral reform, and the disbanding of a professional standing army in favour of an armed citizen militia. In its bitter opposition to absolute monarchy and idealisation of civil liberty, the *Account of Denmark* is entirely consonant with this constitutional outlook. In the preface to the *Account*, for example, Molesworth observed that all monarchies were traditionally elective, and in chapter 6 he described the ancient Danish constitution, before the recent institution of absolute monarchy, as "the same which the Goths and Vandals established in most, if not all parts of Europe", with a king chosen by the "states of the realm", who might then depose him should he prove "cruel, vicious, tyrannical, covetous or wasteful", or at the very least "make him answer before the representative body of the people".⁹⁹

Such statements place Molesworth firmly within the 'country whig' tradition. They recall not only Algernon Sidney's *Discourses concerning government* (1664; reprinted in 1698), but the ambitions of surviving whig radicals who had hoped to use the occasion of King James's deposition in 1689 to establish the English kingship on the same foot.¹⁰⁰ In the same way, Molesworth's denunciations of the Danish standing army – that particularly obnoxious manifestation of the French system of government to which King Christian V aspired – as a mortal danger to liberty and a pernicious influence on the social and economic fabric of the kingdom,¹⁰¹ echoed the arguments that had been used against the maintenance of a significant peacetime military establishment by

Charles II and James II (though in the latter case by some Tories as well as Whigs), and prefigured the views of fellow country Whigs in the pamphlet and parliamentary debates about a standing army in England in 1697-9. It may well seem odd that someone who owed the survival of his estate in Ireland to the actions of an army largely made up of foreigners, most of them mercenaries and a significant contingent among them Danes, should have insisted that such soldiers have “no concern for the natives of a kingdom and their welfare”, and that the proper defenders of the state should be the old aristocracy and yeomanry.¹⁰² In this respect, however, Molesworth’s political beliefs transcended his own personal circumstances, and indeed his ‘national’ identity, whatever that might have been. (In any case he was not noticeably of an ironic disposition and would not have been alone in failing to see the contradictions in his standpoint.)

By concentrating on the themes of Gothic constitutionalism – the accountability of monarchy to the people, and the paramount importance of safeguarding liberty – historians have been able to present the *Account of Denmark* as not only an expression of the political values of ‘country Whiggism’, but as an implicit commentary on domestic political conditions, that is to say principally in England but perhaps in Ireland too. The publication of the *Account* in 1694 would have been loaded with political meaning for Molesworth’s readers. The destruction of liberty in Denmark might be taken as an object lesson to the possible fate of the Gothic constitution at home; indeed, in describing the former constitution of the Danes Molesworth drove home the point himself by remarking that this “ancient form of government in England is retained to this day for the most part”.¹⁰³ Moreover, the threat came not only from the possible return of the exiled King James but from within the newly ensconced Williamite regime. The most controversial political issues of the period 1689–95 arose from what appeared to be the continuance of corrupt practices from the pre-Revolution monarchy – leading to campaigns for frequent elections and the exclusion of placemen from parliament to prevent the “debauching” of elected representatives with pensions and offices – and from the new dangers posed by the expansion of King William’s fiscal-military state. Recent Danish history thus offered a very disconcerting instance of the way in which absolute monarchy could develop under a Protestant dynasty just as easily as under a popish tyranny such as France.

V

The little we know of the publication history of the *Account of Denmark* seems to confirm a didactic, even propagandist, purpose, in so far as Molesworth himself considered the timing of its appearance in print to be crucial to serve some particular end. His own family archive has nothing significant to say about the *Account*, but in the papers of the opposition whig politician (and future chief minister) Robert Harley are two letters from John Stanley, a connexion of Molesworth, which cast some new light on the background to the preparation of the book for the press. In the first, which is undated, Stanley excused himself for not sending a manuscript copy of the *Account* which was in his possession, on the grounds that he had been afraid that Molesworth would suddenly arrive at his house and ask for it back.¹⁰⁴ Evidently a scribal version had been circulating privately, with Molesworth anxious (justifiably, one might think) that it should not go beyond a few trusted hands. The second letter, dated 3 October 1693, explained the situation more clearly: once more Stanley had to apologise for not sending the text, but the reason this time was not mere caution.¹⁰⁵

Mr Molesworth came to town and took them out of my hands to prepare them for the press, being importuned by some of his friends to publish an account of the state of Denmark upon this juncture. He is not yet fully resolved whether to let it come out in print, but if it does, he intends it shall be ready to come out at the meeting of Parliament. If he alters his design, I will take care to procure you the whole copy when you come to town; and will endeavour to borrow one I saw of the present state of Sweden in manuscript.

These letters confirm that Molesworth's decision to publish the account of Denmark was closely related to the contemporary political context; but they do not explain the precise nature of that relationship. The way in which Stanley links Molesworth's work with a contemporary account of the other great Baltic power, Sweden, offers a clue, but not one that is easy to interpret. It may simply be that both texts were feeding the natural curiosity of the English political classes about a region of Europe which was giving cause for concern. The developing diplomatic crisis in the Baltic region might easily have had repercussions on

the conduct of the war against France, and the recent renewal of the alliance between Denmark and Sweden could thus have created a demand for information about these monarchies, their nature and their political intentions. But the mention of Sweden alongside Denmark would not necessarily weaken the case for Molesworth's *Account* as a political tract for the times, in the sense in which its publication has generally been understood. Sweden was another example of a Protestant monarchy with potentially absolutist ambitions, and a Gothic constitution under threat: after all, it was only in 1693 that the Riksdag had proclaimed that the King of Sweden was responsible to no human agency other than himself.

In the absence of direct evidence, either from Molesworth's own private papers, or from the correspondence of friends or connexions, like Stanley, any attempt to elucidate the purpose, or purposes, behind the publication of the *Account* requires a close examination of both the context and content of the work: the precise political circumstances in which it first appeared, together with the author's personal situation and recent experience; and the various political messages that can be read into it.

In the autumn of 1693, as the next parliamentary session approached, the balance of forces of English politics was about to receive a decisive shift.¹⁰⁶ The coalition or 'mixed' administration that King William had constructed in 1689, under the leadership of the Marquesses of Carmarthen (the former Lord Danby) and Halifax, had never achieved stability. Conciliar government was beset by factional conflict, between high Tories like the Secretary of State, Nottingham, and Whigs like Admiral Edward Russell – recently removed from command of the fleet though still Treasurer of the Navy – and the Lord Keeper, Sir John Somers. Parliamentary management, left in the hands of Carmarthen and his creatures, was confused and feeble. At this point Whigs were divided in their attitude to government: some, like Russell, Somers, and their colleagues among the emerging 'Whig Junto', were anxious to take control of the administration themselves, and drive out the Tories; others, of the old stamp, were by nature suspicious of the court, whatever its factional complexion, and more concerned at what seemed to be a return to the methods of bribery and corruption associated with Danby's previous tenure of high office in the 1670s.



Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham and 7th Earl of Winchilsea (1647-1730), secretary of state 1689-93 and 1702-04, attributed to Jonathan Richardson, 1726 (National Portrait Gallery, London)

During and after the winter of 1693-4 these differences between whigs were to assume major proportions, as the king came to terms with the need for a more clearly partisan administration and (on the advice of Lord Sunderland) handed power to the Junto and their friends. Nottingham and most other tories relinquished office, or were dismissed, leaving only a small minority of Carmarthen's followers to leaven what was henceforth a solidly whig ministry. Some 'old whigs', led by Paul Foley and Robert Harley, eventually drifted into an opposition alliance with country tories; others, including the future third Earl of Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) and Molesworth, remained loyal to their party but took a sceptical view of the Junto ministry and a resolutely 'country' position on issues of principle, such as place bills and electoral reform.

What is important for our purposes, however, is timing. Undoubtedly some of the fissures that were to open up between 'old' and 'new' whigs were already visible in 1693. The very presence of whigs in office would probably have been poison to some men of principle, but the Junto had yet to demonstrate the true extent of their flexibility over the party's traditional ideals, and indeed in preceding sessions had occasionally reverted to type, in supporting place legislation for example, when they thought that voting in this way would add to the pressure on Carmarthen, and the King.¹⁰⁷ At the beginning of the 1693-4 session Molesworth and those who thought like him would have been far more worried about the activities of tories in high office.¹⁰⁸ Following Russell's removal, leadership of the fleet had passed into the hands of a coterie of tory admirals, three of whom, Sir Ralph Delaval, Henry Killigrew and Sir George Rooke, were suspected by the whigs of being closet Jacobites. The loss of the Smyrna convoy in the summer was blamed on the admirals, and their political master, Nottingham, who were accused by M.P.s of incompetence or treachery, or both. The Commons also directed its fire against another tory office-holder, Lord Falkland, for alleged malversation in administering naval funds, and – in a move which would have had particular resonance for Molesworth – impeached the Irish lords justices Porter and Coningsby (the former a strong tory) on a variety of charges, among them the accusation that they had favoured Catholics in corrupt dealings over Irish forfeited estates.

Thus Molesworth's prime political concern at the time that he was deciding to send his manuscript to the press would not have been the danger of nascent neo-whig authoritarianism, in the shape of the Junto ministry, whose arrival still lay in the future, but the persistent presence in government of a powerful Jacobite or quasi-Jacobite element. For all the virtues imputed to King William (who certainly remained a hero to Molesworth), his accession had not by itself proved enough to transform the English political establishment. The absolutist tendencies that whigs associated with the Catholic or crypto-Catholic pre-revolutionary regimes, remained influential after 1689. Put another way, it seemed that the political manifestations of 'popery' could still flourish under a Protestant king.

VI

A central plank in English and Irish whiggery was its fear and hatred of 'popery'. This does not simply equate to fear and hatred of the Catholic Church. Whig objections to 'popery' were not in this way sectarian. Molesworth himself was of course to some degree anti-Catholic, in that he despised the superstitions of Romanists, and was a strong supporter both of penal laws against Catholics in Ireland and of schemes – none of which were very successful – to settle foreign Protestants (including German Lutherans) on Irish soil. But his essential objection to 'popery' was on political rather than doctrinal grounds. Like many of his contemporaries Molesworth distinguished between Catholicism as a set of theological doctrines and 'popery' as a political system. What he objected to in the Roman Church were the claims of pope and priests to a secular jurisdiction, to their exercise of authority over laymen, their assumption of a monopoly over truth and understanding and intolerance of dissent, and their demand of obedience, which overruled one of his own defining principles, that of religious toleration. The connexion between authoritarianism and corruption in church and state was obvious. Moreover, it was not confined to Catholics. Whigs like Molesworth argued that the overstrained claims of Anglican clergymen were a kind of Protestant 'popery'.¹⁰⁹

Molesworth was really an opponent of 'priestcraft', anticlerical in his outlook rather than just anti-Catholic. He was equally concerned about the excessive claims of Anglican parsons – or for that matter Presbyterian ministers – as he was about the Pope and his bishops. Hence

his stinging criticism of the Lutheran established church and clergy in Denmark. Many of his sharpest insults, in print or in parliament, were aimed at Protestant clergymen. His political career in Ireland, especially, was noted for sharp exchanges with apologists for the clergy, and several vehement attacks on the claims of the convocation of the Church of Ireland to a separate jurisdiction from parliament.¹¹⁰ In this attitude he was of course, far from unusual. The work of Professor Justin Champion has amply demonstrated the vitality of English anticlericalism in the literature of this period, both scholarly and popular, and Molesworth could also look to parliamentary colleagues of a similar disposition, including the freethinking author Sir Robert Howard and the eccentric ‘country whig’ back-bencher Sir Richard Cocks.¹¹¹

When Molesworth was writing his *Account of Denmark* and deciding whether or not he should publish it, he would have been particularly exercised by the threat posed to the principles of the Glorious Revolution by rampant ‘priestcraft’ – as represented by high-flying tory parsons and their lay brethren in the tory party. Members of the ‘high’ party in the Church of England, to whom he likened the Danish clergy, had advanced claims about the authority of monarchy and the established church which would imperil the liberty of the subject even under an Orangist regime.¹¹² Worse still, they were suspected – in some cases justly – of entertaining Jacobite sympathies. For a loyal whig, these Protestant fifth-columnists – sharing the ‘popish’ predilections of Roman Catholics in their constitutional attitudes, and conspiring for the restoration of a Catholic monarch – were a formidable threat to the maintenance of the Revolution settlement.

The *Account* is at its most vehement when attacking priestcraft, which appears as the real enemy of liberty and constitutional well-being. For example, in discussing the education of the young, Molesworth observed that the priests of the established church in Denmark, entrusted with this responsibility, have “made it their business to undermine” notions of civic virtue and have created a narrow university curriculum that has hampered rather than fostered the growth of public spirit. Clerical obscurantism also stood in the way of the social and economic improvement to which Molesworth was dedicated, and once again Danish history furnished an illustration.¹¹³ In the conclusion he opined that it would be a grave error to presume that the Roman Catholic Church was the only Christian sect proper to introduce slavery.¹¹⁴ The



Molesworth's parish church, at Swords, co. Dublin, the recipient of a bequest in his will (The Irish Architectural Archive)..

Danish Lutheran clergy had been highly effective handmaidens to the absolutist state. Indeed, he went on to suggest that the very existence of an established church was a guarantee that absolute monarchy would be able to sustain itself. The imposition of unity in religion and priestly authority had “cut away the root of sedition” and therefore all potential for change.¹¹⁵ A forced uniformity in religious belief deterred freedom of thought in every sphere. In his preface to Hotman's *Franco-Gallia* he was to reiterate this commitment to religious toleration, and not merely as a principle in itself, but as a means to an end in promoting political maturity among the people. Although an Anglican by preference, he said, he was convinced that “all opinions purely spiritual and

notional” should be indulged, and would show charity to all who differ in religion, whether Quakers, Socinians, Turks, Jews, Catholics, or pagans.¹¹⁶ This was an extreme conception of what religious toleration might entail, since most advocates of toleration drew the line at those religious groups who were themselves intolerant, but it was probably intended to provoke his opponents and is really indicative of the depth of Molesworth’s detestation of what he saw as the dead hand of the clerical estate – of whatever persuasion.

VII

A second important influence on the construction of the *Account*, alongside this fear and loathing of priests and priestcraft, was Molesworth’s profound anxiety about a further manifestation of the political power of ‘popery’: French military power, as wielded by the great monarch, Louis XIV. The evidence of his surviving correspondence suggests that while he was in Denmark, it was this which most agitated him. Given the political background of the 1670s and ‘80s this is hardly surprising. Historians like Professors Robert Bosher and Steven Pincus have amply demonstrated just how pervasive in English political culture in the Restoration period was the fear that King Louis was aiming at a ‘universal monarchy’ which would bring all of Europe, including England, under its sway.¹¹⁷ The years in which Molesworth was growing up were a period of French military triumph, and English ineffectualness, if not downright collaborationism. The events of the 1680s, culminating in the Glorious Revolution in England and the beginning of a major European war, can only have accentuated this sense of crisis. On the military successes of the allies depended not only the maintenance of the Revolution settlement in England, but the preservation of a Protestant state and Protestant landed society in Ireland. Indeed, Molesworth and his class in Ireland had more to lose than anyone from the failure of the Grand Alliance.

Molesworth’s private correspondence during his Danish embassy, much of it directed to the English diplomat Sir William Dutton Colt, reeks of his anxiety over the outcome of the war.¹¹⁸ His letters were always impatient with news of failures and sometimes almost frantic in their distribution of blame. The English tory ministers were incompetent, if not traitorous – for example, the “shameful” naval defeat off Beachy Head in the summer of 1690 prompted him to call for heads to roll;¹¹⁹ and

the allies were well-nigh useless: inefficient, corrupt, and lacking any kind of backbone. At one point in 1690 he berated the slowness of the “confederates” and added, “they must needs have been eaten up by the French ... by this time, had not our master’s successful expedition into England rescued them from eternal slavery”.¹²⁰ Without English courage, and especially the efforts of King William, all would be lost:¹²¹

Good God, what were become of the liberty of Europe, if he were not in the world, or not in the post where he is? I see no remedy but that the Emperor and the Allies (as they order their own affairs) must have sat down quietly and submitted to the French yoke, and such conditions as he [Louis XIV] pleased to impose on them, and this will never be mended while they have such licentious armies and covetous generals, who put no distinction between their friends and foes, unless it be that they use their friends a great deal worse.

The *leitmotiv* of these letters is Molesworth’s distrust of the Danish court and what he saw as the ascendancy of the pro-French party there. The ministers were “Frenchified”,¹²² the court full of plots and tricks: nothing was to be regarded or trusted. All the general weaknesses that he identified in the Danish monarchy in these letters were related to the possibility that the Danish court would either fail to support the alliance or actively support the French. His criticism of the king himself, as vain, ambitious and petty, took its edge from the fear that these defects of character would make him vulnerable to French blandishments. The attacks on the corruption and extravagance of the court reflected a fear that corrupt and self-interested courtiers will not listen to the voice of reason but will allow themselves to be bought by the French. What he saw was a country devoted to self-interest rather than the concerns of Europe: the Danes were entirely self-interested, whether it be to further their territorial ambitions in North Germany, or simply to make commercial and financial gains through illicit trade while they remain officially neutral. In an echo of what were later to be the standard complaints of English Tories against the Dutch during the Nine Years War and the War of the Spanish Succession, he wrote in May 1691: “the humour of this people is always aspiring and endeavouring to profit themselves by their neighbours’ damage”.¹²³

Much of what Molesworth had to say to Colt and to his other correspondents prefigured what he went on to write in the *Account of Denmark*. The selfishness and untrustworthiness of courtiers and aristocracy, the drunken habits of polite society, the squalor in which the ordinary people lived: all were reported in his private letters before being incorporated into the *Account*.¹²⁴ The accusation that so angered King Christian, that the Danish monarchy had taken its principles of government from the French,¹²⁵ was an extension of Molesworth's fear, while resident in Copenhagen, that the Danes would throw in their lot with King Louis rather than King William. The characterisation of the Danish aristocracy as feeble and corrupt, lacking the moral fibre to defend its country and its liberties, may well have been encouraged by the anxiety under which Molesworth constantly laboured while in Copenhagen about the likely success of French intrigues. Much of the negative portrayal of Denmark in the *Account* can be boiled down to the idea of a country which had become weak and self-seeking through the adoption of a system of absolute monarchy, the rising power of the clergy and the enervation of its ancient families, and was thus unable to discharge its responsibilities in the European state system: unable, that is, to fight for the liberties of Europe against a galloping French tyranny.

VIII

The evidence of Molesworth's disgruntled correspondence during his embassy could certainly support the emphasis placed in some discussions of the genesis of the *Account* on the particular personal difficulties he had encountered, and his disappointment at the failure of this important posting to inaugurate a distinguished official career.¹²⁶ As early as October 1690 he was giving vent in private letters to expressions of bitterness at the way in which the English ministers appeared to be neglecting him, and the longer he stayed in Denmark the more put upon he felt himself to be.¹²⁷ Clearly, he was also uncomfortable in the court society of Copenhagen, despite the fact that he was according to his own testimony an experienced European traveller, and, as Hugh Mayo has shown, he may have enjoyed access to the viceregal court at Dublin in Charles II's reign.¹²⁸ He was, however, indisputably a provincial, and may have been keenly conscious of this fact. Whatever the cause of his social and political failures, his experience as envoy had left him frustrated and despondent. Molesworth was ambitious,

and not particularly well-to-do: the returns from his Irish estate had suffered during the Williamite war and were slow to recover. He needed the profits of office.¹²⁹ And his later history is not without its careerist tinge, especially during Anne's reign, when he actively sought government appointments, first attaching himself to Lord Treasurer Godolphin and then to Godolphin's successor Robert Harley.¹³⁰ So it is not surprising that after 1692 he had some bile to expel.¹³¹

This does not mean, however, that the *Account* was merely a piece of personal spite. Molesworth's experiences in Denmark, his fears and tribulations for the Protestant and Williamite cause, produced their particular effects because of the nature of the mind and character they acted upon. In common with the vast majority of Irish Protestants he was a strong Williamite, an unequivocal supporter of the Glorious Revolution and a resolute anti-Jacobite. He shared the principles of other 'old whigs', for whom the great enemy was 'popery', whether Catholic or Protestant, and its instruments – the institutions of absolute monarchy, the morally defective courtiers who served that monarchy, and the overbearing and authoritarian clergy of the established Church. The fact that these instruments still existed, even flourished, in England (and Ireland) after 1689, and might be used either to pervert or to overturn the revolution settlement, were the lessons he wished his readers to draw by analogy from his disdainful description of the Danish monarchy.

When considering what Molesworth intended by writing and publishing his *Account*, we need to be careful to concentrate on the years 1689–94. If we cast our eyes too far ahead, to a point at which the Junto had elaborated the philosophy and practice of court whiggism (or "new" whiggism as writers such as Charles Davenant called it), and Molesworth had emerged as a prominent 'country whig' and Irish patriot ideologue, and interpret the *Account* in this context, we risk misunderstanding the author's purpose. It may well be safe to presume that the *Account* was meant as an indirect commentary on English politics, and a warning that a Protestant king – even such a hero as William of Orange – might turn into an absolutist. It may also be true that Molesworth's book served in due course as an inspiration to those 'country whig' authors – such as Moyle and Trenchard during the 'standing army' controversy of 1697–9 – who denounced the illiberal tendency of Williamite and succeeding governments.¹³² But when the *Account* was writ-

ten it was not principally an expression of disillusionment with William or an indictment of his character. Criticism was aimed at ministers, not at the King who had chosen them. It was only *after* William's use of the royal veto during the 1693-4 session, and his subsequent attempts to retain a standing army following the peace of Rijswijk, that real concerns began to be voiced about the nature of his personal kingship.¹³³ Molesworth's letters from Copenhagen show not the slightest glimmer of doubt about the man whom he saw as the saviour of Europe. Where the *Account* did bear upon contemporary English politics directly was in its comments on court corruption (although Molesworth's stress here on the risk of relying on "new men" rather than the old aristocracy must count as another of its manifold personal ironies); and its condemnation of Protestant 'priestcraft'. English readers exposed to the truth about the government of Denmark were expected to deduce that the influence of tory politicians and high church clergy threatened the downfall of the surviving Gothic constitution of the Anglo-Saxons.

Molesworth had travelled to Copenhagen with a particular set of political principles, and reacted according to those principles. He was temperamentally as well as politically averse to the flummery of court life, and regarded it as the antithesis of the rugged political virtues of classical republicanism; and was deeply suspicious of 'priestcraft' in whatever robes it appeared. He was also – and this I would regard as critical – deeply committed to the idea of a European crusade to diminish the power of France. As he wrote in the preface to the *Account*, "our late kings [Charles II and James II] half-undid us, and bred us up as narrow-spirited as they could make us consider ourselves as proscribed from the world, but now we have a prince [William III] that has raised us to our natural station, the eyes of most part of the world are now upon us, and take their measures from our councils". There can be little doubt that it was the Danish monarchy's failure to live up to this high calling that provoked his disdain. And it seems likely, in the context of the autumn of 1693, that the determining factor in his decision to publish was the apprehension that not even King William, despite his immense personal integrity, could be proof against the machinations of those Jacobites and tories, clerical and lay, who conspired to bring the English monarchy to the same degraded state.

3. Robert Molesworth's *An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692*: A Political Scandal and its Literary Aftermath

Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen

Introduction

Understandably, the Molesworth incident – Robert Molesworth's (1656-1725) embassy to Denmark 1689-92, his strained relationship with the Danish court, his sudden departure and the scandal following the anonymous publication of his *An Account of Denmark as it was in 1692* (London 1694) – has attracted much attention among Danish historians.¹³⁴ Everybody knows about this smug arch-Whig who came, saw and disliked. The only sad thing is that the Molesworth incident really is not as much about Denmark and the Danes as maybe we would like it to be. *An Account of Denmark* was above all a true international best-seller, appearing in four English, five French, two Dutch and two German editions before 1700.¹³⁵

Looked at from this angle, Molesworth and his book are part and parcel of the genesis of the international, libertarian, deistic subculture that has contributed so significantly to the shaping of the modern world that it is difficult to read him without feeling that this man may be nasty and choleric but basically he is surely right! The first example of this “modern” reading of Molesworth to be articulated by a Dane dates back to 1794 when the, admittedly somewhat eccentric, professor of Danish law and language at Kiel University Holger de Fine Olivarius (1758-1838) published a pamphlet (in English) on Molesworth, the concluding words of which were:

Pity it is, but my author [Molesworth] could have conjoined to his enthusiasm of English liberty, an equal portion of philanthropic sensibility; his volume could then have been very different from what it now appears; but

Be to his faults a little blind,
And to his virtues very kind!¹³⁶

The last Danish author to be genuinely angry with Molesworth's treatment of early absolutist Denmark seems to be Franz v. Jessen who in 1930 published a biography of Thomas Balthazar von Jessen, one of Molesworth's Danish adversaries.¹³⁷

The following contribution will shift attention away from the traditional questions prompted by good old German source criticism and hurt national feeling and the associated questions whether Molesworth was right, just and nice or the contrary. Instead the focus will be on the Molesworth incident as a literary event whose long afterlife ties in with the development of Danish literature and identity.

An Account of Denmark: a hybrid book

As is commonly the case, to understand the publishing success of *An Account* is to look beyond the subject matter itself and the obvious writing skills of its author. What Molesworth did was more than writing deftly on an interesting topic. The key to his success was the striking blend of three genres: The political pamphlet, the topographical-historical description, and the confidential diplomatic report. That Molesworth's *Account* is a political pamphlet is abundantly clear from the preface and the conclusion where the author states his opinions on liberty and government, travelling and education, religion and the clergy. One only has to read a few paragraphs of Molesworth's preface to understand what his intentions were, namely to inoculate his compatriots against all forms of strong monarchical government, especially if supported by ideas of divine right, and to make propaganda for a strictly secular, republican political ideology informed by natural law and a historical vision of original, "Gothic" (Germanic) freedom. Or to use his own words: to exhort people and especially young English gentlemen travelling abroad not to "prefer gilded *Slavery* to course domestick *Liberty*".¹³⁸ The dangerous "gilded *Slavery*" was the courtly and cultural splendours of France and Spain that "dazzle the Eyes of most Travellers, and cast a disguise upon the Slavery of those Parts".¹³⁹ Molesworth's intention was to unmask the slavery of France, Spain and Italy by directing the attention of his fellow countrymen to the plain, "ungilded" version of the same phenomenon, viz. Danish Absolutism, because "in the *Northern Kingdoms* and *Provinces* there appears little or nothing to divert the Mind from contemplating Slavery in its own colours, without any of its Ornaments".¹⁴⁰ In everything he presented himself as a true Eng-

lish patriot defending traditional liberty and sound moral philosophy against modern continental slavery and the encroachments by priests and princes. These Whiggish opinions were by no means original but they were presented with wit and elegance and substantiated by the awful warning of the Danish example. Among the many political tracts of those years, Molesworth's *Account* has the rare honour together with John Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* of becoming a classic, albeit a minor one.¹⁴¹

Secondly, the *Account* was a piece of topographical literature that combined geographical description with a short historical outline and a sketch of the constitutional and political situation of the country or territory in question. Only ten years earlier, on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Anne to Prince George of Denmark in 1683, the English reading public had been presented with two nearly identical booklets, both entitled *The Present State of Denmark*.¹⁴² Neither of these works represents profound scholarship and both are very factual and friendly in their treatment of Denmark. Molesworth must have known these or quite similar works, because *An Account* shares their structure and subject-matter. Only Molesworth's tone is quite different: more critical, more directly political, more confidential and full of ridicule. Actually Molesworth's *Account* can be read as a very funny satire on the whole genre of topographical description.

In fact, it is this different tone as much as the more prominent place of politics in *An Account* that points to the third genre mentioned above, the confidential diplomatic report. Diplomacy and intelligence work have since time immemorial been closely related and it is not the least surprising that William III instructed Molesworth, "as dexterously and with as little noise as you can [to] endeavour to informe yourself of the designes and intentions of that court" and to compose on his return "a perfect and ample narrative".¹⁴³ Similar wordings abound in contemporary British diplomatic instructions.¹⁴⁴ Thousands of such diplomatic reports exist, consisting of sober-minded analysis focussing on power relationships and material interests complemented with blunt character-sketches of the prominent political players and speculations on the prospects for change of policy or government.¹⁴⁵ Normally, however, these reports were not printed and only – if at all – circulated in manuscript. That Molesworth should write a text like the main body of *An Account* was totally normal for an ambassador. That he published it was extraordinary

and gave *An Account* a delightful whiff of scandal and indiscretion which supposedly contributed not a little to the sales success.

The official Danish response?

It is well known how the reading public responded to *An Account*. Within three months no less than 6000 copies had been sold.¹⁴⁶ A couple of domestic political adversaries quickly responded, the first being Jodocus Crull whose *Denmark Vindicated* appeared in 1694 and the second Thomas Rogers whose *The Common-Wealths-Man Unmasqu'd* followed later the same year. From a Danish point of view these works disappoint, because they mostly engage with Molesworth's political and religious views in their English context. Even if Crull also tried to correct factual errors – and expected to be rewarded for it by the Danish legation – his sources were outdated and that made his defence unsatisfactory, if not downright embarrassing. Nevertheless, the Danish Ambassador Mogens Skeel charitably suggested that Crull's efforts deserved praise for their good intentions.¹⁴⁷

But what about the Danish government? It has been claimed that it quickly responded in kind by anonymously publishing *Animadversions on a Pretended Account of Denmark* (London 1694), which was translated and augmented in subsequent Dutch, French and German editions.¹⁴⁸ This is, maybe, an oversimplification which makes the Danish government look a little too much like a modern oil-company responding to critique from Green Peace by immediate volleys of disinformation. Like so much of what in retrospect is labelled propaganda, the *Animadversions* were produced on a semi-private basis. Where Crull failed, the author of the *Animadversions* succeeded in gaining cooperation – and, one must assume, remuneration – from the Danish legation.

The author of *Animadversions* was an Oxford professor and arch-Tory, Dr. William King (1663-1712), who was supplied with factual information by the Danish chaplain in London, Iver Brinck, and Ambassador Mogens Skeel. The *Animadversions* were published anonymously in August 1694, and two years later a couple of expanded French versions appeared as well as editions in Dutch and German. The author of the expanded French versions was a French émigré Huguenot by the name of Jean Payen La Foulereuse (c. 1650- after 1701) who c. 1685-99 intermittently worked – and of course spied – for the Danish legation in London. When he was not in London he worked for the German Chancery (Foreign Office) in Copenhagen, and that is where he trans-

lated and expanded King's work. One of the chapters in the *Animadversions* that La Foulereffe enlarged significantly dealt with the conflict between the Danish King and the Duke of Slesvig-Holstein-Gottorp. Molesworth's mission to Copenhagen had been connected with English-Dutch intervention in favour of the Duke (the so called Altona settlement 1689, a total defeat for the interests of the Danish monarch). The conflict triggered an extensive paper-war, and Molesworth had presented a rather pro-Gottorp version of the dispute in *An Account*.¹⁴⁹ While these different versions of the *Animadversions* were not private enterprises, nor were they official in the strict sense. They operated in that twilight zone which Molesworth himself had entered when he published *An Account* anonymously.

The rhetorical tactics of the *Animadversions* are a mixture of vilification of Molesworth's character and corrections to his text. From a literary point of view this attempt to place Molesworth in an unfavourable light was successful, not least due to the polished pen of its author, William King. The concomitant attempts to put Molesworth's facts and opinions in the "right" perspective, however, must be considered a dismal failure and the most excellent publicity conceivable for *An Account*. Molesworth's factual errors were simply not particularly glaring, but his opinions and biting asides were unacceptable. Therefore the traditional manoeuvre of diplomatic quarrelling which aimed at presenting the facts of the case in the light most favourable to one's own side did not work well.¹⁵⁰

Mogens Skeel: an interpreter of political cultures

What, then, was the official response? On 18 December 1693, just a few days after the publication of *An Account*, the Danish ambassador in London, Mogens Skeel (1650-94), wrote directly to William III and asked for the book to be banned and all the confiscated copies to be publicly burned by the executioner as a prelude to action to be taken against the author and the publisher.¹⁵¹ That was the Danish way to do it. Just a few years before, the Leipzig professor Christian Thomasius (1655-1728) in the December 1688 issue of his journal *Monatsgespräche* had published a critical – and very funny – review of the Danish court Preacher Hector Gottfried Masius' (1653-1709) Latin dissertation *Interesse principum circa religionem evangelicam* (The political advantage of Lutheranism for the princes). The reaction of Christian V was an official



Mogens Skeel (1650-94), engraving by Hubert Schaten after a sketch by Otto de Willars 1696. Skeel's portrait is surrounded by the coats of arms of his 16 noble ancestors (going back to great-great-grandfathers and -mothers) as well as symbols of study (books, globe, telescope) and experience (armour and weapons). No wonder fame descends from above with trumpet and laurel wreath.

complaint to the Elector of Saxony and the public burning of Thomasius' book by the executioner in Copenhagen. Thomasius was not prosecuted, but eventually he lost favour with the Elector of Saxony and left Leipzig for Berlin and the more tolerant Elector of Brandenburg.¹⁵² In 1693-94 the same approach was taken with regard to Molesworth.

On the day after his letter to William III, Skeel wrote to King Christian V, and this letter is extremely interesting for its penetrating and candid analysis.¹⁵³ Skeel said that he had read *An Account* in one sitting, and that the author, whom the public identified as Molesworth, had taken great pains to inform himself of a thousand details concerning Denmark and evidently possessed a good education. Skeel also wrote that he had given much thought to a possible course of action. On this point he was very pessimistic because, as he said, the freedom of the press in Britain was very great, especially during sessions of parliament. Even though authors and publishers were punished if they went too far ("si la sottise va trop loin"), books criticizing the present government were constantly printed without being burned. Even the King read them without taking offence ("Le Roy meme en a leu sans se facher")! Therefore Skeel doubted that there was any hope for justice, and, anyway, he thought that repressive action only would make the book more interesting and sought after. Nevertheless, the seriousness of the case and the success of the book called for action, and, as mentioned, Skeel had already written to William III.

Mogens Skeel is an interesting and sympathetic figure. He was of the old Danish nobility, possessed a good education, diplomatic experience and literary abilities. Furthermore he belonged to the "English party" at the Danish court, the opposition to the dominant "French party". He liked England very much ("parmy tous les pays, qve je connais, il n'y en a point, qve je préfère a l'Angleterre, pour y vivre commodement")¹⁵⁴ and was perfectly suited to make the observation that Molesworth had effectively checkmated the Danish government. Skeel's assessment of the situation was right, of course. William III did not want to pounce on Molesworth and a lawsuit against him got grounded before it had really started.

Molesworth, however, did not confine himself to a critique of the Danish government and the absolutist constitution. In chapters eight (*The Condition, Customs, and Temper of the People*) and sixteen (*The State of Re-*

ligion, of the Clergy and Learning, &c.) he poured scorn on the Danish national character which according to him was in a “most deplorable” condition. It was characterized by laziness, mediocrity and despondency which he interpreted as so many symptoms of the underlying political malaise:

for Slavery, like a sickly Constitution, grows in time so habitual, that it seems no Burden nor Disease; it creates a kind of laziness, and idle despondency, which puts Men beyond hopes and fears: it mortifies Ambition, Emulation, and other troublesome, as well as active qualities, which Liberty and Freedom beget; and instead of them affords only a dull kind of Pleasure of being careless and insensible.¹⁵⁵

In other words: the miserable Danish national character was an omnipresent reminder of the evils of absolutism. Even if Molesworth’s point here is political rather than national it seems that Molesworth through these two chapters put a thorn in the side of Danish national pride which stung long after the initial political uproar had subsided.

The immediate literary aftermath: Thura and Moller

One thing is the immediate success of Molesworth’s *Account*, another is its literary afterlife. Many texts popular in their day quickly sink back to oblivion, only to be resurrected many years later by curious historians. Molesworth’s *Account*, however, achieved a secure foothold not only in the English Whig tradition but, due to the French translations, also in the *respublica litteraria*. Pierre Bayle among others held Molesworth in high esteem on this account and referred to his European fame as a matter of fact.¹⁵⁶ Molesworth’s unflattering portrait of Denmark and the Danes simply became one of those topics no educated Dane traveling abroad could dodge. Thus Molesworth remained a challenge and a whole series of patriotic Danes took up this challenge, a fact which incidentally indicates the ineffectiveness of the semi official reply in the *Animadversions*.

The first of these patriots was the later bishop of Ribe, Laurids Thura (1657-1731), who in 1694 visited Oxford to study. During recreational strolls through the countryside he composed a long patriotic Danish poem in the heroic alexandrine metre, telling the life story of



Laurids Thura (1657-1731), copy by Hans Hansen in Ribe Katedralskole of a now lost painting. After studies in Copenhagen and a spell as teacher and headmaster in his native town of Køge, Thura during 1690-95 studied and travelled extensively abroad as tutor of young noblemen. On his return he pursued an honourable clerical career culminating with the bishopric of Ribe 1713.

Hans Rostgaard (1626-84), a war hero from the Danish-Swedish wars 1657-60. The Latin preface is dated 12 July 1694, only seven months after the publication of *An Account*. In the subsequent Danish prologue, Thura dwells on the mutual love and loyalty between king and subjects in Denmark, of which the fate of Hans Rostgaard is a prime example. Towards the end of the prologue he alludes to Molesworth as follows:

A surly spirit, whose pen, to its own dishonour,
 Has belched venom on all the Danish tribe, (b)
 Must yet acknowledge that a Dane will sooner be a leper
 Than break his oath and to his King be false.¹⁵⁷

Even if Molesworth's name is not mentioned, the footnote (b) refers directly to the "known-but-not-named" author of *An Account*.¹⁵⁸

Thura's response is interesting not least because of its patriotic tone. In order to counter Molesworth's argument he seized on one of the more moderate paragraphs in *An Account* where Molesworth speaks with some sympathy of Christian V whom he describes as "a very mild, and gracious Prince, beloved rather than revered by his people".¹⁵⁹ But where Molesworth concentrates on the good-natured character of the king and in general derives the loyalty of the Danes from the pernicious doctrine of divine right, Thura highlights the intimate connection between loyalty to the king and love of the fatherland. That is, where Molesworth links patriotism and resistance to autocratic rule, Thura on the contrary sees patriotism and devotion to the king as inseparable.

Thura's patriotic response was immediate and emotional, and it was highly esteemed in its day, when it circulated in manuscript until it was eventually printed in 1726. Already in 1699, however, when *An Account* had been translated into French, Dutch and German, and had been reviewed in a couple of international journals,¹⁶⁰ and after it had been unsuccessfully answered by the *Animadversions*, the literary historian and headmaster of the Flensburg grammar school, Johannes Moller (1661-1725), went on the offensive in the vernacular of the republic of letters, that is in cumbersome learned Latin, replete with Graecisms. He did it in an eighty page preface to a collection of bibliographies covering all Danish-Norwegian and Swedish books since the invention of printing.¹⁶¹ Moller lamented the low opinion of Scandinavian learning and literature often found among foreign scholars, and then exclaimed:

But truly, those who sin only out of ignorance will easily obtain pardon from the noble inhabitants of the North. Not so, however, those self-appointed critics – like the Spanish doctor Juan Huarte, author of the *Scrutiny of talents* – who, demented by a proud and selfish chauvinism, have persuaded themselves that *people living in the North are totally deprived of intellect, while those that live between the northern and the torrid zones, like Spaniards and their neighbours, are most prudent*. Those authors I have already briefly castigated in my *Cimbriæ Literatæ Prodromus*. A new writer from

England has been seized by the same madness as those but in a far more dangerous and, as it seems, incurable way, because he for certain private offences against his person has joined blind love for his fatherland to a wild and unrestrained hatred against the northerners [...] This is Molesworth, who for three years around 1690 functioned as ambassador of the British King William III to the Danish court, though because of the violence of his difficult temper not in particularly good style. Because he for this reason was not as highly esteemed by King Christian V and the high courtiers as he himself would have liked, he became resentful and, lusting for revenge, he soon after his departure from Denmark thrust forth an unjust book on the present state of Denmark, directed against Denmark as well as against other monarchic and absolute governments, which in the foreword are subjected to unrestrained satire.¹⁶²

Moller's subsequent critique and refutation of Molesworth concentrated exclusively on chapters eight and sixteen of *An Account*, dealing with religion and learning but also with the national character of the Danes. The essence of these chapters that so enraged Moller, can be summed up in three quotations from *An Account*. Concerning religion Molesworth remarked that:

there are no Factions nor Disputes about Religion, which usually have a great influence on any Government; but all are of one Mind, as to the way of Salvation, and as to the Duty they owe their Sovereign. This cuts off occasion of Rebellion and Mutiny from many, who otherwise would desire it, and seem to have reason enough, because of the heavy pressures they lye under.¹⁶³

On the subject of learning, invention and the university Molesworth's verdict is even more damning:

Denmark has formerly produced very Learned Men, such as the famous Mathematician *Tycho-Brahe*, the *Bartholines* for Physick and Anatomy, *Borichius*, who died lately, and bequeathed a considerable Legacy to the University of *Copenhagen*. But at present, Learning is there at a very low Ebb; yet Latin is more commonly spoken by the Clergy than with us. The Books that come out in print are very few, and those only some dull Treatises of Con-

troverſie againſt the *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. The *Belles Lettres*, or Gentle Learning are very much ſtrangers here, and will hardly be introduced till a greater affluence among the Gentry makes way for them. It is ſaid that Neceſſity is the Mother of Invention; which may be true in ſome degree, but I am ſure too much Neceſſity depresses the Spirits, and deſtroys it quite; neither is there any Invention here, or tolerable Imitation of what is brought in to them by ſtrangers.

There is but one University, which is at *Copenhagen*, and that mean enough in all reſpects; neither the Building nor the Revenues being comparable to thoſe of the worſt of our ſingle Colledges.¹⁶⁴

In the grand finale of chapter ſixteen of *An Account*, Molesworth's ſums up his opinion of the national character of the Danes in the following words.

To conclude; I never knew any Country where the Minds of the People were more of one *calibre* and pitch than here; you ſhall meet with none of extraordinary Parts or Qualifications, or ex-

Johannes Moller (1661-1725), engraving by Johann Chriſtoph Syſang. The epigram below the portrait celebrates the learning of the quinteſſential bookworm and polyhiſtor, who “was totally immerſed in books while he lived, and henceforth will be totally conſpicuous in his books”.



cellent in particular Studies and Trades; you see no Enthusiasts, Mad-men, Natural Fools, or fanciful Folks, but a certain equality of Understanding reigns among them: every one keeps the ordinary beaten road of Sence, which in this Country is neither the fairest nor the foulest, without deviating to the right or left: yet I will add this one Remark to their praise, that the Common People do generally write and read.¹⁶⁵

Moller's reply to these three passages, which he cited extensively, consisted first and foremost of a sketch of Danish and Swedish literary and intellectual history from the earliest ages to the present. With a torrent of names and titles he proved that from the earliest times the peoples of the North had been as proficient in every branch of learning and as eloquent in Latin as well as in the vernacular as any other civilized nation. Calling Dutch and German observers to witness he denied that the Danish clergy was bigoted and quarrelsome. Quite on the contrary he described the Danish population in general and the theologians in particular as characterized by moderation, concord and love of peace.¹⁶⁶ This he contrasted with the turbulence and discord of recent English history. In other words: Moller's reply to Molesworth was that he was wrong on all points, at least all the points Moller dealt with!

The final reply: Holberg's *Description of Denmark and Norway*

The most thorough reply to Molesworth, and in many ways the most interesting, came from another Danish scholar and poet who, like Thura, visited England: the professor, playwright and essayist Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754). It was during his stay at Oxford in 1706-8 that Holberg turned away from theology and first conceived the plan of publishing a comparative treatment of the geography, constitutions and history of all the major European states.¹⁶⁷ The grandiose project was only realized in part, first with his Danish *Introduction to the Histories of the Foremost European States* (Copenhagen 1711), essentially an update of Samuel Pufendorf's *Einleitung zu der Historie der Vornehmsten Reiche und Staaten, so itziger Zeit in Europa sich befinden* (1682).¹⁶⁸ Two years later followed part of the planned constitutional and geographical subject matter in his *Supplement to the Historical Introduction* (one of five planned volumes but the only one finished) which dealt with Germany, England and Holland.¹⁶⁹ Eventually Holberg covered both

history, geography and constitutions together but within a geographically more confined space when he published his *Description of Denmark and Norway* in 1729.¹⁷⁰ This work was epoch-making in several ways. It was the first comprehensive history of Denmark in Danish since Arild Huitfeldt's multi volume *History of the Danish Realm* published more than a century earlier (1594-1604). Furthermore it was the first analytical description in Danish of the Danish absolutist constitution. And it was the most comprehensive topographical description of Denmark and Norway between Arent Berntsen's *The Fertile Glory of Denmark and Norway* (1650-56)¹⁷¹ and Erik Pontoppidan's *Natural History of Norway* (1752-53)¹⁷² and *Danish Atlas* (1763-67).¹⁷³ By publishing in Danish Holberg aimed explicitly at a domestic, non-academic public, a public he himself had been instrumental in creating by means of his textbooks and comedies. Furthermore by dealing with political subjects such as the Danish constitution and Danish and Norwegian trade and manufacture Holberg actually created – at least adapted and introduced – a new, secular, natural-law based political language, far removed from the high-flung panegyrics and pious exhortations that hitherto had been the only public “political” genres available. In other words, Holberg's *Description of Denmark and Norway* is pivotal in the development of Danish and Norwegian identity.¹⁷⁴

Holberg's *Description of Denmark and Norway* is unthinkable without Molesworth. He is the only author mentioned by name in the preface and the only one who is regularly singled out for special, usually critical, mention.¹⁷⁵ The entire first chapter (*On the Nature and Character of the Danish Nation*) is an extensive reply to Molesworth's chapters eight and sixteen. Holberg began by rejecting Molesworth's observation that the Danes, especially after the introduction of absolutism, were not as warlike as formerly. In this way Molesworth denied that it had any point for Danes to glory in the rich exploits of their “Gothic” past which to Molesworth was a golden age of freedom. According to Holberg the many lost wars against Sweden in the seventeenth Century were not due to diminishing valour but to bad luck coming in the shape of Swedish generals larger than life, such as Gustavus Adolphus, Torstenson, Banner, Wrangel, Königsmark, Charles Gustavus etc., people to be reckoned “wonders and masterpieces of nature”.¹⁷⁶

Concerning learning and literature he more or less followed the same line as Moller, whose praise of Danish docility he repeated.¹⁷⁷ But

where Moller on all points argued against Molesworth's critique, Holberg chose a more subtle approach, admitted some points, excused others, and tried to turn the rest into a compliment. For example, Molesworth's observation that pretty little literature was published in Danish, Holberg explained by reference to the inclination of the Nordic peoples to speak and understand foreign languages. For this reason they generally preferred to read books in their original form in order to combine language learning and study. In this way the undeniable fact of the small volume of Danish literature is turned into an argument for the wide intellectual horizon of the Danish reading public. Concerning Molesworth's accusation of mediocrity Holberg followed the same tactics:

The *mediocrity* for which Mr. Molesworth blames the nation, namely that the Danes are neither foolish nor highly gifted, a more impartial author might have interpreted as a virtue and the middle way which this nation chooses in many things so that it seldom goes to extremes; for it deliberates on things a little more than a Frenchman, but a little less than an Englishman. It is not as economical as a Dutchman, but somewhat more close-fisted than a Norwegian. It is not as verbose as German, and not as taciturn as a Spaniard. Neither as playful as a Gascon, nor as dignified as a Portuguese, neither as amorous as a Greek, nor as frigid as a Westfrisian. Neither as gay as a Parisian, nor as melancholy as an Italian. For this reason, among all the peoples I know, intercourse with the Danes *incommodes* me the least. Where on the contrary a Frenchman kills me with fuss, a German with long-winded talk, an Englishman *incommodes* me with his self-praise, a Spaniard with his gravity.¹⁷⁸

While Holberg's reply to Molesworth's critique of Danish national character can be seen as a clever middle way in its own right, refuting some points, admitting others and turning the rest into positive statements, this was not possible in political matters. Thura had short-circuited the question by his patriotic protestations, Moller had dodged it completely, but Holberg chose to fight Molesworth's on his home ground: natural law and history. The opening statement of his chapter *On the Government* therefore began with a direct rejection of the corresponding opening statement of Molesworth's preface:

Since the author of the work called *The State of Denmark* as it was in the Year 1692¹⁷⁹ seems to have published the said work especially to contest *sovereign* government in general, I do not consider it totally superfluous to say something about that matter before I embark on the Danish government in particular and to examine the words with which he begins his magnificent preface: *Liberty and health are the greatest blessings mankind is capable of enjoying*. I confess that nearly all human beings by nature are inclined to freedom and *independence*, but from this it does not follow that it is useful for them; if humans were not subjected to *passions*, the *author's* opinion would seem indisputable; but as humans themselves have felt that it was not useful for them to live in freedom they have originally instituted *societies* and set up government, through which the natural freedom has been restricted more or less according to necessity, from which the many forms of government, as for example *democracies*, *aristocracies*, *monarchies*, have come.¹⁸⁰

These words, echoing natural law thinking in the vein of Grotius, Pufendorf, and Thomasiaus rather than that of Thomas Hobbes, form the basis of the next step in Holberg's argument. Instead of health and liberty he defined common security as the primary goal of all organised human society and boldly stated that only an absolutist government could fulfil this purpose.¹⁸¹ According to Holberg all democratic, aristocratic and mixed governments were either unstable and on the brink of civil war or so small and menaced by enemies that internal concord was secured by external pressure and not by merit of the constitution. This he proved with examples from exactly that ancient Greek and Roman history which Molesworth had set up as an ideal in contrast to the degenerate present. The two prime contemporary examples of flourishing republics, Venice and Holland, Holberg also dismissed. In Venice the people live under tyrannical laws in perpetual fear of denunciation, and Holland was simply too young a state to prove anything. As an ironic rejoinder to Molesworth's harsh words about the Danish clergy's enthusiasm for passive obedience and the pernicious alliance of throne and altar, Holberg explained that when the people of Amsterdam or London observed the good ordinances of the authorities this was due to the civility of the inhabitants and to the clergy's constant preaching on the obedience due to the authorities according to the law of God.¹⁸²



*Hic ille est, cujus calamo Sapientia, Jura,
 Historia, atque acres enituerunt Sales.
 Dum patrium emendat, delectat et instruit Orbem,
 Vix alius scripsit plus meliusque simul.*

This is, however, the only point where religion is mentioned in connection with politics. Holberg never touches upon the doctrine of divine right which plays such an important role in *An Account*, and only indirectly engages with the second part of Molesworth's argument from history: the original, free, "Gothic" constitution once prevalent in all of Europe but now only in force in England. Where Molesworth operates with a long "Gothic" history stretching back into the remote past, Holberg shortens Danish constitutional history more or less to what we today call historic time, that is beginning with the high middle ages. This allows him to tell the story of the gradual decline of an originally strong, hereditary monarchy and its eventual restitution under Frederick III in 1660 when dire necessity and deep-felt gratitude moved the population to introduce absolutism.¹⁸³ Necessity (security), history (the ancient constitution of Denmark), as well as the "present, more enlightened condition of the world" all concur and point to the same, self-confident conclusion: absolutism is right in general and particularly so for Denmark.

Was Holberg's reply to Molesworth an unqualified success? The question is difficult to answer, but it is tempting to think that he at least gave the domestic reading public peace of mind. Nevertheless, in the international republic of letters Molesworth's *Account* continued to be a text worth refuting as is demonstrated by the André Roger's semi-official *Lettres sur le Dannemarc* (1757-64).¹⁸⁴ Even if Molesworth is not mentioned by name, he is hinted at in the preface where it is said, that "il n'y a point de descriptions du Dannemarc auxquelles je pusse les [the foreign friends of the author] renvoyer. Elles sont ou infideles, ou incompletes".¹⁸⁵ The English edition of the first volume which was published in 1762 even contained the words "And Different from any Account hitherto published in the English Language" on the title page.

Left: Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), engraving by Theophilus Laan 1749, incorporating a portrait by Johan Roselius (later ennobled von Rosenheim) and originally produced for the French edition of Holberg's *Moralske tanker* (Moral reflections), but allegedly discarded because not lifelike enough. Judging by other portraits, the engraving seems lifelike enough but maybe it seemed a little too flippant to present Holberg as a pinup in the barrel of the Greek cynic Diogenes. The epigram celebrates Holberg's "poignant wit" and his ability to "write better than almost everybody else while improving his fatherland and delighting and instructing the world".

Molesworth was, however, not at all the chief target of Roger's glowing defence of Denmark. The *Lettres sur le Dannemarc* already belong to the next wave of national, literary self-defence triggered by Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des Loix* (1748). Even if Montesquieu had not attacked Denmark directly, his analytical categories seemed to suggest that the Danish constitution was not merely monarchic but actually despotic and thus unacceptable. This called forth a series of Danish answers, among them also one by the aging Holberg, but that is outside the remit for this paper.¹⁸⁶

Conclusion

Looked at from a rhetorical point of view, Holberg's tactics were not simply to argue against Molesworth and maintain the opposite or at least excuse or explain away the problems. On some points (learning and letters) he did exactly that, but on others (national character) he settled for a compromise. Concerning Molesworth's central argument, politics, his tactics were more sophisticated. He began his chapter on the Danish constitution with a discussion of general principles and ancient history before he moved on to the Danish case. In this discussion he replaced liberty as the fundamental concept with security. This not only provided him with a more favourable yardstick for measuring the accomplishments of Danish absolutism but through this shift of emphasis he dismantled the central nexus in Molesworth's argument, the connection between absolutism and lack of freedom on the one hand and the backwardness of the economy and the failings of Danish national character on the other. The outcome of this was not only an effective, self-assured reply. It also allowed Holberg to incorporate important elements of Molesworth's critique and general outlook, now liberated from their political undertones, into his enlightened, patriotic programme for cultural and economic renewal. This renewal he contributed significantly to himself by means of his textbooks, his comedies, his essays, his work as an university administrator and eventually through the donation of his property to Sorø Academy. Last but not least, he contributed significantly to the creation of a political language based on secular natural law, shorn of all aristocratic and constitutionalist traditions and focused on pragmatic step-by-step reforms. It was a language tolerant but by no means irreligious, one hundred percent loyal to the government and focussed on cultural and economic issues like the development of Danish literature, manufacture, trade and,

later in the century, agricultural reform. Thus transformed one can justly say that Molesworth's republican manifesto was instrumental in shaping the identity of the patriotic and anything but radical mainstream of Danish Enlightenment.

4. Natural Law, National Laws, Parliaments and Multiple Monarchies: 1707 and Beyond

John W. Cairns^{187*}

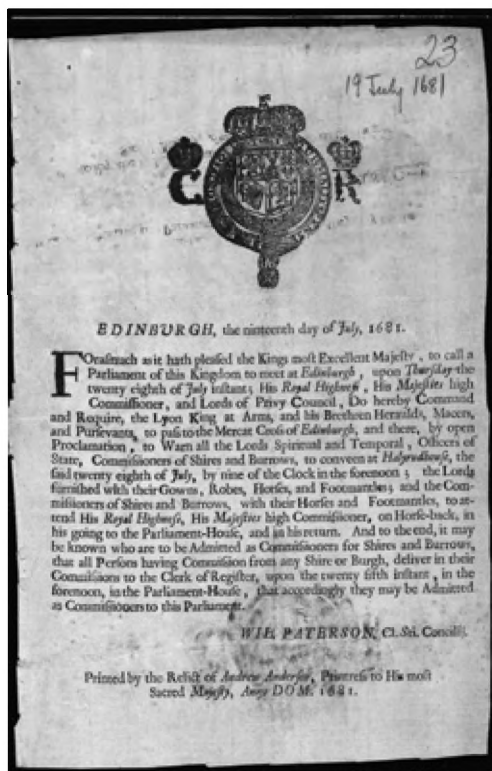
Ditlev Tamm has pointed out that the gateway of the town of Rendsburg in Schleswig contained a stone marking the northern limit of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁸⁸ Among the many implications of this, one may be singled out. Whatever may have been the importance or effectiveness of the Empire, the territory beyond the river Eider could not even in theory be subject to the jurisdiction of the Reichskammergericht in Speyer (or later Wezlar) and hence subject, barring local statutes and customs, to the authority of the *gemeines Recht* applied by that court. South of the Eider, Holstein, however, also under the King of Denmark, was a Duchy of the Empire. This is just one indicator of the potential legal complexity of the territories of the Danish composite monarchy, which included through the eighteenth century, as well as these German territories, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, and some Caribbean islands. Scotland had no need of such a boundary stone to indicate it was not part of the Empire, although in 1469, shortly after James III's marriage to Princess Margaret of Denmark, Parliament, declaring that the king possessed "ful Jurisdictione and fre Impire within his Realme", deprived the work of imperial notaries of any authority in civil cases in Scotland.¹⁸⁹ Ten years later, a clergyman was accused before Parliament of "tresonable usurpacioune" for his pretended legitimation of a child "in the name and Autorite of the Emperoure, contrare to our souverain lordis croune and maieste Riale".¹⁹⁰ So even in Scotland the universal claims of the Emperors had an impact.

Both Scotland and Denmark have an identity and national consciousness which may be traced to the middle ages.¹⁹¹ In both, the law has commonly come to be seen as one of many badges of that national identity. Without endorsing this (essentially nineteenth-century) view, comparison of the circumstances of the two countries brings differences rather than similarities to the front in assessing their laws. Thus, Scots law became a minority system in the British composite state; Danish law, on the other hand, was dominant in the Danish composite state. Despite the explicit rejection of the authority of the Roman

Emperor in 1469, by 1700 Scots law had become strongly marked by a reception of the *ius commune* of Roman and Canon law. The culture of the elite Scots lawyers based in Edinburgh practising before the Court of Session was cosmopolitan. For nearly two centuries past, they and the judges before whom they pleaded had commonly been educated to a high standard in a continental university in Civil, that is Roman, and often Canon law.¹⁹² It is this “civilian” aspect of Scots law that has traditionally been used to emphasise its difference from English law. In contrast, as a mark of identity, Danish law emphasised its “Nordic” roots in opposition to the Romanistic *gemeines Recht* of Germany, to which the Scots law of around 1700 could in fact be much more easily compared.¹⁹³ As a badge of particular national identity, the cosmopolitan nature of Scots law only worked in opposition to English law.

Composite states, conglomerate states, and multiple monarchies were normal in early modern Europe.¹⁹⁴ Crucial to any further comparison of the Scottish and Danish positions is an understanding of contrasting systems of government and legislation in the eighteenth century in this context. In the 1660s, Denmark had become an absolute monarchy, the terms of which were embodied in the Royal Law of 1665.¹⁹⁵ Symbolic of, and deriving from, the monarch’s new absolutist powers was Christian V’s promulgation of a new Danish Code, unifying the laws within Denmark, in 1683 (a version for Norway was promulgated in 1687).¹⁹⁶ Indeed, this marked an historical development whereby the Danish kings came no longer to be seen as judges, but rather as legislators, in line with absolutist natural-law theory of the type currently being developed by, among others, Samuel von Pufendorf.¹⁹⁷

In 1603, James VI of Scotland had inherited the English throne. Despite inconclusive negotiations and discussions of various forms of closer union, the two countries remained united only by the Stuart dynasty. If not in the formal position of subjection to England that was the lot of the kingdom of Ireland, Scotland was no longer generally able to act independently, foreign policy, for example, typically being determined in England. Assessment of the Stuart (and Willemite) multiple monarchy and of the consequent political tensions within the British Isles would be superfluous: suffice it to say that during the seventeenth century both English and Scots in the long run found the regnal union problematic, even disastrous.¹⁹⁸ Though a closer Union was far from the necessary result of all this, a mixture of politics and ideology contributed to bringing about a more incorporating union of England and



Proclamation of Parliament

This image depicts a surviving example of the official printed proclamation ordering the Riding of Parliament in 1681. The High Commissioner represented the monarch, and here it was James, Duke of Albany.

The image is topped by the royal coat of arms in its Scottish quartering.
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Scotland in 1707; an event about which nothing was inevitable – not even the event itself – and the negotiations serious and difficult.¹⁹⁹

The most important and obvious effect of this Union was disappearance of the Scottish Parliament. If in theory the English Parliament was also abolished, in practice for England there was continuity, but with forty-five Scottish members added to the House of Commons and sixteen elected Scottish peers to the House of Lords.²⁰⁰ For Scotland it was different; there was no longer a Scottish Parliament and soon no Privy Council. Nevertheless, Scotland continued in many ways as a polity on

its own, with its own rich civic culture and complex structures in which there was considerable participation. It is important to note that the Honours of Scotland, the arched imperial crown, sword of state, and sceptre, which symbolised independence and sovereignty, were to be kept in Scotland along with the parliamentary and other records and warrants, and “so [to] remain in all time coming notwithstanding of the Union”.²⁰¹ These structures and provisions demonstrate the extent to which the Union was only partly incorporating.

Structures of Government before the Union

Before 1707, the main institutions of central government in Scotland were the Parliament and the Privy Council. The former was unicameral, consisting of the monarch, the estates of the realm (the nature of which had varied, though once having classically been the three estates of clergy, nobility and burgesses), and the various officers of state, such as the Chancellor, Secretary, Justice-Clerk, Lord Advocate, and so on. After 1603, the king attended Parliament in person only exceptionally, but he was represented both by his Commissioner and symbolically by the presence of the Honours of Scotland – Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State. Royal assent to acts was signified by touching them with the sceptre.²⁰² While the royalist lawyer and political and constitutional theorist Sir George Mackenzie (1636-91) had argued that legislation was the prerogative of the king, the Estates only consenting, by 1707 it was clear that legislation was enacted by both monarch and estates.²⁰³ The Privy Council was dominated by the officers of state and guided the administration of the country, developing and implementing royal policy and enforcing the laws.²⁰⁴

The most important local officer was the sheriff, a royal appointment, dating from the middle ages. By 1707 around two-thirds of sheriffs held office heritably, that is by hereditary right as property.²⁰⁵ They were responsible in their sheriffdoms for the execution of royal writs, including those for court summonses, summoning of jurors, elections to Parliament and so on. They presided over assizes that determined the cost of bread. They summoned meetings of the freeholders of the sheriffdom and were returning officers for elections.²⁰⁶ Commissioners of Supply had been established in 1667 to enable collection of a land tax known as the cess.²⁰⁷ They progressively acquired responsibility to collect other taxes for other miscellaneous duties, such as ensuring repair of highways and bridges. They were named annually in the Act of

Supply from lists of landowners and met frequently as the sheriff had to call them to ensure collection of taxes.²⁰⁸ Justices of the peace had been introduced in 1609, though their role remained that of minor local administration.²⁰⁹ County freeholders, basically feudal superiors who owned land of a certain value, assembled before the sheriff for various head and other courts, where business could be transacted. Such assemblies also gave them the opportunity to act collectively, to petition Parliament or the Crown on matters that concerned them. The justices of the peace and the commissioners of supply were inevitably chosen from the freeholders. It was the freeholders who elected members to Parliament.

By 1707, there was an extensive system of royal burghs and burghs of regality or barony in (mainly) lowland Scotland. All had privileges founded on a charter, but royal burghs in theory had a monopoly on overseas trade, returned members to Parliament as the estate of burghesses, and were largely self-governing with what were essentially self-electing oligarchic councils. Royal burghs also had a significant institution in the Convention of Royal Burghs, which met regularly and lobbied on their behalf.²¹⁰

After 1690, the established national church was Presbyterian. If this – and the doctrine of the “two kingdoms” – meant it was no longer directly represented in Parliament, the Kirk had an influential body in its annual General Assembly, which contained prominent lay members. It could – and did – lobby politicians, petition Parliament and monarch, and thereby was a body that statesmen could not ignore. The Kirk’s synods, presbyteries, and sessions (in the parish) exercised discipline over clergy and laity. In each parish there was a group of heritors, landowners with a duty to maintain the kirk and manse, ensure there was a schoolmaster, and pay the minister his stipend from the teinds of the parish.²¹¹

The Legal System before the Union

The most important civil court was the [Court of] Session, a central court developed out of the King’s Council in the fifteenth century and reformed as the College of Justice in 1532.²¹² With jurisdiction in all matters of civil or private law, it had its own *stylus curiae*, elaborated on the foundation of Romano-Canonical procedure. It was possible to take a “protestation for remeid of law” from the Session to the Parliament.²¹³ The central criminal court was the Justice or Justiciary Court,

which had been reformed in 1671. It could travel on circuit round Scotland, but this remained irregular until after the Union. An accused was tried by jury in a procedure similar to but far from identical with an English trial.²¹⁴

The sheriff exercised the most significant local jurisdiction.²¹⁵ Sheriffs generally appointed a legally-trained depute to do the work, who might also appoint a local substitute. Sheriffs possessed a wide civil and criminal jurisdiction. Scotland was also covered by a system of Commissary Courts, secular successors to the former ecclesiastical courts, with that of Edinburgh having a supervisory and wider jurisdiction, particularly over divorce and marriage.²¹⁶ Competing in significance with the sheriff were those landowners who had rights of regality, that is who possessed a jurisdiction almost as great as that of the Crown, though in civil matters subject to the Session's powers of adjudication and suspension. Many landowners had lesser, but still important, rights of jurisdiction as barons. It is often suggested that lords of regality and barony were not very active in exercising their jurisdictions around 1700, but where evidence survives this seems often to have been far from the case.²¹⁷ Remembering that many sheriffs held office heritably, it has been calculated that Scotland probably had over 200 heritable jurisdictions in 1707.²¹⁸ The importance of the sheriff court and franchise jurisdictions meant that the justices of the peace never developed the vital significance they possessed in England and had been allowed to lapse in 1641. Revived after the Restoration, some justices were active around the time of the Union, though their effectiveness may be questioned.²¹⁹ Burghs also held courts, only those of Edinburgh excluding the jurisdiction of the sheriff.²²⁰

Putting aside consideration of the Gaelic culture of the Highlands, Scotland had long had a unified law. This consisted of the "municipal law", identified with statutes and customs, and the "common law", understood as the Roman law received in Europe, along with the feudal, Canon, and mercantile laws. Reliance on the Roman law was thought to secure liberty, property, honour and life, by providing certainty and avoiding arbitrariness.²²¹

Provisions of the Union

The eighteenth article of the Act of Union provided that the same laws on trade, customs and excise as in England would be applied in Scotland, adding that "all other Laws, in use within the Kingdom of

Scotland do after the Union, and notwithstanding thereof, remain in the same force as before ... but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain". A distinction was drawn, however, so that laws "concerning publick Right, Policy and Civil Government" could be made the same throughout the United Kingdom, while "no alteration [might] be made in Laws which concern private Right, except for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland". The nineteenth article preserved the Court of Session and Court of Justiciary "in all time coming within Scotland", though subject to such "Regulations for the better Administration of Justice" as the Parliament of Great Britain might make. The existing Admiralty Jurisdiction was preserved, though now under the Lord High Admiral or Commissioners of Admiralty of Great Britain; the Parliament of Great Britain was empowered to alter this court, though an admiralty court was always to be preserved in Scotland to deal with "Maritime Cases, relating to private Rights". Heritable rights of admiralty were preserved as rights of property to their proprietors. All inferior courts were preserved, though alterable by Parliament, while "no Causes in Scotland [were to] be cognoscible, by the Courts of Chancery, Queens-Bench, Common-Pleas or any other Court in Westminster Hall"; moreover, these courts were not after the Union to have "power to Cognosce, Review, or Alter the Acts, or Sentences of the Judicatures within Scotland, or stop the Execution of the same". A new Court of Exchequer was to be erected in Scotland, "for deciding Questions concerning the Revenues of Customs and Excises ... having the same power and authority in such cases, as the Court of Exchequer has in England". The new court was to continue to exercise the Scottish Exchequer's traditional jurisdiction, having the "power of passing Signatures, Gifts Tutories, and in other things", so that it was not to have the type of extensive jurisdiction at common law potentially possessed by the English court. The Privy Council was retained "for preserving of publick Peace and Order" until the Parliament thought fit to alter it (which it did in 1708 by abolishing it, largely due to the machinations of a group of Scottish politicians). The twentieth article preserved the Scottish heritable jurisdictions "as Rights of Property, in the same manner as they are now enjoyed by the Laws of Scotland". The twenty-first article preserved the privileges of the royal burghs.²²²

The Commissioners for Union had been forbidden to consider the ecclesiastical polity of both countries, and each country's legislature passed an act to secure its own church. The Scottish act securing the church also secured the universities, and required that their professors

conform to the tenets of the Kirk.²²³ These acts were integral to the union settlement and though not part of the articles of Union were included in the Acts passed.²²⁴

Preservation of the legal system and law entailed upholding the existing structures of jurisdiction that provided local government, which remained distinct and quite different in constitution from that of England. Any other solution for the legal system would have been completely impractical. Legal rights defined property rights; property rights defined political rights. Burghs both royal and of regality and barony had their trading privileges which they could enforce in their courts and in the Court of Session. Many landowners had profitable rights of jurisdiction. To have replaced the substantive law and legal institutions with anything else would have been a task of quite extraordinary difficulty. For example, simply to have introduced English law would have completely reshaped the Scottish polity and expropriated the property rights of the landed classes – and it was after all the landed classes who were agreeing Union. To have sorted all of this out to create a more unified state was politically impossible. Vested interests required preservation of the law and legal system.

It is very likely, however, that the experience and memory of the enforced Union with the English Commonwealth under Cromwell in the 1650s coloured attitudes to the union of 1707. The Commonwealth regime attempted to restructure the Scottish legal system. The results were not inspiring. Cromwell removed the Scottish records to London. Not only are national records potent symbols of national identity, this action greatly hampered the operation of the legal system.²²⁵ There can be no surprise that the provisions of the Union of 1707 prohibited the removal of the records from Scotland.²²⁶ In January 1652, all jurisdictions not deriving authority from the English Parliament were abolished.²²⁷ In theory all courts, including sheriff, commissary, baron, regality, and burgh courts ceased to operate. Commissioners for the Administration of Justice, of whom four were English and three Scots, were appointed in May 1652, replacing the Session (which had not sat since February 1650) and the Justiciary Court.²²⁸ These could deal with both civil and criminal business, though it is clear the regime preferred to use the English judges for criminal work.²²⁹ Their commissions required them to administer justice according to “the laws of Scotland, equity and good conscience”.²³⁰ Two men were appointed to each shire, one English one Scots, as sheriffs and commissaries. An admiralty court was also created.²³¹ In 1654, an ordinance abolished all heritable ju-

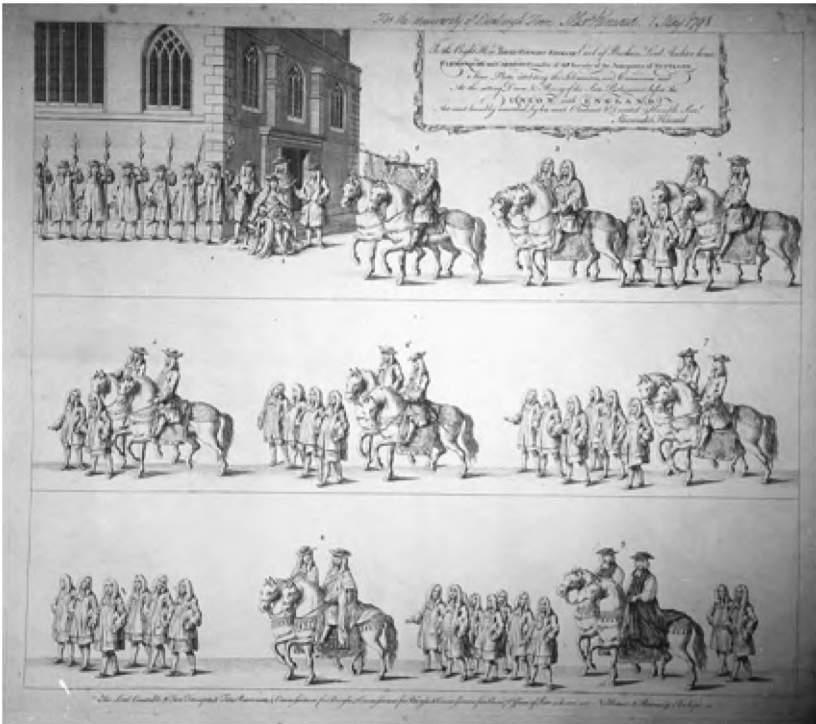
risdictions, feudal casualties, and military jurisdictions, while another created “Courts Baron” for land considered a “manor”.²³² A system of justices of the peace was established in 1655.²³³ Though no effective steps were taken, the new government clearly also wanted to assimilate Scots law to that of England.²³⁴

These reforms have acquired a broadly favourable reputation as popular and successful, promoting speedy and impartial justice.²³⁵ This was an assessment developed in the later eighteenth-century, largely by accepting the claims of the Cromwellian regime at face value and identifying the reforms as abolishing “feudalism” and “subjection” in a manner comparable to the legislation abolishing heritable jurisdictions and military tenure in 1747.²³⁶ There is very little evidence to support it, and much against it. For example, the “feudal” jurisdictions carried on operating through the Commonwealth period, presumably to satisfy local needs. The new Commissioners were found slow and unsatisfactory in dealing with civil business. Like most occupying regimes, the Commonwealth government in Scotland was most concerned with maintaining order.²³⁷

In 1670, when Union had been mooted between Scotland and England, the Scots commissioners had proposed that Scots law should in all time coming remain as it was before the Union, and that all processes concerning the Scots and their property should be dealt with only in Scotland. There could be no cases heard in England or taken there on appeal. In fact no provision was suggested for how reforms would be made.²³⁸ This is explained by Sir George Mackenzie’s reflection that it was unlikely “the proposal of an Union [could] have been less acceptable to the people at any time, than at this, in which the remembrance of their oppres[s]ion from the Usurper was yet fresh with them”.²³⁹

This experience will have reinforced the determination of the Scots commissioners for Union that Scottish court structures and Scots law as far as possible should be preserved. Cromwell had expropriated the property of the Scottish landowners without compensation by abolishing barony and regality courts – and the reform had not even worked. In the 1680s, the Restoration regime had also been seen as attacking heritable jurisdictions, and hence property rights, which led to a specific “Article of Greivance” in the Scottish settlement of 1689.²⁴⁰

When Parliament enacted the Union, it further reinforced the position of Scots law by regulating appointments to the bench of the Court of Session. Only those who had served in the College of Justice for five years as an advocate or as Principal Clerk of Session or for ten years as



Riding of Parliament

This image depicts part of the procession known as the “Riding of Parliament”. This was a cavalcade from the Palace of Holyroodhouse to the Parliament House in a strict order. It gave an important representation of the political community. © The Scotsman Publications Ltd. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

a Writer to the Signet were eligible for appointment. Further, a Writer to the Signet could only be admitted as a Senator two years after he had undergone “a private and publick Tryal on the Civil Law before the Faculty of Advocats and be found by them qualified for the said Office”.²⁴¹ The Court was not to have members who did not have an academic education in law of the type favoured by Scots; the Crown was not going to have the authority to appoint the common lawyers of England to the Scottish bench.

The new Court of Exchequer came into existence on 1 May 1708. It consisted of the Lord High Treasurer, the Chief Baron, and four other Barons. In practice it was the Chief Baron and Barons who sat. Advocates of the Scots bar and barristers or serjeants of the English bar

of five years standing were eligible for appointment. As well as Scots advocates, English barristers qualified to appear before the English Exchequer also had rights of audience.²⁴² The new Court essentially followed English law and procedure in Exchequer matters, and in practice, through the eighteenth century, one judge was always an English barrister.²⁴³ While this court could have been a medium for infiltrating English law into Scots law, in fact this did not happen, though it did encourage Scots to learn English law.²⁴⁴

That the Scottish political class contained many lawyers would have reinforced the aim of ensuring protection of law, legal system, and property under the Union. It was common for landowners (who did not possess noble titles) to be admitted as advocates before the Court of Session after an education in law at (by this time) typically a Dutch university: sometimes they practised; sometimes they found the training useful in exercising their local rights of heritable jurisdiction.²⁴⁵ Some noblemen also acquired a legal education, though it was not thought proper for a peer to plead as a lawyer.²⁴⁶ Notable in this respect were the third Duke of Argyll and his nephew the Earl of Bute, both educated in law in the Netherlands.²⁴⁷ That Scots appeals after 1707 went to the House of Lords made desirable the presence in the Lords of Scots peers with this type of education.²⁴⁸

Legislation After the Union

In the years before 1707, both before and after 1689, the Scottish Parliament had been very active as a legislature, producing important and lasting reforms in Scots law. These included acts protecting the liberty of the subject, easing credit by protecting creditors and producing more refined systems of diligence, reforming prescription, protecting minors, making for greater certainty in real rights, and improving registration and the formalities of deeds. Acts also encouraged development of lands through division of commonities and the encouragement of enclosures.²⁴⁹ Union brought all this energetic activity to an end. Joanna Innes has demonstrated just how dramatic was the decline of legislation affecting Scots law, though the rate of legislation increased again after the mid-century.²⁵⁰

Innes's quantitative and qualitative analysis of actual and failed legislation shows that this was not a simple effect of the Union. In the first years of the Union "English" domestic legislation also declined, though not so dramatically (50% as against 85%). Evidence suggests that Scots

in fact followed a policy of keeping matters away from Westminster. She plausibly points out that Scots wanted material benefits from the Union, while the English wanted a secure succession and political stability – not to interfere in Scottish domestic affairs.²⁵¹

This means that major legislative reforms in the law generally arose either from lobbying and pressure from Scotland or from metropolitan anxiety over security. Bob Harris has shown that Scots in fact were not only adept at lobbying, but also managed to act as a “national interest” at Westminster through the eighteenth century. Much of this activity focused around economic concerns, such as development of the linen trade, or opposition to the malt tax. The Convention of Royal Burghs, heritors and barons of shires, and other groups regularly presented petitions to Parliament. The Convention commonly employed a London agent to look after its interests at Parliament. That ministers typically allowed patronage over Scottish appointments to be exercised through Scottish grandees, most notably Lord Ilay (later third Duke of Argyll), provided good channels of communication from Scotland to Parliament and the ministers, whereby Scottish concerns received a hearing. Harris has shown that the achievements were considerable.²⁵²

On the other hand, the sheer weight of numbers of English members was telling, especially when Jacobitism was seen to threaten the political settlement. Thus, the Jacobite scare of 1708 led to the “Act for Improving the Union between the Two Kingdoms”, which replaced the Scots law on treason with that of England.²⁵³ This legislation was bitterly opposed by the Scottish members; but they could not successfully resist it.²⁵⁴ The Rebellion of 1715 led to the Clan Act, which abolished certain personal military services considered “arbitrary and oppressive ... contrary to the nature of good government, destructive of the liberties of free people, inconsistent with the obedience and allegiance due to his Majesty and government, as well as the greatest obstruction to the improvement of trade, husbandry, and manufactories”.²⁵⁵

The most important statutory reforms of this nature were those enacted, largely on the initiative of Lord Hardwicke, after the 1745 Rebellion. Much of this legislation was not directed at the legal system in any fundamental kind of way, though in itself of tremendous importance, but was of an administrative and regulatory nature, concerned with disarming the Highlanders, forbidding their traditional dress and the like.²⁵⁶ Of greater significance for Scots law was the abolition of ward holding, a military tenure, and heritable jurisdictions. Hardwicke undoubtedly hoped that these reforms were means towards “Anglicisa-

tion” of the Scots law and legal system. Jewell’s study of the progress of the legislation shows how party and personality affected the drafting, amendment, and progress in Parliament of the statutes.²⁵⁷ Of the two reforms, that of tenures proved the easier to get through parliament, though the proposals provoked an extensive pamphlet literature. The Tenures Abolition Act converted ward holdings into blench tenure if held of the Crown or feu ferme if held of a subject superior. It also regulated or abolished certain feudal casualties, and tidied up or reformed other aspects or incidents of the feudal tenures.²⁵⁸ The scheme to abolish heritable jurisdictions was much more keenly disputed in Parliament, with considerable resistance in Scotland, because of the proposed abolition of useful local courts and anxieties over whether it breached the articles of Union. Different individuals and groups fed material into the bill that emerged, so that, as well as abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, the act provided a useful overhaul of criminal procedure before the Court of Justiciary. Its main effect was, of course, to abolish all heritable sheriffships, stewartries, bailleries, constabularies, and regalities, vesting their jurisdictions in the Session, Justiciary Court, circuits, and sheriff and stewartry courts that would otherwise have possessed them. Barons lost their franchise jurisdiction to try serious crimes, but could deal with their tenants, minor crimes, and civil suits to the value of forty shillings. Considerable compensation was paid, because the private property of individuals – most of whom had been entirely loyal to the House of Hanover – was essentially expropriated by the act. The long title of the act described one of its purposes as “rendering the Union of the Two Kingdoms more complete”. This could only be so in the sense that now Scotland, like England, lacked significant heritable jurisdictions. In fact, the act did nothing to assimilate the Scots and English laws and legal systems, and the basic architecture of the Scottish legal system was preserved. One of the act’s most obvious effects was greatly to increase crown patronage over the Scottish legal system.²⁵⁹ It would be wrong to see these reforms as “imposed” on the Scots by an essentially “English” Parliament. Many Scots were in favour of them. Their passage through Westminster gave opportunities for debate, amendment, and lobbying.²⁶⁰

Two acts early in the Union, however, clearly conformed to the model of imposition of legislation on a largely unwilling Scotland. Both concerned the Church. Many members of the Kirk had originally opposed the Union because its incorporating form meant that Anglican bishops in the House of Lords would have authority over the Church of

Scotland both in legislation and appeals from the Scottish courts. During the brief period of high Tory administration under Anne, such anxieties about the religious settlement seemed correct. In 1709 the Presbytery and Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh took action against an Episcopalian minister, James Greenshields, for using the Anglican prayer book and liturgy. It is a reasonable inference that Greenshields was deliberately trying to provoke the Edinburgh Presbytery to move against him, to bring the issue before a sympathetic House of Lords. His defiance of the jurisdiction of the Presbytery led to an order of the magistrates of Edinburgh requiring him not to conduct services; his subsequent disobedience led to his imprisonment. This order of the magistrates was ultimately reversed by the House of Lords.²⁶¹ In London, Greenshields associated with the Anglican hierarchy, and lobbied for the Toleration Act of 1712, "to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in ... Scotland in the Exercise of their Religious Worship and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of England".²⁶² This was an attack on the Kirk as established, reducing the authority of its courts. It made plain the authority of Westminster, with Anglican bishops in the Lords, and Parliament now duly passed the Patronage Act, restoring to lay patrons the right to appoint ministers that had been given to the elders and heritors in 1690.²⁶³ These acts were viewed as attacks on the Union settlement, and were among the grievances that led the Earl of Findlater to move dissolution of the Union in 1713.²⁶⁴ The Patronage Act created many tensions in the Kirk through the century. But such interference with the Kirk, contrary to the spirit of the Union, was never again attempted.²⁶⁵ No doubt the Scottish episcopians' associations with Jacobitism long prevented any further moves in their favour, while the national church proved staunchly loyal to the House of Hanover.²⁶⁶

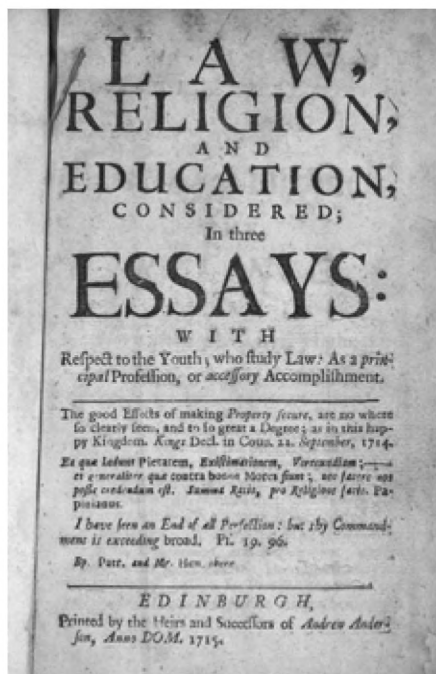
With some exceptions, the existing active civic culture and institutions in Scotland allowed Scots largely to control or influence legislation affecting their interests by lobbying and petitioning. Indeed, despite the Union, many new specifically Scottish institutions were created by legislation. These were generally designed to develop Scotland economically along sound mercantilist principles. Fishing, agriculture, the linen industry, and banking were all further promoted this way. Important reforms, such as the Election Act of 1743, the Entail Act of 1770, and the Bankruptcy Act of 1772, were drafted in Scotland by the law officers, approved by the judges, corporations of lawyers, and freeholders, before being sent to Westminster for enactment.²⁶⁷ Thus, as

Harris has demonstrated, within the new Kingdom of Great Britain, a Scottish political community remained that saw itself as having distinct national interests, which was able to utilise the system of patronage to achieve its ends and communicate its concerns.²⁶⁸

The Nature of Scots Law

The dramatic decrease in legislation relating to Scotland after the Union was nonetheless significant. Reforms in the law may be necessary or desirable, but of neither political interest nor direct economic importance. To explore the implications of this, it is necessary to consider further how Scots viewed their law and legal system. Two main strands of thinking can be identified. The first focused very much on Scots law as *ius proprium* departing from a universal *ius commune* identified with the received Roman and Canon laws. The second emphasised the place of Scots law as a municipal law validated within a framework of essentially Protestant natural law.

The approach of Francis Grant (c.1660-1726) to law exemplifies the first of these. Educated in law in Leiden between 1684 and 1687,



Law Religion and Education
(Edinburgh 1715).

This work, probably by Francis Grant, Lord Cullen (1658x63–1726), is important in its clear depiction of how Scots lawyers were expected to argue in a manner typical of the modern usage of Roman law. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

and writing just after the Union, he stated that young lawyers in Scotland needed to know “our municipal and common *Laws*”. “Municipal” law meant what was peculiarly Scottish “in Statutes, Custom, and old Maxims of Justice and Government; *different from the Roman Law*”. By “common” law was to be understood “the *Roman Law*. Yet, not *simply*, as it obtained, precisely, under that Empire; but *qualified, as commonly retained or received; after the Dissolution thereof: Whether by Explanation, or Adaptation to the Feudal, Canon, or Mercantile Subjects; which superveen’d.*”²⁶⁹ Scots law, the *ius proprium*, existed only in so far as it was different from the *ius commune* of Roman law, which was otherwise applicable as a universal law.²⁷⁰ Grant argued that because “Our peculiar Statutes, and consuetudinary Maxims, were *very few*”, the common law was cultivated and adopted.²⁷¹ Scots law was a “*compound Law*”, that is, a kind of Roman-Scots law typical of the *usus modernus Pandectarum*.²⁷² This identification of Scots municipal law with statutes, custom and maxims (what others called “*practick*”) different from Roman law and of “our” common law with Roman law was not only traditional from at least 1500, but also paralleled in many contemporary European legal systems.²⁷³

Grant considered Roman law to possess both divine authority and, in many respects, divine origin. He stated that it had been adopted by “the several Sovereigns, with Acquiescence of the People, in *Europe*” after its rediscovery subsequent to the fall of the Roman Empire. Scotland, “tho’ ... never intirley subject to the *Roman Empire*; yet, with other Nations, *imbraced their Law*”.²⁷⁴ Grant asserted that likewise in Scotland “our Kings and States” had adopted “the *common Law* in Supplement of our *own*”. Several pages were devoted to demonstration of this.²⁷⁵ For Grant, it was this use of the adapted Roman law in Scotland that ensured liberty, property, honour and life by providing certainty, because it ensured that decisions were made on the basis of authority, rather than individual judicial reason.²⁷⁶ Along with Scotland’s (and then Great Britain’s) “Gothish” constitution, it prevented the Scots being subjected to the arbitrary will of the magistrate or monarch – “the Governour’s vagrant *Reason*”.²⁷⁷ This was because, though Grant emphasised the divine origin of Roman law, its excellence as natural law, and its role as a law of nations, he argued that “Civil-common Law” was in force “*now, of Necessity, or as binding*”. It was not utilised “of meer Discretion, or as a *variable Directory to Reason*”.²⁷⁸

Sir George Mackenzie, the leading intellectual advocate of the Restoration period had political views very different from those of Grant.²⁷⁹

But he also argued that it was statute and custom that gave authority to the *ius commune* in Scotland, and indeed presented a view of Scots law and valid legal argument very similar to that of Grant.²⁸⁰

The second type of approach to Scots law was rooted in the reworking of late scholastic natural law. In Scotland it can initially be linked to the writings of Thomas Craig (1538-1608). Reacting to the development of ideas of sovereignty in the sixteenth century, Craig started from the premise that law could clearly be divided into *ius* and *leges*. He stated that the latter were made by magistrates without a superior. *Ius*, on the other hand had a broader meaning, originating in nature: "so is called *ius naturale*, *ius Gentium*, so *ius commune* that is common to almost all peoples, as a certain innate equitable reason ruling in the souls of men."²⁸¹ Ruling with an imperial crown, the Scots monarchs could issue *leges*.

Craig explained that there were three types of *ius*: *ius naturale*, *ius gentium*, and *ius civile*. The first had two meanings: that which nature had taught to all living creatures, and that which nature had taught to all men, and which was observed by Jews, Turks, and even pagans. In this second sense, *ius naturale* was allotted the first place in judging, acting or contracting. It was considered to be good and just (*bonum et aequum*), derived from the *ratio iuris* or equity inborn in humans; against it, neither statutes of the kingdom, nor prescription of the longest time, nor custom had argumentative place. *Ius gentium* had next position of authority, as what all nations observed ought to prevail, notwithstanding the provisions of the *ius civile* or *municipale*. The third type of *ius* was the *ius proprium* or *civile* of each people. So, in Scotland, after the *ius naturale* and that law which was common to all nations, Craig stated that first recourse should be made to "our written law", should there be any, to resolve difficulties and serious controversies. Scots written law consisted of the constitutions and statutes enacted by the Three Estates, this was the proper law of the kingdom. Thus, acts of Parliament had to be investigated first. Craig pointed out that Scots acts could fall into desuetude.²⁸² After, such statutes, judicial custom or practick was relied on in Scotland to resolve controversies. Failing written law or custom, Craig argued that recourse should be made to *ius feudale*, which he saw as a universal common law, because it was the historical source of Scots law, and, failing it, to the Civil (Roman) law, though, if Canon law had innovated on the Civil it was to be preferred.²⁸³

In many ways Craig's account of what was to be done in practice in Scotland was perfectly compatible with what Grant stated. The fun-

damental distinction between them lay in the justification for reliance on the universal “common” law. For Craig, the authority of Roman law did not derive from Scottish statute and custom, but rather from its embodiment of natural law. He stated that in Scotland “we were bound by the laws of the Romans only in so far as they were congruent with the laws of nature and right reason”. But he further commented that there was “surely no broader seedbed of natural equity, no more fertile field of articulated reasoning and arguments from those principles of nature than the books of the Roman jurists”. This meant that “what is equitable and what inequitable by nature and what most agrees and what disagrees with right reason” ought to be drawn from them “as if from the very fountain”. In further contrast to Grant, Craig identified the “common” law or *ius commune* with the *ius gentium* and the *ius naturale*. The Civil law was *ius commune* only because it was used by everyone as embodying equity.²⁸⁴

Thomas Craig *Jus feudale*
(Edinburgh 1732).

One of the most important works on Scots law, and widely circulated from when it was written (around 1600) by Thomas Craig (1538?–1608), the *Jus feudale* was first printed in 1655. The editor of the 1732 edition, James Baillie, turned a late humanistic work into one of the *usus modernus pandectarum* through his elaborate apparatus of learned citations. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.



Later in the seventeenth century, James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair (1619-95), developed this type of thinking in a more coherent fashion in his *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, first published in 1681, though written some twenty years earlier. Stair drew heavily on Craig in his account of Roman law and his view of it as embodying equity.²⁸⁵ Stair was also strongly influenced by Grotius' theory of natural law, which he by no means uncritically followed; in particular, a strict Calvinist, he always viewed reason as subsidiary to the will of God.²⁸⁶ Stair stated that "Where our ancient law, statutes, and our recent customs and practiques are defective, recourse is had to equity, as the first and universal law".²⁸⁷ He stressed that Roman law, "though ... not acknowledged as a law binding for its authority", it was nonetheless "followed for its equity".²⁸⁸

Around the time of the Union the approach of Grant and Mackenzie to the Civil law was probably much more typical of Scots lawyers than that of Stair. Proponents of either generally stressed that it was the scarcity of native law that led the Scots to rely so much on the Civil law as a common law of universal validity.²⁸⁹ While both emphasised the links between sovereignty and law, neither required that, for laws to be binding, the sovereign should have specifically enacted them. There were universal common laws that could be applied in Scotland alongside the limited municipal *ius proprium*.

Stair, however, was unique in one respect: the emphasis he placed on "custom" as a source of law, and indeed as the *best* source of law. In the dedication of his first edition to Charles II, he wrote that "[o]ur law is most part consuetudinary, whereby what is found inconvenient is obliterated and forgot", so that "[w]e are not involved in the labyrinth of many and large statutes". The superiority of custom to statute lay in the fact that "it was wrung out from ... debates upon particular cases, until it come to the consistence of a fixed and known custom". While he admitted that initially in customary law "the people run some hazard ... of their judges' arbitrement", this was better than the risk of legislation, where the lawgiver had immediately to "balance the conveniences and inconveniences"; in so doing, he could and often did make mistakes, so that there were left "*casus incogitati*".²⁹⁰ This was in direct contrast to the more typical opinions of Mackenzie and Grant, who thought that reliance on the writers of the *ius commune* was superior to reliance on the decisions of judges in resolving problems of interpretation or *casus omissi* in litigation: indeed, both very strongly distrusted judicial law-making. Grant emphasised that "common" law was relied on "to

prevent the *Arbitrariness of Judges*” and that most nations preferred the “*common Opinions, even of Doctors*” to judges making law.²⁹¹ Mackenzie set out an elaborate system for evaluating the decisions of judges, but pointed out that it was necessary to be aware that judges could be corrupt, ignorant, or indeed both. He too preferred the abstract opinions of learned lawyers to those of judges.²⁹²

The Triumph of Judicial Law-Making

That the Scottish political and legal community was ultimately able to negotiate the less glamorous and dramatic aspects of law reform after the Union was largely due to thinking compatible with Stair’s view of law. If the views of Grant and Mackenzie were more typical in 1707, those of Stair had one great advantage.²⁹³ His location of Scots law within a framework provided by the laws of nature and nations, and his emphasis on development of the law by the courts potentially provided an understanding of law that was much more dynamic than the rather more traditional view that answers could be found in the writings of the *ius commune* and, if there were no law or opinion directly in point, through extension by analogy.

Two inter-linked developments by the middle years of the eighteenth century helped unleash the dynamic potential of this thinking. First, Scots lawyers departed from their traditional attitude that Roman law was part of Scots law as a living universal law. Secondly, natural law no longer seemed to provide convincing arguments for a rational, universal, and abstract justice (whether or not exemplified by Roman law).

For the first decades of the eighteenth century, most Scots lawyers continued to consider the law they practised as involving a necessary blend of the municipal and common laws.²⁹⁴ Thus, when James Baillie produced his authoritative edition of Craig’s *Jus feudale* in 1732, he found it necessary and appropriate to locate it within the common law by providing an extensive explanatory and interpretative apparatus of citations to the Civil and Canon laws. Patrick Turnbull, admitted as a Scots advocate and English barrister, wrote in 1745 that ‘in *Scotland, Holland, and [some other polite States], [the Civil law] is the common Law by Adoption, and of Authority in every Thing where their own Municipal Laws have not made some Alterations*’.²⁹⁵ This approach was emphasised in legal argument in court and in university teaching. A work such as the *Institute* (1751-3) of Lord Bankton (1685-1760) could

only be properly understood within a framework of Civilian learning.²⁹⁶

From around 1750, however, Scots lawyers ended their practice of studying law abroad (almost exclusively in the Netherlands in the previous seventy years or so), and their direct participation in and familiarity with Dutch humanist scholarly and intellectual traditions ceased.²⁹⁷ If this was not a particularly Scottish story, as indeed it was not, it nonetheless had a powerful effect in cutting Scots law loose from other, similar European systems.²⁹⁸ By 1780, it was claimed that the Civil law was neither much studied nor cited.²⁹⁹ By the end of the eighteenth century, writers and scholars were arguing that the role of Civil law in Scotland was now much diminished.³⁰⁰ In part this was because certain key Scottish thinkers, notably Lord Kames (1696-1782) and Adam Smith (1723-90), developed the insight of Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) that the laws of a people were linked to its manner of subsistence into a theory that societies potentially went through four stages – hunting and fishing, pastoral, agricultural, and commercial – the different modes of subsistence of which required different institutions and laws.³⁰¹ This approach inevitably challenged the appropriateness of reliance on the old universal common law in legal argument.

In itself, progressive decline of reliance on Civil law would not necessarily have led to dynamic judicial activism but for the change in Scottish attitudes to the universal natural law that Roman law had hitherto been seen to embody. This was because in eighteenth-century Scotland natural law came to be viewed as a theory of justice, which in turn was seen as “primarily a personal *virtue*”. Justice was unique as a virtue because it was enforceable through courts and legislation as law.³⁰² Of course, there was considerable variation among Scottish thinkers on the nature of moral judgements and action, in particular whether they concerned the senses or reason. Further, there were disputes as to whether justice was natural or “artificial”.³⁰³ The work of Haakonssen above all has made this intellectual history well known and there is no need to rehearse it here.³⁰⁴

Despite differences among thinkers, the general focus on justice as an individual virtue and concern with institutional structures for justice led to certain similar attitudes. In particular, there was a focus on the development of appropriate institutions to inscribe justice into law. For example, Lord Kames argued that courts had what he described as an “equitable” jurisdiction whereby judges developed the law on the basis of justice and utility. They knew when to do so through exercise of their

moral sense, which let them appreciate when reform was required.³⁰⁵ Though starting from a different approach to how moral judgment was possible, Adam Smith's view that rules of justice were developed from the moral sentiments as he understood them also led him in principle to favour transformation of justice into law, not through legislation, but through operation of precedent. This was because direct confrontation of concrete and actual problems allowed judges and jurors, acting as informed impartial spectators, to recognise the requirements of justice and decide accordingly. Practice and experience allowed better adaptation of rules to individual cases than abstract theorisation.³⁰⁶ Such considerations led both Kames and Smith to be concerned with the structure of courts, and how they best could be adapted to further development of the law.³⁰⁷

Smith's pupil John Millar (1735-1801) was for over forty years, from his Chair of Civil Law in Glasgow, the most influential law-teacher in Scotland. He popularised among the legal profession this dynamic view of law, developing a science of legislation based on reform through judicial activity. His classes on jurisprudence in Glasgow were designed to develop understanding of this, and to equip Scots lawyers with the requisite knowledge and analytical tools for the task.³⁰⁸ In Edinburgh, Allan Maconochie (1748-1816), Professor of Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations from 1779 to 1796, also taught Smithian legislative science, presumably with similar aims.³⁰⁹ Law reform did not always require litigation: enlightened lawyers in an energetic court could develop the law within what turned out to be fairly broad parameters. Reform of the law could be kept within Scotland, and need not trouble an uninterested Parliament that might intervene further in ways the Scottish legal community did not want. In so far as they could, Scots lawyers set out to create a modern commercial law in this way, though recognising that statute was sometimes necessary.³¹⁰ That Scotland no longer had its own legislature did not matter as much as might have initially been thought, while the existence of a joint legislature with England did not inevitably lead towards swift assimilation to English law, though influence was inevitable and is undeniable.

National Laws within United States

The merger of the Scots legislature into that of Great Britain dominated by English members did not have a major immediate impact on Scots law. The Westminster Parliament had no interest in major re-

forms of Scots law for their own sake. When there were proposals for reform or reform was thought to be needed, Scots proved successful lobbyists, who could often materially affect proposals and initiate other reforms. Of course, in the face of a concerted and determined attempt to impose toleration of Episcopalians or introduce the English laws on treason, little could be done; but lobbying and influence were able to affect the legislation proposed by Hardwicke after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745.

Crucial in this was Scotland's possession of institutions and bodies and the creation of new institutions and bodies that preserved considerable autonomy and self-direction through the eighteenth century. A comparison with Ireland, which retained its own parliament, is instructive. Through the eighteenth century, over half of the Irish Bishops were awarded to men from outwith Ireland, as were nearly half the judicial posts between 1702 and 1760. The Irish peerage, revenue service, church, pensions, and judiciary were all used to provide patronage for Englishmen for English political purposes.³¹¹ Robert Clive (1725–1774), for example, with no link with Ireland, was awarded an Irish peerage as Baron Clive of Plassey.³¹² Scottish patronage was not exploited in a similar systematic way to reward Englishmen. In 1682, Richard Lawrence wrote that Ireland was “governed by English laws, enacted by English Parliaments, administered by English judges, [and] guarded by an English army”.³¹³ The same could have been written in 1750. Only under the Commonwealth had this been true for Scotland. It is worth noting that livings within the established Presbyterian Church in Scotland were simply not open to men who were ordained in the Church of England, and, other than appointment to the new Exchequer Court, which used English procedure, the Scottish bench was not open to lawyers trained in England. In this sense, the separate church and legal system did help maintain Scottish national difference. While Scots qualified to take Anglican orders and trained for the English bar, sometimes achieving high office like Lords Mansfield and Loughborough, Englishmen in the eighteenth century generally did not choose to pursue legal or clerical careers north of the border. They were to be found in Scotland in numbers only in the army, which, like the navy, had very quickly become a truly British institution.

After 1707, appeals went from the Court of Session to the House of Lords.³¹⁴ The exact impact of this on Scots law in the eighteenth century is uncertain, other than in individual cases, especially since no reports of Scottish appeals were published until the nineteenth century. Along

with the new procedures in Exchequer matters, it encouraged Scots to undertake the “*new Terror*” of “the Study of the *English-Law*”, which was now “very requisite to a *complete Lawyer* in our *united State*”.³¹⁵ Works were proposed and occasionally achieved that promised an account of the relevant English law along with the Scots.³¹⁶ Again, this does not appear to have had a significant impact on Scots law, although Scots were willing to understand English law as a declaration of *ius gentium* that could have value in developing Scots law.³¹⁷

Grant and his contemporaries presented a view of Scots law that did not link it intimately to national identity. They did not view Scots law as particularly unique. The historical development of Scots law involved a cultivation of the municipal law that took into account the experience of Germany, France and Italy, leading to replenishment “with the best of the *Gothish* and *Canon Principles*; and thereafter, the *Roman-Law Reformation*; that obtained there”; also “Intercourse, either in War or Peace” with England led to the adoption of “any *Flowers* planted by the *several Nations* who reigned there, that were fit to be transplanted to our *Soil*”. Grant considered that, though the Scots were originally German, “[a]fterward, the *great Bulk* of the Nation; not inhabiting the Mountains; both as *Country* and *Language*; were *Belgick*”. Subsequent history, notably the reception of Roman law, meant there could be no surprise that there should be similarity of laws, so that perusal of the works of “the principal more *modern practical Writers*” – he singled out Benedikt Carpzov (1595-1666), Johan Brunnemann (1608-72), Johann Voet (1647-1714), Ulrik Huber (1636-94), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), Antonio Pérez (1583-1673), and Georg Adam Struve (1619-92) – who accommodated “the *Learning and Experience* of all others to the *Roman-Gothick Constitution*, as it obtains among themselves” showed that “the *Bulk* thereof; is the *very same* with *ours*”.³¹⁸ Use of the “common law”, its interpreters, both doctors and courts, made law an international science.

Despite the mention of Grotius, the list of authors demonstrates the extent to which Grant still worked very much within the confines of the *usus modernus*. He might have relied on natural law to give a certain moral content to law, but it was not central to his account. For Stair, law was also an international science, but because of the *ius naturale* and *ius gentium*, rather than the “common law” as understood by Grant. The development of thinking on Scots law from the mid-eighteenth century onwards was able to draw on this to move from a universal natural law to a theory of justice emphasising decisions by courts, which were able

to draw on a substantive historical natural jurisprudence to develop the law, perhaps even on the basis of English law.

In Denmark, the Roman law was never considered the *ius commune*. In this the Eider proved a greater barrier than the North Sea. Even if Roman law was taught at Copenhagen, it was always considered foreign law by the courts, only of actual value as natural law. The highest judges in the early modern period remained the king and his council; the latter were noblemen, not trained in law, who opposed the introduction of foreign law. In contrast, though Scotland's highest court may also have developed from the royal council, it was dominated by jurists trained in the *utrumque ius* of the Roman and Canon laws. The law was thus able to make a greater claim to be an important part of Danish identity, than Scots law could for Scottish identity. No Scot would have made the claim made by Peder Kofod Ancher (1710-88) in the second half of the eighteenth century that Danish law was "our own, the fruits of the land without any admixture of foreign products".³¹⁹

Yet, Scots law was preserved after the Union and in the age of Enlightenment modernised and reformed, without being destroyed. This was not only because of the particular culture of the Scots lawyers, but also because the institutional structure within Scotland could be mobilised to protect or to develop Scots law through activity in the Westminster Parliament. This was important, because while it was relatively common for eighteenth-century states to incorporate different legal systems and laws, this was not to be so in the nineteenth century, when pressures of nationalism and centralisation, and the vogue for codification tended to produce unified laws and legal systems within states. The British state, however, never achieved that level of assumed, specific national identity. Just as those symbols of ancient Scottish sovereignty, the Honours of Scotland with their imperial crown, remained locked in Edinburgh Castle, so England and Scotland were never completely merged administratively. This meant that Scots law survived without a Parliament within the British conglomerate state, and later could be developed into a badge of national identity.

5. Divided National Loyalties in the Conglomerate State. From the North Cape to the Elbe ³²⁰

Ole Feldbæk

The eighteenth century Danish state was a typical European conglomerate state. It stretched from the North Cape to the river Elbe – a distance as from Copenhagen to Tunisia. It consisted of parts with vastly different historical backgrounds and with vastly different economic, social and cultural backgrounds. The kingdom of Denmark; the kingdom of Norway with the old Norwegian dependencies of Iceland, the Faeroe Isles and Greenland; the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein; the County of Oldenburg; and small overseas colonial possessions. The only tie that bound them together was the person of the absolute king.

The emergence of early national identities within the educated classes – as happened in Denmark and presumably also in Norway during the 1740s and in the Duchies a generation later – was bound to create tensions of both a personal and a general character. To give a few examples. A Danish civil servant who felt a strong loyalty to his country and who loved his mother tongue would, if criticizing the appointment of so many foreigners in the administration, inevitably question the king's divine right to appoint whomever he pleased – and thereby also break his personal oath of allegiance to his king. A Norwegian timber merchant in Christiania who criticized obvious shortcomings in the way the king's ministers in far-away Copenhagen dealt with Norwegian matters would threaten the cohesion of the conglomerate state which he had sworn to uphold. And a vicar might very well find it difficult to criticize foreigners and at the same time admonish his congregation to love thy neighbour.

For clarity's sake I shall deal with the question of divided national loyalties in sequence: Denmark, Norway, and, finally, the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.

Around 1740, Denmark witnessed a growing national awakening among a small group of young academics. They were the pupils of Ludvig Holberg who had advocated a modernization of the Danish language in the spirit of the Enlightenment. Judging from their language they were strongly engaged in the improvement of Danish and in Danish history. Their central concept was “*amor patriae*”, and they started publishing historical sources in Danish. In 1745 they formed “The Society for the Improvement of Danish History and the Danish Language”. In 1750 they issued a medal with the portrait of the king and with the proud motto: “*vincet amor patriae*”. Although they implicitly criticized the high number of foreigners in the king’s service – or perhaps because they did – the king graciously, or wisely, made it a Royal Society and supported its activities. At any rate, the young radicals had cautiously refrained from defining their concept of “*patria*”. At that time it might mean at least two things. In the spirit of the Enlightenment it could mean: “*patria ubique bene*”: my fatherland is where I live well, as a loyal patriot and a useful citizen, regardless of birth place and language. Or it could mean the country where one was born, whose mother tongue one spoke and whose history one shared.

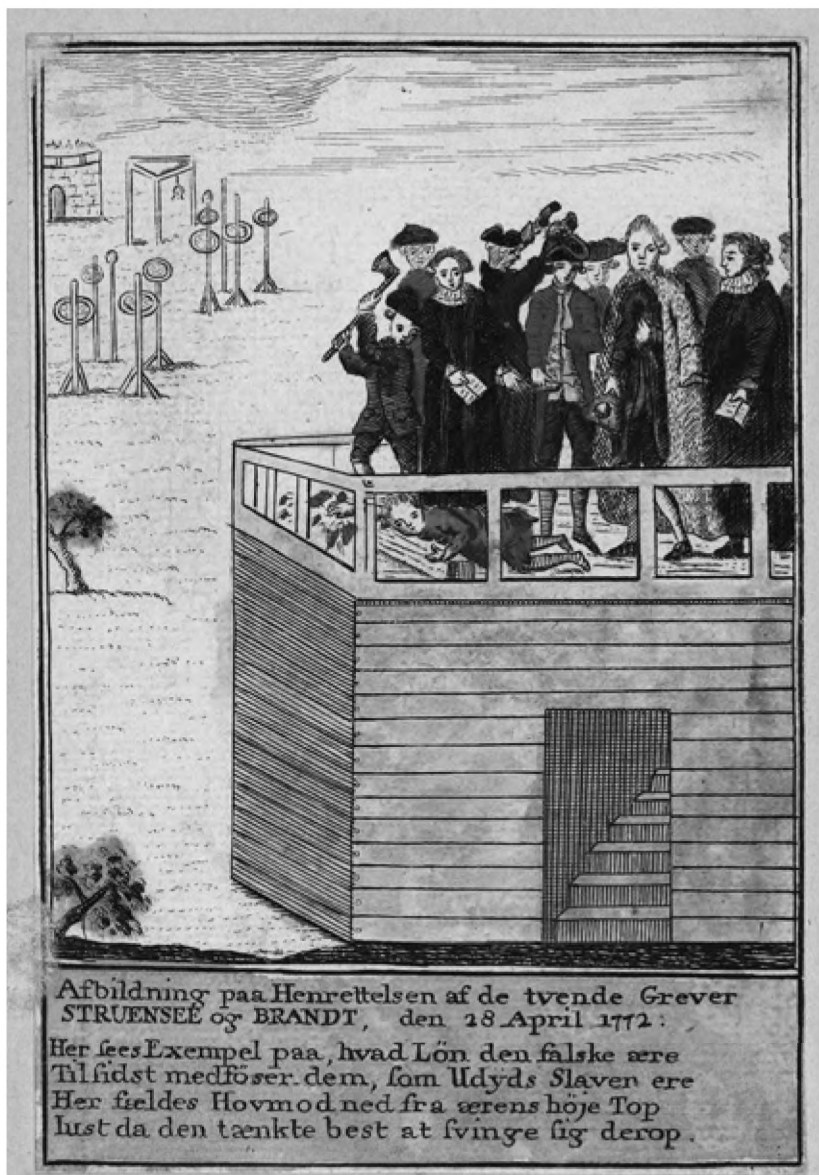
During the reign of Frederik 5 (1746-66) the official definition was and remained the former cosmopolitical one. No wonder, since the government, the central administration and the diplomatic service were almost solely recruited from among foreign born men and from Danes who spoke their language and adopted their culture. The men in power let the king pay writers like J. S. Sneedorff and Tyge Rothe for defending this definition and for rejecting the place-of-birth criterion. Most of the subjects, however, accepted the definition – which the censored press claimed was the right one. But a few fearless writers such as the young professor Ove Høegh-Guldberg from the Academy for the Nobility at Sorø did criticize that so many foreigners ate the bread of the land without deigning to speak the language. Even more interestingly, those who were attacked did not respond but chose to keep up an aristocratic silence.

At that time – in 1763 – all awaited the change of power which was imminent. Frederik 5 died in 1766 and the campaign against the many foreigners – Saint Germain, A.G.Moltke and J. H. E. Bernstorff – started immediately. What is more, the extraordinary royal motto which the 16 year old Christian 7 proclaimed seems not only to have sanctioned the

hunt but also to call for an entirely new definition of the term “patria”. The king’s motto was: “gloria ex amore patriae”, glory from love of the fatherland. The man who in 1767 launched the new definition was a young and ambitious Norwegian academic Eiler Hagerup who was backed by a group of Danish civil servants with political aspirations. He published a pamphlet which was a frontal attack on Tyge Rothe’s book from 1759 about the right definition of “amor patriae”, a definition which he totally rejected. He was enthusiastically supported by the same censors who had previously praised Rothe, and from now on “patria” was commonly understood as a matter of one’s place of birth.

But Hagerup and his political supporters wanted to go further. Rothe had defended the many foreigners as being indispensable if Denmark was to be brought to a European level of achievement. Hagerup’s argument was that Denmark now disposed of enough loyal and professional candidates for the king’s service. And as for artists he presented a long list of educated Danish painters and sculptors. But he had the courage to go even further. Quoting the king’s motto, he wrote that if his loyal subjects were to love their fatherland, the king must necessarily show respect for their language and their culture. He implored the king to appoint Danes even if their qualifications were somewhat lower than those of foreign candidates. He did not claim that the king should appoint only his own native subjects, but he was very close to saying so, and many of his readers would undoubtedly have read that unconstitutional suggestion between the lines.

Under the mentally deranged Christian 7, the political scene changed quickly, and Eiler Hagerup’s suggestions became law in less than ten years. The first dramatic change of scenery happened in the autumn of 1770 when Struensee started his 16 months of dictatorial power. His hectic rule did not in itself contribute to the development of national identity, although his open disrespect towards what he called “dumme Dänen” did cement the opposition to his reforms. But his abolition of pre-censorship on 14 September 1770 – which earned the king a complimentary letter from the old Voltaire – offers the historian a unique possibility to see how far the feelings of national identity had shifted. The conclusion is that such feelings seemed well established among the Danes and the Norwegians, but that they had not yet taken hold in the Duchies.



The execution of J.F. Struensee and E. Brandt in Copenhagen April 28, 1772. Broadside with woodcut.

The new people in power in January 1772 did not intend to repeat Struensee's political mistakes. From the very beginning they worked on securing for themselves a reliable base for their newly won power which constitutionally was no stronger than Struensee's had been. Struensee's short dictatorship had shaken absolutism as a constitution and raised doubts about the continuance of the conglomerate state. The new people's weapon was to be "Danishness" and a new definition of "Fatherland". Guldberg soon became the leading political figure, and he quickly demonstrated his intentions. Only a month after the coup in January 1772, it was proclaimed that the language of the administration in Denmark and Norway had to be Danish. Struensee's cabinet orders had been in German. It further increased the popularity of the new regime when, in 1773, it proclaimed that the army should be commanded in Danish, not in German, the language of the navy having always been Danish. But Guldberg's masterstroke was to mobilise the schools, a move that later was highly praised by the founder of the national (eventually, international) Folk High School movement, N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). His targets were the sons of the middle classes, the future civil and military servants and vicars, and also the representatives of public opinion. In the School Ordinance of May 1775 the Danish language and Danish history were for the first time made subjects in their own right. Furthermore, Guldberg saw to it, that the school books necessary for his grand design were ready. In 1776 P. F. Suhm – under Guldberg's relentless censorship – published his *Danmarks, Norges og Holstens Historie* (History of Denmark, Norway and Holstein) which of course depicted the conglomerate state as an unqualified success and where all occasions for criticism were glossed over. Even more successful was the school book published by Guldberg's young protégé Ove Malling in 1777: *Store og gode Handlinger af Danske, Norske og Holstenerne* (Great and Good Deeds by Danes, Norwegians and Holsteiners). Here Malling interpreted the history of the conglomerate state, and showed that men –and women as well – from all parts of the state and from all social layers through the ages had excelled in loyalty to the king and love of their fatherland – the fatherland being, of course, the conglomerate state. Indeed, to obey the King was to obey God. With these things in place, Guldberg could set the coping stone on his grand design. On the King's birthday, 29 January 1776, he published the Law of Indigenous Rights which was to be part of the constitution and never to be revoked. The message of the new law was brief. In future, with a few unimportant exceptions, positions in the King's service were to be

given only to men born in the fatherland, and the fatherland was defined as the conglomerate state.

The public reception of *Indfødsretten*, the right of the indigenous, was almost as interesting as its actual contents. Guldberg wanted the new regime to be popular, and in Copenhagen and in the many small towns of Denmark the new law was received with spontaneous festivities. First of all, the Danish public sector was not very big. Furthermore, it seems likely that the law satisfied an emotional need within a young and rising “*Bürgerschaft*” seeking a new place in traditional society. But it is interesting that the law does not seem to have been accorded a similar spontaneous reception in the towns of Norway and in the Duchies.

An important aspect of divided national loyalties had come to the surface with Struensee’s abolition of pre-censorship. Publications now made it abundantly clear that Germans were not popular in Denmark and that their unpopularity was rising in these years. The politically dangerous aspect was that the king’s Danish subjects did not distinguish between Germans from South of the river Elbe and the King’s German-speaking subjects from Holstein and Schleswig. Either they could not make that important distinction or, perhaps, they would not! *Indfødsretten*, the right of the indigenous, did not solve that problem, and the tensions remained under the surface. The Danish speaking public met at the new clubs to talk politics and sing frivolous songs around the punchbowls. Clearly they felt culturally inferior when they compared their own milieu to that of the aristocratic literary salons, where the latest news from the European continent was debated and the latest poems by Goethe and Schiller were read. The Danes just went on grumbling while the Germans kept an aristocratic silence – until the spring of 1789, when the Germans finally reacted. An anonymous pamphlet accused the Danes of cultural mediocrity and a self-destructive hatred against all things German. The pamphlet was in German, and it was evident that the author belonged to the highest strata of the Germans. Today we know that he was the cousin and private secretary to the minister of finance, Count Ernst Schimmelmann. The ensuing pamphlet war, the so-called German Feud, lasted for 18 months and then ended abruptly, as if by an order from above. The Danes criticized with much bitterness the Germans for keeping to themselves and for not showing due respect towards the Danish language and culture, and a prominent Dane even turned against the Law of Indigenous Rights



Placat angaaende Indfødsretten 1776 (Broadside concerning the Law of Indigenous Rights 1776). The monogram of the King Christian 7 carries the motto: *Gloria ex amore patriæ*.

and suggested that if the king's German subjects were to serve their king, they might do so in Holstein and nowhere else. The Feud demonstrated clearly the divided loyalties between Danes and Germans in the conglomerate state at the end of the eighteenth century, and it boded ill for the time to come. Furthermore, one of the German combatants had for tactical reasons put the question: where were the Norwegians standing in the conflict?

Norway had a glorious historical past as a hereditary kingdom in her own right. Since 1380 it had been ruled by the same ruler as Denmark. In 1661 the country had embraced absolutism, as Denmark had done the year before. But since around 1500 it had been ruled more or less

from Copenhagen, one of the main reasons behind its secondary position being that the old Norwegian nobility virtually had died out in the late middle ages. In the eighteenth century, Norway had a diversified export economy based upon fishing, timber and iron, and it imported part of its corn from Denmark and Schleswig, the so-called Corn Monopoly dating back to 1735. Norway was a peasant society with no large landed estates as in Denmark and the Duchies. No Norwegian had a seat in the king's council. Norway was run by the central administration in Copenhagen, and no Norwegian held a top post in any of the central colleges. At the same time, the Norwegian local and regional administration was recruited from among Norwegians who all swore an individual oath of allegiance to the absolute king. These people formed a body of administrators who increasingly studied theology or law at the University of Copenhagen.

The abolition of pre-censorship in 1770 opened up for a stream of criticism against the way Norway was treated in the conglomerate state. There were no institutions in Copenhagen that dealt with specific Norwegian matters, as there was for the Duchies. Norway was also refused a university and a bank of its own. The Corn Monopoly made Norwegians starve from hunger. And incompetent civil servants were dumped upon Norway. The official presentation of Norway and Denmark was as sisters and twins that loved and obeyed the king as their father. But the political reality was that Norway was treated like a conquered kingdom while Denmark and particularly Copenhagen were favoured.

From these varied criticisms it is possible to distill the components of a Norwegian national identity as it was in 1772. It comprised all parts of Norway and all Norwegians, not only the middle class, and the free Norwegian peasant was seen as an ideal for the nation. Norway's glorious historical past was of course part of this identity, just like that of Denmark was prominent in the early Danish national identity. But there were real differences between the two national identities. The Norwegians in 1772 saw the rugged grandeur of their landscape as an image of their national character drawing, in clear contrast to Denmark where the landscape did not become a national icon until around 1840 with the appearance of the painter Johan Thomas Lundbye (1818-48). In contrast to Denmark, the language was not part of Norway's national identity. The old Norwegian written language had definitively

gone out of use around 1500, and old Norwegian was spoken only in the countryside. To the Norwegian pastors and civil servants, the Norwegian language was that found in the Bible of Christian 4 and in the legal code, *Norske Lov*, of Christian 5. Last but not least, it is essential to stress that Denmark and the Danes did not appear in this context as enemies.

What sort of national expectations did these generations of Norwegians prior to 1814 cherish? And how successful were they in realizing them in the short and in the long term? When among friends, the Norwegians, whether at home or in Copenhagen, might talk and sing about “Freedom” in the future, but concrete thoughts and plans are not to be found. But the authorities in Norway and in Copenhagen did, nevertheless, react to the popular “For Norway! Birth Place of Heroes” in December 1771. It was forbidden and confiscated – but still sung in private as a protest.

The coup d'état of Gustav 3 of Sweden in August 1772 – whose primary political goal was to acquire Norway – made the government strengthen its determination to keep Norway as a low tax country. Because of Norwegian national pride, it also refrained from sending troops up from Denmark, leaving the defence of Norway to its inhabitants. Political positions did, however, change over time. In 1772 Johan Nordal Brun, the author of the above mentioned song – the Norwegian Marseillaise, as it has been called — felt obliged publicly to define the attitude of Norwegians towards Norway and towards the conglomerate state. Norway was, he suggested, their natural fatherland, but politically it was the conglomerate state. At the same time, he also claimed equal rights for Norway within that state and asserted the duty of loyal Norwegians to go on claiming such rights. In 1787 another Norwegian civil servant, Hans Arentz, published a book in which he claimed that the first obligations of a patriotic Norwegian were to Norway and to the king as king of Norway. One wonders how Norwegians reacted to such a book which even indicated that some people did in fact discuss Norwegian independence in a distant future.

Also the national positions changed over time. The petition for a university in Norway had been put forward as early as 1661. When the wish was repeated by many in 1771, the reasons given were still of a practical and economic character. So were the reasons given both by Struensee

and Guldberg for refusing it. When the matter was taken up again in 1793 – now with promises of private funds to support the scheme – I have no doubt that at least some of the Norwegians saw it in a tactical light, as a lever for other and more important political claims. I also believe that the government's flat refusal should be seen in the same light. When it was taken up for the third time in 1809, both the Norwegians and king Frederik 6 saw the matter as clearly political. It was now the conglomerate state: yes or no! And in 1811 the king finally gave up the fight and promised a full and complete university in Christiania which in 1813 opened up its doors for the first seventeen Norwegian students.

How far were the Norwegians prepared to go for political concessions – and how far for independence? Standing up for concessions was not in itself dangerous, at least not as long as formal proprieties were maintained. But agitating and plotting against the state and the king's majesty (or just knowing about it) was high treason, and the penalty was that barbarous punishment which Struensee had undergone in 1772. His right hand was cut off, his head was severed from his body which was then quartered, and the parts were exhibited in public. At least some Norwegian patriots were prepared to go that far. In early March 1790, the Lord Lieutenant (*stiftamtmand*) in Christiania nervously reported that the revolution was on its way to Southern Norway, and the only thing he did not know was the exact date. Actually he was closer to the facts than he probably knew. Within the same week four prominent timber merchants from Christiania and Frederikshald, who later were known to have been political activists, met at Eda on the Swedish side of the frontier with Gustav 3's closest confidant, Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt. Here they presented some vague plans for starting a rising among the Norwegian soldiers in the garrisons and among the copper mine workers at Røros. For this they needed assistance from Sweden, but as their aim was a free and independent Norway, they had no wish to join Sweden with its aristocratic form of government, and the contacts were broken off. They were taken up again by the Swedish Crown Prince Karl Johan twenty years later. In this first venture, the four brave agents returned to Norway and carried on less dangerous work together with their co-conspirators, but the event does throw an interesting light on the conflicting loyalties in the conglomerate state.

Until 1773 Holstein and Schleswig – respectively fiefs of the German Reich and of the Crown of Denmark – had developed into a territorial patchwork. That year saw the Great Exchange of Territory whereby all of Holstein and Schleswig were united under the Danish King.

In Holstein and in Southern Schleswig the language and peasant culture was German while the peasants in Northern Schleswig spoke Danish. The real political power was held by the strong Ritterschaft consisting of the great landowners of the two duchies with their vast landed estates cultivated by peasants under the traditional *Leibeigenschaft* (bondage). At the formal political level the Ritterschaft claimed its sole right to represent the duchies vis-à-vis the distant Landesherr in Copenhagen, while the agents of the absolute monarchy maintained the position that the *Lex Regia* of 1665 made it impossible to recognize any power as a privileged and equal partner in negotiations. A *modus vivendi* had, however, been established. A standing committee, the so-called “Fortwährende Deputation”, dealt with the king’s ministers, and the taxes from the duchies were formally styled “free gifts” (*dons gratuits*). As some of the king’s ministers owned estates in the duchies and were members of the “Ritterschaft”, business was transacted in “Einigkeit” and aristocratic harmony.

This harmony was, however, broken when Crown Prince Frederik (eventually Frederik 6) took over as chief of government in 1797 after the death of A. P. Bernstorff. He wanted “*Einheit*” (unity) instead of the traditional “*Einigkeit*” (unanimity) in the conglomerate state. In 1800 he one-sidedly changed the drafting system for the army, something that shocked the Ritterschaft. When two years later he introduced an entirely new tax system, the chief of the German administration in Copenhagen, Cay Reventlow – also a member of the Ritterschaft – immediately resigned. The Crown Prince, however, carried on, and in 1805 he abolished the *Leibeigenschaft* without listening to the landowners and the Ritterschaft.

The Napoleonic Wars and the abolition of The Holy Roman Empire of German Nation in 1806 created an entirely new situation with regard to Holstein, till then a fief of the Reich. Denmark annexed it with Napoleon’s approval in 1806, and the Crown Prince immediately appointed a commission which should produce a common legal code for the entire conglomerate state, a sort of Code Napoléon. At the same time he embarked upon a project that should promote Danish as the

administrative language in the duchies. In 1811 he created a professorship in Danish language and literature at the University in Kiel, thereby provoking the growing German national identity. The German civil servants called it a “Dänisierung” of the administration, but they refrained from open opposition. And the Ritterschaft, which controlled the university in Kiel, was strongly conservative and felt a deep loyalty towards their Landesherr, while they looked with grave misgivings at the bourgeois liberals in Kiel with their newfangled social and national ideas.

The “divided loyalties” of the nineteenth century were a legacy from the eighteenth. In 1807 Denmark was forced into the war on the side of Napoleon and ended up with the state going bankrupt in 1813. The Norwegians discovered that when Great Britain’s Royal Navy cut the ties between Copenhagen and Christiania, they were actually able to manage for themselves. When the Danish king ceded Norway to the king of Sweden, the Norwegians proclaimed themselves independent and elected the Danish viceroy king under the liberal Eidsvoll Constitution of 17 May 1814. When they were forced by the great powers in Vienna to enter into a personal union with Sweden, they succeeded in salvaging most of the liberal principles of the Eidsvoll Constitution, foreshadowing their path to complete independence in 1905. And in 1814 – when Cossacks were roaming in Holstein and in Northern Schleswig, the populations of the two Duchies learned that membership of the old conglomerate state did not secure them against war and social upheaval.

However, the old Danish conglomerate state – the so-called “Helstat” – lived on, though in a mutilated form. The proportion of Germans – as defined by language and culture – rose from 25 per cent to 40 when the peace was signed. This at a time when national ideas and identities for the first time in history had developed into a powerful political factor in Europe. The conglomerate state of 1814 consisted of the Kingdom of Denmark, the Duchy of Schleswig (half Danish, half German), the Duchy of Holstein, and the tiny Duchy of Lauenburg between Hamburg and Lübeck, with Holstein and Lauenburg becoming members of the German Confederation. Such was the great powers’ compensation to the king of Denmark for his loss of Norway.

In this conglomerate, Schleswig with its Danish-speaking peasant population in the northern half was left as a ticking bomb in Metternich’s

new conservative Europe. After the revolutions of 1830 the cracks in this construction grew radically. The Danish political liberals wrote “Schleswig Danish” on their banner; while the German liberals made the Schleswig Question the touchstone for the German Idea (“Prøvestenen for den tyske Tanke”). In other words, the transformation of the loose German “Kultur Nation” into a politically powerful German “Staats Nation” was under way, and with the revolutions of 1848 the dissolution of the old conglomerate state became just a matter of time. Three years stand out in this process, 1864, 1866, and 1870.

6. Print, Fashion, and the Making of the Enlightenment Philosopher

Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen

Print and Fashion

Since Gutenberg, printing has defined academic identities. Renaissance humanists constructed their European community of letters and minds – the *respublica litteraria* – upon the foundations of printed dictionaries and encyclopaedias, letter collections, and editions of obscure and forgotten works of antiquity.³²¹ Since the Renaissance, innovations in printing have repeatedly affected and transformed academic identities. In the 16th century, the introduction of charts and tables in Petrus Ramus' works changed how scholars across Europe viewed philosophy and accelerated the decline of the oral traditions of medieval universities.³²² Today, electronic publishing helps unravel the close bonds between nationstate and research university that during the early 19th century were forged in Germany.

But printing was never easily controlled. Lack of technical skills and practical obstacles have limited scholars' control over the presentation of their arguments. Changes in market interests, expectations of patrons, and reading practices have forced them to rethink the content of their work. While printing allowed for standardization and broader dissemination of scholarship, it also threatened the sanctity of the study and made scholars more vulnerable to social pressures.³²³

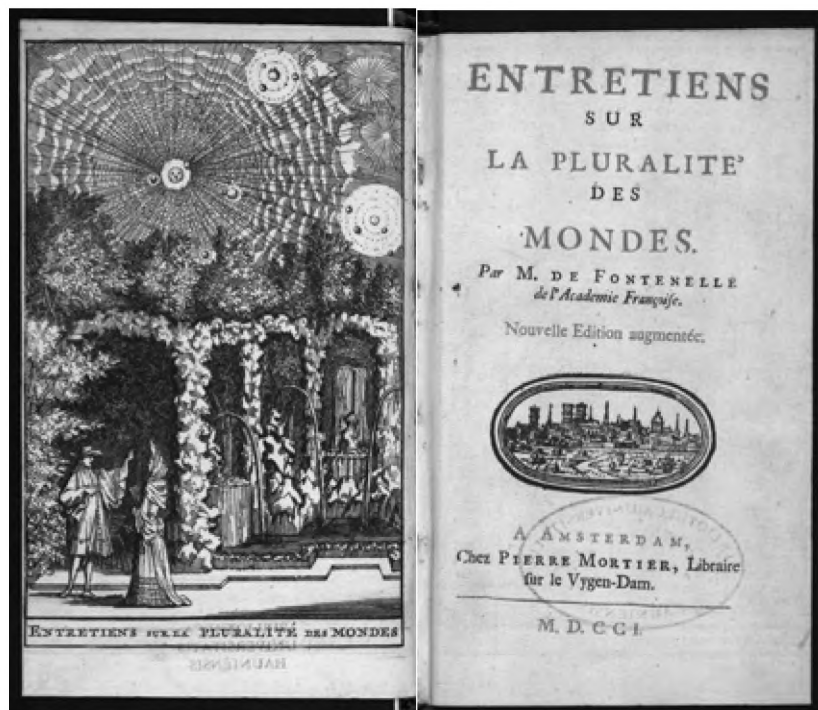
Early Enlightenment scholars experienced a number of such challenges. During the second half of the 17th century, the European publishing industry changed dramatically. A rapidly growing reading audience eagerly consumed daily newspapers, vernacular novels, and popular religious and philosophical pamphlets. Books were marketed not only to scholars, but also to women, servants, farmers, and merchants. The publishing industry created room, as many students of the 17th and 18th century have noticed, for a plurality of unruly voices. The religious underground spread its messages through leaflets and booklets. Political dissenters uncovered information and inspiration

in newspapers and periodicals. Hedonists and materialists could enjoy themselves with pornographic novels and radical philosophical treatises. These changes, as Martin Gierl, Jonathan Israel, and Martin Mulso recently have documented, had a profound impact upon scholarly conventions and identities.³²⁴

Another innovation of the late 17th century, which was no less influential than these radical voices of the underground, was the fashion journal. New philosophical and literary journals, such as Pierre Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684) and Otto Mencke's *Acta Eruditorum* (1682), were not only instruments of the Enlightenment mainstream, but also important disseminators of underground philosophies.³²⁵ Outside the realm of learning, Donneau de Visé's *Le Mercure galant* had a similar impact – intellectual and otherwise. First published in 1672, the *Mercure* every month delivered insights into the life of Parisian salons and Louis XIV's court at Versailles. For decades, its detailed engravings and meticulous descriptions of the latest French styles dictated how men and women across Europe viewed and dressed themselves.³²⁶

Like the radical voices of the underground, the *Mercure* destabilized older cultural and intellectual hegemonies. As late as 1721, Montesquieu jokingly remarked, "A women who leaves Paris to spend six months in the country comes back looking as antiquated as if she had been away for thirty years."³²⁷ However, the *Mercure* and its many imitators, such as the Venetian *Pallade Veneta* (1687) or the British *Ladies' Mercury* (1693), allowed not only exiled Parisian ladies, but also foreigners to keep pace with the latest chic.³²⁸ Already in 1690, the English *Fop-Dictionary* spoke of the "Foreign Tyranny" of French fashion.³²⁹ In 1739, Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal-Lexicon* complained, "We Germans usually get our fashions, especially in clothing, from France, as the majority erroneously believes that the French are more skilled in inventing such things."³³⁰ For all Europeans, as Abbé de Bellegarde explained in 1709, French fashion had become an inescapable reality:

Fashion imposes a kind of necessity, to which the wisest must subdue themselves when it has become well-established: singularity in the way one dresses, as in all other matters, is blameworthy. Why let oneself be seen in an outfit that always offends because it is unfashionable? ... In places where the fashion changes, one does not only dress for one's own convenience. One must either



Frontispiece to the 1701 edition of Fontenelle's *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* first published in 1686. The philosopher has left the university and is instead teaching a polite and fashionable lady in a garden.

shun the affairs of the world or behave like gentlemen do, not to hurt the eyes of others with peculiar singularities.³³¹

The emergence of fashion also affected academic identities. Among courtiers and *salonnières*, scholarly customs and clothing had been sources of constant ridicule and derision since the Renaissance. Most early modern scholars were equally dismissive of the superficialities of polite society.³³² However, at the end of the 17th century, the changes in publishing motivated some scholars to write in a more witty and inviting manner. These popular authors, Mary Terrall argues, not only sought new readers and increasing sales, but also legitimacy within the social elites.³³³ If they wanted to appeal to the elites, they needed to know the language and style of fashion journals and romance novels. "I've tried," Fontenelle explained in the preface to his bestseller *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* of 1686, "to treat Philosophy in a very



Frontispiece to the Danish translation of Fontenelle *Samtaler om meer end een Verden* by Frederik Christian Eilschow (Copenhagen 1748).

unphilosophical manner; I've attempted to bring it to the point where it's neither too dry for men and women of the world nor too playful for scholars."³³⁴

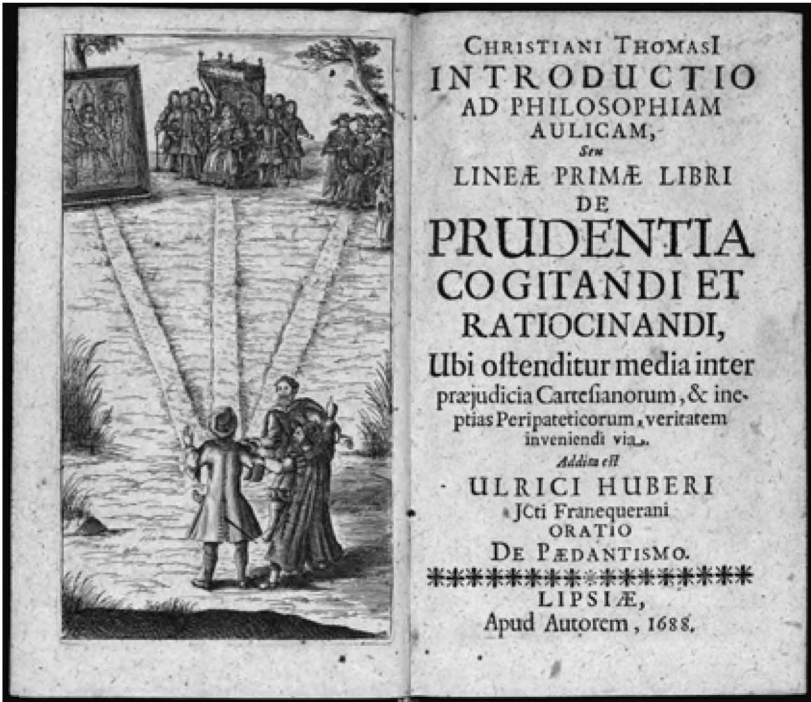
While individual figures, such as Fontenelle, could travel between the *respublica litteraria* and polite society, the majority of scholars were not granted the same access. In 1693 the first issue of the British *Ladies' Mercury* even requested that, "we may not be troubled with other Questions relating to Learning, Religion, etc."³³⁵ The broader inclusion of scholars into polite society demanded reform of the institutions that defined and sustained academic identities. At the end of the 17th century, Europe's old universities were still the most important of these institutions.

Christian Thomasius and the Philosophy of Fashion

The Saxon philosopher Christian Thomasius was one of the first European thinkers to analyse fashion within a university setting. In 1687, only fifteen years after the first issue of *Le Mercure galant* was published, Thomasius offered a course on “how to imitate the French” at the University of Leipzig.³³⁶ French customs and manners, he declared in his lecture program, were no longer unknown in Germany. Previously few Germans had cared about France, but “today everything here must be French. French clothing, French food, French utensils, French manners, French sins, yes, even French diseases [i. e. syphilis] are everywhere in fashion.”³³⁷ Only the professors had failed to recognize that Germany had changed.

Thomasius lectured in the latest fashion – high-heeled shoes, laces, full-bottomed wig, and a sword at his side – but his intention was not just to introduce his students to the seasonal demands of the *Mercure*. To Thomasius, adherence to fashion expressed a respect for social norms and conventions. For students to become active citizens in the contemporary world, they needed to understand the unwritten rules of politeness and the “*je ne sais quoi*” of taste. Although French clothing, romance novels, and fashion journals were readily available in Leipzig, no one taught students how to navigate through this sea of constant changes. What the student should learn to imitate was French “*honnête*, learning, *beauté d’esprit*, *un bon goût*, and *galanterie*.”³³⁸ And, Thomasius claimed, “when one combines all these parts, finally emerges *un parfait homme sage*, or a perfectly wise man, whom one can employ in the world for intelligent and important matters.”³³⁹

In 1687, Thomasius could not yet deliver a philosophy of fashion that suited his student audience. The available literature was too trivial and intimate to be used as textbooks. Thomasius recommended the writings of the *salonnière*, and notorious libertine, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, and used Amelot de la Houssaye’s annotated French translation of Baltasar Gracián’s *Oráculo manuel y arte de prudencia* (1647) as a textbook.³⁴⁰ However, these writings were more useful for provocation than for education. To create a school philosophy of fashion, Thomasius needed to fit the personal and tacit knowledge of *salonnières* and courtiers into a standardised textbook format. In March of 1688, the Saxon theoretician of natural law Samuel Pufendorf, in a private let-



Frontispiece to Thomasius' 1688 *Introductio ad philosophiam aulicam*, or introduction to court-philosophy, based upon his Leipzig lectures. A student is given the choice between French superficiality, scholarly pedantry, and Thomasius' middle way.

ter to Thomasius, pointed to the didactic shortcomings of Thomasius' program:

Concerning the German program on Gracian, I wonder whether it wouldn't be possible, now that we have brought what we call *justum* to proper perfection, to articulate into a discipline also the moral precepts on how to be accepted in the world as a prudent, cautious and polite man; and whether certain principles couldn't be found from which everything could be deduced, and certain divisions into which everything could be arranged – in other words, to get the whole business into one perspective. For this Gracian, for example, has many wonderful ideas, but much is hard to understand if you are not a man of the world or the court. Some of it is far too Spanish and abstract and cannot be

applied in practice, or it is only for the few and the special, but in the world in general it doesn't stand up. If, however, one had such a science, everything could be put in its place and ... the materials could soon be gathered from of the ancients as well as moderns, especially the French.³⁴¹

In the following decades, Thomasius worked to place the teaching of manners, *decorum*, as a formal discipline within the standard curriculum of practical philosophy, next to natural law, *justum*, and moral philosophy, *honestum*.³⁴² Whereas natural law determined the universal rules of society and moral philosophy determined the universal rules of ethics, *decorum* should teach students how to negotiate the world of differences. It served students, Thomasius proclaimed in 1689, who "in the future want to apply their philosophy for the real use of human-kind," rather than learn "pure unmixed philosophy."³⁴³

As Thomasius formulated the instructions on manners into an academic discipline, he also demarcated his new discipline from the polite literature and fashion journals. *Decorum* was not only of interest to ambitious students, but also to the rest of society. "Man's work needs a norm," Thomasius argued, "[i]f each acted after his own inclination, which conflicts in endless ways with those of others, the greatest harms and disadvantages would emerge among men, and surely a war of all against all would soon break out."³⁴⁴ "Decorum," Thomasius declared to his students in Halle in 1701, "is the soul of human societies."³⁴⁵

Thomasius never published much about *decorum*. For those who did not attend his lectures in Leipzig and Halle, the only inklings were in lecture programs and scattered textbook comments. When Thomasius' thoughts spread to other universities, it was through his students rather than his writings. Even at the turn of the 18th century, academic defenders of *decorum* had problems finding academic works and textbooks on the topic. A few short chapters were scattered in Latin moral philosophy books of the time, but nothing more extensive was available in writing.³⁴⁶ As late as 1713, the German translator of Gracian, Caspar Gottschling complained that *decorum* "until now has been found more in praxis than in theory, although I consider it as the foundation of many sciences [*Wissenschaften*] useful to human life."³⁴⁷

Christoph Heinrich Amthor and the Anthropology of Fashion

The Danish Empire offers an interesting example of the dissemination of Thomasius' philosophy of fashion. French fashion was as influential in the Danish kings' dominions as elsewhere in Europe. Visiting Copenhagen in 1702, the diplomat Lacombe de Vrigny reported how the French ambassador, Comte de Chamilly, had smuggled in "numerous boxes" stuffed with clothing "*à la mode de France*" and transformed several rooms of his residence into "*boutiques*" where "the Danish ladies could buy fans, masks, headdresses, ribbons and more, and thereby did great harm to the merchants of Copenhagen."³⁴⁸

About the same time as Chamilly smuggled fashionable accessories into Copenhagen, the Kiel professor and later court historiographer, Christoph Heinrich Amthor, introduced Thomasius' educational program into the Danish Empire. Amthor addressed fashion and decorum in several of his works, first in his *Einleitung zur Staats und Sitten-Kunst* of 1706 and most thoroughly in *Collegium homileticum de jure decori*, published posthumously in Leipzig and Copenhagen in 1730. None of Thomasius' students, and not even Thomasius himself, wrote as much about decorum as Amthor.

Amthor's books were clearly products of Thomasius' school. They were written for students who wished to become "men of the world," and focused upon matters, "which are useful in daily life and can be applied in modern states."³⁴⁹ Like Thomasius, Amthor insisted that "*usus seculi* or in French *la mode*" was "the only principle for understanding decorum"³⁵⁰ and blamed previous generations of scholars for their unfashionable behaviour. Polite and polished philosophers, Amthor explained in 1708, had now proven that these bad habits were inappropriate and unwarranted:

Whereas before scholars had to make do with black fur, round hat, and bad hair (possibly because under papal law, they were members of the clergy and, therefore, wanted to imitate the prophets and evangelists, who never are painted without hat or full-bottom-wig), today anyone is free to dress as he wants ... Until a few years ago, scholars inevitably appeared in Church or on the lectern, just like the farmer-sexton at prayer, dressed in their



robes, but now they wear a sword and understand that neither the devotion in prayer nor the skill of lecturing and disputing are derived from the hidden qualities of the robe.³⁵¹

Amthor did not blindly follow his teacher in Halle. His most significant reinterpretation was probably his combination of decorum and anthropology. Amthor defined decorum as the “study [*Wissenschaft*] of how not to give reason for irritation or ridicule, also how not to do so because of insignificant indifferent manners.”³⁵² Since decorum only dealt with appearances and the reactions of others, it depended upon context. For example, nudity was not forbidden by any moral, natural, or divine law, as illustrated by the fact that Adam and Eve were naked in the Garden of Eden. In Africa and America, Amthor claimed, nudity was still perfectly acceptable. Only bad weather had accustomed Europeans to wear clothing and, thus, made nudity a violation of decorum.

Fashion not only differed between continents, but also between European countries. These differences were not accidental, but the results of local traditions and temperaments. “Every nation [*Volck*],” Amthor explained, “must arrange its decorum according to such reasonable habits as have been introduced into its country, and especially according to its natural temperament.”³⁵³ Thus, German or Danish students should not slavishly follow the instructions in *Le Mercure galant*. Amthor repeatedly condemned the blind “imitation of French decorum” and the “distasteful habit of many, especially travellers, to force themselves to follow the decorum of a foreign nation, against their own nature and against the habits of the country where they were born.”³⁵⁴

Without *Le Mercure galant*, Amthor had problems defining the standards of decorum. In 1690, one French dictionary simply defined *la mode* as “the manner of dressing that follows the received usage at court.”³⁵⁵ In 1706, Amthor came close to a similar definition, when he called the courts “the most perfect schools of the decorum cus-

Left: Engraving of professors at Thomasius’ reform university in Halle, found in 1694, from Johann Christoph von Dreyhaupt *Pagus neletici et nudzici, oder Ausführliche diplomatisch-historische Beschreibung...Saal-Creÿses* (Halle 1755), II: 756. The professors are all dressed according to latest fashion, but also indicate their professional status by wearing black robes.

tomary in each country.”³⁵⁶ But Amthor’s anthropological emphasis upon local customs and natural temperaments often clashed with this purely power-based definition of decorum. In conglomerate states, such as the Danish Empire, loyalty towards the court and loyalty towards the natural, cultural, or linguistic community were not easily combined.

During the Great Nordic War, which devastated the shores of the Baltic Sea between 1710 and 1720, Amthor defended the Danish crown’s interests against the local Gottorp nobility, for which King Frederic IV in 1713 awarded him the title of Historiographer Royal. But when writing about customs, Amthor vocally defended his German heritage. These internal tensions became especially apparent when Amthor wrote about languages. Balancing between loyalty to the court and devotion to the German language (while imitating the bad French of German courtiers), he admonished his students in Kiel:

Through the *haselieren* [i. e. “behaving like a hare,” meaning caught by fashion frenzy], German tongues are filled with French *eloquence*, so that they no longer speak but *parlieren*, and their *discourse* is filled with beautiful *penséen* and *beaus mots*, just like the hare knows how to *lardieren* with his *Speck*. However, although it would be better if we used our rich and wonderful native tongue, this habit ... must nevertheless be expelled from the register of indecorous manners. For the ways of today demand it and especially a diligent man of the world living at court is better off by following suit than by insisting upon a forced purity of the German language.³⁵⁷

Amthor’s inconsistency also manifested itself in his theoretical justifications for decorum. In part decorum was a matter of self-love. Anyone who wished a career at court needed to adjust to its ways and disguise his personal background and upbringing. In making this argument, Amthor resembled Renaissance and Baroque books of manners. Thomasius’ chosen textbook by Baltasar Gracián, for example, recommended students to suppress or hide their national origins. However, Amthor went further than just justifying decorum with self-love. Probably inspired by Pufendorf and Thomasius, he added love towards all people in one’s society.

Pufendorf, and with him Thomasius, had argued that people established states because of their natural inclination towards social life. Thus, they not only had duties towards themselves and their rulers, but also towards their fellow citizens. "Towards *one another*," Pufendorf wrote in 1673, "their Behaviour ought to be friendly and peaceable, as serviceable, and as affable as they can make it; not to give Occasion of Trouble by Moroseness and Obstinacy, nor envying the Happiness of any, or interrupting their lawful and honest Injoyments."³⁵⁸ However, in Pufendorf's argument, nationality had little or no significance. Only Amthor's preoccupation with decorum made nationality important.

According to Amthor, decorum reflected the power structures of society. When the centre of power was not firmly established, the rules of decorum needed to be clearer and more firmly enforced. The court exhibited and exercised political dominance, when dictating how the citizens should dress and behave. A similar power relationship, Amthor claimed, existed between nations. A nation, which blindly accepted the customs and habits of another nation, also accepted the dominance of that nation. For these reasons, Amthor finally rejected his Francophile teacher in Halle:

I cannot deny that Mister Thomasius defends the French too much. He often ignores the fact that the French temperament is very different from the German and that, accordingly, only few of our compatriots completely can imitate the French. French decorum is in itself pleasant and good, but it cannot possibly serve as the yardstick of all nations [*Völcker*]. Additionally, one should consider the fact that a nation, which imitates another nation too much, diminishes itself and can harm itself, if not directly then indirectly ... Yes indeed, the imitation of foreign manners is often an overlooked step towards slavery, through which a nation can loose its freedom. He who has already been mentally dominated so that he considers me better than himself, he will not resist me with sufficient force when I gain authority over him in any other field. And, first of all, when once he is under domination, he will accept it patiently since he already loved the conqueror before.³⁵⁹

Amthor at no point in his writings confronted German and Danish customs and manners. The threat to his German identity did not

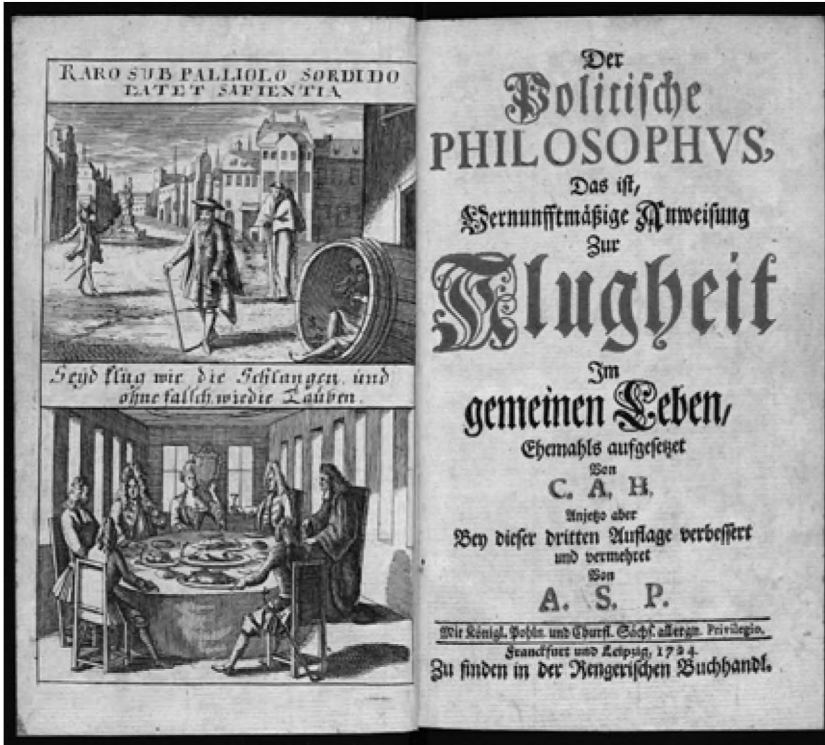
come from the Danish-speaking majority in the north, but from a few French-speaking trendsetters in Copenhagen. In 1728, another German subject of the Danish crown, Frederich Gerhard Voss, published a Danish rendition of Amthor's *Collegium*. Voss here simply replaced the word "German" with "Danish" or "Danish-German." To Voss, and most likely also to Amthor, Germans and Danes were one people, they had the same temperaments and customs, and belonged to the same nation. Even language differences were insignificant. Amthor's reference to German as "our so rich and wonderful native tongue [*Muttersprache*]," Voss replaced with the neutral phrase "one's untainted native tongue [*Moders Maal*]." ³⁶⁰

The Making of the Enlightenment Philosopher

Thomasius and Amthor's approach to fashion differed from that of French philosophers, such as Bellegarde and Fontenelle. Thomasius wrote many of his books in German and often claimed that these were intended not only for fellow academics, but also for men and women of the world. In 1691, for example, he dedicated his *Einleitung zu der Vernunft-Lehre* to the mayor of Leipzig and claimed to write for "all reasonable human beings" independent of social standing and gender. ³⁶¹ However, only his shortlived literary journal *Monatsgespräche*, published from 1688 to 1690, resembled the witty and entertaining articles of *Le Mercure galant*. His other books were written in an academic style and often in the format of textbooks. Amthor also employed this style in his works, which, despite his witty commentary, were loaded with philosophical distinctions and technical vocabulary.

Like Fontenelle and Bellegarde, Thomasius and Amthor sought legitimation among social elites, but they acquired this legitimation within the universities. Instead of adjusting their individual writings to the style of fashion journals, they influenced their students and, through these, challenged the cultural divide between academy and polite society. Writing primarily for students and peers, they could determine the rules of discussion. This mixed style enabled them to resume control over the student body and the discussions in and around the universities. ³⁶²

The academic control over fashion was never complete. Amthor's works, for example, did not receive the same attention as popular



Frontispiece to the 1724 edition of Christoph August Heumann's *Der Politische Philosophus*. Above, different kinds of impolite scholars are depicted and the Latin text declares: "Wisdom seldom hides under a dirty robe."

Below, the polite philosopher dines in worldly company and the German text declares: "Be clever as the snakes and without falsity as the doves."

works on fashion and etiquette, such as Hans Jørgensen Hørning's *Liden Moralsk og Politisk Bibel* (Small Moral and Political Bible, 1702), which was republished in several editions until 1759, translated into Icelandic in 1777, and recommended by the journal *Iris og Hebe* as late as 1796.³⁶³ Complaints about unfashionable and otherworldly academics remained constant throughout the 18th century, as Alexander Kosenina has documented.³⁶⁴ But Thomasius and Amthor offered a model for how academics could confront the new reality of fashion and fashion journals without endangering their academic identities. They helped transform the early modern scholar into an Enlightenment philosopher.

Among Thomasius and Amthor's successors, none described this transformation as pointedly and successfully as the Norwegian-born historian and playwright Ludvig Holberg. When writing about fashion, Holberg was redolent of Amthor. Holberg, for example, repeatedly complained about the money that students wasted upon the *grand tour* to Paris and insisted that French fashions offended the "natural taste" of Nordic people. In 1723, he published an entire comedy, *Jean de France eller Hans Frandsen*, ridiculing the imitation of French manners and fashions.

Other plays by Holberg examined the effect of decorum upon academic identities. The most popular of these plays was probably his *Erasmus Montanus eller Rasmus Berg*, about a bachelor of philosophy returning from university to his home village in the countryside. After its first publication in Copenhagen in 1731, the play was republished in Danish in 1742, 1758, and 1788, in German in 1744, 1748, 1752, 1761, 1771 and 1778, in Dutch in 1766 and 1799, and in Swedish in 1756, 1778 and 1781.³⁶⁵ However, Holberg most pointedly described the transformative power of decorum in his late comedy, *Philosophus udi egen Indbilding* (The Self-Imagined Philosopher, 1753). The play ended as the philosopher Cosmoligoreus and his famulus gave up their Latin names and academic clothing, leaving "two philosophers transformed into human beings."³⁶⁶ Undergoing the transformation of a generation in an afternoon, Cosmoligoreus, turned Cosmus Holgersen, explained:

I now believe that the mark of the philosopher is not to live in contest with others but to live better than others. Accordingly I will no more set myself apart from simple citizens, whether in my way of life or in my mode of dress.

See, there is my philosopher's robe trodden under foot.³⁶⁷

Conclusions: Fashion and the Social Order

Since the 17th century, fashion has been a metaphor for the contingencies and uncertainties of the modern world. Sudden changes in tastes and habits have not only influenced choices of clothing, shoes, and handbags, but also unsettled profound beliefs and convictions. In the popular and, maybe especially, the academic imagination fashion has signalled the preference of novelty for novelty's sake, without consid-

eration for eternal values and solid truths. Already during the 17th and 18th centuries, such comparisons were not unusual. In 1720, the Lund professor Andreas Rydelius complained that people “always search for and expect something new” and that they therefore “now treat our most honest moral principles the same way as the most uncertain hypotheses, yes, even like styles in clothing.”³⁶⁸ Nearly a century later, in 1803, the literary critic August Wilhelm Schlegel claimed that fashion and literature had become indistinguishable. Fashion surfaced not only in journals such as *Le Mercure galant*, but had contaminated also all other products of the printing press. The popular authors of his time, Schlegel argued, were “creatures of fashion” [*Geschöpfe der Mode*] and the book-market imitated the seasonal fluctuations of the fashion industry:

Twice every year, the great book-fair-flood (not including the smaller monthly floods that wash up the journals) throws large bales on land from the great ocean of authorial shallowness and platitude. Great hordes of readers then devour these with a sickening and ravenous appetite, but this doesn't provide them with any nutrition. Immediately forgotten again, [the bales] disappear into the dirt of the reading libraries, and the same cycle begins again with the next fair. One praises the now general taste for reading, but God help us! what kind of reading is this! It damns itself simply by its restless striving for novelty – in which there really is nothing new.³⁶⁹

Despite the multitude of such complaints, to the polite world of the 17th and 18th centuries fashion was as much a reaction against the uncertainties of the modern world as a cause of these uncertainties. The *Mercure* clearly created hunger for novelty, also within literature, but the journal would not have been possible without the preceding changes in reading and printing practices. Fashion, Elena Esposito argues, may even have limited the corrosive effects of the printing press.³⁷⁰ While rejecting continuities across time, fashion created new continuities within a period. *Salonnières* and courtiers, who no longer could identify with past traditions, instead identified with their equals in Paris, London, and Berlin. Polite literature demanded submission to fashion, and its superficiality and meaninglessness rendered such submission non-threatening to Enlightenment ideals. Unlike the foregoing orders of clothing and taste, which were legitimized through disputable uni-

versal ideals, fashion needed no other legitimacy than its novelty. Fashion, Immanuel Kant explained in 1798, demanded no consideration of utility and had “no intentional inner value.” It reflected no true taste and was often “hideous.” However, fashion was a social demand and, Kant claimed, “It is always better to be a fool of fashion than an unfashionable fool.”³⁷¹ In a world of contingencies and uncertainties, fashion delivered a common and neutral reference point.

During the 1680s, Christian Thomasius realized the stabilizing potential of fashion. Thomasius’ new ideal of the polite and polished philosopher was partly an adaptation of the French ideal of the *honnête homme*, but he embedded this ideal within the theoretical framework of natural law, as formulated by Samuel Pufendorf. Thomasius’ philosopher was not primarily serving the placeless *grand monde* of taste, but the social contract, his sovereign, and his fellow citizens. Fashion should create social order within borders rather than connections across borders. Among Thomasius’ students, this localization of fashion resulted in a change of emphasis, away from Parisian costumes and towards local customs. In 1739, the article on “Mode” in Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal Lexicon* carefully distinguished between the rapidly changing trans-national fashions and local customs. Zedler compared the former to a “contagious disease”³⁷² which in short time could infect an entire country and underscored the political significance of customs.

Within the Danish Empire, the introduction of Thomasius’ new discipline of decorum immediately resulted in discussions about natural temperaments and local customs. Unlike Saxony and Brandenburg-Prussia, where Thomasius and most of his students lived and taught, the Danish Empire consisted of a multitude of cultural and linguistic communities. The Empire stretched from Greenland, Iceland, and the Faeroe Islands in the North Atlantic to trading colonies in Africa, India, and the Caribbean. In the streets of Copenhagen, German was spoken almost as frequently as Danish. This plurality of cultures probably sensitized philosophers to differences in customs and habits.

However, the new emphasis upon temperaments and customs did not immediately cause rifts between the subjects of the conglomerate state. The two most important contributors to the Danish discussion about decorum, Christoph Heinrich Amthor and Ludvig Holberg, did not originate from the Danish-speaking majority. Amthor grew up in

Rendsburg in the Duchy of Holstein. Holberg was born and raised in Norway. Both Amthor and Holberg considered decorum as an instrument for creating order and coherence within the Danish king's dominions. The unnatural "Other," in opposition to which they defined their Danish "Self," was safely distant in Paris.

While decorum did not separate Danes, Germans, and Norwegians, it did undermine the *respublica litteraria* of Renaissance humanists.³⁷³ Since Erasmus of Rotterdam, this community of letters and minds had not only united scholars across Europe, but also demarcated them from their compatriots. In one of the most important and influential early modern books on academic virtues, *De constantia* of 1584, the Dutch humanist Justus Lipsius explained:

The whole world is our country, wheresoeuer is the race of mankind sprong of that celestiall seed. *Socrates* being asked of what countrey he was, answered: *Of the world*. For a high and loftie mind will not suffer it selfe to be penned by OPINION within such narrow bounds but conceiueth and knoweth the whole worlde to bee his owne. We scorne and laugh at fooles ... who with the weake linke of Opinion are wedded to one corner of the world.³⁷⁴

Thomasius' new discipline of decorum demanded that scholars not only respected local opinions, but also adjusted themselves to these opinions. Much like the Renaissance humanist, Thomasius' idealized philosopher was supposed to think independently and freely, but his freedom was no longer justified with reference to a universal community of letters and minds. His *libertas philosophandi* was not an eternal privilege, but a temporal duty towards his sovereign and his fellow citizens.

At the end of the 18th century, another German subject of the Danish crown, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, celebrated this change of loyalties. In his fragmentary and quasi-historical novel *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik* (The German Republic of Letters, 1774), Klopstock described the gradual emancipation of German academics from the European *respublica litteraria*. However, at the end of the 18th century, national emancipation was no longer without cost for the unity and coherence of conglomerate states such as the Danish Empire. While researching his novel, Klopstock in 1770 moved from Copenhagen to Hamburg,

just south of the Danish border, and he never returned to the country that paid his wages. The philosophy of fashion, providing order in a world of change, was transforming into the ideology of nationalism, unsettling the order of *ancien régime* Europe.

7. Humanism vs. Cynicism: Cosmopolitan Culture and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Denmark

John Christian Laursen

Intellectuals have a hard time being narrow-minded nationalists. This is partly because they read a lot of authors who are not from their own country, and about a lot of places that are not their own country. A few might be able to convince themselves that their own authors and their own territory are far superior to anything else, but that is not likely to happen if they have any larger sense of taste, and especially not if they come from a smallish country. There are just too many competitors, especially from the larger countries.

In other words, intellectuals are likely to be cosmopolitans, at least in some senses of the word.³⁷⁵ And that is what I am going to explore here: two types of cosmopolitanism. In my study of the Danish intellectuals Ludvig Holberg, Otto Thott, and Bolle Willum Luxdorph, I have come to think of them as humanist cosmopolitans. That is, they exhibit some of the characteristics of a certain kind of classically educated cosmopolitan that goes back at least as far as, and was exemplified by, Erasmus of Rotterdam. The other kind of cosmopolitan also has a long pedigree, going back to Diogenes of Sinope, and I am going to call it cynical cosmopolitanism. Let me quickly point out that the ancient tradition of cynicism had little of the modern connotation of selfish manipulativeness, and in the following I will explain exactly what it was. Meanwhile, let me suggest that the physician and Prime Minister Johann Friedrich Struensee was an example of cynical cosmopolitanism. Others have observed that Struensee was impolitic, insensitive, and arrogant. If they have ventured reasons why he might be so other than personality quirks, they have attributed these characteristics to his acceptance of many of the principles of Voltairean Enlightenment. Few, if any, have brought out his debt to the cynical tradition. I do not, of course, claim that cynicism was the major ideological influence on his way of thinking, but I suggest that it was an important factor that must be taken into consideration in any overall assessment of his ideas and influence.

My two types of cosmopolitanism have distinctly different relationships with nationalism and politics. My humanist cosmopolitans were also nationalists, although inevitably of the moderate and limited sort.³⁷⁶ They were furthermore successful as political actors, one of them Rector of the University and two of them rising to high positions in the Danish government. The cynical cosmopolitan was more of an anti-nationalist, at home in French and German culture and not even bothering to learn Danish –although I grant this could mask a German cultural nationalism. What is more, he was only briefly, though mercurially, successful in politics, and came to a catastrophic end.

1. Erasmian Humanist Cosmopolitanism

What I am calling humanist cosmopolitanism was a product of education at the Latin School or by Latin tutors, consisting of the study of classical grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy, and thus a potential development for many of the educated people of the day.³⁷⁷ It was part of the ideology of the *res publica literaria* or *République des lettres* which “embraces the whole world and is composed of all nationalities, all social classes, all ages, and both sexes... All languages ancient and modern are spoken,” to quote an author from 1699.³⁷⁸

Humanist cosmopolitanism was an outlook of the lighter literati, not of the committed erudites, antiquarians, metaphysicians, or other deep intellectuals. It also contrasted with the potential parochialism, provincialism, nationalism, and xenophobia of the less educated, for whom anything foreign would be a threat. Intellectuals could, of course, also talk themselves into provincialism and xenophobia, so I suppose a humanist extreme nationalism was possible, but I cannot offer good examples of it.

What I can offer is three cases of Danish intellectuals who seem to have developed a Danish version of the cosmopolitanism that was also emerging in the Swiss Republics of the eighteenth century.³⁷⁹ They were also from a small country, knew their Latin classics, traveled and sometimes lived in other countries, read several modern languages, and wrote in Latin or modern languages other than their own for a wide-flung readership. They, too, balanced their cosmopolitanism with a moderate nationalism.

Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) needs little introduction but I will indicate the salient elements of his life that qualify him for the label “humanist cosmopolitan”. Born in Bergen, he studied at the Latin school there and took degrees in theology and philosophy from the University of Copenhagen. He traveled to the Netherlands, spent two and a half years at Oxford, and lived in Saxony for a time. His first published work was a rewriting of Pufendorf’s European history, to which he added a geography supplement. He spent the years 1712 to 1716 abroad, mostly in Paris and Rome, and upon his return to Copenhagen, he brought out another Pufendorf adaptation, namely of the shorter natural-law work. His university career began as professor of metaphysics in 1717, but in the years 1720-1730 he was professor of Latin oratory and became steeped in Latin literature. He began his literary career with a comic epic, *Peder Paars*, published in 1719-20, and that was followed by twenty-five plays written in the 1720’s, often following French and German models. In 1730 Holberg became professor of history, and in addition to writing a history of Denmark which rejected Molesworth’s criticisms he wrote a church history and a history of the Jews.³⁸⁰ He wrote a utopian novel in Latin, *Niels Klim’s Journey Underground*, that was translated into Danish, French, German, Dutch, and English.

In short, Holberg had the kind of education and international experience we might expect of an Erasmian humanist. I will now explore one small slice of his writings for more evidence of what I am calling humanist cosmopolitanism. Throughout the years 1748-1754 Holberg wrote and published letters on moral-philosophical topics in Danish, eventually collected in several large volumes and selectively published in French. I will explore two of them here.

In 1753 Holberg brought out *Remarques sur quelques positions, qui se trouvent dans L’Esprit des lois* (Copenhagen, 1753), based on some of his Danish letters.³⁸¹ One of Holberg’s main purposes here is to defend the Danish monarchy against its Molesworthian critics, but he is subtle about it. The first letter ranges over a great deal of Greek and Roman history to prove that the character of leaders was what counted, not the constitution of the government. It only gets to the Danish king – “Nos Rois icy”- in the last sentence (270), when it points out that a people may be as happy, and less disturbed, under an arbitrary government as in a free republic. In a later letter, discussing England itself, he argues

that it is the king, not the constitution, that keeps that country thriving and at peace (276).

Elements of an Erasmian cosmopolitanism emerge from the wide range of materials that Holberg ransacks for his case. His wide learning even helps him avoid the pitfalls of Eurocentrism. In critique of Montesquieu's emphasis on the importance of climate, Holberg defends the virtue and republicanism of various Asian and African countries (285). We only think they are lesser civilizations because most historians are Europeans and favor their own countries, he observes (285). Like any man of letters who seeks to vindicate the importance of his craft, Holberg takes scholarship and politics together to make the cosmopolitan point that no country has a monopoly on erudition, politeness, valor, and love of liberty (273).

The year before, Holberg published *Conjectures sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains* in Leipzig.³⁸² This was in obvious dialogue with Montesquieu's book of similar title from 1734, and Molesworth remains in the back of Holberg's mind. Holberg recognized that good laws, fertile land, and favourable climate helped the Romans, but he pointed out that other peoples enjoyed those factors, too. No, it was enthusiasm and ambition for glory that drove the Romans to greatness. This is remarkable because Holberg was putting a positive spin or valence on enthusiasm at a time when, as he knew, enthusiasm had a bad name among the literati.³⁸³

Among competing hypotheses, Holberg recognized that Rome's willingness to give its defeated enemies citizenship was important; it meant that bloody battles did not diminish the population but rather increased it (187). But they were not constant in this policy, Holberg pointed out, and its abolition eventually led to the Italic or social war (179; see also 206, 230).

The only case comparable to Roman growth and empire was that of the Arabs and Islam, and that proves his point, Holberg argued. Everyone in Europe agrees that the Arabs rose to empire on blind enthusiasm and fanaticism (182). Mohammed merely followed some of the same strategies to inspire enthusiasm and fanaticism as Romulus had (183).

Holberg kept the two cases apart by a distinction between blind and furious enthusiasm and reasonable and well judged enthusiasm (197). The latter seems to include cases in which the Romans compromised and even suffered humiliation in order to survive, where blind enthusiasts would have sacrificed themselves.

Holberg rejects eight other reasons for Rome's greatness that Rollin, "whose History of Rome is regarded as a classic for all those who cannot go to the sources" (198), had proposed. They are 1) its first constitution, 2) veneration for the sacred, 3) love of liberty, 4) love of the *patria*, 5) desire to rule, 6) respect for justice, 7) exercise of clemency, and 8) discord and rivalry between the patricians and the plebeians (198ff.). The last does not make sense, he observes: it nearly brought down the city through civil strife (203, 204).

As for the first factor, "un des plus célèbres écrivains de nos jours" (204) – Montesquieu³⁸⁴ – had pointed out that a single prince will have periods of ambition and of rest, whereas the rotating magistracy of a republic will be always on the move. But many other Greek and Italian republics had such changing magistracies and yet none of them reached so far. The subtext of this argument may be a defense of the Danish monarchy against preferences for republican institutions.

The second factor, which Holberg interprets as religious superstition, cannot be the deciding factor, he writes, because all of the other republics were equally superstitious (204). The love of liberty cannot explain Roman success either, since the Greeks took love of liberty more seriously than anyone else, and it often led to their ruin (205). The same goes for love of country (205). Yes, they had a great love for ruling, but the question is why, so the fact to be explained cannot be the answer (205). As for the respect for justice and clemency, Holberg thinks that the Romans would have used injustice and severity if they had thought it would get them an empire (205). The only remaining explanation is the Romans' enthusiasm.

Several of Holberg's explanations make the most sense if understood as the wishful thinking of an intellectual and a moderate cosmopolitan. Rome won its empire "more by virtue than by force, more by provoking admiration than fear, more by clemency than by rigor" (209). Like Erasmus, his love for pagan culture did not make him a pagan or an

atheist. Holberg was a great admirer of Pierre Bayle, but not of Bayle's sympathy for atheists: the Roman example shows that "any religion, no matter how superstitious, is worth more than incredulity or atheism" (210).

The fall of the empire began with the rise of luxury and injustice, and enthusiasm waned along with virtue, in Holberg's account. "Je laisse passer pour un chef d'oeuvre l'hypothese de l'illustre Président Montesquieu [*sic*]", Holberg conceded (233), but even he did not see that the true force behind the rise of Rome was enthusiasm. In a short "Discours sur l'entousiasme" appended to his book, Holberg admitted that he had used the terms "enthusiasm" and "fanaticism" interchangeably, as was the custom, but that really they were different things (235). The first is an ardor, and comes from the Greek for prophetic; the second is from the Latin for fury, and represents the extravagance of false prophets and impostors. The first is incompatible with tricks and dissimulation, and the latter is always self-interested (235-6). Enthusiasm, in turn, can be blind or reasoned. Millenarians and other religious enthusiasts are often of the first sort, and should be left alone for their enthusiasm to evaporate (236-7). The Romans had a reasonable enthusiasm that enabled them to rise to power (237). Holberg concluded the dissertation with comparisons to the Assassins of the mountains of Persia, the Jews, and the Incas of Peru, indicating extensive reading and a wide notion of relevant human experience.

Throughout his critique, Holberg follows the polite forms in claiming that he admires Montesquieu's genius and his work as a whole, and that he is only drawing attention to particular errors of fact. However, if Montesquieu's theories about the role of the principles behind the different forms of government and of the influence of climate upon politics are rejected, what of importance is left?

A summary of Holberg's Erasmian cosmopolitanism would include the points that he read widely in at least the basic European languages, Greek, Latin, French, and German. He wrote and published in Latin, French, and German for wider audiences. He clearly wished to vindicate the Danish constitution against its critics without insisting that other nations should follow it or that others are inferior.

This attitude helped Holberg to success, both as a man of letters and



Engraving from 1781 of Count Otto Thott (1703-1785) by Georg Christian Schule.

as a scholar. He was named rector of University of Copenhagen in 1745 and was its bursar from 1736 to 1751, and was raised to the rank of Baron in 1747 in return for leaving his estate to Sorø Academy.

Our next Erasmusian humanist cosmopolitan is Otto Thott (1703-1785). A member of one of the leading noble families in Denmark, he went on the Grand Tour from 1723 to 1727, studying in Halle, Jena, Strasbourg, Paris, and Oxford. At Halle he attended lectures by Heineccius, Thomasius, and Wolff.³⁸⁵ He visited the libraries in Paris with Ludvig Holberg, who described him as the “son of the privy councilor of that name, and himself not less distinguished by his upright character and solid attainments”.³⁸⁶ While in Paris he met the astronomer Jacques Cassini, the author Fontenelle, and the historian Bernard de Montfaucon. Thott proceeded to the Netherlands, where he met the Humanist Petrus Burmannus and the jurist Cornelis van Bynkershoek, and to England to study at Oxford.³⁸⁷ Back in Copenhagen, Thott joined the central administration in 1728 as a member of the Danish Chancellery.

In 1758 he became one of five members of the Privy Council, making him one of the most powerful figures in Denmark.

Thott also had a parallel life, just as cosmopolitan. He was a major art patron and manuscript and book collector. The 2,166 paintings at his castle at Gavnø included original paintings by Rembrandt and Rubens. At one point he commissioned paintings of 32 famous men, which included a cosmopolitan selection from Columbus to Colbert and Mazarin, from Nostradamus to Zwingli and Pascal, and from Spinoza to Milton and Locke. From his own lifetime were Addison and Pope. He also had a collection of portraits of 26 famous French ladies, and another portrait series of royal and noble houses from Denmark, France, England, and the German states.³⁸⁸

The manuscripts and books were Thott's real passion. Before he died he gave 4,154 manuscripts and 6,159 books printed before 1530 to the Royal Library. After his death, the remaining 131,000 books were auctioned off, many of them purchased by the Royal Library. The books and manuscripts were in all the major European languages, especially Latin, French, German, and English. They covered philosophy, theology, history, and many other topics. In addition to orthodox theology, they included a strong selection of clandestine manuscripts from the irreligious tradition. Jonathan Israel has wondered why such an important figure in the Danish government had such a large collection of Spinozana.³⁸⁹ The answer is probably that he had a large collection of Spinozana because he had a large collection of everything.

The only surviving text by Thott himself confirms his wide-ranging education and reading. While a member of the Danish Chancellery he wrote a dissertation about the problems the country faced.³⁹⁰ The manuscript is dated December 31 1735 but he did not have it printed, although we may speculate that he may have drawn on it from 1746 to 1759 while he headed the newly reformed Economics and Commerce Department (*Økonomi- og Kommercekollegium*). The text is divided into three chapters: Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce. The wealth of a country is based on agriculture, he wrote. Agriculture is the foundation of manufacture, and commerce is the axle that keeps the wheels of agriculture and manufacture running. The manuscript is more empirical than theoretical, rich in comparative examples drawn from the Netherlands, England, Poland, and Germany. Thott was writing in the

tradition of early German Cameralism, as represented by his teachers Thomasius and Wolff. Some of his examples were reworkings of a Swedish text, Anders Bachmansson Nordencrantz's *Arcana Oeconomica et Commercii* (1730), but the order of the text resembles *Project der Oeconomie in Form einer Wissenschaft* (1716) by Christoffer Heinrich Amthor. Amthor was Historiographer Royal of Denmark-Norway at Rosenborg Castle until he died in 1721, and was the first to introduce Cameralism to Copenhagen.³⁹¹ Thott's essay demonstrates that he was intellectually rooted in what counted as the latest developments of modern Enlightened thought.

Our third example of a humanist cosmopolitan is Bolle Willum Luxdorph (1716-1788). He did not have the opportunity to travel like our previous cosmopolitans; instead he entered government service after studying at the University of Copenhagen. However, he had the true man of letters' extensive acquaintance with the world. He knew many Latin authors by heart and was familiar with several modern languages. He published in ten volumes *En ny samling af smukke danske vers* (A New Collection of Beautiful Danish Verse, 1742) as well as his own poetry, in both Danish and Latin. His *Carmina* (1775) established him as the last major Danish author to write in Latin. A contemporary, writing in French, described him as "Luxdorph grand Poète & Critique Latin" and mentioned that he and other Danes in his circles "possèdent aussi de belles collections de livres".³⁹² This is borne out by the fact that he left some 15,000 books³⁹³ and put together a very important collection of most of the pamphlets that were published in the years 1770-1775, known as "Luxdorph's Collection of Free-Press Writings".³⁹⁴ In 1772 he brought out an edition of Holberg's *Peder Paars*. A Wolffian in philosophy, he was also President of the Royal Academy and showed special interest in Icelandic studies. He was cosmopolitan enough to write a Latin *Poema* on the crossing of the Danish Straits by Carl Gustav in 1658, which earned him a prize from the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1754. His *Diary*³⁹⁵ has been described as throwing more light on Danish matters of his time than any other single source.³⁹⁶

Luxdorph had a successful career in government. From 1753 to 1771 he was *maître des requêtes* in the Danish Chancery, from 1771 chief of its first department, and from 1773 its first secretary. He advanced from State Councilor in 1752 to Conference Councilor in 1766 to Privy Councilor in 1777. This means that he held major positions before,

during, and after the rise and fall of Struensee as Prime Minister. He co-signed with Struensee many of the decrees that led people to hate the latter, but he also served on the Inquisition Commission that judged the Prime Minister guilty of *lèse majesté* and condemned him to death. This is the record of a survivor who could tell which way the political wind was blowing and adapt to it.

In other words, Luxdorph, like Holberg and Thott, was a cosmopolitan bibliophile and man of letters, educated in and using several languages throughout a literary and government career. He was proud of his own country and language, but comfortable in others.

A more extensive review of the education and careers of men of letters near the top of the Danish administration would show that many conformed to the pattern that has emerged. It is worth stressing that for significant periods of time these men actually wielded the reins of power. In the case of Frederik V, the combination of absolutism and alcoholism meant that much of the politics of the realm from 1747 to 1766 was in the hands of humanist cosmopolitans such as Johan Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff, Adam Gottlob Moltke, and others.³⁹⁷

These men were all literati, highly educated and refined intellectuals. Their identity as Danes was surely different from the identity of farmers, soldiers, tradesmen, and the rest of those who did not have a Latin education. They were at home in the world of foreign travel and books in foreign languages, and they clearly thought of themselves as citizens of the *res publica literaria*.

The paradigm for such careers is Erasmus, for Erasmian humanists could be intellectually inquisitive without coming up with radical or dangerous ideas. They could prefer peace, the establishment, moderation, and mediation, and spare sympathy for the persecuted without themselves becoming radicals. Whether or not they knew the pamphlet, they would have agreed with much of the sentiments in Lord Halifax's *The Character of a Trimmer* (1699).³⁹⁸ They were "Trimmers", careerists, moderates, conservatives of a sort, and politically astute. Their mentality was above all that of the humanist cosmopolitan intellectual. As a group, they contrast interestingly with the following sort of cosmopolitan intellectual.

2. Cynical cosmopolitanism

The second form of cosmopolitanism to be explored is what I call “cynical cosmopolitanism”. Disregarding the hackneyed meaning of cynical as selfish and manipulative, I mean to invoke the tradition that goes back to Antisthenes and his student Diogenes of Sinope and the cynics of ancient Greece and Rome. These were cosmopolitans, too, by Diogenes’s own neologism, but also strict moralists. Diogenes lived in a barrel, eschewed property and comfort, and criticized his contemporaries for their materialism and selfishness. He spoke as he pleased (*parrhesia*) and claimed independence (*autarkeia*) precisely because he had cultivated self-denial (*askesis*), limiting his needs to the barest minimum. He was known for the slogan “deface the coinage!”, a metaphor for rejection of conventional social customs and institutions. He rejected established political powers, telling Alexander the Great to quit blocking his sunlight.³⁹⁹

Diogenes’s cosmopolitanism was an anti-political, anti-patriotic, anti-nationalist, anti-parochial and individualist cosmopolitanism. It was perhaps proto-anarchist, because he did not respect any of the powers that be. He was irresponsible, but on high moral grounds: he did not trust anyone who claimed to know how to run other people’s lives.

The cynics were known to the eighteenth century primarily through texts of Diogenes Laertius, Epictetus, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, and their Renaissance mediators. Montaigne’s friend Etienne de la Boétie adopted cynic methods of teaching such as invective, irony, word-play, and paradoxes to provoke thought and to castigate the lazy more than to teach an unambiguous lesson.⁴⁰⁰ The libertines of the seventeenth century explored with glee the cynics’ multi-faceted critiques of religion, sexual norms, and established conventions.⁴⁰¹ As libertinism evolved from the erudite and private indulgence of the seventeenth century into the more public life-style provocations of the eighteenth-century, cynicism continued to play a role. It is no accident that Struensee was accused of libertinism for his rejection of traditional sexual norms. To the extent that he recognized his own place in the libertine tradition, it would go hand in hand with cynicism.

I should point out that “humanists” and “cynics” are not exclusive even as general categories. One of the chief sources of knowledge about cyn-

icism in the early-modern period was Erasmus's *Apophthegmata*, which contained some 350 cynical sayings.⁴⁰² However, it is clear that most Erasmian humanists developed in quite different ways from the subset of cynical humanists.

Born in 1737 in Halle, Johann Friedrich Struensee was educated at August Hermann Francke's Latin School and entered the university at Halle at age 14. He completed his medical studies in 1757 with a thesis titled "De incongrui corporis motus insalubritate" ("Of Harm Caused by Unhealthy Movement of the Body"). He became city physician of Altona at the age of 20. His friends in medical-intellectual circles in Altona and nearby Hamburg included the Jewish doctor and clandestine Spinozist Hartog Gerson.⁴⁰³ It is worth noting that the medical education on top of the Latin education –something our Erasmian humanists did not have– may have pushed Struensee in materialist and radical directions that also fit well with cynicism.

In the years 1760-1764, Struensee and several like-minded friends wrote for or co-founded four periodicals in the tradition of humorous and moral weeklies. All were short-lived and two were suppressed by the authorities.⁴⁰⁴ This is surely one of the reasons why one of the first things he did when he became Prime Minister in Denmark in 1770 was to enact a decree for freedom of the press. It was a declaration of cynic *parrhesia*.

The range of Struensee's interests may be gauged from the articles he wrote for those journals.⁴⁰⁵ Some were on medical themes, from suckling infants to fevers to smallpox inoculation and venereal disease, and generally represented the latest rationalist "Enlightened" approach. (Later, his successful inoculation of the Danish Crown prince was one of the factors which helped him win the hearts of the King and Queen.)⁴⁰⁶ But he also wrote about metempsychosis and a short continuation of Swift's *Gulliver*. His last article consisted of reflections on the respect an author ought to have for the public.

However, the main reason for characterizing Struensee as a self-conscious cynic is that he wrote two articles about them.⁴⁰⁷ This suggests that his attention to cynicism was more than a passing fancy and that he had appropriated it in some depth. To someone who has absorbed the cynical attitude, as to a postmodernist today, the humor and amuse-

ment of the cynical anecdotes would be part of a lifestyle. They would be part and parcel of a playfulness and perspective that would fill the place of philosophy in more serious lifestyles and define their way of life.

The first of his articles on the cynics was in his *Monthly for Use and Pleasure* of 1763.⁴⁰⁸ Titled “Reports on Diogenes”, it consisted largely of paraphrases and quotes from Diogenes Laertius and other sources. This included scandalous sayings such as that “women and the education of children ought to be held in common” (64). Nine years later one of the charges against Struensee was holding the Queen in common with the King.

Much of the article was anti-clerical. In defense of Diogenes and the cynics Struensee wrote that “The force with which the first monks castigated their flesh... is no more extraordinary than that with which Diogenes and his followers did so...” (58). Presumably, he would have endorsed the claim he quotes from Diogenes, that “when I think of philosophy and the art of medicine, man seems to me the cleverest of animals,... but when I cast my eyes on astrology and prophecy, I find no greater fools” (65). He quotes Diogenes again: “The luck of the robber Harpalus... nearly forced me to believe that either there are no gods or that they do not concern themselves with our affairs” (66). The latter—a denial of Providence—was considered a form of atheism by thinkers such as Pierre Bayle, even if it allows for the bare existence of gods.

The political message was also clear: Diogenes’s “biting wit reformed Corinth” (60), and that is surely what Struensee thought he could imitate. Diogenes’s claim to naturalism and cosmopolitanism is reflected in one quotation: “A well-ruled Republic would be the exact likeness of that old city, the world” (64). To his countrymen who banished him, he answered, “I condemn you to stay in your houses”; they would remain small-minded and never get to know the larger world: “You shall stay in Sinope, and I am going to Athens” (66). This is cynical cosmopolitanism.

Diogenes also “concluded rightly that superstition and unlimited absolutism are the most wretched” forces on earth (66). It is easy to see why the more established and humorless authorities in Altona and Hamburg would not find this very amusing. Stefan Winkle considered this

article Struensee's "indirect vindication" of his life and style, published less than ten years before his fall.⁴⁰⁹

The second article was a longer treatment, "In Praise of Dogs and the Greek Album".⁴¹⁰ "Cynic" means dog, and the ancient cynics prided themselves on adopting the life-style of dogs and comparing themselves to them. Coming shortly after the article that was explicitly on Diogenes the cynic, it falls into place as a treatment of cynicism. The epigraph was "Les hommes ne sont pas si parfaits que les chiens" (233), and the text went on to assert that the loyalty and socialibility of dogs proves that they have souls (234). This was, of course, a provocation to common religious sentiments according to which humans are superior to animals and the only ones who have souls. It led to a confrontation with Hamburg's Pastor Goeze, who also fought with Lessing in this period, and to censorship.

Protestants could accept anti-Catholic cracks such as that "dogs are gentler than the Holy Father and the Inquisition" (234) and that monks do not follow their vows of chastity (235). But talk about hate in the human heart –and even "Christian hate" (243) – in comparison to the loyalty and love of a dog would be offensive to all Christians (236-7). Struensee goes on to cite Rousseau on the equality of classes (Stände) but says that only dogs can tell the honorable people from the loafers (239).

Finally, the last part of the article is an explicit comparison of a well-known quack medical remedy, *Album Graecum* (Greek White) to dog feces. Fully in the scatological tradition of the ancient cynics, this sort of vulgar attack on the establishment would count as the humorous "defacing of the coinage" for which Diogenes was famous. Dog feces are better medicine than what doctors have and contain more wisdom than many prolific writers. Proud noblemen, venal judges, rich landowners, and Panglossian professors come out worse than the excrement of dogs in this tirade. The latter has the same effect as the white powder sold as medicine (252). One can see why even progressive intellectuals could consider this unworthy of publication. But it was just the sort of provocation that a cynical cosmopolitan could think was both amusing and deserved by the establishment.

Did Struensee transmit these ideas to his companions in Copenhagen, such as the King, the Queen, or his ally Enevold Brandt? We do not



Count J.F. Struensee together with Queen Caroline Mathilde and a dog. The text: *Nu vender Lykken sig Grev Struense for dig. D. 17. januar 1772* (Now fortune turns for you Count Struensee. January 17, 1772). The date marks the arrest of Struensee. Broadside with woodcut.

know for they left no paper trail to their minds. Struensee is a special case among political actors in that we have evidence of his ideas from these early writings which help us map out the mind behind his later behavior.

Struensee's cynicism also came out in his style of ruling. The cynics were moral elitists, ever challenging the status quo, political leaders, and ordinary people for their corruption. Struensee was no democrat who actively sought to encourage political participation. Rather, he was consummately unpolitical, like the ancient cynics. He made enemies by speaking too openly of his contempt for others and relied almost exclusively on dictatorial power, issuing no fewer than 1800 decrees during his short period (1770-1772) in office.⁴¹¹ He abolished wasteful holidays, ended monopolies and other economic favoritism, cut back on military and religious privileges. Many of these may have been salutary reforms, but they were carried out with singular insensitivity to real people and their problems. If one can imagine Diogenes of Sinope ever coming to power, this might have been the way he would have ruled.

Struensee spoke fluently the court languages of German – his native tongue – and French, but he never bothered to learn Danish. Naturally, this was perceived as an affront by Danish nationalists, and even by moderately nationalist humanist cosmopolitans.⁴¹²

Struensee's philosophical sympathies were with thinkers such as Spinoza, Hume, and Voltaire.⁴¹³ Each of these can be assimilated to cynical cosmopolitanism in one way or another, especially in their common goal of “defacing the coinage” and rejecting established political and religious hierarchies. They identified more with the cosmopolitan “republic of letters” than with national identities, but in a very different and more radical way than the Erasmian humanist cosmopolitans. The cynical cosmopolitans also thought they were writing for the world, but defacing many of the established currencies. I have suggested elsewhere that his association with Spinoza in some people's minds was part of the atmosphere that made the coup against Struensee possible.⁴¹⁴

Struensee also stands apart from the Erasmian humanists we have explored in the fact that he was of German and not Danish birth, living as a kind of exile in Denmark. He was an outsider where our human-

ist cosmopolitans were insiders. But that assimilates him to Diogenes, too, who lived most of his life in exile from Sinope. Struensee, on the other hand, cared about power and prestige enough to become a Danish count, where Diogenes would have rejected such things with contempt.

Struensee's behavior in the pursuit of moral ideals may remind us of the English philosopher Michael Oakeshott's stark assertion that "The pursuit of moral ideals has proved itself (as might be expected) an untrustworthy form of morality..."⁴¹⁵ There are several reasons for this. One is that the "self-conscious pursuit of ideals" dismisses the "morality of habit of behaviour... as primitive and obsolete",⁴¹⁶ which allows the ideal-mongers to ignore the concerns of those who live by the older morality. Then, "Too often the excessive pursuit of one ideal leads to the exclusion of others, perhaps all others; in our eagerness to realize justice we come to forget charity, and a passion for righteousness has made many a man hard and merciless."⁴¹⁷ Furthermore, "every moral ideal is potentially an obsession; the pursuit of moral ideals is an idolatry".⁴¹⁸

Oakeshott did not make these comments with specific reference to cynical moralism, but these and other aspects of his analysis seem tailor-made for an evaluation of Struensee's practices and his fall. His abrupt dismissal of many government employees seems to have been carried out with the same indifference to their personal lives as the modern-day cynical cosmopolitan's outsourcing of 5,000 jobs seems to be. His abolition of numerous holidays was the sort of moralism that was not likely to appeal to the common man or woman.

Conclusion: humanist vs. cynical cosmopolitanism

Granting that ideal types such as the humanist cosmopolitanism and cynical cosmopolitanism that I have outlined cannot capture everything about a writer and thinker, and may lead to oversimplifications, I still believe that there is something to be gained by comparing the two. I think one conclusion that emerges from our examples is that humanist cosmopolitanism is more likely to be successful as a career and reform strategy, precisely because it does not demand too much. It relies on long-term psychological and ideological change, to be promoted by writing and action from within the establishment. Its weakness, of

course, is that it may be too slow in adapting to social, economic, and political change. Cynical cosmopolitanism has the opposite virtues and vices. It wants to tear down the establishment and reconstruct everything at once. The good thing is that all sorts of problems are addressed. The bad thing is that they are not addressed well.

As we have seen, humanist cosmopolitanism leaves room for a moderate nationalism. Cynical cosmopolitanism makes a fetish of cosmopolitan rejection of all national feeling. I return to one of Michael Oakeshott's posthumous books for the point that, even though he preferred the politics of skepticism, he recognized that a healthy politics needs some of each of skepticism and faith.⁴¹⁹ Perhaps we can conclude here that our examples in eighteenth-century Denmark suggest that we need some of both of cosmopolitanism and moderate nationalism, and some of both of humanism and cynicism.

8. The Danish Debate about Montesquieu: Holberg, Kofod Ancher, Stampe, Sneedorff and Schytte

Ditlev Tamm

The noble art of taking offence is not a modern phenomenon nor was it uncommon in the past that apparently innocent statements provoked strong feelings. Montesquieu definitely did not aim at offending anybody when he wrote about different kinds of government. However his *grand oeuvre* on the spirit of the laws ended up on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, and in distant Denmark his description of despotism and monarchy provoked two Danish intellectuals to write strong apologies of the Danish constitution. Even if “globalization” had not yet been coined, Montesquieu in his own pleasant way was an omnipresent authority whom you apparently did not want to give the last word if you disagreed with his opinions. However, there were also other reasons. In Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century Denmark was not considered an ideal society, and more internationally oriented Danish scholars might feel an urge to defend their country against what they saw as hidden attacks, even from a person such as Montesquieu.

You could only read him in Danish in 1770 when the first translation of *L'Esprit des lois* appeared⁴²⁰. Whether you read the book of the century in this translation or, as the two Danish eighteenth-century professors Ludvig Holberg and Peder Kofod Ancher did, in the original French version, it might seem difficult to be offended by what you were reading, if you did not happen to be a despot living somewhere far away in the Orient or had a particular devotion to that kind of government. Even then you might admire the exactitude with which Montesquieu, without leaving Europe, was able to render the very essence of a government. He tellingly conveyed its basis in the fear felt by people when exposed to the arbitrariness of a ruler who, by the very nature of despotism, need not follow any predictable rules. Nevertheless, offence was taken; at least Holberg and Kofod Ancher acted as if they were offended. They were embarrassed on behalf of their government, and even if they admired the genius of the baron from La Brède and did

not hesitate in praising his great work, they felt the urge to enter the European stage in defence of what they saw as a third and very commendable form of government, the paternal Danish absolute Monarchy.

Sneedorff and Schytte, the two other professors to be discussed in this essay, had a somewhat different attitude to the French connection. They did not enter into any polemic nor seemed to have great trouble in accepting Montesquieu's views on contemporary politics. They read Montesquieu with great care, seemed to love what they read and did their best to transmit the results of their reading to Danish students of modern politics in the Academy for the nobility where they were teaching. The line of promotion was pursued even further by Jens Hvas who published the above mentioned complete translation of Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois*. As a consequence even the reader who was unfamiliar with the new European *lingua franca* could see for himself what it was all about, learn a lot about foreign cultures seen through the eyes of an uncommonly good writer and think for himself about the secrets of the art of legislation.

A brief summary of the political situation in Denmark in the eighteenth century is necessary to understand the impact of the debate. Even after the loss of what is now the southern part of Sweden (Scania, Halland and Blekinge) in wars in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Danish monarchy remained a considerable power, consisting of the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway (including Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Isles), the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and colonies in the West Indies, India and Africa.

The Danish government had changed fundamentally with the introduction of absolutism in October 1660. Legally the way to absolutism was constructed as a transfer of power from the people to the King in the unique absolutist constitution of 1665, known as the *lex Regia*. This new *lex fundamentalis* for Denmark and Norway, which in 40 Articles gave the king absolute power, all *jura majestatis* and fixed the rules of succession, was influenced by contemporary European political thinking, especially by Jean Bodin and Henning Arnisaeus.

Shortly after the absolutist *coup d'état* in 1660, important reforms of the Danish administration were also carried out. The King, though an

absolute ruler, exercised his power through a number of administrative departments known as colleges (*collegia*). In 1683 the most ambitious of the early absolutist reforms was successfully completed with a full code of laws. Christian V's "Danish Law" consists of about 1800 articles in six books, and it was to a high degree based on existing legislation. However it also introduced certain reforms in procedural law and in penal law. The first book contained the law of procedure; the second, ecclesiastical law; the third, the law of persons and family law; book four, maritime law; book five, property law and some law of obligations; and the sixth book, penal law. A process of de-codification started soon after the enactment, leading to a gradual substitution of the code with other legislation. Still, some of the articles in the Danish Code of 1683 remain in force, and the same is the case in Norway with certain articles of the Norwegian code from 1687 which was not based on old Norwegian law but is nearly identical to the Danish Code.

Another reform that eventually had a great impact on Danish legal life was the introduction in 1736 of a law examination at the University of Copenhagen. A characteristic of Danish law until well into the eighteenth century is the nearly complete lack of legally trained judges. The all dominating subject of study had been theology. Most litigation took place in the county courts (*ting*), some cases were appealed to the more learned appellate courts, and some ended in the Supreme Court which, however, only from 1771 was recruited exclusively from legally trained lawyers. Not until 1821 was it established as a rule that all judges should have a law degree from the university. In the eighteenth century the same local magistrate (*herredsfoged*) was invested with both executive and judicial power. However, influenced by Montesquieu's ideas on the prince's duties and the need to secure the citizen against arbitrary power, a high Danish official, Henrik Stampe, in a series of official statements propagated the view that executive and judicial powers were different in nature and should be kept separate when a citizen complained about a decision by the local authorities.

The natural law that established itself in protestant Europe based on authorities such as Grotius, Pufendorf, Thomasius and Wolff during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was instrumental in systematising the law by filling the many gaps in the old-fashioned Danish code. This happened especially through interpretation of the law by the Supreme Court. Natural law was one of the main subjects in the

legal education at the University alongside Danish law and – to a lesser degree – Roman law that had never been received in Denmark as applied law. Roman law and systematic legal thought had an impact, but basically Danish law was a system developed by the courts on the basis of medieval legislation and later royal decrees.

Bishop Rasmus Wandal called the seventeenth century an iron century; certainly the early years of absolutism were hard with war against Sweden a continuous threat. The Danish debate on Montesquieu that is the focus of this essay took place at a moment when the generation that had been brought up in this period and which was represented by Ludvig Holberg was being replaced by a new cohort that in many ways was represented by two teachers of political science, Jens Schellerup Sneedorf and Andreas Schytte, who combined patriotism with a more liberal reading of Montesquieu. In many ways the mid-eighteenth century was a turning point when an oppressive absolutist system changed into a more tolerant society striving to make necessary reforms under the influence of the European Enlightenment. Peder Kofod Ancher was somewhere between these generations. He was nearly thirty years younger than Holberg and, like the older man, deeply read in Montesquieu but sentimentally more attached to the existing system of government than the two younger colleagues, both of whom taught at the Academy in Sorø outside Copenhagen and thus away from the centre of power.

Montesquieu was not an authority read in the university as part of legal or other studies but appealed to a wider general readership. The Danish debate about Montesquieu was a brief episode following in the 1750s and 1760s following the publication of a translation of his work. Holberg and Kofod Ancher gave vent to their feelings, and these were not shared by the next generation. In fact, the debate might be seen as a last moment of apology for Danish Absolutism. Around 1750 the climate of debate changed and the more reflective awareness of what enlightened absolutism stood for began to fade.⁴²¹

Montesquieu did not try to convince the reader to love despots or harsh punishments. He wrote one of his most moving texts about torture, the letter of complaint attributed to an eighteen-year old Jewish girl and addressed to the Spanish and Portuguese inquisition. The lesson Montesquieu wanted to teach was quite simple. Although starting from a

general notion of the law of nature, his real concern was to portray all those conditions and relations that made up the historical spirit of the laws. The central point was the necessary correspondence between the laws and the various conditions of the land. The discussion starts with the description of the various forms of government and this remains the *pièce de résistance* of the work, even though it is neither particularly scholarly nor necessarily correct.

In many countries, though not particularly in Denmark, the less than clear religious attitude was considered problematic. The book was exposed to criticism on this ground and, as mentioned, it was, much to Montesquieu's grief, entered on the Vatican's list of prohibited books. He had published *The Spirit of the Laws* anonymously and defended himself in a famous *Défense* from 1750. He was, however, also exposed to other kinds of criticism but probably was never aware of it. The Danish contributions by Ludvig Holberg and Peder Kofod Ancher are examples of this.

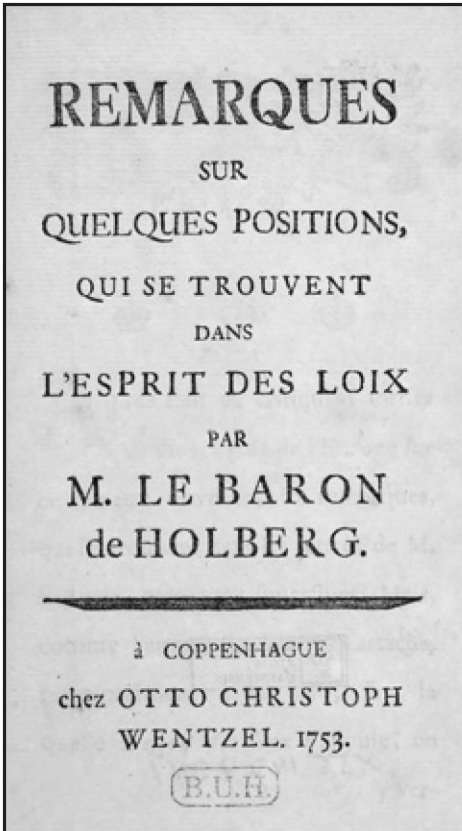
Denmark and the Danish government are not mentioned in *L'Esprit des lois*, but Denmark was commented on briefly in one of Montesquieu's earlier works, the *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* from 1734. Here he wrote about the arbitrariness of the absolute Danish monarchs: "Aussi voyons-nous aujourd'hui les rois du Danemark exercer le pouvoir le plus arbitraire qu'il y ait en Europe." And he pointed to another sore point, the archenemy Sweden's superiority in warfare: "Nous voyons que, depuis de deux siècles, les troupes de terre de Danemark ont presque toujours été battue par celles de la Suède." The reason for this constant loss on the battle field was, according to Montesquieu, to be found in the way Denmark was governed: "Il faut qu'indépendemment du courage des deux nations et du sort des armes il y ait dans le gouvernement danois, militaire ou civile, un vice interieur qui a produit cet effet, et je ne le crois point difficile a decouvrir."⁴²²

Montesquieu was not the only sceptic as to the efficiency of Danish government. In 1694 the former British ambassador to Denmark, Robert Molesworth, had published *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692* which spread a negative impression of Denmark among a wide European readership, and even if Montesquieu had not read Molesworth, he may well have heard of his work. At any rate, while the Danish King's *lex Regia* was a beautifully written legitimation of absolute

power, it was equally unacceptable to the representative of a country that boasted the execution of a King who challenged Parliament and held a Glorious Revolution in awe, and to a French nobleman who saw the intermediary powers, “les pouvoirs intermediaires”, as an important and decisive barrier against royal arbitrariness and held such powers as a guarantee for the liberty and security of the inhabitants.

Ludvig Holberg belonged to a generation for whom Hugo Grotius’ *magnum opus* on the law of war and peace, *De jure belli ac pacis libri III* from 1625 still was the leading work in political thought. Although born in 1684, Holberg must still be considered an early reader of Grotius in the Danish-Norwegian context, and he was the first to introduce modern natural law in Danish in 1716, nearly a hundred years after the publication of Grotius’ work and just a few years before the appearance of Montesquieu’s *Lettres Persanes* in 1721. Holberg was a historian and a comic playwright who in Denmark is considered one of the greatest Danish men of letters, founder of Danish theatre and a leading figure in promoting European learning in his country. Like Montesquieu, he travelled all over Europe, in Holland 1704-05, in England 1706-08, in Germany 1708-09 and in France and Italy 1714-16. A self-made man, he ended up as a baron. Comedies and natural law apart, most of his writing was about history, but in his later years he also turned to philosophical reflections. Montaigne was one of his models for a collection of moral thoughts published in 1744, and he continued this line of thinking in a more varied form with a series of fictive letters (*Epistler*) of which no less than 544 – on all kinds of subjects – were published between 1748 and 1754. The last collection appeared posthumously. He knew *Lettres Persane* which he refers to in his *Moralske Tanker* (Moral Thoughts, 1748) and in some of the *Epistler*. He also knew Montesquieu’s *Considérations* which he refers in his own study of Roman decadence which he published in French in Leipzig in 1752.

Holberg read *LEsprit des lois* in the Amsterdam edition of 1749, and in the following years he wrote a handful of fictive letters in which he commented on selected passages of the work and all those *Epistler* that could be considered as comments on Montesquieu he translated into French. While he liked most of what he read, there were disagreements. Holberg’s translation of his letters was published in 1753⁴²³ as an eighty-four page volume, the last publication before his death shortly



Frontispiece to Ludvig Holberg *Remarques sur quelques positions qui se trouvent dans l'Esprit des Loix* (Copenhagen 1753).

after in January 1754. Montesquieu died in 1755 and there is no reason to believe that he had any knowledge of his distant admirer in the North or of his critical comments.

Holberg did admire Montesquieu but he felt obliged to defend the Danish monarchy against what he saw as implicit charges of despotism in Montesquieu's terminology. Holberg was of the opinion that Montesquieu ought to have made a clear distinction between unlimited monarchy and despotism and that was his main charge. Holberg praised the Danish absolute government as a fatherly institution. People could be just as happy in an arbitrarily ruled country as in a free one. And he was sure that Denmark was evidence of the truth that, as he put it, "Nos Rois icy, quoiqu'ils soient revêtus d'un pouvoir sans bornes, mettent cecy en evidence" (Lettre 518a).

Holberg also criticised Montesquieu's idea that the climate had a determining influence on human development. He was not convinced that there was such a difference between North and South as indicated by Montesquieu. According to Holberg government and good laws played a much more important role than the climate. All countries had to suffer changes and the climate only played a minor role in that respect.

He also discussed the qualities of the British constitution which in the famous chapter 11 of Book VI was seen as the model for the separation of powers. He did not agree with Montesquieu that this constitution was ideal and to be placed above all criticism. According to Holberg, the British constitution did not find the right balance between the different powers and it raised important questions as to competence and security.

Holberg did not doubt that women could be just as able rulers as men, and he rejected Montesquieu's suggestion that it was contrary to reason and nature that women could be rulers of a country. Finally, his Danish experience led him to be critical of Montesquieu's idea that the King ought not to act as a judge.

Holberg had his reasons for protesting against what was only a very limited part of Montesquieu's thinking. There is little doubt that he basically wanted to defend the Danish form of government and that he was convinced of his case. He did believe that the Danish monarchy was the most suitable form of government in his country and he therefore opposed what he saw as a too dogmatic and inflexible way of dividing the different forms of government. To him the theoretical form was not decisive but how the government functioned in practice, and in this respect the Danish way had a clear preference for him.

When Peder Kofod Ancher published his anti-Montesquieu pamphlet in 1756, he had not yet achieved status as the founder of Danish legal history that he later acquired. He was one of the first to take the new degree in law introduced in 1736, he became a professor of law in the University of Copenhagen 1741, and he also performed other public service until his death in 1788. His 200 pages long treatise in Latin was not a general critique of Montesquieu whom Kofod Ancher in fact greatly admired. He only opposed a particular opinion of Montesquieu's. The work, *De indole juris privati pro habitu imperii Danico-Norvegici*, on the nature of private law

under the Danish-Norwegian government, was basically a refutation of Montesquieu's view of monarchy and despotism. In his dedication to the Danish king, Kofod Ancher mentions how in *LEsprit des lois* the republican government and the limited monarchy are favourably described, whereas not much is left for absolute government: "Monarchiae autem absolutae ne micam quidem boni facientis," he states, absolutely not a crumb of good is left. That was also the reason why Kofod Ancher wanted to prove to the world that Montesquieu had an unjustified opinion of the Danish government which according to the Danish jurist came very close to the divine order as it was instigated by God: "quod divini proximum et simillimum, Deo statori et auspice originem debet." Kofod Ancher was a Danish patriot whose later great work on Danish legal history was part of a national revival, as we shall see, strongly stressing Danish particularities and the independence of Danish law from Roman law or German law.

There was a strong link between Danish national identity and the history of Danish law. It is therefore no wonder that Kofod Ancher's Latin work stresses how much he is inspired by patriotic feelings, "Dulci enim amore natalis solia ductus pro patria duntaxat dicere constitui," he says. He stresses that he has no intention of being critical towards the work of Montesquieu except out of love for his country. However, what has annoyed him in particular is what Montesquieu has to say about despotism, the *imago Imperii Despotici*.

The debate on Montesquieu in Denmark was concentrated on two points. One of them was the theory of the influence of climate, the other and more important discussion concerned the forms of government. Kofod Ancher as a lawyer was not satisfied with the way in which Montesquieu dealt with the latter. The Frenchman, as is well known, distinguished between the republic, and what he called monarchy and despotic government. How this has to be understood in general is one issue, another is how it was understood at the time by touchy Danish readers. Like Holberg, Kofod Ancher saw as his task to defend the Danish system against unjustified criticism and explain that the Danish government did not fit into any of the more positive of Montesquieu's categories.

According to Kofod Ancher, it was a mistake by Montesquieu not to mention absolute monarchy as one of the existing forms of government. He starts out with the assumption that Montesquieu when he distinguishes between monarchy and despotism classifies absolute or

unlimited monarchy as a despotic regime. Kofod Ancher distinguishes differently. According to him, a monarchy is that form of government in which power is concentrated in one person, it is *imperium civile, quod uni plene competit et sol*. Despotism presupposes two conditions. Not only must the ruler be invested with civil power over his subjects, but he must also have the same rights as a master towards his slaves: *praeter summam in cives potestatem, jure simul fruitur in servos*. We must distinguish *potestas servile* from *potestas herile*, according to Kofod Ancher, and also between *imperium* and *dominium*.

Kofod Ancher also stresses the importance of distinguishing between the law and the realities of government. He takes as his starting point that the absolute Danish constitution, the *lex Regia* from 1665, does not mention other limits to royal power than the respect demanded by the Lutheran faith. The greater part of his book is a panegyric on the advantages of Danish governmental practice in which he in detail describes Danish institutions and the anxiety of the King to secure the wellbeing of his citizens.

In addition, Kofod Ancher observes that tyranny is not limited to absolute forms of government but may easily be found also in republics and limited monarchies. He is also critical of the way in which Montesquieu attaches different principles to the various forms of government. According to him *la vertu*, virtue, can be a guiding principle in all governmental systems and especially in absolute government where it is often found as a principle that leads the ruler. Also honour, fear of punishment and the enforcement of the law are principles that belong to all sorts of government and not only to monarchies as defined by Montesquieu.

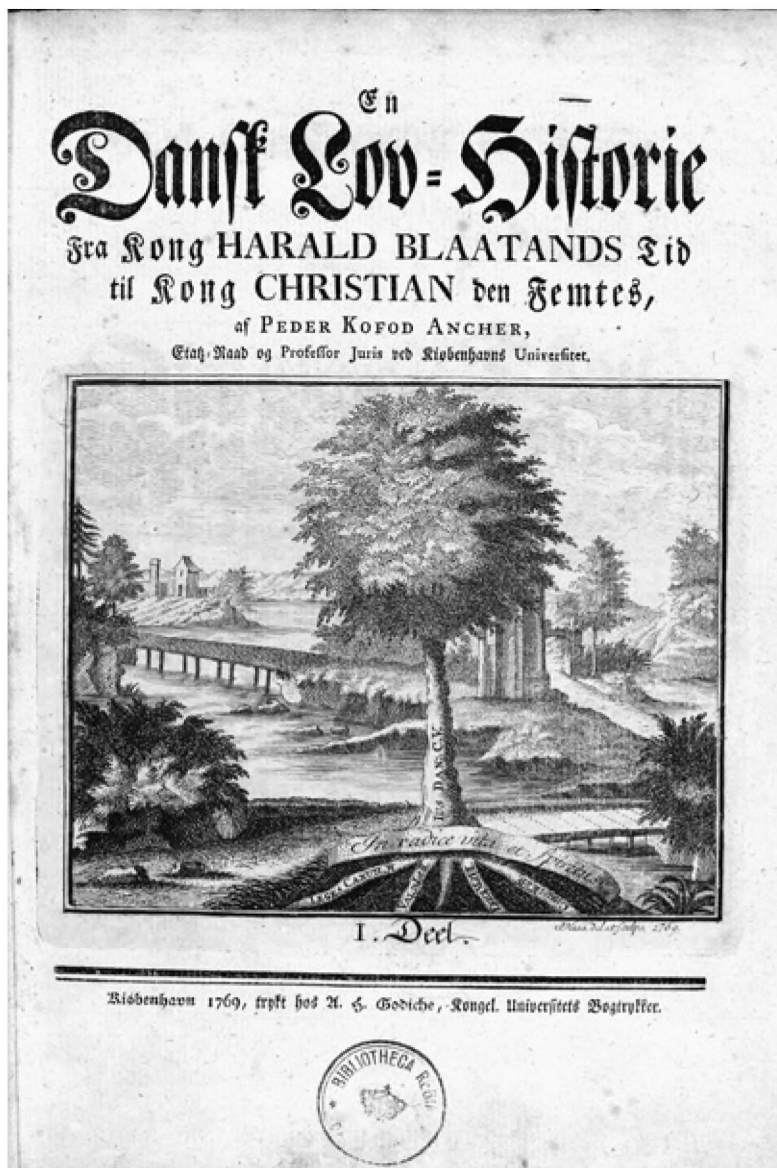
Two notions are especially important in order to appreciate how Kofod Ancher read Montesquieu. On one hand he is driven by what he calls love of his country, *amor patriae*, on the other he promotes the idea of justice as equality in relation to the law. Patriotic love exists in all systems, he maintains. Such love is not particular to republican government. Montesquieu declared (V,2) that “La vertu, dans une republique est une chose très simple: c’est l’amour de la republique.” According to Montesquieu there exists a “vertu politique”, which can be defined as “l’amour des lois et de la patrie.” Kofod Ancher, on the contrary, holds that it is not at all absurd to talk of patriotism and allegiance to absolute

government: “Absurdus nequaquam est amor imperii absolute.” I think we can consider this idea of patriotic love new in Denmark at the time, and in fact I think it was one of the lasting contributions of the debate on Montesquieu to make it clear how patriotism was linked to the country and could be found independently of the particular kind of government.

Kofod Ancher also asks why Montesquieu has taken honour as a guiding principle for the monarchy and not virtue. In the final parts of his treatise he takes up what he considers Montesquieu’s unjust presentation of the despot and the citizens of a society governed by an absolute monarch. According to Montesquieu the despotic ruler is “paresseux, ignorant, voluptueux”, he governs without any rules, and the citizens are “timides, ignorans, abattus.” Kofod Ancher confronts this picture of absolute ruling with the image of a society in which equality is prevalent. Equality or justice, geometric equality as he calls it, ought to be the norm and is also valid in an absolute monarchy, and he mentions the Danish Code of 1683 as an example of equality before the law.

As was the case with Holberg, also Kofod Ancher bases himself on a misunderstanding of Montesquieu’s fundamental notions. Montesquieu does in no way imply that he would understand the Danish monarchy as an example of despotism. The attacks of Holberg and Kofod Ancher may have to do with their personal ambitions, but they probably also have to be understood in the light of the unfavourable picture of Danish government in Molesworth and in Montesquieu’s earlier works. Against the background the silence on Denmark in *L’Esprit des lois* could be taken as pregnant with implicit criticism of the Danish form of government, in which case men of ambition may have thought that it was time to speak up.

As in the case of Holberg, Kofod Ancher’s discussion of government can deflect from the very real esteem in which he held Montesquieu and his works. This is probably best seen in his work on Danish legal history that to a high degree is based on the ideas of Montesquieu. Kofod Ancher may without exaggeration be considered a pupil of Montesquieu, for he adopted the new way of thinking of law, the so called *scientia legislatoria*, the science of how to legislate, according to which you needed to know the background and governing principles of legislation as you found them in *L’Esprit des lois*.



Peder Kofoed Ancher *En Dansk Lov-Historie* (A history of Danish law) (Copenhagen 1769-1776). The frontispiece is depicting a tree that represents the Code of Christian 5.

Kofod Ancher's most important contribution to Danish legal thought was his history of Danish law from ancient times until the mid-fifteenth century (*En Dansk Lov-Historie*) published in two volumes in 1769 and 1776. It is not a systematically ordered presentation of Danish legal history but rather a series of independent articles on different subjects arranged in chronological order and centred on legislation. His earlier works were influenced more by Wolff, and Montesquieu thus was a turning point in Kofod Ancher's scholarly work. He was the first really to appreciate the importance of the Baron from la Brède even if he was also sceptical and stressed how his principles were often wrong, unsystematic and lacking evidence. His views on criminal law were too lenient, according to Kofod Ancher, but even these gave rise to a lot of reflection.

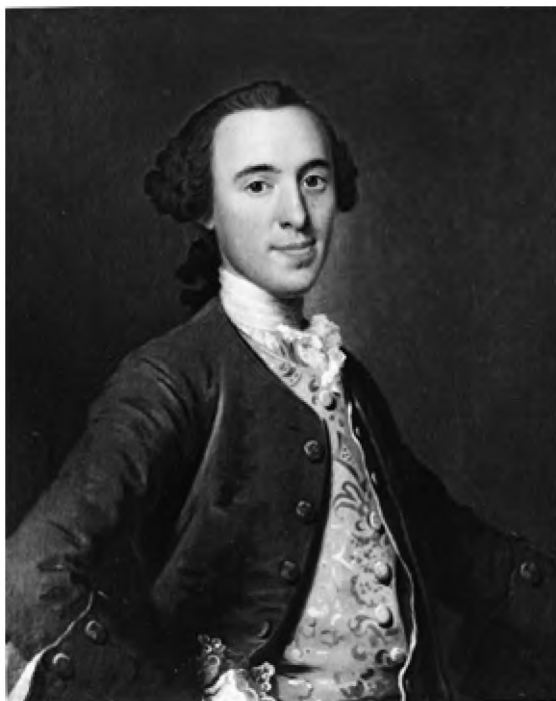
The science of legislation was, as mentioned, an important element in the thinking of Kofod Ancher when he addressed the question what a reasonable legislator must consider when preparing a new statute. The answer was natural law, equity, the commonwealth, the specific conditions of the country, its system of government and customs. The work is introduced by a frontispiece showing us a tree representing the Danish Code of 1683. The text written across the roots tells us that here we find the life and spirits of the laws: "In radice vita et spiritus". This is a hidden quotation from the 30th book of *L'Esprit des lois*. The feudal laws of the Franks, says Montesquieu, are like an old oak tree seen from the distance. When we come closer we see the trunk but not the roots. We need to dig the earth to find them.

We turn to two other figures in the history of Danish learning in the eighteenth century and move from Copenhagen to the small town of Sorø some eighty kilometres west of Copenhagen. In his later years, Holberg spent the summers close to Sorø, where in 1749 an academy had been re-founded aiming at educating young noblemen for public service. Noblemen were reluctant to go to the University of Copenhagen that was dominated by students of theology, and where the student population was dominated by sons from local academic homes or from smaller towns and to a less degree from the land. Only a small number of students attended Sorø, and besides lectures in riding, fencing, dancing and rhetoric, they could hear lectures on economics, law and politics taught by Jens Schielderup Sneedorff, who was a *professor juris publici et politicae* at the academy from 1751 to

his death in 1764, and by his successor Andreas Schytte who taught there from 1759 to 1777.

Sneedorff has been characterized as the prototype of the Danish Enlightenment. He published twice a week a review called *Den patriotiske Tilskuere* (the Patriotic Spectator 1761-63) and, in 1757, a book on civil government (*Om den borgerlige Regjering*, 1757) very much in the style of Montesquieu to whom he also referred in collections of letters under the signature *Babue*.⁴²⁴

From Sneedorff's hand is also preserved a manuscript of his lectures on Montesquieu whom he was the first to introduce in academic teaching. He mentions Montesquieu as a pioneer in his field but at same time stresses that the importance of religion for a nation has been underestimated by him. In his book on civil government, he stresses that religion is the only protection against tyranny and that true religion is the basis of a monarchy. Vice versa, in the case of Spain, monarchy was a barrier against a too strong ecclesiastical power. At the same time, he



Jens Schielderup
Sneedorff
(1724-1764). Painting
by Johan Hörner.

makes the point that Spain is not to be considered as a despotic state but as an unlimited monarchy.

In the letters attributed to *Babue*, Sneedorff mentions Montesquieu as a Zoroaster who brought the Persians the holy fire. In the 42nd letter he reproaches Montesquieu for not making religion the fourth constitution.

Sneedorff was, of course, familiar with the earlier Danish debate on Montesquieu and he places himself on the side of the great Frenchman. In one of Babue's letters (No. 24) he clears Montesquieu of the charge, made by Holberg and Kofod Ancher, that he included unlimited monarchies in his concept of despotism. It simply required attentive reading to see that limited monarchies were considered as republics and that despotism was only to be found in Asia. It should be added that Sneedorff was a conservative who had no critical attitude towards the Danish government and nor did he find such an attitude in the works of his admired Montesquieu, the founding father of his way of teaching political science.

Andreas Schytte had planned a great work in 42 volumes on modern European history. Five volumes on the "internal government" were published in 1773-76, accompanied by two on "external government" in 1774-75 and a first volume of the constitution of Denmark and Norway in 1777.⁴²⁵ Schytte was in no way an original thinker. He sees himself as the successor of Sneedorff and his work as a fulfilling of a promise to Sneedorff to complete what he had begun. In line with this, Schytte does not deny his admiration for Montesquieu when it comes to his general views of law and society. He defends the present system, advocates certain reforms in the court system but has very little to offer in the way of original non-descriptive writing, but he served as a founding father of political and economic studies in Denmark. His basic attitude was that nature is the proper study of mankind and that the proper means in such study are metaphysics, physics and natural history. Without these, Montesquieu would never have gained his familiarity with nature and would never have been able to teach statesmen how to govern. His praise of the genius of Montesquieu finds virtually no limits:

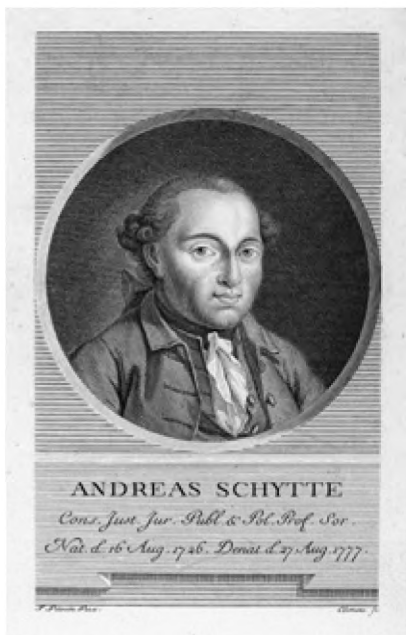
It is a blessing for mankind that our age has produced such a genius, who has been able to grasp the truth that ignorance and

passions for such a long time have disguised, and that he has been able to express them [sic] in a way that has been commonly acclaimed by all Courts and Peoples except his own countrymen. Who does not see, that I am talking of Montesquieu⁴²⁶.

The only negative point mentioned by Schytte is that Montesquieu talked more of ancient than of modern government and treated only a few points of the art of government when he should have covered them all.

Schytté uses Montesquieu's scheme of government with the division into monarchy, despotism, aristocracy and democracy, considering the last to be the "least stable of them all". He mentions Montesquieu's concept of intermediary powers which are, he says, only the counselors and officials of the monarch. He is also aware that Montesquieu was the first to consider despotism a specific form of government.

The picture of how Montesquieu influenced Danish attitudes in the mid-eighteenth century would be incomplete without adding one



Andreas Schytte (1726-1777).
Lithograph by J.F. Clemens.

more professor to the four already mentioned. Henrik Stampe was a professor in the Law Faculty at the University of Copenhagen but more well known as a senior civil servant in the Danish-Norwegian monarchy. In the latter role he was in charge of new legislation and acted as a general legal counsellor to the government. He was profoundly influenced by Montesquieu and due to his recommendations, principles from the works of the great French thinker found their way into Danish administrative practice.⁴²⁷ He often stressed how the judiciary should be separated from the executive administration. He was in favour of punishment that kept a just proportion to the crime, arguing that too harsh punishments were not accepted and thus in practice lead to impunity. The king, he said, should not act as a judge and should never serve to increase but only to mitigate sentences. As a basic principle in the Danish constitution, the throne was a source of mercy, not fear, according to Stampe. However, the *lex Regia* from 1665 did not mention any such restriction on the king's power; Stampe invented a new constitutional principle based on the ideas of Montesquieu.

Holberg and Kofod Ancher had entered into debate with Montesquieu without any obvious domestic rationale, but they may have wanted to convince a foreign audience of the blessings of Danish absolute monarchy. In the case of Stampe's recommendations and his introduction of Montesquieu as a living part of Danish constitutional thinking, the ambition was to prove that there was no despotism, that Denmark in practice was a monarchy, as Sneedorff and Schytte had taught.

We may conclude that absolutism was a part of Danish identity by the middle of the eighteenth century, but despotism was not. Patriotism was linked to the idea of a monarchy, unlimited but not without rules. The absolute constitution was respected but the model of legislation was the Danish Code from 1683 which was seen as deeply rooted in old Danish law and built upon a principle of equality. In 1762 Kofod Ancher in an ironic preface to the poetic works of a judge from Jutland, Thøger Reenberg, wrote that it was true that Nordic people had a drawback, especially at a time when the intelligence of people was measured by to the thermometer, namely that they have been denied the faculty of "bel Esprit" because they against their will must live too close to the North Pole. However, as we have seen, Montesquieu was not just – and not mainly – an occasion for self-deprecating jokes about Denmark and Danish identities. His influence in eighteenth-century

Denmark was substantial. Less so, perhaps, in the mock provocation taken by Holberg and Kofod Ancher than in the important changes of attitude towards executive and judicial power introduced by Henrik Stampe, not to speak of the reflections on the laws of history and the science of legislation by Kofod Ancher in his later works.

In Denmark the monarchy in its absolute form survived the French Revolution and only in 1848-49 was it substituted by a constitutional monarchy. In the new Danish constitution of 1849 the principle of separation of power was introduced. The Danish absolute monarchy managed to resist revolutions mainly through a well developed ability to make reforms from above. In many ways this resilience confirms the thinking of Holberg and Kofod Ancher. Whether Montesquieu would have accepted the arguments of Holberg and Kofod Ancher as to the true character of Danish absolutism remains doubtful. Montesquieu probably would have had his reservations towards a system that did not know any real "intermediary powers". However even if Holberg and Kofod Ancher might have overreacted in their suspicions of Montesquieu as a critic of the Danish government, they were probably right in assessing the role of Danish patriotism and the general satisfaction with the way Denmark was ruled.

9. Three Danish Texts of the 1760s by P. F. Suhm, T. E. F. von Finecke and Jens Kraft

Hans Aarsleff

This essay deals with three works that were published in Denmark during the 1760s. I have chosen these works because I think they tell us much about Danish intellectual life at the time and about Danish engagement with contemporary European work and scholarship on the subjects chosen by the three authors. At the end are two appendices. The first is a translation of some important pages in Kraft's *Kort Fortaelning*; the second is on the authorship of the treatise *Systema mundi*, which has generally been attributed to Kraft.

I

It was P. F. Suhm's plan to write a history of the Danish people from the earliest times until about 1450, but as a preparation for the task he saw the need first to determine the origin of all nations in order, thereby, to support his claim that the Celtic and northern nations had separate origins because they descended from different sons of Japhet, the third son of Noah who was held to be the ancestor of the western and northern nations—hence the term japhetic for the languages that are now called Indo-European. This theme of separation is prominent in the book Suhm published in 1769 to lay the groundwork for his history. In translation the title reads: 'An Essay toward a Plan for a History of the Origin of Nations in general, as an Introduction to the Origin of the Northern Nations in particular.'⁴²⁸ The title is not surprising. It proclaims the well-known effort to place one's own nation within the multiplicity of peoples that came to settle and inhabit the earth in the dispersal that followed the confusion at Babel. But the work itself is surprising, for, given its date, it is thoroughly antiquarian, even though the bibliography of some 250 items, with which the volume opens, lists a few works from the 1760s.

On the first page Suhm declares that Moses in the first five books of the Old Testament (the Pentateuch) presents us with our only source of certain knowledge “about the first settlement of the earth and the origin of nations,” knowledge that is supplemented by “other biblical writers who are nearly all older than the pagan writings and never conflict with the authority of Moses.” This supreme history makes it possible for us to make sense of the conflicting accounts of early classical authors who did not have the benefit of Moses, such as Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides. Indeed we will learn that whatever may be true in these authors will be found to agree with Moses, or at least not to be incompatible with him (1–2, 7–8). Thus the Bible is Suhm’s first text, and it is cited throughout more than any other source.⁴²⁹ In addition Suhm cites a very large number of classical authors who, by their agreement with Moses, unwittingly testify to the providential order of history. Among recent sources the most important is James Ussher’s Mosaic chronology which dates events from the year of creation in 4004 BCE, thus placing the Flood at the year 1656 and the Confusion at 1767. Two other prominent sources are Samuel Bochart’s *Geographia sacra* and Richard Cumberland’s *Origines gentium antiquissimae*.⁴³⁰

Suhm has two organizing principles. One is the Mosaic chronology which is unproblematic, having been taken over ready-made from Ussher.⁴³¹ The other is the evidence of languages and names which is the ever-present occupation of the entire work. This evidence is governed by three solid rules: that common origin is shown by similarities of names among countries, nations, places, and persons (60); that languages show kinship and origin of nations, as well as the courses they have followed in their migrations (70); and that all languages are to be accounted for by their descent from “the generations of the sons of Noah” (71–76), detailed with an abundance of names in chapter ten of Genesis. At the time this use of languages had a long history that had recently been codified by Leibniz both in a programmatic essay which appeared in the first volume of the early Berlin Academy in 1710 and also in other writings, including his published correspondence. Suhm refers to a number of these texts, but he pays slight attention to—or simply ignores—Leibniz’s call for scholarly care and caution in the interpretation and uses of etymology.⁴³² Here again Suhm was doing what others, not least Bochart, had practiced in the works Leibniz cautioned against. Even in the late 1760s Suhm did not have mapped-out proce-

dures, but rather engaged in a sort of higgledy-piggledy bustle within his territory. Our approach must therefore be through examples.

As an example of the evidence of names Suhm cites the place name "Denia," which he says is found both in Persia and in Spain; but since the Spanish Denia is not mentioned in classical sources we can "with certainty conclude" that it must have come from Persia, since we also know that the "Arabians" who conquered Spain also for a long time ruled over Persia (60). On the same page this example is used to throw light on a more important matter. Both Danes and Saxons worship the god "Odin" or "Wodan." This similarity of names, says Suhm, suggests common origin, but it might also cause our "fear" that it has come about in neighborly intercourse and fellowship. The possibility of a common origin becomes stronger when we consider that Danes and the people of Dagestan (on the Russian steppes) both use "Odin" as a male name, and that the Danes and the "Czuwascher" have the same name "Thor" for a very powerful god. Suhm's reasoning is that, since these nations "lived far from each other and have done so for as long as memory reaches, and since history tells of no intercourse between them," then there must in the first ages of the world have been a solid cause for the similarity, and from this we must in turn conclude that these nations once lived together and that the Danes have migrated away toward the north while the rest had remained in place on the steppes.

Another typical case is Kittim, the third son of Javan, who was the fourth son of Japhet (Gen. 10.4; I Chron. 1.7). Javan was the ancestor of the Greeks, "as Scriptures say in plain words" (75), and, also in plain words, that Kittim or his offspring settled in Macedonia and Italy, where they arrived by crossing the sea. Since all this is reported by Moses, Italy must have been settled before his death in the year 2553 of Ussher's chronology (77). Later in the volume, Suhm devotes several more pages to Kittim and Italy, and it now turns out that the settlers who came across the sea can also be called Pelasgians, which was the name of a mythic population already mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* 2.480; 17.301), and also at greater length by Herodotus, both of whom are now cited along with Pliny, Strabo, several recent authorities, and of course Scriptures, in a characteristic effort to harmonize all sources into solid historical knowledge. In this story the Pelasgians deserve a moment's attention because they gain prominence in origin-narratives

as the ur-population of the Aegean world generally, that is, the area sometimes called Greater Greece, embracing the Aegean Sea with its islands and the bordering lands on all sides. Eventually Pelasgian became a name for the Greeks, and their settlements were claimed not only for distant parts of the Mediterranean but even for such far off places as North America.

But Suhm's chief concern was the problem he announced on the first page of his brief preface when he wrote that if the Celts descended from one of Japhet's sons, and if "their language, being different from ours, shows that they must have a different origin from us, then the people of the North must of necessity stem from another son of Japhet than the Celts." Suhm devoted two short chapters to each of Noah's sons Sem and Ham, but he gave nearly 200 pages (139–326, or slightly more than half the entire volume) to the descendants of Japhet. But to this long chapter he added still another (which is also the last) devoted to "Gomer the son of Japhet and his offspring" (327–356). Gomer himself could not have come so far north as to settle in Jutland, but Suhm finds a solution in the *Odyssey* where we read that Circe "reached the furthest parts of the deep-flowing River of Ocean where the Cimmerians live, wrapped in mist and fog. The bright Sun cannot look down on them with his rays, either when he climbs the starry heavens or when he turns back from heaven to earth again. Dreadful Night spreads her mantle over that unhappy people."⁴³³

It has been said that the home of the Cimmerians was in Italy, as Homer would seem to imply, but Suhm does not find that this fits well with the dark and misty lands where Homer says they lived, "nor of the lands north of the Black Sea, but rather fits the Danish Cimbri who lived in Jutland," as seems to be confirmed also by Tacitus and Strabo (327–330). This consideration facilitates the merging of the Cimmerians with the Cimbri. The original home of the former must have been in the region north and east of the Black Sea, as is suggested by the name of the Crimean peninsula (341). The conclusion follows that the Germans (or more correctly the Teutons, "de Tydske") and the northern nations have been one people whose ultimate ancestor was Japhet's first son Gomer, though we cannot tell which of Gomer's three sons was the nearer ancestor. This account is strengthened by the "similarity of sound among the names Gomer, Cimmerian, and Cimbri" (348–349), and by such authorities as Tacitus, Pausanias, and Caesar who all admit

that there was a great difference between the Celtic and the Germanic languages (351). By contrast, the Celts descended from Japhet's second son Magog through his second son Thiras.

Suhm's intricate argument achieves the desired separation of the northern nations from the Celts, but he reserves the final treatment of the northern nations for another volume (349). It is fair to recall that it is now generally accepted that the home of the Cimbri was in northern Jutland, but, needless to say, today the argument on that point follows a very different path than Suhm's combination of biblical readings with such distant classical texts as Homer and Herodotus.⁴³⁴

One cannot read Suhm's essay without admiring how freely he moves names and their bearers across the globe over great distances, how he links biblical names with names in classical sources, and now he manages, by his bold and daring comparisons, to make the harmonies and dissonances of names support the separation of the northern from the Celtic nations. Of course, much of this had been done before. He did not start from scratch, he had forebears, but they were old, all cast in a mold that had not changed for a good one hundred years. There is no inkling of anthropology or ethnology in his book, nothing about the role of rulers, of forms of government and institutions, of tyranny or despotism, or about cultural differences. There is no trace of Montesquieu and no awareness of the awesome fact that Richard Simon in his *Histoire critique du vieux Testament* (1678) had put an end to the authority of Moses.⁴³⁵

Still, there is one feature of Suhm's argument that stands out. First published in 1755 and again, much expanded, in 1763, Paul-Henri Mallet's *Introduction a l'histoire de Dannemarc* owed its quick European-wide success not least to Mallet's equation of northern and Celtic antiquities. Suhm must have been aware that Mallet's book owed its success to the explosive appeal of the poems of Ossian, in which case it would seem that Suhm's theme of separation was a deliberate move.

II

In 1767 a small volume, the size of a pamphlet, was published in French in Copenhagen. It contained two "dissertations," one on the origin of languages and another on runes.⁴³⁶ It is the former that concerns us

here. Its argument is that there was a single primitive and universal language that underlies all existing languages, and that this language was Hebrew, as attested by the presence of Hebrew forms in the languages of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America. Thus for Chinese, for example, “it is well known that the Jesuits have found evident remnants of Judaism and of Hebrew names in some provinces of China” (19).⁴³⁷ This was a familiar doctrine, but it had recently been set aside by the claim that no language, including Hebrew, had survived the Confusion at Babel, thus prompting the need for a fresh account of the origin of language. This “recent doctrine,” as the author calls it, held that language had a gestural origin in movements of the body and in natural cries, that is, in the union of expression and communication. The author rejects this doctrine in favor of Hebrew, but in the course of doing so he gives an informed account of the recent theory. This account occupies more than half the dissertation’s twenty pages, and it is this part that is interesting.

As the proponents of this theory, the author cites several names that had appeared in the recent literature on the subject, including some Church Fathers along with Locke, William Warburton, Condillac, and some other recent figures, “both ecclesiastic and lay who have been pleased to propose ingenious conjectures on this pretended origin of language” (5). He gives this account of what they propose:

We can, they say, look at the first people as being mute, speaking to the eyes by exhibiting a variety of objects (f), and as people who could communicate their thoughts only by gestures, that is, these movements of the body that become so expressive when we are animated by the passions. These gestures were sometimes accompanied by cries and inarticulate sounds (g) of the sort that a lively sentiment, a new impression and violent exterior events would naturally draw forth from people who were endowed with the organs of speech. From these cries and confused sounds lucky application eventually formed distinct and articulate sounds which by convention linked ideas to exterior objects until they finally, when pronounced by these people, became signs or arbitrary marks of all things.

This is a knowledgeable account of the argument that Condillac first advanced in 1746 in his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*. The reading of the passage becomes more intriguing when we pay atten-

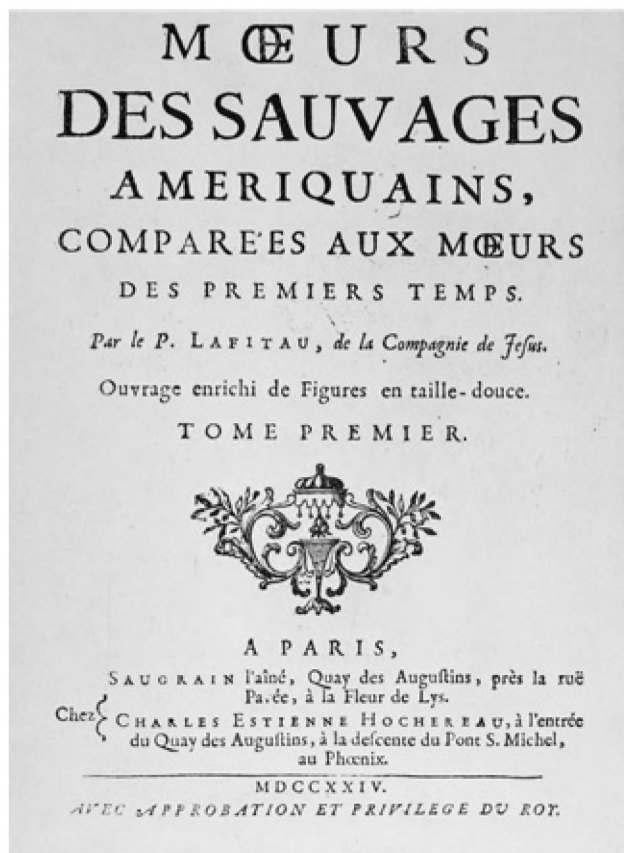
tion to the two notes at f and g. The first makes reference to Lucian of Samosata's dialogue "On the Dance," which tells the story of a mime, in the service of the emperor Nero, who could by gestures alone portray an entire action and communicate meaning so perfectly as to obviate the need for words and speech. The second note at g says that "pain, admiration, surprise, even pleasure evoke mumblings and inarticulate, indeterminate sounds from the organs of voice" (5). Together the quoted passage and the notes give an account of what Condillac called the "language of action," which for him was the proto-language that ultimately evolved into our speech and language.

The citation of Lucian's influential dialogue is noteworthy; it is not cited by Condillac in his *Essai*, but it is in fact, through an intermediary whom Condillac does cite, the certain background of Condillac's language of action.⁴³⁸ It is curious that our author rejected this account in favor of Hebrew, and he does not really make it clear what his grounds are. But his knowledge of the relevant recent literature makes his brief essay an important text in Danish attention to the problem of the origin of language that was so lively during the eighteenth century in France, Germany, Scotland, and Italy.

III

It is fair to say that both Suhm and von Finecke applied their knowledge and reached conclusions that had little in common with what had by the 1760s become accepted opinion on their subjects. By contrast Jens Kraft's compact volume on the principal institutions, customs, and beliefs of primitive nations is innovative and forward looking. It would not have been out of place if it had been published in Scotland at about the same time.⁴³⁹

In the preface to his book Kraft writes that he is chiefly indebted to an author he simply calls "Mr. Lafitau," whom he in fact cites more often than any other source – some forty times compared with a bare five for the Bible. One might be tempted, therefore, to think that Kraft and Lafitau shared similar principles, aims, and emphases. But that is not the case, and to see why we need to take a look at Lafitau in order to be prepared to understand what Kraft is doing.



Frontispiece to Joseph-François Lafitau *Moers des sauvages américains* (Paris 1724).

Joseph-François Lafitau was a French Jesuit who after spending five years as a missionary among the Hurons and Iroquois in North America returned to France in 1718 to write his very large and admirable work entitled simply *Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparées aux moeurs des premiers temps*, first published in 1724.⁴⁴⁰ Throughout marked by the author's intelligence, his keen gift of observation and description, his capacity for sympathetic insight, and his effective expository style, this work abounds in detailed information about all aspects of the lives, work, customs, food, kinship relations, crafts, warfare, religion, worship, culture, arts, and social institutions of the primitive population Lafitau came to know in his missionary work. It was owing to this richness that the work in the early decades of the twentieth century became

recognized as a founding text in the history of anthropology and ethnology. But for Lafitau the account of primitive customs was the means toward a higher aim, namely to show that the religion of the Bible and the Church is the universal principle that underlies all the beliefs and customs of mankind. His aim was Christian apologetics.

In building what he called his “system,” Lafitau rejected an argument that had been advanced during the later decades of the seventeenth century, most prominently by the very learned scholar and bishop of Avranches, Pierre-Daniel Huet, who in his large *Demonstratio evangelica* (1679) had taken the position that all worship, laws and culture began with Moses.⁴⁴¹ Contemporaries were quick to note that this was a risky position, for if Huet was right, one might well ask what had happened during the long stretch of time before Moses, who in Ussher’s chronology, as we have seen in connection with Suhm, lived long after the Flood and also long after the Confusion which initiated the dispersal of mankind. With great confidence, Lafitau claimed that his own study “of pagan mythology has opened to me another system of belief and made me go back far beyond the time of Moses, so that I give to our first ancestors, Adam and Eve,” what Huet gave to Moses, thus depriving the atheists “of any pretext for saying that [religion] is the work of man” (1.33–34/13).

Lafitau was now on firm ground: mankind along with its forms of religion and diverse customs had a single origin. In this system, he wrote, it was easy “to conceive how this religion, having been given to our first fathers, must have passed from generation to generation as a kind of heritage common to all and thus spread everywhere” (1.35/14). In addition he demonstrated and argued at length that “the largest number of the American peoples came originally from those barbarians who occupied the continent and islands of Greece” (1.79–80/90), thus from the outset sharing the mythology and beliefs that were later recorded in Greek and Roman sources, beginning, as in Suhm, with Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer. This doctrine explains why Lafitau’s entire work is devoted to the elucidation of what he called “the continual parallel” (1.36/18) that exists between the customs of the Americans he knew with those of the ancients. *Moeurs* is therefore packed with biblical and classical citations, an evident enough fact which caused Thomas Jefferson to make the rather surly remark that Lafitau was “a man of much classical and biblical reading.”⁴⁴²

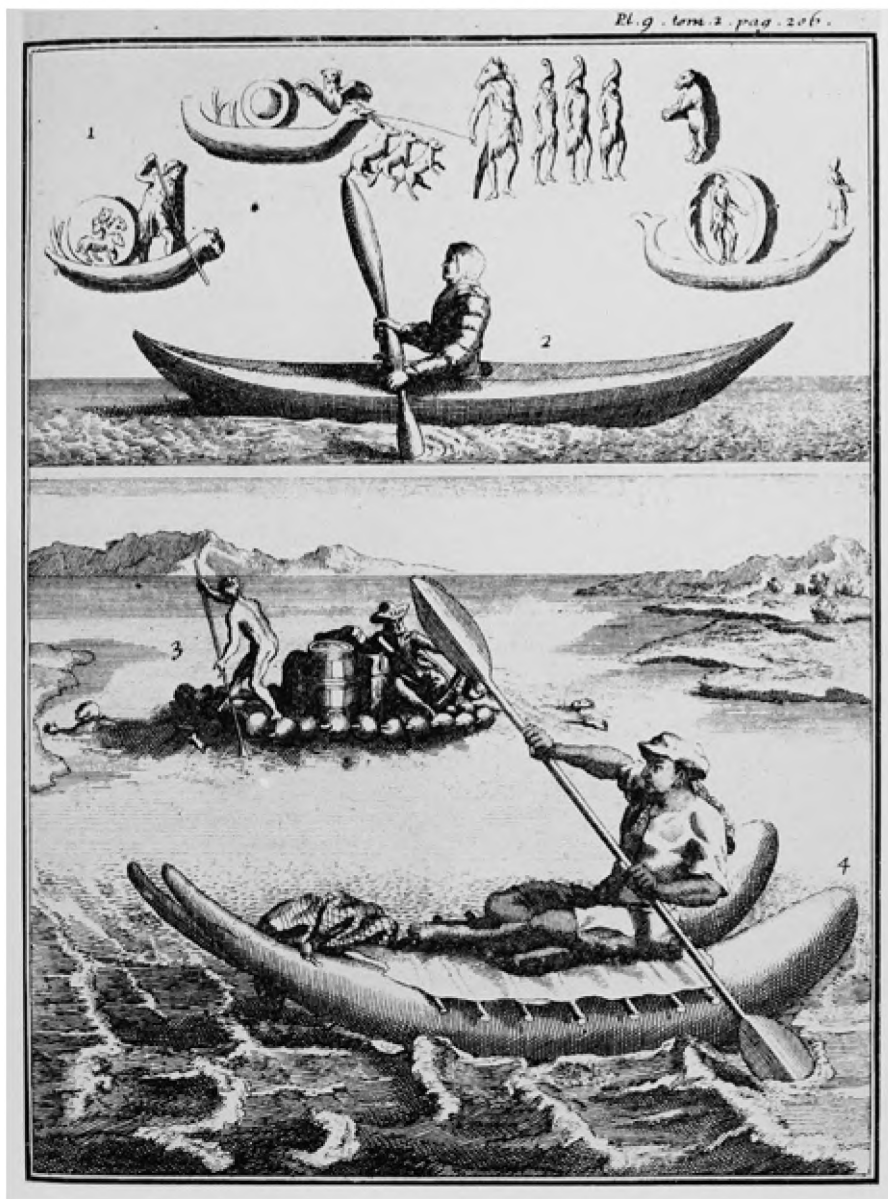


Plate from Joseph-François Lafitau *Moers des sauvages américains* (Paris 1724). Above, an Eskimo Kayak surrounded by ancient monuments from Egypt. Below, the inhabitants of Peru are paddling their balsa rafts.

In the brief opening chapter on “the design and plan of the work” (I.24–41/1–26), Lafitau summarized what he had found. His system revealed that “in spite of the alteration of religion, in spite of the changes made in it among the different peoples of the world, there is everywhere, nevertheless, a certain uniformity in the myths which have some connection with the truth, [both] in certain parts of morality and in many observances required by law which indicate principles similar to those of true religion” (I.35/15), by which he meant his own faith as a Jesuit. In the practices and customs of the Americans he had sought vestiges of “the most remote antiquity,” and in comparing them he had found that, “if the ancient authors have given me information on which to base happy conjectures about the Indians, so the customs of the Indians have given me information by which I can understand more easily and explain more readily many things in the ancient authors” (I.27/3–4).

Thus moving back and forth between his own vast record of detailed observations of Indian customs and the less complete and often enigmatic written records of antiquity, Lafitau’s comparative method yielded fresh insights at both ends, with the ultimate result of showing that Indian beliefs were recognizable versions of the true religion that was the universal heritage of mankind from the first ages. The missionary work was therefore not so much to convert with altogether fresh news of the true faith as to evoke and purify what was left of the divine dispensation that began with Adam and Eve. In his great work Lafitau never treats his subjects as being sinful, degenerate, and perhaps even wicked creatures. They are the late descendants of those who lived in the greater Greek world in the earliest times— “en les premiers temps.”

It would seem evident that this genial attitude of sympathy and understanding animated Lafitau’s amazing powers of detailed observation and unprejudiced description. It is also evident that he abstained from speculation that might imply moral and cultural progress. Kraft’s commitment was very different. His business was not apologetics, but an argument for development and progress. The life of primitive humanity was ruled by the senses while later times—his own time, so Kraft hoped—had come to live by reason, and choosing between the two there could be no question which had the greater value. Whatever hesitations we may have, Kraft wrote, we can be sure that “living according to reason is an incomparably happier state than living by the senses alone,” but

“in our present condition” we are destined to keep a middle way between sense and reason, a “wholly rational and unsensual person would be as weird a creature as a wholly sensual one” (56,60). Kraft’s secular outlook reflected his intellectual environment in the mid-eighteenth century.

As we have seen, Kraft praised Lafitau as his best source, but in the very next sentence of the Preface he also voiced the weighty reservation that Lafitau could have produced a better work, “if his astute pen had sought the origin of the thinking and customs of these people in the savages themselves, in universal human nature and not in foreign sources.” The sense of this statement is that Lafitau’s apologetic aim had not so much deepened our understanding as it had produced support for the lessons that could be drawn from comparison of the biblical and classical traditions. By contrast, Kraft declared on the same page that he had, “to the exclusion of all else, sought to understand man in terms of man himself,”⁴⁴³ which he said “I count as being the only advantage of my work when compared with the works of other authors who have treated the same subject.” Toward the end of the same rich passage in the Preface, Kraft gave a succinct account of his method; in the elucidation of the history of mankind the only right procedure is “to follow the same order as in the knowledge of nature, namely to explain things by what appears in them and by adding to this part of our experience any rare and unknown details that may help us discern what lies hidden in the nature of things.” Kraft saw himself as a naturalist.

Later, in the opening of the third and last section of his work, Kraft gave a fuller account of his principles, an account that was attuned to the subject of that section as stated in its title: “About the worship of the savages and their principal notions, as well as about the general origin of these notions in the pagan world” (222). These pages are the most important in Kraft’s book, and they show his genius for innovation in anthropology. Accordingly I append a translation to make them available to English readers (see Appendix 1).

In these pages Kraft rejects what Lafitau called his system. The “continual parallel” of similarity between Americans and the people of pre-classical Greek times is too weak to sustain the system because the evidence for it is based on “limited similarity in matters of small im-



Plate from Joseph-François Lafitau
*Moers des sauvages
américains* (Paris 1724)
representing the habits
of the Iroquois.

portance,” while disregarding the large differences in matters of great importance. The alternative, then, is to admit that similar myths and customs need not result from the diffusion of a single primeval heritage; it is an idle notion “that a single or a couple of nations... have communicated to all the rest what they think and believe” (228). Here Kraft is introducing the fundamental anthropological principle that, since human nature and the mind are much the same everywhere and at any time in history, it is natural that people in different locations independently develop much the same myths and customs. This principle is based on what later became known as “the psychic unity of mankind.” By obviating the need for diffusion, this principle put anthropology on an entirely new footing.

The diffusion doctrine was prominent throughout much of the nineteenth century, chiefly owing to the prestigious advocacy of Max Müller, who saw the spread of folklore and myth on the analogy of the Indo-European languages. But by the late decades of the century this doc-

trine quickly gave way to the criticism of Andrew Lang, who from the 1870s onward argued for the spontaneous local creation of systems of myth and culture. In his famous article on "Mythology" Lang wrote:

Where similar myths are found among Greeks, Australians, Mangaians and others, it is unnecessary to account for their wide distribution by any hypothesis of borrowing early or late. The Greek "key" patterns found on objects in Peruvian graves were not necessarily borrowed from Greece, not did the Greeks necessarily borrow from Aztecs the "wave" pattern that is common to both.⁴⁴⁴

Kraft's anticipation of Lang is obvious.

Always curious, Andrew Lang asked whether the argument for spontaneous creation might have occurred earlier. His answer was affirmative, as he explained in a brief appendix to a later work under the title, "Fontenelle's forgotten common-sense." In a short essay "De l'Origine des fables," Fontenelle had asked how we could account for the absurdities of Greek myths, and why we no longer believed them, even though we still enjoy them as our heritage from the ancients. His answer was that these myths originated with savages—whether Greek or American—who had so little understanding of natural phenomena that they invented wild and violent narratives to meet their curiosity about the causes of the events they observed. In their ignorance, these "first men"—"les premiers hommes"—imagined that thunder, lightning, rain, storms, and all else were caused by unseen spirits, which they imagined in the shape of persons, who later became gods and goddesses. But in the course of time human understanding improved so that, while the stories stayed with us, they gradually lost their power of explanation, and with that loss also the respect and belief they commanded. Lang concluded that his own theory had been anticipated by Fontenelle's showing that, in Lang's words, "the world-wide similarities of myths are, on the whole, the consequence of a world-wide uniformity of intellectual development."⁴⁴⁵

Is it possible that Kraft was familiar with Fontenelle's essay? The information already given would seem sufficient to show that this is the case, but more can be added, chiefly under two heads: similar formulations on particular points and clear agreement on the basic principles of their arguments. Kraft uses the term "philosophical" about the beliefs of antiquity and of "the very first ages" (225), a somewhat surpris-

ing term for what covers the errors and absurd notions of those times. Kraft's usage stands out because, so far as I can tell, this is the only time it occurs in his book, but Fontenelle has the same usage at least six times, even with a capital P.⁴⁴⁶ For both Kraft and Fontenelle this usage implies that, between savages and moderns, there is an unbroken continuity of efforts to understand the world we live in; it is all philosophy for them as well as for us.

Similar formulations occur also in some passages on climate, which for both has no explanatory value—it is incompatible with the uniformity principle. In this connection Kraft refers to the South Pole, the tropics, and “the Far North of icebergs” (226) while Fontenelle names “le pole” and declares that in what he has been saying, “je n’ai supposé dans les hommes que ce qui est leur commun à tous, et ce qui doit avoir son effet sous les zones glaciales comme sous la torride” (197).⁴⁴⁷ Such overlap hardly occurs by mere chance.

In the sentence just quoted Fontenelle says that he presupposes nothing except what belongs to human nature, which means that his argument is based only on man himself, and that, as we have seen, is also what Kraft in the Preface and later (225, 226, 229) claimed to be the pivot of his method. It follows that the traditional notion of some form of primeval revelation that had degenerated into absurdities must be set aside. Kraft dismissed “the possibility that the beliefs of the pagan world were highly degenerate remnants of the great truths that mankind possessed right after the Flood” (226), and Fontenelle saw only “barbarism and ignorance” in the nations of the first ages “who had not heard of the traditions of the family of Seth” (187). This is a veiled reference to the Church, seeing that Seth was the third son of Adam and Eve, born after the murder of Abel and named by Luke (3.38) in the genealogy of Christ. Both Fontenelle and Kraft hold that the process of enlightenment, from mythology to knowledge, is harmonious with the true religion, but does not strictly depend on it. Progress began even in the first ages with the savage errors of philosophy that would slowly be corrected into knowledge. “Ignorance diminished little by little,” wrote Fontenelle, “and as a consequence people conceived fewer unnatural prodigies and made fewer false systems of philosophy as their narratives gradually became less fabulous, for all these things hang together” (201, 175). Our long history has been a fortunate one, and it contains a lesson we must not ignore.



Painting of Jens Kraft (1720-1765)
by an unknown artist.

To understand Kraft's lesson we can turn to the last page of his book, where he repeats the commitment to natural history which he had already made in the Preface. Now in closing his treatise, he wished again to tell those readers who took natural history to be good only for mere amusement but devoid of utility, that to cure themselves of that delusion all they had to do was to cast a glance at the beliefs of savages to become convinced that, though we may fall into error, "it is our false and preconceived notions that are our most dangerous enemies and very often our invincible tyrants" (378). It was his message that, unless we watch out, we may ourselves fall back toward the savage state. In the midst of a powerful passage against slavery, Kraft declared that we are wrong if we think that savages are more barbarian in heart and mind than we are. Clearly, he saw slavery as one of the fateful consequences of the delusions he warned against. The utility of Kraft's enterprise lies

in what we learn about the long process of errors and their slow correction that has brought us to our present precarious state. This process reveals a history of ourselves, and for Kraft this history was made possible by the facts about savage life which he owed chiefly to Lafitau. Mere speculation will take us nowhere.

In the first line of the remarkable essay “Sur l’histoire,” Fontenelle announced that his subject was “the utility of history.” He had in mind, he said, to do something unexpected, namely “de faire l’histoire de l’histoire” (169). He was not after the familiar kind of history that piles up facts and details about events of human action, for it fails to know the motives of the human heart that caused the events—this is a clear formulation and critique of what around 1900 became known, pejoratively, as “histoire événementielle.” In making his history of history, he said, he acted much like the philosopher who, with an assortment of natural effects and observations before him, must puzzle out likely causes with the aim of gaining a coherent, over-all view of things—“voilà le système” (176). Like the naturalist, the historian also begins with facts and seeking the motivation behind them as he sets about building his “système de l’histoire.” This is where the utility of history begins, as he writes in this wonderful passage which is best left in his own words:

J’appelle utile, quant à ce qui regard l’esprit, tout ce qui nous conduit ou à nous connoître, ou à connoître les autres; et ces deux choses me paroissent à-peu-près également utiles, parce que souvent on se connoît mieux dans les autres que dans soi-même, et qu’enfin il est fort à propos de savoir comment sont faits ces hommes avec qui l’on a tant de liaisons différentes. (177).

If this passage about knowing ourselves by the reflecting mirror of knowing others has a familiar ring, it is because it calls to mind Hume’s remark that “the minds of men are mirrors to one another,” which also speaks for Adam Smith. The study of early beliefs and ancient myths puts before us the errors and derangements of the human mind, and the knowledge we gain becomes our guide in staying close to the path of truth and reason. Fontenelle and Kraft found the utility of their history in this guidance.⁴⁴⁸

It has been said that Rousseau’s Second *Discourse*, on the origin of inequality among human beings, “was clearly the chief inspiration for

parts one and two of Kraft's work."⁴⁴⁹ Of course the dates would fit; the *Discourse* appeared in 1755 and Moses Mendelssohn's German translation in 1756, the latter presumably having been the text Kraft used as indicated by the single reference he makes to the *Discourse* (29). Now, when postulating inspiration it is generally understood that evident features of the source flow recognizably into the object of the inspiration; that is what we mean when we say that Beethoven's early compositions owed much to Haydn, or that Wagner found deep affinity in Beethoven's late quartets. In that case it is hard to see how Rousseau's *Discourse* could have been more than, at best, a passing impulse for Kraft. The truly fundamental difference is that Rousseau's work is about political philosophy, while Kraft's is not. Rousseau argued from the state of nature toward later institutions, the social contract being first among them. Kraft argued forward from savages, that is, from subjects who already lived in societies, with formed institutions and beliefs, settled customs, languages, and traditions. Rousseau argued against Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf, while Kraft sought to instill a naturalist culture among his contemporaries.

Furthermore, Rousseau unlike Kraft idealized the pre-social state of nature, found that social man becomes weak and decadent, and that "nothing is as gentle as [man] in his primitive state when, placed by Nature at equal distance from the stupidity of the brutes and the fatal enlightenment of man."⁴⁵⁰ Kraft built on the facts he found in Lafitau and other travel records. By contrast, Rousseau declared at the outset that he would "set aside all the facts, for they do not affect the question," thus freeing himself to conjecture on "what Mankind might have become if it had remained abandoned to itself." Though they are all fascinating, there is hardly any common ground between Rousseau on one side and Fontenelle and Kraft on the other. It would make good sense to change Kraft's title to read "Anti-Rousseau or a Brief Account of the principal Institutions," etc.

I have argued that Kraft drew inspiration from Fontenelle's essay "De l'origine des fables" and most likely also from the closely related essay "Sur l'histoire." Both were published in the same volume in 1758 in an edition of Fontenelle that was coming out in those years. At the time Fontenelle was very well known, even famous, and his general orientation toward science and modernity must have appealed to Kraft. But Kraft must have seen that Fontenelle's brilliant essays had no facts

to support the insouciant equation of ancient mythology with American customs, with “les mœurs des premiers temps.” Early in his work on *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, Andrew Lang observed that “Origine” is “brief, sensible, and witty, and requires little but copious evidence to make it adequate. But [Fontenelle] merely threw out the idea, and left it to be neglected.”⁴⁵¹ Kraft alone rose to the occasion Fontenelle had created; he alone remedied what Lang felt had been unjustly ignored. It was his genius to marry Lafitau to Fontenelle. Kraft’s achievement in European letters is very great indeed, though it is accompanied by the mournful reflection that his work suffered eclipse.

Appendix 1

Jens Kraft

Kort Fortælning af de Vilde Folks fornemmeste Indretninger, Skikke og Meninger; til Oplysning af det menneskelige Oprindelse og Fremgang i Almindelighed, pp. 224-232

The history of primitive nations everywhere shows man as he is by nature, before he was changed by art. The simple mode of living of these nations is as simple as their mode of thinking, and it is without doubt among the most important benefits we can expect to gain from accounts of them, that we may thereby conjecture how [225] beliefs about invisible and spiritual matters have been formed, apart from the Church, in the first ages of the world. If I here in good part follow another plan than has formerly prevailed in a large number of astute and very learned treatises, in which several illustrious writers have in one way or another sought to cast light on this truly recondite matter, then it is because I believe that the general tendency has been to look for something more elevated in the mode of thinking than human nature allows, and not to have made a sufficient effort to explain man in terms of himself. I believe it is possible to show how man left to himself could not think in any way that was much different from the thinking of today's primitive people, and I shall try to identify the factors which have made a virtual necessity of this mode of thought. Though we may today know the philosophical beliefs of the ancient world better than we know the common mind of the very first ages, it would still seem we can reasonably conclude that the latter was entirely the same as it is among primitive nations today, so that there is hardly any difference between the two. [226] It follows that there must everywhere have been one and the same cause of human beliefs in the same circumstances; otherwise people would think differently at the South Pole than in the tropics, and there again not the same as in the Far North of icebergs. So long as this cause can be found in man himself, and in the understanding as it may manifest itself in its earliest infancy, as it were, and thereafter over long years falling into one error after another before finding a path to truth—so long as that is the case we would not seem to have the right to seek any other cause.

We need, however, to consider the possibility that the beliefs of the

pagan world were highly degenerate remnants of the great truths that mankind possessed right after the Flood, and that these beliefs all had their common origin there. The chief weakness of this otherwise sensible view lies in the striking dissimilarity of the most important basic truths in the true and in the pagan doctrines. Unless I am mistaken, it is rather contradictory to base such an origin [i.e., from just after the Flood] of pagan beliefs on a limited similarity in matters of small importance when the dissimilarity [227] is so very large in matters of the greatest importance. Thus when the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, who are commonly taken to be the teachers of the entire pagan world, on the one hand attribute everything to God, and yet, whatever one may say in their defense, on the other hand believe both that all the Gods together had come into being by the irrational forces vested in matter, without knowing either how or by what means, and also believe that man as well as animals had grown out of the earth almost like toadstools without even the slightest assistance from the supreme being, then I don't see how, with this disregard of the central issue, one can still believe that the rest of their doctrines could have been proclaimed in the exalted and eternal truths which God himself has taught to man. All told, the Church loses little by repudiating such errant disciples [i.e., the Egyptians and Phoenicians]. That the Church alone has [228] recognized the important truths of a single God, about creation out of nothing, about the simple essence of the soul, about the sinfulness of man, etc., is incomparably greater proof of its lofty and divine origin, than finding that there is often some slight similarity in its customs, beliefs and narratives with those of paganism.

Likewise, we have little reason to think that a single or a couple of nations in the world should have communicated to all the rest what they think and believe; that India, for instance, should have learnt the transmigration of souls from the Egyptians, that the Americans should have their customs and institutions from the Lycians.⁴⁵² People all over the world seem to have had the same customs and the same beliefs because the understanding would on the whole develop pretty much in the same manner. Human thought and what it thinks about were everywhere the same [229], and if the manner of conceiving things was not exactly the same, still it never varied so much that this alone could cause a huge difference in thinking; do we need to say more to realize that people everywhere could have the same notions of the same things. Both in primitive nations and in the people of the first ages,

there is in their mode of thinking so little that is not owed to nature and so much evidence of utter artlessness that we can easily believe that they have themselves, without any teacher, invented what constitutes their knowledge.

In order to see how the first ages would necessarily come to entertain their absurd and ludicrous conceptions of God and the world, we still need to imagine man in the first state as being ignorant of everything. In the midst of this ignorance he began to speculate on the causes of things; he began to draw conclusions on the basis of the little he knew, paying most attention to what centered [230] on himself. Man soon understood that the outward human appearance could not be the true cause of his thoughts, actions, and changing states. This was the first emergence of the thought that the true cause of human actions and behavior was some active [but] invisible human essence; when this essence was seen to show over the entire body even in its smallest effects, then this invisible something, this soul or spirit, was conceived to inhabit the body and thus itself having bodily form, [though] a quality always invisible, very subtle and inaccessible to the senses. All primitive nations and the whole world of antiquity universally agree in attributing to man not only the visible body in the flesh, but also immaterial or spiritual essences, so that we cannot doubt that this idea has been natural to man, adopted everywhere and one of the oldest in the world. By extension considering the animals, people found such evident similarity between them and man, that they did not hesitate to [231] invest them with a soul, or perhaps more than one, thus locating the causes of the visible in what did not appear to the eye. Thinking beyond that, people became still more strongly confirmed in the idea that the true causes of what occurred in nature were hidden, that they were invisible even the very moment they first came before the eye. This warranted the belief that all natural events were caused by invisible spirits, and this initial thought, in itself true, later gave rise to the most egregious errors.

We humans naturally draw our inferences by using the little we know as the basis for explaining what remains. What we observe in some familiar things is generally held to apply also to other events if it seems at all plausible to do so. Though this way of drawing inferences is very wrong, it is still the first way practiced by man and the one that, after a thousand errors, has in most cases shown the way to truth. This procedure

seems to have guided the people of the first ages [232] to lay down the basic principle that, since an invisible being caused the actions of men as well as animals, then, not seeing any other possible cause, it must follow that everything in nature that, like the animals, can perform and determine its own actions, is inhabited and motivated by an invisible being: thus everything in nature would necessarily be thought to be alive. It is evident that savages and antiquity, in their understanding of natural phenomena, all agreed in the origin they assigned to these effects, so that in this matter it is pointless to seek confirmation in particular cases.

Appendix 2

On the authorship of *Systema mundi*
generally attributed to Kraft

In the literature on Kraft, including the most recent, it is said that Kraft was the author of a Latin treatise, known under the brief title *Systema mundi*, which was submitted for a prize-essay contest set by the Berlin Academy on the Leibnitian philosophy of monads. It did not gain the prize, but was published in 1748 in an omnibus volume which contained the six best essays chosen from the thirty submissions. All but two of these essays were published without the author's name. Since *Systema mundi* is called Kraft's masterpiece and the most advanced exposition of his philosophy, it is crucial to be clear about the authorship. But on this point the literature is silent. It is simply taken for granted that the attribution to Kraft is an established fact that does not need to be supported by evidence, argument, or even reference to a source that provides the necessary information.

S. V. Rasmussen's entry on Kraft in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 2nd ed., vol. 13 (1938), 207–09 (which is repeated in the 3rd ed., vol. 8 (1981), 220–1) gives ample bibliographical references. Among them is S. A. Christensen, *Matematikkens Udvikling i Danmark og Norge i det XVIII. Aarhundrede* (Odense, 1895), which treats Kraft on pp. 138–62, with bibliography on pp. 140–1, where it says: "I Berlins Videnskabsakademies Samling over Monaderne skyldes ham Nr. 10, *Systema mundi deductum ex principiis monadicis*," without evidence for this attribution. It is repeated two years later in Oscar Hansen, *Filosofien i Danmark i det 18. og 19. Aarhundrede*, Part I, *Indledningsperioden 1700–1765* (Copenhagen, 1897). Here about Kraft on pp. 50–63, with this attribution on p. 59: "*Systema mundi deductum ex principiis Mondadicis*, der 1747 tryktes i Berliner Selskabets Samling om Monaderne," again without evidence. Christensen refers generally to Chr. Molbech, *Det Kongelige danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Historie i det første Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen, 1843). This work mentions Kraft, but says nothing about the prize contest or about *Systema mundi*. Oscar Hansen refers to N. M. Petersen, *Bidrag til den danske Litteraturs Historie*, which in vol. 5, Part I (1860) treats Kraft on pp. 138–62, without mention of *Systema mundi*. Kraft's name appears in other printed sources before Molbech in 1843 and Petersen in 1860,

but if these sources had any information about the Latin treatise, one must assume that they would have said so, and indeed that Christensen in 1895, if he knew about any such source, would have cited it in support of his claim. The copy of the omnibus volume in the Royal Library in Copenhagen carries no information about authorship. I mention this because one could imagine that Christensen had used this copy and might have found Kraft's name written in it.⁴⁵³ Thus it remains a puzzle how Kraft's name became attached to what is called his masterpiece; it is also puzzling that no one has hitherto gone after solid evidence.

Then in 1980 relevant information appeared in a book where no one thinking of Kraft would ever have looked for it. This is the story. Condillac had submitted an essay in the same competition, and this essay was published in the same omnibus volume of submissions as *Systema mundi*. In his *Traité des animaux* (1755), Condillac added a note to the chapter on "How man acquires the knowledge of God," and the note said: "This chapter is almost entirely drawn from a dissertation, written some years ago, that is printed in a collection by the Berlin Academy, and to which I did not put my name." This mysterious item remained lost until Laurence L. Bongie tracked it down and published it in *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 187 (1980), with Condillac's name and the title *Les Monades*. With care and good evidence, Bongie showed that the great mathematician Leonard Euler attributed *Systema mundi* to Samuel Koenig, whom Euler at the time knew well personally. Euler was very much an insider in the Berlin Academy, and he was especially active in judging the submissions in this competition. He was known to be very critical of the doctrine of monads and is generally credited with making sure that the prize went to a critic of that doctrine. Euler had read *Systema mundi* and praised it without being convinced: "Il faut avouer que cet Auteur se soutient partout admirablement bien, et qu'il ne laisse aucune prise aux arguments ordinaires contre le système des monades; et il semble même que le système n'est soutenable que sur ce piet là" (Bongie 27–9). Bongie is citing from records in the Berlin Academy. Kurt Müller's *Leibniz Bibliographie. Die Literatur über Leibniz* (Frankfurt, 1967) lists the items in the omnibus volume in entries 2128–34. At 2130 he suggests that *Systema mundi* is "presumably by Professor Kraft zu Soroe," without further remark. He also notes that excerpts were published in Samuel Formey, *Mélanges philosophiques* (Leiden, 1754), 2 vols.: I.446–62. Euler might be wrong,

but in light of Bongie's careful research that would seem unlikely. It is to be hoped that scholarship on Kraft will take a fresh look at this crucial matter. It would also be interesting to find out, if possible, how the claim for Kraft's authorship gained acceptance without further question.

10. Northern Identities and National History – Paul-Henri Mallet, Peter Frederik Suhm and Tyge Rothe

Henrik Horstbøll

A patriotic history of Denmark, Norway and Holstein emerged in Denmark in the 1770's. With the fall of the government of Johan Friedrich Struensee in 1772 a number of national and patriotic laws were passed in favour of the use of the Danish language in the government and in the army. It was decided to strengthen education in Danish language and history, and new textbooks appeared in 1776. In the same year the Law of Indigenous Rights secured the citizens of Denmark, Norway and Holstein exclusive rights to public offices.⁴⁵⁴ Peter Frederik Suhm and Ove Malling wrote the new textbooks. Malling glorified the heroic citizens of Denmark, Norway and Holstein,⁴⁵⁵ while Suhm wrote the general historical account, and he had the qualifications to do so. Together with Gerhard Schønning he had studied northern history in Trondhjem. In 1765 they went to Denmark, and in practise they divided the history of Norway and Denmark between them.⁴⁵⁶

Suhm took part in the public sphere during and after the reign of Struensee. He praised Struensee's law on the freedom of the press in 1771 and then shortly afterwards applauded Struensee's fall in an open letter *To the King*.⁴⁵⁷ Suhm was not in favour of absolutism and had suggested that a limited form of monarchy be established after the demise of Struensee, but first of all Suhm praised the Danish language and urged the King and government to speak Danish. He published some preliminary studies to his history of Denmark,⁴⁵⁸ and when he was asked to write the textbook, he was ready to synthesize his vision of the history of Denmark, Norway and Holstein.

Ove Malling's descriptions of heroic acts and civic virtues pleased the official supervisor more than the political patriotism of Suhm's history. But the slightly censored textbook of Suhm was published and for decades it remained standard reading in the grammar school.

Peter Frederik Suhm: National history, patriotism and improvement

The basis of Suhm's 1776-textbook on the history of Denmark, Norway and Holstein was a theory of the peasantry's original freedom that had been quelled by the aristocracy and later neglected by the absolutist monarchy. Suhm had developed the discourse of the original freedom of the peasants for the first time in 1771, quoting the historian Hans Gram as his source.⁴⁵⁹ In a study of the origins of the nobility, Gram had written that the word "bonde" or "peasant" originally had been a general name for every citizen who owned land.⁴⁶⁰ Suhm used this notion of the peasant as a point of departure for a narrative about the state of liberty, the loss of liberty, liberty lost and how to regain it. The message was quite specific: Originally, the peasant had not been unappreciated and oppressed; the King had neither been constrained by the aristocracy nor autocratic, but had been elected as chieftain by popular assemblies which, according to Suhm, "could decide nothing without the consent of the commonalty." The innumerable peasants – the backbone of the nation – cultivated their plots, and the system was in a state of balance. Not until the advent of the abhorred feudal system had this happy balance been destroyed. "Instead of many thousand independent farmers one now had a few bishops, abbots and priors, and a few hundred lords, who had turned all the tillers of the fields into serfs", wrote Suhm in *The History of Denmark, Norway and Holstein* in 1776.⁴⁶¹ The balance of the nation had been disturbed, and it was now time to restore it. The theory thus involved a political perspective, namely the reinstatement of the peasantry in its rights and the restoration of its independence vis-à-vis the monarchy.

On the face of it, the major features of Suhm's history were not concerned with the form of government, but with specific issues in agricultural economy. The theory of original peasant freedom gained widespread support as an argument for an agricultural system consisting of relatively small, independent farming units. In fact, historical arguments about the lost liberty of the peasantry were widely used in the public debate concerning the agrarian reforms in the last decades of the eighteenth century.⁴⁶²

Paul-Henri Mallet: Northern monarchism and republicanism

Suhm's history of the liberties of Danish citizens before Christianity and the Middle Ages had an interesting parallel in the *Introduction to the History of Denmark*, written by Paul-Henri Mallet twenty years before. But the context of Mallet's theory of the original political freedom of the citizens of the North was quite different from the Danish and Norwegian patriotism of Suhm and Schøningh.

Mallet was a citizen of Geneva, and he wrote the history of Denmark in French at the request of the Court marshal, or Lord Chamberlain, Andreas Gottlob Moltke. Mallet had been called to Copenhagen in 1752 as a professor, and he edited the journal *Mercure Danois* under the protection of the Foreign Minister Count J.H.E. Bernstorff. Late in 1753 Mallet began to write the history of Denmark under the protection of Moltke, and eighteen months later he could publish the first volume, the *Introduction to the History of Denmark*.⁴⁶³ Mallet was exhausted because Moltke demanded that the book be finished in time for the cel-



Paul-Henri Mallet (1730-1807). Engraving by Aubert from a painting by Henriette Rath.

celebration of the birthday of king Fredrik 5 in 1755.⁴⁶⁴ But apart from the deadline, he felt free to study, as he wrote to his friend Jacob Vernes: “J’étudie librement et avec un but fixe devant les yeux, qui m’anime, me sert de boussole, et, en prevenant les écarts, prevenient là meme les dégouts. Mon histoire s’avance.”⁴⁶⁵ And without any doubt he was fascinated by what he learned. As mentioned in the preface, the *Introduction* contained mostly a compilation from the works of Thomas Bartholin, Ole Worm, Stephan Stephanius, Arngrimur Jonsson, Tormod Torfæus, and Simon Pelloutier’s history of the Celts, supplemented with the first volume of Olof Dalin’s history of Sweden from 1747. But it was done with great skill and the result was impressive.

The *Introduction* should demonstrate to the European public that Scandinavia and Denmark played an important part in European history: “In fact, History has not recorded the annals of a people who have occasioned greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe than the Scandinavians, or whose antiquities, at the same time, are so little known.”⁴⁶⁶ However, Mallet would not write a traditional history of political events:

to see people, princes, conquerors, and legislators succeed one another rapidly upon a stage, without knowing any thing of their real character, manner of thinking, or of the spirit which animated them; this is to have only a skeleton of history; this is merely to behold a parcel of dark and obscure shadows, instead of living and and conversing with real men. For this reason, I have all along resolved not to meddle with the body of the Danish history, till I have presented my readers with a sketch of the manners and genius of the first inhabitants of Denmark.⁴⁶⁷

Mallet attempted to recreate the fundamental religious and political manners of the North. On the title-page of the book, the kingdom of Denmark defined the geographical limits, but focus changed in the text from Denmark to Scandinavia and to the North in general, and sometimes it is difficult to separate the Nordic, German, Gothic and Celtic traditions as well. Mallet used the word Celtic as the most universal term describing the North: “As I here all along consider it in a general light, I use the word CELTIC as the most universal term, without entering into disputes to which this word has given rise, and which proceed, in my opinion, from men’s not understanding one another.”⁴⁶⁸

His main point of view was clear: The principal historical conflict arose between the North and the South, between liberty and slavery.

The northern nation arrived on the stage of history from the forests of Scythia, carrying with them “a religion simple and martial as themselves, a form of government dictated by good sense and liberty,”⁴⁶⁹ Rome, in the mean time, arose, and at length carried all before her. Rome “destroyed, among the nations whom she overpowered, the original spirit with which they were animated. But this spirit continued unaltered in the colder countries of Europe, and maintained itself there like the independency of the inhabitants.” The northern countries then attacked and conquered the ill defended Roman Empire. “We then see the conquerors introducing, among the nations they vanquished, viz, into the very bosom of slavery and sloth, that spirit of independence and equality,”⁴⁷⁰ The revolutions from the North, as Mallet called them, consisted of the invasions of the northern nations into the Roman empire and their impact on the South: “Is it not well known that the most flourishing and celebrated states of Europe owe originally to the northern nations, whatever liberty they now enjoy, either in their constitution, or in the spirit of their government? For although the Gothic form of government has been almost every where altered or abolished, have we not retained, in most things, the opinions, the customs, the manners which that government had a tendency to produce? Is not this, in fact, the principal source of that courage, of that aversion to slavery, of that empire of honor which characterize in general the European nations; and of that moderation, of that easiness of access, and peculiar attention to the rights of humanity, which so happily distinguish our sovereigns from the inaccessible and superb tyrants of Asia?”⁴⁷¹

Mallet’s Introduction to the history of Denmark became a cosmopolitan history of the sources of European liberties. He traced the origins of the Scandinavian nations in the first book with help from Saxo, Thormod Torfæus and Snorro. In the second book – “A general idea of the ancient religion of the northern nations” – he summarised the mythology of the North. Odin appeared as a key figure in political as well as religious matters, and he described the other gods while giving a comparative analysis of the mythological notions of the creation and the end of the world: “Let the strokes we have here produced be compared with the beginning of Hesiod’s Theogony, with the mythology of some Asiatic nations, and with the book of Genesis, and we shall in-

stantly be convinced, that the conformity which is found between many circumstances of their recitals, cannot be mere work of chance."⁴⁷²

Likewise he judged the context of the mythology and the glorification of violence and war in a comparative perspective: "There was a time when the whole face of Europe presented the same spectacle as the forests of America; viz. a thousand little wandering nations, without cities or towns, or agriculture, or arts; having nothing to subsist on but a few herds, wild fruits and pillage, harassing themselves incessantly by inroads and attacks, sometimes conquering, sometimes conquered, often totally overthrown and destroyed. The same causes every where produce the same effects:"⁴⁷³

The form of government dictated by good sense and liberty, that Mallet had introduced in the preface, was subject to further investigation in the third book: "Of the form of government which formerly prevailed in the north." In the first place Mallet consulted Tacitus' history of ancient Germany. Among the Germans he found that, "The chiefs, or princes, determine some affairs of less importance; all the rest are reserved for the general assembly:"⁴⁷⁴ But Tacitus' account of the German assemblies could not be the only major source for the election of the kings in the northern nations. As evidence of the existence of an original elective kingship he used the descriptions of the stone monuments in Denmark and Sweden where the general assemblies took place according to Saxo, Ole Worm and Olof Dalin.

The Danes were not long before they recovered their right of electing their kings, and consequently all the other rights less essential to liberty. It is true, the people seem always to have made it a law to chuse the nearest relation of the deceased king, or at least some one of the royal family, which they respected as issued from the gods. They still shew the places where these elections were made: And as Denmark was for a long time divided into three kingdoms, we find accordingly three principal monuments of this custom; the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra, or Lethra, in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland.⁴⁷⁵

In spite of all his efforts Mallet had to conclude that certain knowledge of the laws of Scandinavia could only be obtained after the adoption of Christianity. But then he made a last attempt to solve the issue: He

used the comparative method: "We have a remarkable fact, relative to this matter, which it will be of much greater consequence to know, as well on account of its own striking singularity."⁴⁷⁶ Iceland provided the remarkable fact that shed light on the issue of gothic government. Mallet considered Iceland as a historical laboratory that made a political experiment in the ninth century, namely a republic.

According to Mallet, a colony of Norwegians driven from their own country by the tyranny of one of their kings, established itself in Iceland towards the end of the ninth century. Apparently the new Icelanders proceeded to elect magistrates, to enact laws, and to give their government a regular form:

Uninterrupted and unrestrained by any outward force, we have here a nation delivered up to its own direction, and establishing itself in a country separated by vast seas from all the rest of the world: We see therefore, in all their institutions, nothing but the pure dictates of their own inclinations and sentiments, and these were so natural and so suited to their situation and character, that we do not find any general deliberation, any irresolution, any trial of different modes of government ever preceded that form of civil polity which they first adopted, and under which they lived afterwards so many years. The whole settled into form as it were of itself, and fell into order without any effort. In like manner, as bees form their hives, the new Icelanders, guided by a happy instinct, immediately on their landing in a desert island, established that fine constitution wherein liberty is fixed on its proper basis, viz. a wise distribution of the different powers of government.⁴⁷⁷

In the Icelandic laboratory Mallet had a glimpse of the original northern form of government: a republican form. Through the histories of Snorro Sturleson and Arngrimur Jonsson he saw a republic ruled by "the States General of the whole island (*Alting*), which answered to the *Als-heriar-ting* of the other Scandinavian nations, to the *Wittena-Gemot* or Parliament of the Anglo-Saxons." Mallet compared the Icelandic *Alting* according to Snorro with the assemblies among the Germans according to Tacitus. The *Alting* assembled every year, and each citizen of Iceland thought it his honour and his duty to be present at it. "The president of this great assembly was Sovereign Judge of the island. He possessed

this office for life, but it was conferred upon him by the States. His principal business was to convoke the General Assembly, and to see to the observance of the laws; hence the name of *Lagman*, or Man of the Laws, was given to this magistrate.⁴⁷⁸ The *Lagman* filled in Iceland the position the king would take among the Scandinavians, and he ruled by the consent of the general assembly. "Such was the constitution of a republic, which is at present quite forgotten in the North, and utterly unknown through the rest of Europe even to men of much reading, notwithstanding the great number of poets and historians, which that republic produced."⁴⁷⁹

The conclusion of Mallet was clear:

It is easy to discover here the genius of all the 'Gothic' [Mallet writes 'Celtic'] tribes, and their notions of government. That distribution of the people into different communities subordinate to one another, that right of being judged every one by the members of his own community, that care of watching over each citizen committed to the community of which he was a member, those general assemblies of the whole nation, with whom alone the legislative power was deposited, &c.⁴⁸⁰

In the original version from 1755 Mallet went further, seeing the constitution of Iceland as the mould that through centuries had formed the representative governments of Europe.

It was a republican view of the liberty of the original monarchy in Denmark Mallet presented to the absolute monarch on his birthday, but Mallet's protectors were pleased with the work. A.P. Bernstorff wrote to J.H.E. Bernstorff in a letter from Geneva, dated 18 September 1755: "Je viens de lire l'introduction de Mr. Mallet à l'Histoire de Dannemarck. Cela m'a paru bien écrit en montrer un esprit net et judicieux dans l'auteur." And again he wrote from Paris, 5 May 1757, that J.H.E. Bernstorff should send more copies of Mallet's new book.⁴⁸¹

Mallet did not invent the free peasantry of the North, and the discourse of original Scandinavian liberty was not peculiar to Denmark. As mentioned, Hans Gram had defined "peasant" (*bonde*) as the original land-owning citizen.⁴⁸² First of all, Mallet acknowledged a considerable debt to Olof Dalin's *History of Sweden* (1747-62): "[Dalin] has given a new



The title page of Olof Dalin *Svea Rikes Historia* (Stockholm 1747).

History of Sweden, which discovers extensive reading and genius. In three or four chapters, where the Author treats of the religion, the laws and manners of the ancient Swedes, we find these subjects discussed with unusual perspicuity and elegance.”⁴⁸³

In his first volume from 1747 Dalin covered the heathen age, and from the beginning freedom was found in the rule of the household.⁴⁸⁴ Every pater familias who was a peasant (*Odalsman*), having possession of some land, ruled according to natural law.⁴⁸⁵ In this theory, the household became the backbone of the monarchy in Sweden, and in Dalin’s chapter seven about *The old Laws of Sweden*, we learn how any new law had to be accepted by the general assembly.⁴⁸⁶ Mallet shared also Dalin’s description of the election of the kings. Although the kings of Sweden held sovereign power, it was not unlimited and they were subject to the laws. First and foremost, the king had to be chosen by the assembly and to commit himself to rule by law: “Thus in the days of old, before a Swedish king could be said to be in possession of the full government he had to commit himself three times before the people to keep the law sacred and to protect the safety of the people.”⁴⁸⁷

Furthermore Dalin referred to a Celto-Scythian mythology and to Celto-Scythian words and language: "It was a principle in the old Celto-Scythian Mythology, that housefathers were kings in their own houses and held absolute power over wives, children and servants."⁴⁸⁸ The Swedes were descendants of Gothic tribes with Scythian origins, and Dalin did not distinguish between Celto-Scythian and Gothic traditions: "But the people reserved for itself the right to a free election, though it stuck to the old royal lineage. This manner of succession had followed the Swedes and Goths from the old Scythian settlements."⁴⁸⁹

Olof Dalin published his book only a year before Montesquieu made the notion of the liberty of the North famous in *LEsprit des Loix*. This work changed the state of historiography in Europe and Mallet was able to benefit from that. He combined his sources with Montesquieu's general account "Of Laws in Relation to the Nature of the Climate". He applied the third book of *The Spirit of the Laws* to the history of Denmark and Scandinavia and particularly adapted the theme from book 17, chapter five, introducing the words of Montesquieu:

The great prerogative of Scandinavia (says the admirable author of the Spirit of Laws), and what ought to recommend its inhabitants beyond every people upon earth, is, that they afforded the great resource to the liberty of Europe, that is, to almost all the liberty that is among men. The Goth *Jornandes* (adds he) calls the north of Europe *the Forge of Mankind*. I should rather call it the forge of those instruments which broke the fetters manufactured in the south. It was there those valiant nations were bred, who left their native climes to destroy tyrants and slaves, and to teach men that nature having made them equal, no reason could be assigned for their becoming dependent, but their mutual happiness.⁴⁹⁰

The novelty of Mallet's history was not the historical detail but his historical synthesis combined with his French translation of the Mythology, the *Edda*. This combination and the fact that Mallet's work in 1763 was distributed in a new edition from Geneva made his *Histoire de Dannemarc* widely read in Europe outside Scandinavia.

Edward Gibbon read Mallet during his stay in Florence in 1764⁴⁹¹ as part of his preliminary studies to the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Em-*



Montesquieu *L'Esprit des loix* was translated to Danish by Jens Hvas and published in Copenhagen in three volumes 1770-71. Title page to the second volume: [Montesquieu] *Om Lovenes Natur og Aarsag*.

pire. Gibbon kept a diary on his reading, and in July 1764 he wrote about Mallet: "His great principle, that the religion of Odin formed that character of the northern nations, whose effects are still perceptible among ourselves, is judicious, in many respects well founded, and perfectly well illustrated." The Edda supplied Mallet with materials on the subject of religion, customs and morals, but concerning the question about the original northern form of government Gibbon observed that he did not have equally authentic evidence, "and is obliged to have recourse to Tacitus and analogy. These guides are not always to be trusted."⁴⁹²

Gibbon was especially interested in the northern invasions of the Roman Empire and the question of the conversion of Scandinavia and the downfall of the Odin-religion: "An important question occurs, why the inhabitants of the North should have so obstinately rejected Christianity, while their countrymen established in the empire embraced it

with the utmost readiness.” Gibbon’s reflections on Mallet led him to consider the relationship of barbarism and religion in the South: “All religions depend in some degree on local circumstances.” A barbarian, who saw all the temples, altars and tombs of the South would first wonder and then believe. “His understanding would be improved, and his heart softened, in perpetual incourse [sic] with the vanquished, and every cause would concur to make him quit a mode of worship founded on ignorance and barbarism, and to substitute in its stead a religion connected with science which he began to relish, and inculcating the virtues of humanity which he began to value.”⁴⁹³ It was the international, European perspective of the *History of Denmark* that caught the attention of Gibbon, but Mallet’s work had the strongest impact on the national histories of the North.

Thomas Percy and Anglo Saxon northern identity

Thomas Percy secured Mallet’s Introduction and Mythology a long afterlife with his translation, *Northern Antiquities: or, a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the ancient Danes, and other Northern Nations; including those of our own Saxon Ancestors*, London 1770.⁴⁹⁴ The last part of the English title discloses the context and the agenda of Percy’s work: The foundation of an Anglo-Saxon or English northern identity. In fact Percy’s translation turned Mallet upside down, because almost every time Mallet used the words “Celt” or “Celtic” Percy substituted them with “Goth” or “Gothic”. That was not a trifling matter. In his long “Translator’s Preface” Percy explained that the Gothic and Celtic nations were from the beginning two distinct people: “They differed no less in their Institutions and Laws. The Celtic nations do not appear to have had that equal plan of liberty, which was the peculiar honour of all the Gothic tribes, and which they carried with them, and planted wherever they formed settlements: On the contrary, in Gaul, all the freedom and power chiefly centered among the Druids and the chief men.”⁴⁹⁵

The literate culture of the Goths differed from the Celtic culture, that inhibited the development of literacy because of the secrecy and mystery with which they concealed their doctrines from the laity, “forbidding that they should ever be committed to writing, and upon that account, not having so much as an alphabet of their own. In this, the institutions of Odin and the Gothic Scalds was the very reverse. No barbarous

people were so addicted to writing, as appears from the innumerable quantity of Runic inscriptions scattered all over the north.”⁴⁹⁶ As Margaret Clunies Ross has shown, Percy was persuaded to “correct” Mallet by his Welsh correspondent Evan Evans, an expert in Celtic culture. And Percy was easy to convince. He translated Mallet from 1763 onwards and used him in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* from 1765.⁴⁹⁷ Percy’s Saxon ancestors shared the Gothic culture, and the English nation could claim to share the Northern Antiquities. So in Britain as in Sweden and Denmark-Norway, identical ideas of an original liberty of the North could nourish local northern identities in national histories. As a cosmopolitan Swiss, Mallet could occupy the position as mediator of the local traditions and the European perspective.

Tyge Rothe: European civilization, property and liberty

Mallet’s notion of an original limited monarchy in Denmark re-emerged in the historiography of Denmark in the 1770s as if it was a quite new theory. The revival owed more to the reception in Copenhagen of the northern renaissance of Thomas Percy and James Macpherson than to Mallet’s *History of Denmark*.⁴⁹⁸ Mallet’s translation of the Edda was more important than his own contribution. Inspired by Ossian Bertel Christian Sandvig studied the ancient Danish ballads, Percy and Herder in the library of P.F. Suhm.⁴⁹⁹ In the same manner, Suhm did not confine himself to the writing of history but wrote tragic stories about old heroes of the North.⁵⁰⁰

Suhm was not the only historian who recreated the discourse of the lost liberty of the North in late eighteenth century Denmark. Tyge Rothe, his contemporary, shared his notion of original civil liberty in Denmark, but the context of Rothe’s history was European. He wrote the history of European Christian civilization, but the discourse of universal history inevitably led him back to the North.

Rothe (1731-1795) was an estate-owner from the middle classes with an educational background ranging from the Academy at Sorø to Göttingen and other modern European universities. In 1759 he had written a patriotic essay on *Love of Country* or public spirit in the systematic style of Montesquieu.⁵⁰¹ Beginning in the 1770s he wrote about the history of civilisation. Between these two periods Rothe had a political career during the regime of Struensee. The coup of 1772 put an end

to Rothe's role in the central administration, and his declaration of loyalty to the King after the fall of Struensee does not seem to have been sufficiently convincing for the new men in power. Rothe retired to his estate and wrote a large and ambitious work on *The Effect of Christianity on the State of the People of Europe*, in which he linked Christian ideals of the rights of man with the history of civil society.⁵⁰²

During the 1770s Rothe published the first four parts of the work – including the *Fall of Rome*, 1775 – and thus reached the diffusion and impact of Christianity in the regions of Europe that had not been Roman provinces. The study of Tacitus's *Germania* and Snorri's account of Scandinavia fascinated him so much that the results upset his whole publication plan; for Rothe found that the effects of Christianity were profoundly integrated with another, dominant historical process – the rise of *feudalism*, or the origins of what Montesquieu aptly had called “the feudal laws.” The fifth part of the work on the effect of Christianity was not published until 1783 under the title *Europas Lehnsvaesen* (*The Feudal System in Europe*), and this constituted Rothe's attempt, from a Scandinavian perspective, to revolutionize the understanding of the history of the feudal system and the feudal aristocracy – for which scholars otherwise relied on Books XXX and XXXI of *L'Esprit des Lois*.

The point of departure was the fall of the Roman Empire and the conquest of the Germanic area by the Franks, where the feudal dispensation of the Romanized peoples dissolved the communal Germanic ownership of the land which Rothe found described in Tacitus, according to whom the plot of land of the Germanic tribesman was “not his private property, freehold or *allodium*, but belonged to the community.”⁵⁰³

In his treatment of the customs and habits that matched the communal ownership of land, Rothe made particular use of Scottish conjectural history. He found his opinion about Tacitus confirmed in the introductory volume of William Robertson's *History of Charles V.*⁵⁰⁴ He further investigated the issue in the chapter “Consequences of communal ownership of Land” building on Gilbert Stuart.⁵⁰⁵ In the final chapter on the subject “Other Nations with communal ownership of Land” he made use of Robertson's, Russell's, and Adair's books from the end of the 1770s about the North American Indians, and Adam Ferguson's history of civil society, for comparative examples of the practical pos-

sibility of communal ownership of land, and as arguments for the static nature of communal ownership.⁵⁰⁶

From the Germanic tribes and the Indians Rothe turned to the case of Scandinavia. Here the feudal system had not been the result of conquest causing a transition from barbarism to the tyranny of a feudal aristocracy. The background to the development of the feudal system in Scandinavia was the absence of a static communal ownership of land, and the existence instead of private landed property, the allodium, and the existence of independent farmers. Here was a state of affairs of which Montesquieu, Robertson, and Stuart knew nothing, and of which they *could* know nothing, because they had not read the Scandinavian source material from the Middle Ages: "Like many other illustrious writers both from Britain and from other enlightened European countries, Stuart failed of knowing Snorro and, through him, the old peasants and Odalmen from the North."⁵⁰⁷

Rothe wrote about the North, or Scandinavia, as a whole. He referred to Olof Dalin and Sven Lagerbring and he quoted Hans Gram and Gerhard Schöning.⁵⁰⁸ Like Mallet, he saw Iceland as a model of republican liberty, and he described Snorro as "a man with a free soul, living in a free republic, thus nothing forced him to pretend or lie."⁵⁰⁹ The allotment of property among the peasants was the original prerequisite for liberty: "That was the condition in the North, and foremost in Norway and Sweden."⁵¹⁰

It was thus clear to Rothe that the Germani with their tribal community had been barbarians, or the "Indians of Europe," while in glorious Scandinavia *private property, the state, and civil society* could be traced back beyond the mists of antiquity; and "whosoever would philosophise over the progress of civil society in Europe must know the North; if he does not, then he understands amiss the fairest and best of the history of our European humanity."⁵¹¹

The great discovery of allodialism that he used in the book on European feudalism was an idea he had developed in the treatise *Nordens Statsforfatning (The Scandinavian Constitution)*, one of the most remarkable eighteenth-century works on the history of Denmark and Scandinavia.⁵¹² The aim was crystal-clear from the very first page, where Montesquieu was quoted concerning his discovery of *les lois feodales*, which



Tyge Rothe (1731-1795). Painting by Jens Juel.

he considered to be “une magnifique matière,” and Justus Möser was pressed into service with a statement from the *Osnabrückische Geschichte* that history should be of direct political benefit to the literate peasantry.

The central treatises of the work discuss how “our oldest forefathers had no inherited nobility” and “the Government of our forefathers was monarchy mixed with democracy.” The main problem faced in the work was the difficulty of “comprehending the transition from one constitution to another of quite opposite nature,”⁵¹³ that is, the reasons for the autonomous development of the feudal system that led to the decline of civil liberty. According to Rothe, the reasons were to be sought in social history, i.e. in the ownership of property and the “modification of customs.” In the latter category of causal factors he included Christianity, which modified original slavery to serfdom. This was in itself part of a civilising process, but did not function as such, because another factor had a more radical effect – the centralisation of land ownership.

The king had more land than any other man, and he controlled the common and the waste land, so he could reward his warriors with land, and this gave rise to a class of great landowners. Tenants worked on the land of the Crown and the great landowners got tenants too. In this way the nobility was born at the time when the new Christian clergy began to demand land and power. The developments did not deprive the landowning peasants of their liberty but many peasants did not appear at the general assembly any more. They worked the land to pay tax to the king, and they placed themselves under the protection of the nobility. The great landowners assumed control of the election of the king, and in fact an aristocracy had emerged. The nobility patronized the peasants although the rights and liberties of the latter formally were unchanged.⁵¹⁴ “Fundamentally, the principle was maintained that whosoever might be considered a landowner shared in governing with the King.”⁵¹⁵ But the great landowners tied political power to the land, not to the individual landowner. Matters became still worse when the aristocracy broke down the power of the monarchy and crippled private property and thereby progress.

The immediate political consequence of Rothe’s history of origins was the demand for the abolition of all existing relics of political feudal-

ism, the liberalization of property rights and the instatement of the individual in his civic rights. But what about the centralized ownership of the land?

In 1784 Rothe published a large work with a long title on the civic rights of the Danish farmers, usually referred to by the subtitle, *Vort Landvæsens System som det var i 1783 politisk betragtet*, or *Our Agricultural System as it was in 1783, politically considered*.⁵¹⁶ The agenda for action that Rothe threw into the debate on practical economic reforms was not a return to an agricultural system where small peasant freeholders each tilled their own plot with a paltry crew of farmhands. If the farmer himself was to spin and weave, as Rothe expressed it, then “away with all thoughts of peasant integrity! But if these thoughts are banished, so too is the hope of having English *Farmers*, and an old Norse aristocracy of farming men and women.”⁵¹⁷ Rothe did not share the ideal – or slogan – *Liberty and Property*; liberty was not predicated on the parcelling-out of land – quite the contrary. From the point of view of the history of private property, parcelling out the land would be a step back for civilization, as it would weaken trade between the countryside and the towns, something that had not existed in the ancient era of civic integrity. If, on the other hand, free tenants cultivated units of land of about 100 *tønder* (i.e. about 136 acres), then all the tillers of the soil could share in the commercial goods and benefits, while the landlords (including Rothe) could “sit at their ease with a *Birmingham* nearby, surrounded by free Tenants.”

Rothe’s broad historical and politico-economic vision of reform was a political union of modern landowners with the “men of the middle estates” of the towns – a commercial association of landed property and capital: “The agricultural system must be combined with industry and commerce if there is to be progress, and national wealth is to be created. What benefit or advantage if the produce of the land increase, unless those consuming it also increase? Without the use of capital, agriculture will not be improved.”⁵¹⁸

Beyond any doubt, Rothe got inspiration from Adam Smith.⁵¹⁹ In the argument just outlined, he follows Book III of the *Wealth of Nations* almost word for word, and in 1786 he also tried to win over the “men of the middle estates” in Copenhagen to his liberal views. In the newly-founded *Selskabet for Borgerdyd* (‘Society for Civic Virtue’) he made a

determined attempt to create a civic platform for the spread of “civic integrity” with the manifesto: “We will be the drudges of no monopoly or monopolist ... On the contrary, we will act well and usefully if we can see to it that goods produced by workers in free mutual competition are in demand instead of those imposed on the people by the despotism of monopolies.”⁵²⁰ But here Rothe suffered defeat, as the Copenhagen bourgeois class, which was massively represented in the Society for Civic Virtue, associated such virtue exclusively with puritan thrift. Similarly, there was no positive response to Rothe’s theory of an agrarian capitalist agricultural system.

Rothe’s work on the history of civil society took him straight to the heart of the contemporary economic debate: the discussion of the ideal agrarian system. This involved, for example, discussion of freehold versus tenancy; largescale agriculture versus small farms; limited term leases versus lifetime tenancy. Similar subjects were central for both the Physiocrats and early Liberals. In Denmark these discussions were played out against the background of a blanket glorification of the excellence of a free peasantry, and the arguments for this were of a historical nature.

Rothe’s agrarian capitalist vision of 1784 remains one of the earliest liberal social theories in Denmark. But in legislation and in actual historical developments it was the political and economic perspective in P.F. Suhm’s version of history – the family-based freehold farm – that triumphed in the 1780s and 1790s.

Rasmus Nyerup: History, culture and national identity

The librarian and professor Rasmus Nyerup took care of Suhm’s posthumous work. As editor he published the last volumes (9-14) of Suhm’s *History of Denmark* in the years 1808-1828. In his own *Historical and Statistical Account of Denmark and Norway* (1803-1806) he used the work of Suhm as well as Rothe. He compiled their work and the histories were merged in a purely national perspective. The first volume carried the title “The Progress of Culture and the Condition of the Peasant and the Burgess.”⁵²¹ Nyerup focused on the concept of culture as a national phenomenon: The culture of the people. In a chapter entitled “View of the progress of the culture of the people” we find a part on “The honourable condition of the yeoman or the free peasant.”⁵²² He based his

description on quotations from Suhm and Rothe. In the last volume of *Historical and Statistical Account of Denmark and Norway*, Nyerup suggested the foundation of a National Museum.⁵²³ From hall to hall the beholder should be able to feel a living interest in the gradual progress of the culture, ideas, manners and customs of the nation.

In the hands of Rasmus Nyerup the legacy of the cosmopolitan republicanism of Mallet, the cosmopolitan northern patriotism of Rothe and the national patriotism of Suhm became national history, and the northern identity served an emerging national identity.

11. Translating Enlightenment: European Influences and Danish Perceptions of Identity in the Press in the Later Eighteenth Century.

Thomas Munck

As a participant in (and eventually refugee from) the French Revolution, and subsequently king of France, Louis-Philippe, duc de Chartres, had first-hand experience of attempts to formulate collective identities and secure wider political participation. In his *Memoirs* he shrewdly observed that “a nation is a collective body whose composition is constantly changing, which is always scattered and therefore can never be assembled in one place, and of which one could say in a word, as has been said of the divinity, it is everywhere and it is nowhere”.⁵²⁴ He lived through a period where national and cultural identities were increasingly stridently proclaimed, but rarely defined with any degree of specificity. What he could not have anticipated is that national identity itself might in the long run begin to look like a concept of transient historical significance, an artificial construct which would serve a particular historical phase in the state-building process but might then perhaps seem liable to be relegated as part of a nostalgic heritage. Such a shift is outlined in the final chapter of a recent general account of the history of Denmark by Knud Jespersen, in which he asks whether the Danes are a tribe or a nation. He notes that, according to one historiographical tradition, Denmark is a country whose independence and international role can be said to have slowly eroded, from the time of Christian IV and the disastrous intervention in the Thirty Years War, to the point where (from 1864 onwards) its very survival became dependent on a policy of neutral introversion. Ironically, 1864 was also the point at which Denmark finally lost its traditional ‘supra-national’ status – that fragile composite and multi-lingual identity which was so thoroughly explored, contested and ultimately reconfigured during the late eighteenth century. While one might disagree with Jespersen about precisely what constitutes ‘Danishness’, there is little doubt that some components of that identity now seem unlikely to survive either the European Union or the apparently inexorable process of globalisation.⁵²⁵

Identity is of course in the eyes of the beholder – culturally conditioned, but dependent on individual as well as collective social and personal perspectives which are often assumed rather than explicit. In the case of a deferential and conformist nation such as eighteenth-century Denmark, there were common elements shared across most social layers: adherence to the Lutheran faith as promoted through sermons, catechisms and hymns; a common language which (despite dialects) was reasonably standardised throughout the Danish-speaking parts of the kingdom and fairly intelligible to most Norwegians; loyalty to a monarchy and its institutions; and general acceptance of patriarchal authority, with all its assumptions about gender and status. Contingent on these, but more qualified by personal perceptions, were complex and deeply engrained assumptions based on birth, social attainment and connections, family wealth, personal status and means of livelihood. But whatever perspective one might adopt on some of these questions, one point seems inescapable: namely, that eighteenth-century discussions of linguistic and cultural identity really were pivotal in terms of clarifying aspects of both national and personal identities everywhere in the Danish-Norwegian ‘conglomerate state’. Enlightenment thinking gave free reign to formulations of identity which were not only historically and culturally grounded, but also essentially European rather than regional in inspiration. Such formulations were vigorously debated amongst the social and literary elite both at the academy in Sorø and in Copenhagen from the 1750s onwards, with new signposts added in the anti-German reaction against the short-lived ministry of Struensee in 1772, in the law of indigenous rights of 1776, in the so-called German feud of 1789, and in the striking developments in Danish literary output in the early 1790s.⁵²⁶ Most of these formulations remained confined within the inescapable combination of an entrenched Lutheran pietist tradition and a strongly centralised absolutist state, and writers who exceeded those bounds found themselves vulnerable to prosecution under the deliberately imprecise terms of the censorship legislation of 1770-73 and 1790, and the more repressive legislation of 1799. Nevertheless, the change in conceptual framework during these years is indisputable.

In the process, a number of different views of what we might call ‘national’ identity were aired, from the moderate and pragmatic cosmopolitanism of Tyge Rothe in 1759, to the French-inspired republicanism of Niels Ditlev Riegels or the satirical scrutiny of Malthe Bruun in

the 1790s. The intellectual and literary mood of the 1790s, and the way in which individual Danish works were received by the public, deserve more substantive analysis from a genuinely comparative European framework – as does the style and language of the authors themselves. But that is not the main purpose of this paper: rather, it will attempt briefly to sketch the contours of more traditional and non-elite notions of collective identity in eighteenth-century Denmark, as background for a study of how new types of printed material (especially the main review journals) might have provided readers easier access to current Danish and wider European debates. The paper will also explore some of the methodological problems inherent in the history of print and reception – how ideas might ‘translate’ from one social level to another as well as from one linguistic community to another, and whether the written or printed word can provide convincing evidence for the history of something as elusive as ‘identity’ and ‘community’.

Common identities?

Spontaneous expressions of identity amongst the ‘lower sorts’ (and hence any patterns of how such notions might have changed during the eighteenth century) are difficult to document reliably. From a western European perspective, it would be natural to start by looking at grievances and demands linked to substantial riots and revolts, where popular expectations become more clearly visible. But in the case of post-1660 Denmark such an approach will disappoint: civil disturbances do occur, but less frequently, and on a much smaller scale, than we might expect from wider European experiences at the time. In urban Denmark they were most often triggered by food shortages (in several parts of the country in 1790 and 1795, in line with European trends), by disputes over wages (notably in Copenhagen, amongst various groups of wage-earners, 1791-95), by incidents relating to the arrest or attempted arrest of beggars, vagrants or prostitutes in the city streets, or (again in Copenhagen) by confrontations between crowds and the thinly staffed police force over incidents which themselves often contained elements of violence.⁵²⁷ Because of the strong military presence in most towns, and the additional presence in the capital of a well-entrenched central administration and royal court, such relatively minor riots rarely got out of hand, and did not therefore lead to further enquiries to do with the community or the relationship between state and subject. Proto-industrial incidents such as the co-ordinated

action of the journeymen carpenters in Copenhagen in 1794 were similarly limited: little visible support was offered by wage-earners in other trades, so isolated groups of protesters could easily be disciplined by military means. As a result, the authorities may have assumed that broader collective identities in practice would (or should) not diverge significantly from the normative consensus promoted by the government; but in reality, the atmosphere created by the government in the 1790s remained too intimidating to allow distinctively independent collective manifestations to become openly visible in the records.

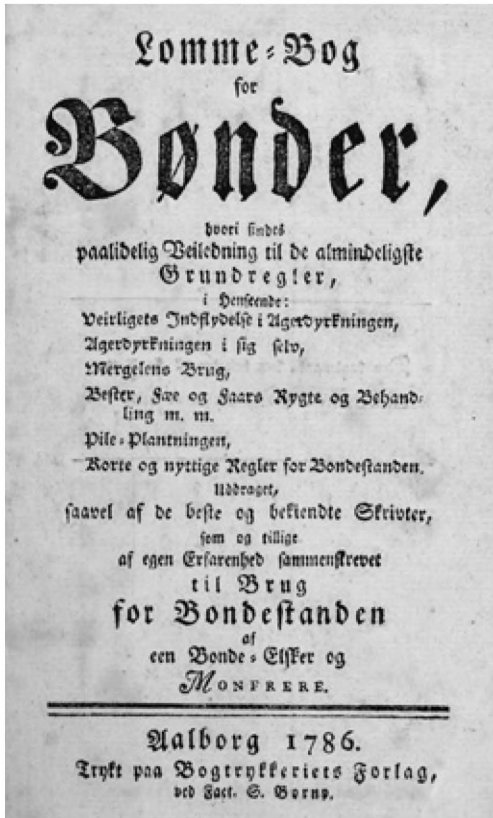
As regards rural Denmark, self-perceptions have been explored more thoroughly by historians, through a wider range of material. Spontaneous peasant writings, such as diaries, have proven so rare that they must be treated as exceptional,⁵²⁸ and we have to turn elsewhere for representative material. Recent work on village agreements in the German-speaking parts shows more promise, providing insights into communal ideas which may also have validity in some parts of the kingdom proper.⁵²⁹ But in Denmark the most substantial categories of material relating to rural communities are the judicial records (especially the extensive records that survive from *herredsting* and *birketing* jurisdictions), petitions to the crown regarding economic difficulties or alleged abuses of power in a community,⁵³⁰ and the more detailed records of the crown-appointed commissions of enquiry which followed major disturbances or crises in the system. Over the last two generations, some of these categories of material have provided the basis for significant new research on the extent to which peasant communities might either obstruct or provoke administrative action, might gain occasional cohesiveness in the face of perceived external threats, and in some instances might exploit the opportunities offered by political change (as in the rural reforms of 1786-92) in order to make their own voice heard.⁵³¹ Much of the archival material is of course mediated, in that it is recorded by men in some position of authority, or constitutes the formal statements of peasants when faced with crown enquiries or legal proceedings. Even so, however, there are good grounds for concluding that, as in other parts of eighteenth-century Europe, the rural population did not lack either self-consciousness or political stamina, and could at times be obstinately persistent in pursuing perceived traditional rights that mattered – security of tenure, restrictions on the burden of labour services, acceptable demands for military service, and some protection against the power of individual landowners – presum-

ably in the expectation either that they could wear down their seigneur, or that the crown would recognise their case and arbitrate fairly. Both legal sources and petitions testify to occasional manifestations of collective solidarity in which *bønder* (peasants) saw themselves as the rightful users and beneficiaries of the land, and would appear capable of acting with some degree of common purpose. But, if we are to believe what others recorded, collective rural solidarity in the face of a particular grievance did not necessarily reflect a genuine sense of shared identity: incompatible economic interests and social perceptions continued to divide peasant communities, and regional differences also remained very strong.

We can, however, pursue social fault-lines further, seeking what are essentially negative (exclusive) definitions of identity, by looking at groups or individuals who were deliberately marginalised in, or ostracised from, their community – usually because they failed to conform to expected social norms. In particular, the various initiatives taken around mid-century to establish new provincial workhouses (in Stege in 1737, Viborg in 1741, Odense in 1752, as well as in Norway) give new insights into the nature of community strains. These institutions quickly came to serve multiple purposes both as notional providers of work for those who were unemployed or unable to compete on the open labour market, and as houses of correction for individuals who were regarded either as a nuisance or a threat to the social fabric. Detailed descriptive admissions records, such as the entry book preserved for the Odense Workhouse from 1752 onwards, certainly reveal the impatience of the governors with the variety of ‘disorderly’ conduct alleged against the individuals brought before them – ranging from persistent begging, vagrancy and desertion, and the uniquely desperate cases of infanticide committed by single mothers, through forms of unacceptable behaviour such as drunken violence or persistent fornication, to more deliberate insubordination against landowners, tax collectors or employers.⁵³² But such records also indicate that those who had official status as parish priests, local officeholders, town clerks or landowners, could in effect commit a person to the workhouse (that is, exclude such a person from the community) with or without a formal judicial hearing, sometimes merely by sending a written report to the governors, who would then interview the new arrival and determine the outcome. Clearly, such records are liable to give a one-sided impression of what had gone wrong, in which the view of the detainee

is totally overshadowed by the moral disapproval of those conducting the hearing. Nevertheless the peculiarly multi-functional status of the workhouse is reflected in the not altogether rare requests for voluntary admission – usually on grounds of homelessness, starvation or other personal misfortune. Those admitted at their own request were free to leave when they so chose, yet do not otherwise seem to have been treated differently amongst the extraordinary mix of unfortunate individuals for whom the early modern workhouse provided some kind of existence. Perhaps here we are confronted with the kinds of problematic collective identities not totally unlike those which might have been in evidence amongst conscripts in the army or the navy.

This raises questions about perceptions of the individual in early modern society in relation to collective identities such as those provided by town, village and household. Concepts of the individual seem to have been formulated (if at all) primarily in religious, especially Pietist, terms. But we can gain some impression of the physical context of the individual from other types of source material created as a result of the later eighteenth-century enthusiasm for accurate quantitative data – sources which may fundamentally standardise and formalise social relationships almost beyond recognition, but which can nonetheless be informative. For example, data in the aggregate census of 1769 and, in more detail, in the records of the comprehensive census of 1787, reveal some significant structural features – notably, that the pre-industrial household, both in rural and urban communities, was typically much bigger and more composite than has been the norm in recent times, often combining under one roof a nuclear or extended family with a significant proportion of non-relatives who were bound not by kinship ties but by the function of the household as the basic economic unit of production. Many of these non-relatives were comparatively young and fairly mobile – a feature confirmed in those parishes where detailed registers of marriages and deaths have survived, revealing individual life-histories notable both for geographic mobility and for the relatively high rate of change in actual family structures (through re-marriages, fostering arrangements, and other major events).⁵³³ The early modern household was thus surprisingly changeable, and highly dependent on external links and personal networks which are bound to have made it more accessible to changing external influences, in ways that the source material rarely reveals.



[Pors Munk] *Lommebog for Bønder*, hvori findes paalidelig Veiledning til de almindeligste Grundregler i Henseende: Veirigtets Indflydelse i Agerdyrkingen, Agerdyrkingen i sig selv, Mergelens Brug, Bester, Fæe og Faars Rygte og Behandling mm., Pile-Plantningen, korte og nyttige Regler for Bondestanden. Uddraget, saavel af de beste og bekiendte Skrifter, som og tillige af egen Erfarenhed sammenskrrevet til Brug for Bonde-Standen af een Bonde-Elsker og Monfrere. Aalborg 1786. (Pocket book for peasants with a guide to the most common rules concerning the influence of the weather on agriculture, agriculture itself, the use of marl, about the care of beasts, cattle and sheep &c, planting of willows, short and useful rules for the peasantry. Drawn from the best and well-known writings and compiled with personal experience for the benefit of the peasants by a friend of the peasantry and monfrere).

It used to be taken for granted that printed matter rarely, if at all, impinged on the eighteenth-century world of craftsmen, small traders, peasants and labourers. When a *Pocket Book for Peasants* was published in 1786, a leading Copenhagen journal, the *Lærde Efterretninger*, greeted it with the comment that

To write for peasants is not so easy a matter as many may imagine. The large mass of people, who without cultivating their intelligence, grow up in the dark night of ignorance, and, like speechless creatures, follow their habits and instincts, scarcely know any other writings than their almanac and their books of Christian instruction. Were they to try reading other books, they would find even their mother-tongue unintelligible; and they get little or no benefit if the subject-matter is not very briefly put, in a clear, common and simple-minded style⁵³⁴

Such patronising definition of a stereotype ‘other’ is understandable in a society which adhered with almost religious devotion to the minutiae of social rank, precedence, hierarchy and deference,⁵³⁵ and expected education to correspond closely to social status. But in an age where language was a vivid marker of status, and a seemingly major obstacle to effective communication across horizontal social barriers,⁵³⁶ such comments are not likely to have been entirely well-founded. Reassessment of the evidence on popular reading skills indicates that, at least in some regions, both rural and urban children (including girls) had better access to elementary schooling, and were less isolated from print culture, than was once assumed. Popular reading material may have consisted predominantly of religious, moral, and edifying texts unlikely to have encouraged anyone to challenge accepted social values – and if the authorities are to be believed, the resulting perceptions of identity were predictably traditionalist – but we should not assume that change was impossible. It is perhaps particularly revealing that some rural pastors were prepared to argue that even peasants could be made into more productive and more engaged members of the community if given adequate incentives and if treated properly – a developmental process where deferential authority and compulsion might be replaced by educated self-interest, and where the rural population would be able to make their own decisions on the basis of an understanding of new methods in agriculture, practical guidance on veterinary and botanical issues, and reliable information on grain prices and overall

market conditions.⁵³⁷ Such an optimistic point of view was typical of contemporary European ideals in agrarian improvement – a view also shared by the more liberal members of the Rural Reform Commission of 1786 – and justifies a closer look at print culture in order to identify both traditional and innovative perceptions of identity purveyed through texts.

A growing market for print

In recent years, an impressive amount of research on different aspects of print culture in eighteenth-century Europe has revealed much about content, production and distribution. But linking types of printed output to definable social categories of readers has proved more difficult: demonstrating that a particular work sold well does not tell us who the buyers and/or readers were, what their priorities or disposable income might have been, or what they expected from their reading. Even apparently obvious conclusions could be misleading: thus, whilst there is little doubt that expensive and large-format books were bought only by the elite, any simplistic social demarcation breaks down when we note that cheaper, small-format publications and abridgements ostensibly intended for popular consumption also routinely found their way into the collections of the rich (as amply demonstrated in the personal libraries of prominent members of the nobility in later eighteenth-century Denmark). But purchase was not the only option: new methods of market distribution, such as the lending libraries, commercial libraries and book clubs which proliferated in Denmark from the 1770s, ensured greater opportunities, for those who lived in larger towns, to gain access to print without necessarily incurring the relatively heavy costs of ownership.

There was a clear development within the printing trade itself: the number of independent printing workshops in Copenhagen increased steadily from the later seventeenth century onwards, and each workshop on average also accounted for a rising number of presses and workers. Outside Copenhagen growth was slower, but a printer was established permanently in Odense by 1730, and by 1794 eight provincial towns had their own presses.⁵³⁸ Precisely what the output consisted of, however, is slightly more difficult to ascertain. Low-quality paper and cheapness has tended to militate against the preservation of more ephemeral kinds of print; reprints, variants or imitations of

successful publications can also be difficult to identify, because of customary workshop and distribution practices during the eighteenth century. The Royal Library in Copenhagen was granted its first copyright entitlement in 1697, but it took time before publishers accepted the obligation to surrender such copies routinely. Later bequests, and the reorganisation of major collections, have helped to identify reprints and variant editions, but it seems unlikely that national collections of ephemeral or unauthorised printed material for the period up to the abolition of censorship in 1770 will ever be regarded as definitively complete. Nonetheless, innovative recent research has added immeasurably to our knowledge of the wider contours of the popular market for print in early modern Denmark, both in terms of actual reading ability amongst broader sections of the population, and of the early development and overall shape of book production and distribution across the kingdom.⁵³⁹

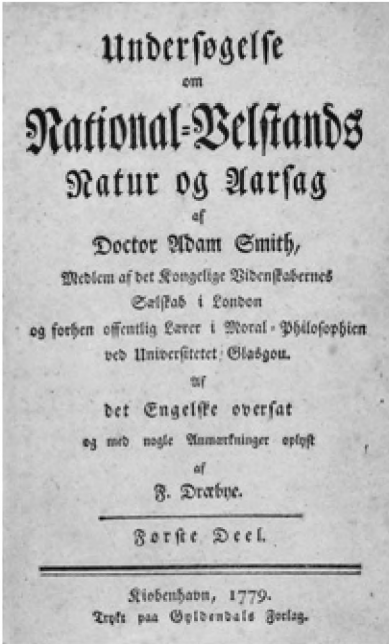
Bibliographical data on surviving eighteenth-century Danish printed material is substantial but not yet fully consolidated, so quantitative analysis of overall trends in output is complicated, and many conclusions have to be treated with great caution.⁵⁴⁰ That said, there is no doubt that total print output in Denmark increased enormously in the course of the eighteenth century: a simple count of the total number of separate items (books, pamphlets and ephemera) indicates at least a four-fold increase in Danish-language material between 1725 and 1785, whilst over the same period the output of material in Latin from the Copenhagen printers remained fairly constant (output in other foreign languages is more difficult to quantify because of ambiguous publication data). Significantly, the physical shape of printed material also changed: in 1725, only around a quarter of the total number of Danish publications ran to more than 24 pages, but by 1785 half did, many of them several hundreds of pages long. Equally striking is the extent to which the most common format became octavo (a term usually applied to texts with effective page sizes of around 12 x 18 cm, but in the Danish data often used generically for smaller formats): octavos represented less than half the total output in 1725, but more than 90% in 1785. The trend towards a smaller (and cheaper) format is visible in nearly all subject areas, but, as we would expect, official and specialist academic publications (aimed at a fairly elitist market) were more resistant. Admittedly, classification by subject is fraught with problems, nowhere more so than when dealing with those texts – religious, devotional, moral

and edifying – that appear to have been most widely disseminated, and hence may potentially be the most relevant in identifying the impact of print on collective identities. Even so, the bibliographical data used here, and other more incidental types of evidence,⁵⁴¹ indicate that the market for popular devotional texts remained buoyant: the strong demand for cheap publications in this field may even have provided the economic foundations for the growth in the print industry as a whole, at least until the last decades of the century. In addition, the demand for publications that we can loosely classify as fiction and entertainment increased significantly during the century, particularly from the 1770s onwards. By comparison, the trends in topography, travel and history remained more constant. Conclusions about material relating to law, the state and public affairs are more problematic, because of the changing political climate itself, but there are indications that this type of output seems to have shifted from predominantly formal (in part even ceremonial) publications to a more diverse range of material which could have appealed to different readerships. This was no doubt in part the result of the major shifts in censorship policies linked to the political changes of 1770-72 and 1784.

Amongst the elite a reasonable knowledge of French was of course essential, and Copenhagen acquired at least two specialist French bookshops in the later eighteenth century. Overall, however, a much greater proportion of eighteenth-century Danes are likely to have been able to cope with German texts in the original language – there were, after all, two German-speaking subjects of the Danish king for every three Danes and three Norwegians, and the formal command language in the Danish army was German until 1772. Not surprisingly, therefore, publishers offered a significant number of German-language books (some of them by major German authors) which, by carrying a joint imprint of Copenhagen and a German city, not only presumably avoided import controls but may also have attracted a bigger market. More significant in the present context, however, is the kind of European material actually translated into Danish. This included devotional and morally edifying reading (at first translated mostly from German), as well as more serious scholarly work, but once again there are clear signs of change. Collected editions of popular comedies and tragedies published from the mid-1770s onwards indicate a broadening demand amongst theatre-going audiences in Copenhagen and other bigger towns – including translations of many well-known French plays (Molière, Beaumar-

chais and Voltaire prominent amongst the authors), musical comedies (Marmontel), plays from other parts of Europe (Lessing, Goethe, Shakespeare, David Garrick), alongside original Danish plays by Charlotta Dorothea Biehl, Johan Evald, and the authors who took part in the theatre controversy (the so-called German feud) of 1789.⁵⁴² Other types of fictional literature, however, seem to have been slower in making inroads on the market. Despite widespread enthusiasm for translations, abridgements and imitations of for example the Robinson Crusoe genre, popular novels did not gain a solid foot-hold until relatively late during the eighteenth century: Richardson's *Pamela* appeared in a Danish translation already in 1743-46, and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* in 1749, but it seems as if Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* was not published in Danish until 1768, whilst Rousseau's *Héloïse* had to wait until 1797. Goethe's *Werther* was – famously – to have appeared in Danish in 1776, but the translation was suppressed. The market for original Danish fiction and poetry also seems to have developed relatively late, mostly from the time of the national reaction of the 1770s onwards.⁵⁴³ Even the genre of satire and gossip, though blossoming briefly during the volatile period of Struensee, once more became fairly subdued from 1773 until the late 1780s.⁵⁴⁴

At face value, therefore, European literary trends do not seem to have made as substantial an impact on the Danish book-trade as we might have expected. Translation of non-fiction also appears to have been quite selective. Despite having enthusiastic readers amongst the Danish intelligentsia, Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* had to wait over twenty years for a full translation (1770-71) – and significantly, his more accessible *Lettres persanes* never had a full translation.⁵⁴⁵ By contrast, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* of 1776 appeared within four years (1779-80), perhaps because fewer could read English. A broader choice of major enlightenment texts became available to monolingual Danes only in the 1790s: thus Rousseau's *Du contrat social* finally appeared in 1795 alongside some of his other major works, and Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* also had to wait for more than thirty years (published in Danish 1796-98). Paine's more recent *Rights of Man* appeared in Copenhagen solely in a German version, in 1793, and (no doubt significantly) was shadowed not only by a rebuttal (published in French and in Danish) but also by a report (in German) of the trial proceedings against the author in England – texts printed in Copenhagen for what one must assume was meant to be a restricted bilingual readership. Woll-



Adam Smith *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) was translated into Danish by Frederik Dræbye as *Undersøgelse om National-Velstands Natur og Aarsag*, 2 vol. (Copenhagen 1779-80).

stonecraft's *Vindications of the Rights of Women* was delayed for a decade (1801-02), and then translated not from the original but from an annotated German edition. Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes* was delayed until 1804, whilst readers waited in vain for translations of the more radical texts by La Mettrie, Mercier, the baron d'Holbach or David Hume.⁵⁴⁶ No doubt some of the more educated readers already had sufficient command of the original language not to need a translation; others may have welcomed the caution of the printers and book-sellers, or even shared the anxiety expressed already in 1759 by bishop Brorson in Ribe, who reported with obvious concern that, as superstition dwindles amongst parishioners, "it is replaced, more than earlier, by contempt for God's word and for the authority of the teacher..."⁵⁴⁷

The periodical press and public debate

Whereas the history of books has for a long time figured prominently in enlightenment studies, the rapid evolution of the periodical press has received less systematic and analytical treatment. Journals have a number of significant characteristics which make them relevant in the

present context. The success of a periodical necessarily depends on meeting the demand of the biggest number of readers, ensuring enjoyment and thus encouraging regular purchase or (better still) subscription – and this in turn favours editorial policies that seek out relatively safe common ground, some lightness of touch, and good entertainment value. In order to stay in business, eighteenth-century journal editors also required a good sense of what was politically acceptable, or at the very least what could be said without incurring government reprisals: unlike the authors of pamphlets, journal editors had to have a known address for correspondence, and a predictable frequency of publication that would encourage regular customers, but such familiarity also made them vulnerable to external interference. It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that early modern journals, aware of the spectacular success of ventures such as *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* in England from 1709, would be more conscious of the need to appeal to common values, and to some extent reflect shared identities, than authors of separate works designed to make an impact on their own.

Various papers appeared in Copenhagen after 1660, many of them relying on German or Dutch prototypes both in terms of format and content. By the early eighteenth century there was sufficient demand to sustain different types of papers on a fairly permanent basis. Some of these (such as the *Extraordinaire Relation* launched by Joachim Wielandt with a royal privilege in 1720, or successive variants of *Kjøbenhavns Post-Rytter*) established themselves, as elsewhere in Europe, with safe material such as official court news, digests of foreign news, and commercial information, to which a limited amount of formal domestic reporting was gradually added (for example quoting new legislation). By the later eighteenth century, the most significant papers included the long-running successor to the *Extraordinaire Relation*, published by Ernst H. Berling and known by various titles including *Kjøbenhavnske Danske Post-Tidender* (later *Berlingske Politiske og Avertissementstidende*); the more commercial *Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger* which initially prioritised advertisements and trade information, although soon adding personal columns, property listings, lost & found, commentaries and local Copenhagen news (but not much national news); and from the time of the fall of Struensee onwards, the more popular and independent *Kjøbenhavns Aftenpost*, carrying mostly local news, fiction, letters to the editor, and gossip. Although several papers developed to become more frequent than weekly, none could sustain daily production.⁵⁴⁸

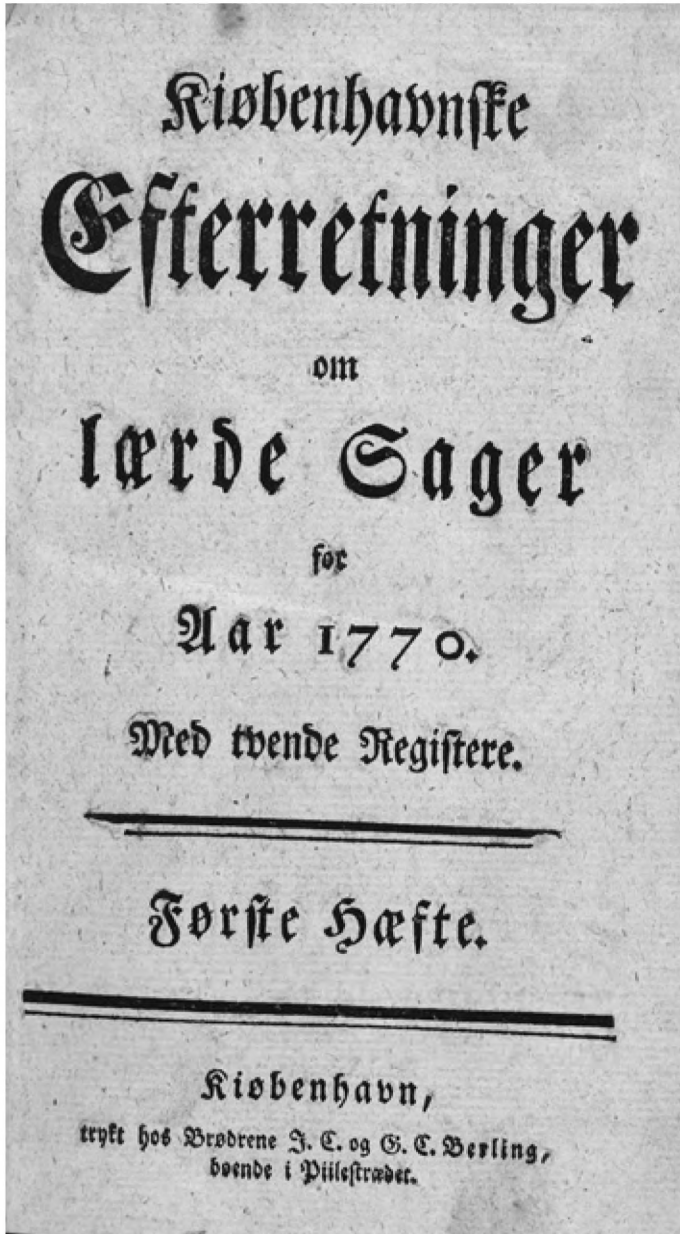
Some secured wider circulation through postal delivery, but, as far as we can judge, print-runs seem to have been fairly small, with the 2000 subscribers acquired by *Adresse-Contoires Efterretninger* by 1785 likely to be more than what most editors could normally aspire towards.

As the market became more diverse in the last decades of the century, new categories of readers could be sought. The *Morgenposten*, launched in 1788, deliberately aimed to widen its readership (beyond the initial 350 subscribers) by providing short editorials on contemporary issues, including more serious and philosophical issues “written with sufficient clarity and lightness such that an inexperienced [*ubevandret*] reader can still readily understand” – its readership later categorised by a rival journal as “non-learned, women, children, and the lowest class of the reading public...”⁵⁴⁹ At the other end of the scale was the monthly *Minerva*, launched in July 1785 and quickly becoming a platform for the liberal and enlightened elite who supported the reforming government of A.P. Bernstorff from 1784 to his death in 1797 – the 535 names in its expanding subscription lists (autumn 1785) prominently headed by a bulk subscription of no less than 41 copies for the royal family itself (presumably including the inner circles of government). *Minerva* carried systematic summaries of international news as well as short accounts of domestic events given under the general title of ‘history’. It also carried reviews of the arts and of topical publications such as the provocative pamphlet published in 1785 by C.A. Fabricius, entitled *Whose condition is the happiest: that of the Danish peasant tenant, or that of the Mecklenburg serf?* – where the reviewer, in concluding that there was not much difference, probably helped to reinforce a message which was becoming conveniently resonant with the emerging reform agenda of the government itself.⁵⁵⁰ When violence broke out in France in 1789, however, the journal took a predictably cautious line condemning the violence and expressing concern about the feasibility of some of the new reforms, whilst at the same time hinting that Louis XVI himself had not been sufficiently observant. Even so, it remained firmly in favour of domestic reform, and the official protection which it enjoyed was underlined by contributions written by leading government officials such as Colbjørnsen. In May 1791 *Minerva* could even comment on the resistance encountered in some parts of the country to the on-going rural reforms, noting that the critical reception in Schleswig-Holstein might in part be attributed to the fact that an influential German-language paper had blatantly mistranslated key parts of the recent legislation.⁵⁵¹

Such journalism ensured that the studied caution of earlier publications now seemed unduly timid and unnecessary. *Minerva* has long been recognised as a valuable means of access to high-level political debates in Denmark after the change of government in 1784. Other journals joined the fray, including specialist literary review journals such as *Kritik og Antikritik* (a weekly of 16 pages, launched in Oct. 1787), alongside more provocative ventures such as Malthe Bruun's *Vækkeren* (Aug. 1794), which was immediately suppressed by the government. Publications of this kind clearly allow the historian to gain an impression of contemporary concerns and topics of debate⁵⁵²; but they also challenge the modern reader to de-code what can nowadays appear as ambiguous and no doubt ambivalent allusions to personalities and incidents which are no longer clearly identifiable. Since, however, these journals grew out of the ferment in the years immediately before and after 1789, they may not be representative of the wider changes in public perceptions amongst the reading public over a longer time-span in the later eighteenth century. For that, we need a journal with a longer track-record and perhaps a more neutral editorial policy.

The Copenhagen *Lærde Efterretninger*

Using a literary review to plot public opinion seems, at face value, a rather narrow and exclusivist strategy. But the journal normally known as the *Lærde Efterretninger* (Learned News) has a number of important strengths in the present context. It was launched in 1720 and published continuously from 1722 until 1810, displaying a consistent but evolving approach throughout this long span.⁵⁵³ It was edited by a sequence of Copenhagen men of letters, latterly including the librarian and professor Rasmus Nyerup (through most of the 1790s), and it was printed by two firms (Wielandt until 1748, then the Berling family), both benefiting from prior experience from several of the successful general newspapers in Copenhagen which we noted earlier. This context ensured that the journal soon broadened its remit. At first it did adopt an explicit and exclusive academic agenda, concentrating on theology, philosophy, history, philology, politics and travel – and even briefly (early in 1721) abandoning Danish in favour of Latin as the language most suitable for its intended readers. Already by 1725, however, it included poetry and fiction, printed popularised science complete with diagrams, and even ventured into discussions of outdoor weather-



The title page of the journal *Københavnske Efterretninger om Lærde Sager* (Copenhagen Learned News) from 1770.

proof lamps and new designs for ploughs. In the second half of the century it can be described as a general literary review with a broader social engagement: whilst never a popularising journal, it remained accessible in style at least until the return of tighter censorship in 1799. At first printed fairly crudely in the black-letter type characteristic of the time, it became markedly neater and easier to read after mid-century, and also acquired a proper index for ease of access.

In 1767 the *Lærde Efterretninger* listed 487 regular subscribers (including members of the royal family and the governing elite, some churchmen, but also individuals described as *Studiosus* (student), military personnel, some brewers and merchants, a hatter, a builder and a *Land-physikus* (rural physician). How many copies were sold loose, without subscription, is not known, nor can we make any informed guess as to how many readers on average would have seen each copy.⁵⁵⁴ Our best guide to the likely readership may therefore come from the language and style of the journal itself, and the type of material it included. Here again we note a clear pattern of evolution – from what was initially a typical European format consisting of descriptive reports summarising news from the Republic of Letters in each major European city in turn, to a more varied presentation which gave prominence to developments within the Danish-Norwegian kingdom itself, and which from mid-century evolved towards full reviews of individual publications as well as debate on topical issues. Its immediacy is emphasised in those issues where the quantity of material needing inclusion⁵⁵⁵ resulted in the adoption, in the last page or so of the issue, of a smaller and more compact type-face; or where the overflow was solved by adding supplementary sheets which allowed discussion of certain topics in much greater depth than the normal format would allow. That the journal engaged a real audience is also revealed in letters to the editor – genuine ones, judging both from the signatories, and from the occasional angry rebuttal inserted in a rival journal (or published separately as a pamphlet) by an offended author.⁵⁵⁶

The *Lærde Efterretninger*, however, did not deliberately court controversy. The reports and reviews were invariably published anonymously, so we cannot now be sure how many individuals could be counted as regular contributors, or who they were. Like most of its eighteenth-century counterparts, the journal tended to describe and summarise the text being reviewed, rather than to take issue or criticise. But as

we would expect from a journal where survival was of paramount importance, the *Lærde Efterretninger* sometimes distanced itself very clearly from material which might be deemed subversive. It is significant that, in the case of some of the major foreign works which (as we have already noted) might have been deemed too radical to risk translating into Danish, the journal did note their first appearance amongst the news from abroad, but was visibly reticent and brief. Thus La Mettrie's *L'homme machine* of 1747 was mentioned two years later as an "ungodly piece" (its author not yet known), and the *Lærde Efterretninger* promised to bring reviews of works which gave a full rebuttal of its dangerous arguments.⁵⁵⁷ The controversy surrounding Rousseau's *Héloïse* was noted in 1762, and Malebranche's *Traité de l'infini* discussed briefly in 1771, with some reservations. The *Système de la Nature* (attributed to 'Mirabaud' since the baron d'Holbach's authorship had not yet been established) was mentioned as a notorious atheist tract, but solely in the context of specific counter-arguments against it published by none other than the ageing Voltaire himself.⁵⁵⁸ Even Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois*, already welcomed in 1749 in its original French version, received another review when it was translated into Danish in 1771: no doubt influenced by the exceptional Danish political context, the reviewer concentrated exclusively on the relatively short passage in the book where Montesquieu described the moral qualities attached to different forms of government.⁵⁵⁹ Interestingly, Mercier's *L'an deux mille quatre cents quarante*, itself banned in France and published ostensibly from London in 1771, is discussed at greater length, noting how its imaginative concept effectively brings out criticisms of current conditions in France, and of despotic government, in ways that can apply equally to other countries.⁵⁶⁰ Clearly, readers without access to foreign-language material would not be much the wiser about the detailed arguments put forward in these untranslated books, but would at least know that such arguments existed, and would become aware of just how radical some French writers could be.

Whilst we can demonstrate the potential impact of European influences on those who chose to read this journal, it is not so easy to define the extent of actual changes in Danish self-perceptions during the later eighteenth century. One obvious aspect of Danish identity was the near-universal adherence to orthodox Lutheran beliefs, but even here we can detect some creativity in the style of reporting offered by the *Lærde Efterretninger*. It used a whole issue in 1763 to discuss whether

humanity needed a divine saviour, citing Biblical authority and contemporary publications in some detail, and clearly giving its blessing both to those who spoke out, and those who reflected on these matters fully.⁵⁶¹ A few years later there is a cautionary note attached to a review of a recently published introduction to the New Testament, indicating that the author had in a few places ventured opinions tending towards newer religious ideas becoming prevalent in England, without specifying precisely what these were.⁵⁶² Nevertheless, in 1771 a volume by Joseph Priestley on non-conformity was broadly welcomed. A lighter touch was introduced, that same year, when a pamphlet entitled *Fandens Liv og Levnet (The Life and Times of the Devil)*, attributed to Doctor Faustus, noted that the devil's grip had loosened since the removal of press restrictions the previous year.⁵⁶³ But that there was still work to be done is underlined by a passing remark, in connection with a new Danish translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* published in 1790, stating that "an English poet of the 17th century could say, at minimal risk, things which his translator now will hardly dare to express"⁵⁶⁴

The journal did not hold back in terms of reviewing material on Denmark itself. In 1760 it had another special supplement, this time devoted to the Danish language and its recent literature. In 1767 the journal commented on the relatively low output of books in Danish, explaining this partly in terms of caution and lack of experience, partly in terms of the minority status of the language which encouraged readers, even the 'unlearned', to rely on a foreign language.⁵⁶⁵ When Holberg's *Journey of Niels Klimt to the Underworld* was published in a new Danish translation in 1789 (the first for more than 40 years), the caution of the author in issuing it originally in Latin was ascribed to the desire to avoid controversy since "regrettably, we were at that time still bound by the chains of slavery of censorship".⁵⁶⁶ Books on Danish history are given full coverage, even when dealing with the period since 1660, and from the 1760s the journal clearly became committed to the full debate on economic reforms and agrarian improvement gradually taking shape. Although the political upheavals in 1772 and 1784 were not mentioned specifically as news items, the journal clearly welcomed the gradual liberalisation which followed the second of these changes. It gave very full coverage to the lively and wide-ranging public debate surrounding the Rural Reform Commission of 1786 – reviewing scores of books and pamphlets issued in that connection, placing the discussion in a wider northern-European and cameralist context, and bringing

the first phase of the debate to a suitable conclusion when it welcomed the publication of the official minutes of the Commission itself.⁵⁶⁷ The journal acknowledged other indications of relative openness in government in the late 1780s and early 1790s – noting for example how the official release of reliable information and statistics of national significance might ensure a better-informed citizenry as well as clearer accountability by the crown's servants.⁵⁶⁸

There is more in the *Lærde Efterretninger* than such examples can convey, more about the whole process of cross-national communication, and more about newer expressions of patriotic allegiance. The journal ranged from such matters as the role of national costumes in public ceremonies, or the increasing trend in suicides, to the distinctive interests of Norway, Schleswig and Holstein, or the perceived threats of German cultural imperialism. The careful balance required in commenting on the more extreme developments in France in the years 1792-95 no doubt made for some difficult and sensitive choices. Even so, the journal retained close links with liberal opinion in the capital, and engaged actively in the discussion of key domestic issues such as enlightened educational reform and the proper use of restraints on freedom of expression. In 1795 it even took the risk of publishing some sharply critical comments on the authoritarian implications of prosecuting a group of radical authors and publishers in Copenhagen on charges of sedition,⁵⁶⁹ and it followed the trial of Thomas Muir in Scotland with great interest.

The example of the *Lærde Efterretninger* indicates how far a journal could mould and transcend the limitations of its own ostensible remit. In the hands of imaginative editors, a journal which had been launched in the early eighteenth century as one of many publications intended for the European republic of letters – concentrating on up-market literary reviews for the gentleman-scholar – had transformed itself into something with a more overt social and political agenda. Unlike such scholarly journals as the prestigious *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, the *Lærde Efterretninger* seems to have cultivated a more inclusive public, acquiring a light touch in its selection of material with wider social resonance, and tailoring the style and length of its reporting in order to maximise its engagement with current issues. It never became a newspaper in the recognised modern sense; but we learn a great deal from its pages about the emergence of critical and enlightened debate

outside government circles in the later eighteenth century. It was also able to alert its readers to at least some of those more radical enlightened publications from France and Britain which, either because of formal restrictions or because of self-restraint amongst publishers, never appeared in Danish translation. It is surely legitimate to argue that by the 1780s and 90s it helped to sustain a reading public whose interests had been significantly broadened through exposure to European currents.

Conclusion

Establishing reliable reference points for an analysis of identity amongst the broader levels of eighteenth-century Danish society is difficult, not least because of the quite heavily controlled political environment which persisted throughout this period. Absolutism and public debate did not sit comfortably together, and the system was not designed for any real dialogue other than that conducted through traditional (largely controlled) channels. The deeply deferential and normative language of petitions from all levels of society, for example, emphasises the extent to which the monarch was set apart, able perhaps to intervene when the system had gone wrong, but unlikely to welcome any genuine dialogue. The political elite had their own channels of communication, and could exploit their access both to power and to print in order to clarify and refine their world view, but such expressions of identity obviously cannot be regarded as representative of the whole.

For the great majority of the population we have to rely on types of source material that understandably tend to become increasingly problematic the further down the social scale we go. Extensive Danish research on eighteenth-century peasant communities, and on the impact of rural reforms, has demonstrated the resilience and independence of those who were excluded from the formal provincial power structures; but systematic exploitation of either the petition material or the judicial records, for purposes of understanding common perceptions of identity and how they were expressed, has only just begun. With some notable exceptions, urban communities have also been neglected in this respect – understandably so, perhaps, given the difficulties associated with effective use of certain archival collections such as the substantial Copenhagen police records from the 1770s onwards.⁵⁷⁰ Overall, the vast bulk of extant administrative and literary source material

is bound to be one-sided, and it cannot adequately compensate for the dearth of more authentic expressions of common identity.

The attempt here, to seek out that section of the population likely to have engaged in a significant amount of reading of new books and journals, is also inherently problematic. Circulation figures for the Copenhagen journals were respectable by comparison with the likely size of print-runs for most categories of Danish books, but inevitably seem modest by comparison with the estimates we have for journals which served the much bigger linguistic communities south of the border or in western Europe. How many readers were genuinely outside government circles, and what significance can we attach to any expressions of identity which we may be able to trace through these pages? Even if we adopt an optimistic view of diffusion and reading-access, can we assume that textual evidence of change in the later eighteenth century matches the scale and approximate direction of changing perceptions amongst readers themselves? There are good grounds for hesitation, but perhaps we should also note some contra-indications. First, it is clear that we should not, on the basis solely of the delay in the translation of major works, draw conclusions about the slowness and selectivity with which broader European ideas seem to have reached monolingual Danes: a resilient review journal such as the *Lærde Efterretninger* was able to navigate the hurdles of crown censorship controls so successfully that its readers were able to gain a significantly wider perception of European ideas than reliance on the book market alone would have allowed. Equally, journals, more than books, carry clues about the evolution of different strategies of communication, the changing use of keywords and concepts, and the orientation of interests amongst readers – their dependence on a volatile market in itself fostering skills of imaginative communication with groups of readers, some of whom clearly were outside the charmed circles of government officials and well-educated gentlemen scholars.

Despite their importance in this respect, journals constitute an under-exploited resource for the systematic study of public opinion – both for Denmark and for the rest of Europe. In the expanding but fiercely competitive market for print in the later eighteenth century, journals had to rely on a good network of contributors and correspondents. As historians of French-language journals have noted, editors also needed even more political dexterity than pamphleteers in order to survive

in a highly unpredictable environment.⁵⁷¹ Political life in Denmark was no doubt far less complicated than in France, but the arguments surrounding restrictions on print were much the same. The main Copenhagen printers were far too conspicuous, even in a city of 100,000 people by the end of the century, to go into clandestine production – and quite possibly their readers would not have wished to follow them there. Instead, they had to impose self-censorship, partly curtailing or neutralising comments on dangerous publications at least to such an extent that the authorities had nothing substantive to complain about, partly phrasing their observations such that readers would have to exercise their own judgment. Journals may have had to adopt a moderate stance in order to survive, but if they succeeded, they had the great advantage both of continuity and of active engagement with the reading public. The example of the *Lærde Efterretninger* shows how reviews of the international enlightenment could be used systematically and consistently to nurture domestic awareness. No doubt the whole process involved a degree of imaginative adaptation and reworking of key ideas, for the benefit of readers who did not belong to the originating linguistic and cultural milieu – but then such creative use of ideas is surely at the very heart of the European enlightenment itself.

12. Concepts of Freedom Reflected in Danish Literature 1754-1802

Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen

In his memorial speech for king Frederik IV, given in Latin to the Senate of the University of Copenhagen on 12 December 1730, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), professor, historian, essayist, poet and playwright, remembered the reign of the deceased monarch for its liberal atmosphere: "We spoke as if we were living in a free state, we joked and jested, we vied in cheerfulness without fear. For he would not be angered by free speech and indiscreet expression, and if by chance he was offended, his anger subsided without the lash".⁵⁷² The king's subjects could behave *as if* they lived in a free state, not in an absolute monarchy without legal protection of such liberties. During the enlightened form of hereditary absolutism introduced in 1660, no crime was punished harder than lese-majesty (*Crimen læsæ majestatis*). The codification *Danish Law (Danske Lov)* of Christian V from 1683 details the obligations and duties of the subjects to the King, but not—or much less—vice versa. Drawing on a philosophy purportedly borrowed from ancient pre-republican Rome, it was stated that the people had handed over power to the king and his dynasty. It should be noted that many sections of *Danish Law* had been taken directly from the new constitution, *The Royal Law (Kongeloven)* of Frederik III from 1665, which was not published in full until a de luxe edition with limited circulation appeared in 1709. Holberg reprinted the entire text in 1729 in his more widely distributed book *Description of Denmark and Norway (Danemarks og Norges Beskrivelse)* but understandably without any editorial comments.

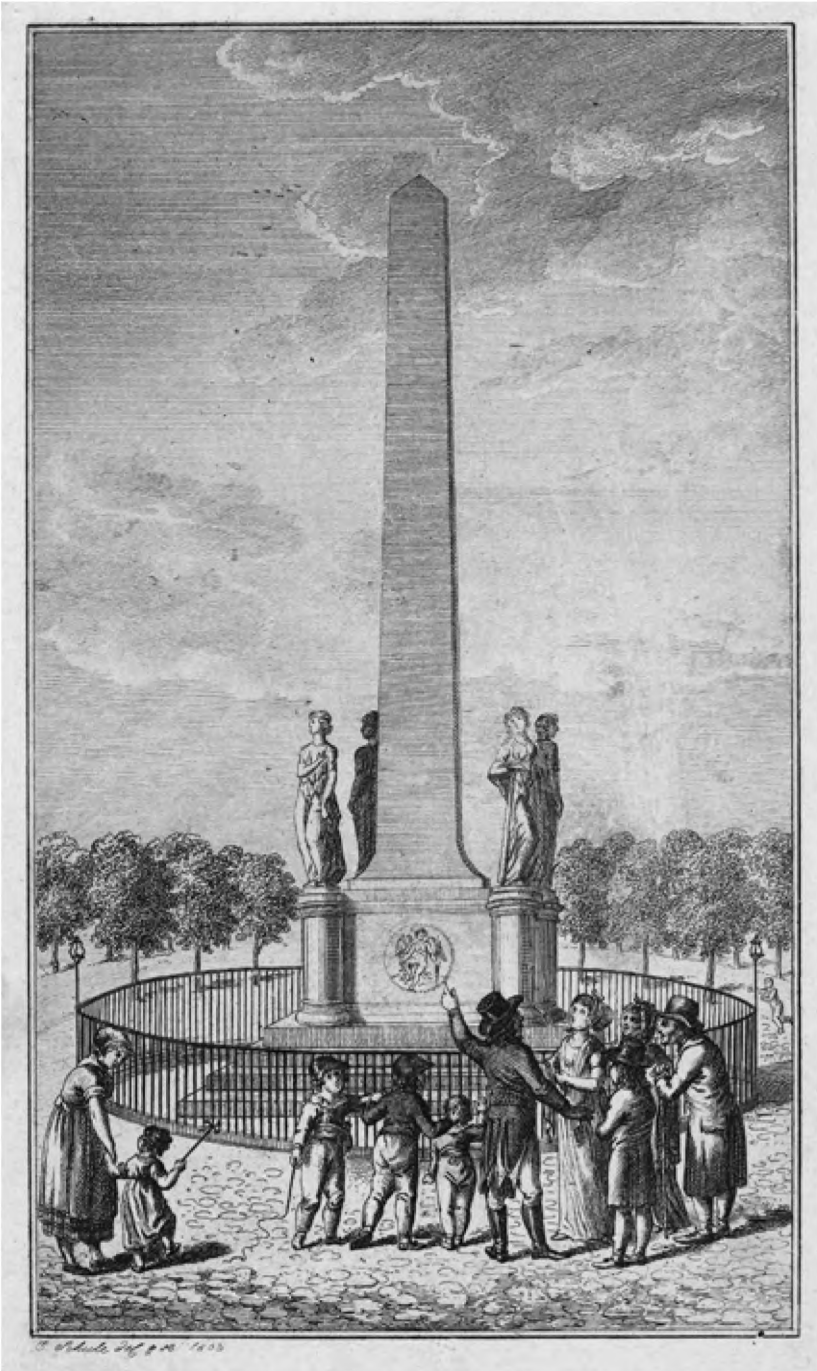
Two messages about personal freedom

The American Declaration of Independence of 4 July 1776 was introduced after a delay of two months on 2 September in the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, then called *The Copenhagen News (Kiøbenhavn-ske Tidender)*. The journalist in his Danish translation loyally quoted the famous words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men

are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” Also reproduced is the ensuing assertion that governments are instituted among men to safeguard these rights, and if they fail to do so, it is the privilege of the people to alter or abolish such destructive forms of government. The original declaration’s lengthy attack on the British king for having misgoverned his American colonies had been abbreviated considerably, and the name of the monarch was not given. After all the mother of the Danish king Christian VII was a daughter of the English king Georg II, and Christian himself had been married to Caroline Mathilde, a daughter of king Georg III. The sensational front page news from America provoked no editorial comment and started no public debate on human rights.⁵⁷³

A follow-up came thirteen years later with the French Declaration of Human Rights of 26 August 1789.⁵⁷⁴ Again Danish newspapers printed the text without comments. The liberal Copenhagen periodical *The Minerva* published a sympathetic analysis of it by the editor, Norwegian-born C. Pram, a distinguished state official.⁵⁷⁵ A German translation of Thomas Paine’s *Rights of Man* from 1791 was printed and sold in Copenhagen in the following year without interference from the authorities. Until the execution of the French king in January 1793, many enlightened Danes were in favour of the French revolution. Maybe a public discussion of human rights was missing because the Danish middle-class along with the progressive cosmopolitan part of the nobility (primarily of German descent) believed that what was being done by force regarding necessary social improvements in France had already occurred through peaceful reforms in Denmark. As early as 1755 the Danish administration had called for ideas from all honest patriots (in Danish *retskafne Patrioter*) for agricultural innovations, and ever since the sixteen-year old Crown Prince in 1784 had replaced his insane father as de facto ruler of the country, most Danes felt that they had a benevolent government, especially as committee work resulted in the emancipation of the peasants in 1788 that brought about a fundamental change in Danish agriculture. At least that was the assessment then

Right: Frihedsstøtten (The Obelisk of Freedom) in Copenhagen. Engraving by Georg Christian Schule 1803. The Liberty Monument celebrated legislation to free the peasants in 1788. It was constructed 1792-97 during the French Revolution.



and as well as in most later historical research.⁵⁷⁶ As a consequence citizens seemed not to feel any urge to debate rights, such as personal freedom and the pursuit of happiness. The abolition of the slave trade in the Danish colonies followed in 1792 (with a ten-year period of expiration). Significantly a monument celebrating the freedom of the peasants (*Frihedsstøtten*, the Obelisk of Freedom) was erected by grateful citizens of Copenhagen just outside of the Western gate of the city. The Crown Prince laid the foundation stone on 31 July 1792 and the monument was completed in 1797.⁵⁷⁷ At its base, marble statues of four larger-than-life women symbolise respectively Fidelity, Civic Virtue, Agricultural Industry and Courage (in Danish *Troskab, Borgerdyd, Agerdykningsflid, Tapperhed*). They wear robes like ancient Greek goddesses and have nothing to do with contemporary Danish peasantry, nor with a general idea of personal freedom. According to a critical pamphlet about the project from August 1791 they had been planned to feature Phrygian caps, the favourite headgear of the French revolutionaries, but the rumour was untrue. There was no direct symbol of freedom attached to the monument.

The brief dictatorship 1770-2 by the king's personal physician J.F. Struensee may also have dampened popular desire for modern rights. The Danes had experienced how the ideas of equality and personal freedom could turn an energetic and restless innovator into a tyrant and cause unforeseen upheaval. Even—perhaps, especially—after the violent toppling of the king in France, Denmark was calm and the people remained loyal monarchists. The mood was, as the philosopher Tyge Rothe (who died in 1795) remarked, “Christian-ish”, *Christiansk*, a play on the name of the King.⁵⁷⁸

Censorship

In 1770 Struensee, in the name of the king, issued a bill on freedom of the press that was the most progressive in Europe and was hailed by the aging Voltaire.⁵⁷⁹ Anything could now be printed—and almost was. The bill resulted in publication of an immense body of anonymous literature, especially in Copenhagen. A collection by the state official and learned scholar Bolle Willum Luxdorph comprises more than 900 titles. A good deal of them had under the shelter of anonymity been directed against named persons and were slanderous. The law was therefore amended by Struensee in 1771 with a paragraph intro-

ducing the concept of an author's or printer's responsibility, but still it was possible to print matters which were prohibited in other European states. After the fall of Struensee on 17 January 1772, censorship, by a decree of 20 October 1773, was placed with the local chief constables, who were supposed to make their own judgement and their decisions were final and could not be appealed. The authorities watched in particular the newspapers very carefully, because they might endanger either the Danish foreign policy of neutrality or the relation between the state and the Protestant church and its Lutheran creed, but until the middle of the 1790s there were practically no trials against writers of books, in fact none at all before 1786. Rather than an obstacle, censorship was a friendly aid to inexperienced writers, a forerunner of a not yet established professional and public criticism.⁵⁸⁰ The Danish administration probably saw freedom of the press as a safety valve: people could point out abuses and suggest alternatives. In 1790 the censorship institution was abolished and all cases concerning freedom of the press were transferred to the courts—a positive moderation. In 1799, however, after pressure from England and Russia, the Crown Prince had to restrict the freedom of book authors through a revised bill of printing.⁵⁸¹ Severe penalties were introduced and actually applied. By that time the Crown Prince himself had gotten tired of the growing “press-insolence” and general “writers’ itch” (in Danish *Pressefrækhed* and *Skrivesyge*), because scribblers did not spare himself personally from criticism. He commanded his officials to take the necessary steps against these “scabby heads” (*skurvede Hoveder*). From 1799 to 1848-9 Denmark in fact experienced a re-established censorship. The local police authorities had to inspect every journal and periodical and all books of less than 384 pages, before they could be distributed and sold. The immediate result in 1799-1800 was the exile for life of two gifted but admittedly very provocative political satirists, P.A. Heiberg and Malthe Conrad Bruun, both of which settled down in Paris. In the first half of the nineteenth century trials against the amateurish idealist and self-styled spokesman for civil liberty, Dr. J.J. Dampe (1821), and the well-known clergyman, historian, poet and later parliamentarian N.F.S. Grundtvig (1826) marked the enduring presence of the 1799 decree. The prominent jurist A.S. Ørsted was silenced without a trial in 1826 but allowed to keep his public offices and even served as prime minister 1853-4.⁵⁸²

Focus on personal freedom

The general European trend in the eighteenth century towards individualism could not be prevented from entering the Danish composite kingdom. Although regular political discussion, which to many seemed superfluous in Denmark, was stopped by a law that prohibited even “grumbling” (in Danish *skumle*) about the absolute king and his administration, in poetry and fiction it was possible to take up the new ideas and embody them in interesting characters and actions. Selected texts from the belles-lettres of the post-Holberg period may demonstrate how and why this was done. All relevant authors cannot be covered but notable features in selected works will suffice.

The background to every writer in the period is the achievement by Holberg of a humanistic individualism increasingly detached from Christian thinking and Protestant theology. Holberg’s successful technique in this dangerous field was to pose questions rather than to suggest answers, and his two clashes with state censorship over the satirical national epic *Peder Paars* and the Latin Utopian novel *Niels Klim* in, respectively, 1719-20 and 1741 led to no convictions. However, since Holberg when writing fiction mainly used various forms of comical literature, not least some thirty-five comedies, and furthermore as a classicist adhered to a set tradition of genres and subgenres, it is hard to tell whether he is reflecting contemporary thinking or simply continuing themes from ancient Greece and Rome or from seventeenth century France. In contrast, Holberg’s essays and autobiography clearly debate current ideas, for the first time in Danish literature making the private individual and the personality of an author the object of psychological probing. Using himself and his surroundings as examples, Holberg never stopped wondering at the absurdity of humanity that claimed to be reasonable but regularly disavowed this in action, carried away by uncontrollable passions. As a comedy writer attracted by extremes, Holberg the philosopher usually preferred the middle course and paid due respect to practical Danish common sense. Politically Holberg was a wholehearted supporter of Danish absolutism which to him seemed – and in fact was – an improvement over the confused social and administrative conditions in the decades before 1660.⁵⁸³ Holberg firmly believed that political and social reforms should come from the leaders of a society, not from the people.⁵⁸⁴ The English parliamentary tradition which was stressed by modern political philosophers (Molesworth,

Montesquieu, La Beaumelle) Holberg did not appreciate, and in his novel *Niels Klim* he described the republicanism of a fictitious "Land of Freedom" as an irrevocable step from a clan-structured society to anarchy (the most distinguished families have to have private sentries to guard their homes and property).

The only other great name in Danish poetry in the first half of the eighteenth century was the clergyman and hymn writer H.A. Brorson who died in 1764. As a pietist Brorson emphasised the personal conversion of each individual but of course supported common Christian doctrine on human nature.

Only after the middle of the eighteenth century can we trace new ideas of personal freedom. To educate talented people to advance themselves as writers, scholars and scientists, academies were established. In Denmark this included The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters of 1742, The Royal Danish Society for the History of the Country of 1745 and The Society for the Advancement of Fine Arts and Useful Sciences of 1759 (popularly known as the Society for Good Taste). Less learned and more geared to conviviality around a punch bowl was The Norwegian Society 1772-1814, a club for young Norwegian students in Copenhagen centered around the witty phlegmatic idler and poetic improviser J. H. Wessel. The Society for Danish Literature 1775-81 functioned as a fan club for the Danish pre-romantic poet Johannes Ewald and closed down after his death. All these associations are defined in purely secular terms and not connected in any way with the Lutheran state church, in contrast to the University of Copenhagen.

At the same time, a new type of poet emerged. In the main Holberg had happily followed French classicism in adopting commonly accepted patterns from ancient or at least older literature (for instance Molière's plays). However, by the 1760s the poet saw himself as a genius, a creator under God (*sub Jove*), and the favourite example of the age was William Shakespeare who seemingly violated all set rules of good classical writing in order to express himself and his chaotic inner turmoil. The entire period of *Sturm und Drang* in 1770s German literature promoted this ideal. Poetry became the way of getting in touch with the core of the world and the secrets of life, and as such it could function as a substitute for religious faith as was the case later in the various phases of romanticism. James Macpherson's Ossian-poems (1760-5), which



A painting by N. Abildgaard, showing Ossian as an old man in the woods, was reproduced as an engraving by J.F. Clemens 1787

eventually were considered to be frauds, may not have been estimated as much in England as in Scotland and on the Continent where the centenarian white-bearded, now blind warrior, scald and priest of Nordic paganism was widely accepted as a genuine historical character who also presented an emblematic image of the poet understood as seer and prophet.

Klopstock

The new definition of a poet became evident in Copenhagen in the shape of the German poet E.G. Klopstock (1724-1803). He had been brought to Copenhagen in 1750-1 on a royal scholarship by the leading statesman of the kingdom, the Hanoverian count J.H.E. Bernstorff

—in fact he was paid well to finish his hexameter epic in 20 songs on Christ, *Messiah (Der Messias)*, 1748-73, having no other duties whatsoever. Though Klopstock after the dismissal of Bernstorff moved permanently to Hamburg in 1770, he stayed on the pay-roll of the Danish king till his death thirty-three years later. He wrote exclusively in German and never learned Danish. In three plays, *The Battle of Hermann (Hermanns Schlacht)*, 1769, *Hermann and the Princes (Hermann und die Fürsten)*, 1784, and *The Death of Hermann (Hermanns Tod)*, 1787, he revived the Germanic hero Hermann (or Arminius), who once fought for national liberty against the Roman general Varro and his army in the Teutoburger Forest, but finally was betrayed and killed by his own countrymen. In other words, the trilogy ends in an early version of the German stab legend (*Dolchstoßlegende*). In 1789 Klopstock was quite enthusiastic about the French Revolution and composed solemn odes in its praise. In return the French National Assembly in 1792 made Klopstock an honorary French citizen, along with so many other early enthusiasts.

Johannes Ewald

The leading Danish poet of the period was Johannes Ewald (1743-81), who had met Klopstock in Copenhagen in 1769. As a graduate of the Gymnasium (the “Latin school”) in the town of Schleswig, Ewald spoke German fluently and became an intimate friend of Klopstock who encouraged him to write plays. Ewald’s ensuing works, though politically loyal to the absolutist system, contain ideas of personal freedom which the author himself hardly could control.

Ewald’s first attempt was a tragedy from 1769 in the style of French classicism (mainly written in Alexandrines), *Adam and Eve*. The Old Testament story’s grand theme of the Fall gives Ewald the opportunity to discuss Freedom and Obedience. His Adam is pious and dutiful, but Eve is tempted by Satan to make her own choice independently of Adam. In the words of Irmiel, the friendly angel who follows the action without being allowed to interfere: “Adam has given his heart to his mate, and she is to elect just as freely as he, but will she do this as well as he has done?”⁵⁸⁵ Satan can do nothing against the will of Adam but succeeds in bending the will of Eve. The way the playwright unfolds the well-known narrative makes it clear that freedom is dangerous and causes of the fall of all. Yet Ewald cannot quite go through with this moral lesson

and in a daring contradiction of the Biblical narrative inserts Christ as the heroic saviour of the fallen pair from the angel of Death, a Redeemer long before his crucifixion. Though Ewald had taken care to write precise stage directions which were within the scope of the Royal Theatre, the play was never performed.

In 1775 Ewald published a heroic singspiel in three acts called *The Death of Balder*, with seventeen musical numbers, all of them elaborating on aspects of the plot but none of them shaping or influencing its course of events. Ewald's source is a story from Saxo Grammaticus' Latin *Chronicle of Denmark* written in the decades around 1200. It deals with the love of the pagan demigod Balder for Nanna, daughter of a soothsayer and fiancée of the Norwegian prince Hother. The war-god Thor acts as the reflective confidant of Balder, in vain trying to warn him against his passion. From the Icelandic *Edda* of Snorri Sturluson, Ewald has included the ambiguous character Loki as an evil demon corresponding to Satan in *Adam and Eve*, a tempter and seducer.

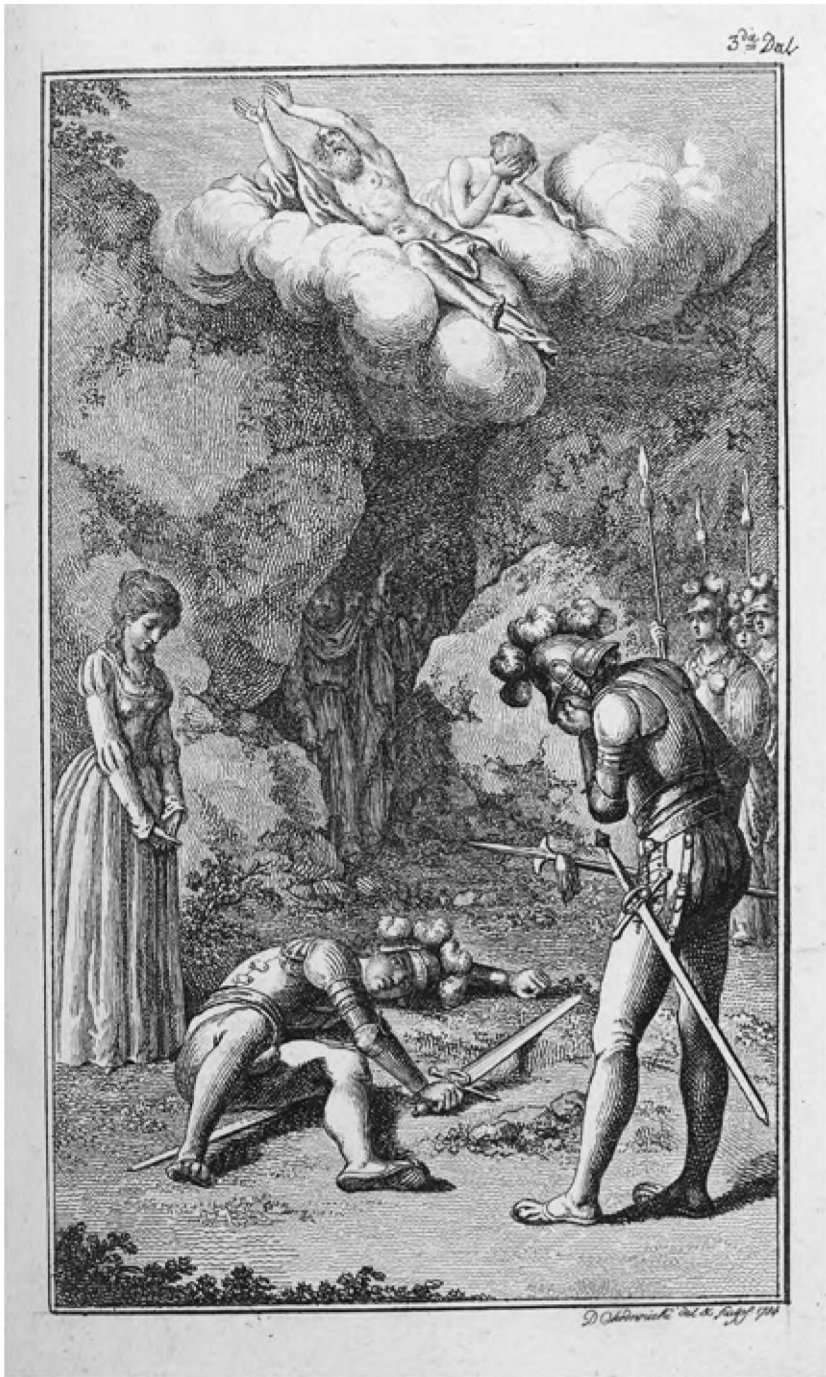
Ewald in this versified dramatization of ancient Nordic mythology has abandoned Christian beliefs and paid much more attention to free will and freedom to choose. But as a playwright he seems quite uncertain whether he should delve into a psychological explanation of his characters or assume a predetermined course of action that leaves them all as puppets manipulated by an invisible higher hand.

The conclusion of the play is evidence of this for Ewald came up with no less than three versions. In the realistic setting—a wild Norwegian mountain landscape with Hother hunting bears—Ewald inserts supernatural powers. Hother is equipped by Loki with a Balder-killing spear prepared through magic by three goddesses of fate (valkyries), who, incidentally, express themselves in an excellently composed musical trio. Misinterpretation by the protagonists of what goes on is a constant feature of the play, an element from comedy composition unhappily transposed to tragedy. Humiliated and disarmed in a fight with Balder and wrongly believing to be rejected by Nanna, prince Hother wants to save his honour by committing suicide with the magical spear, but in the end a duel suddenly arises between the two rivals. Nanna, clearly loyal to her Hother, watches from the distance, feeling flattered, curious and a bit coquettish about the whole thing. In Ewald's first version Hother, scorned by the desperate Balder, wilfully kills him with

the fatal spear, but Ewald's advisors told him that this would detract too much from the sympathetic Hother's honour as a hero. He then came up with a second ending in which Hother killed his opponent blindly in a rage and only later realised what he had done. This still tainted Hother's character, and in the third and final version Ewald made Balder run berserk, stumble and spear himself on the lethal weapon. As he dies, according to a stage direction, "a mighty whirlwind passes over the scene". In short, Hother remains noble and entirely innocent, and Balder becomes the victim of his own excessive passion. The scene seems rather contrived. At any rate it was difficult to perform convincingly and was rightly detested by actors who had to control the pre-planned 'accidental' ways of the weapons.

Ewald's Balder-figure is typical of the sentimentalism of the 1770s, all emotion, all self-pity, whereas the real hero is stoically self-controlled Hother who thinks more highly of his honour as a prince than of his love for Nanna, and precisely for that reason he deserves to keep Nanna. In a final roundelay—a conventional dramatic tool giving each surviving character a stanza to sing—four interpretations of the reason for Balder's death are offered. Thor blames his uncontrollable passion, "love, base love". The valkyrie Rota blames the demonic Loki's cunning, his "falsehood". Hother blames Balder's lofty mind, his "heart with virtue glowing", his sense of fairness refusing to kill Hother when he could, and Nanna blames fate "alone", thus acquitting herself. Accordingly the play oscillates between the psychology of motives and the mythology of predetermination, and it remains an unanswered question whether any of the characters were strong enough to make a personal choice that could have prevented the tragic solution to the conflict. Clearly the idea of personal freedom has been on the author's mind but has not been developed into a workable tool.

The Death of Balder was an accurate reflection of the mood of its time. It was successfully played for the stage-struck (and insane) Danish king in February 1778 in a private show—without musical numbers or elaborate sets. At the behest of the king, music was composed by Court conductor Johann Hartmann (1726-93) and costly sets and presumably historically correct costumes were created. In celebration of the king's birthday in January 1779, the play was performed at the Royal Theatre with all possible pomp and became a regular hit with the Copenhagen audience. It made Old Norse topics popular among people who had not previ-



ously been aware of this aspect of the national past. To the poet-king of Danish romanticism, Adam Oehlenschläger, it became inspiration for his fine play *Baldur the Good* in his trilogy *Norse Poems* from 1807, and much later Ewald's Balder-text was employed as an important clue in both Karen Blixen's short story "Sorrow-Acre" from her *Winter's Tales*, 1942, and Martin A. Hansen's diary novel *The Liar*, 1950, in both cases connected with the theme of egotistical personal freedom versus social and ethical obligations.

In *The Death of Balder* Ewald may have been uncertain whether to assume his protagonist had a free will or was a victim of inevitable doom, but in his unfinished or deliberately fragmentary autobiography he discussed the idea of personal freedom in more definite details. The text had been written in 1774-8, passages were printed for the first time in four instalments in two periodicals 1804-8, but the entire manuscript was not published until 1855. It was called *Levnet og Meeningen* (*Life and Opinions*), a borrowing from Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, 1760-7. In chapter 2 of *Levnet og Meeningen*, "Vinflasken" (The Wine Bottle), Ewald conducts an analysis of his own multifaceted self: "I have in fact always had something Don Quixotic in my character that resulted from a proud heart's enthusiastic love for freedom combined with hot-headed imagination".⁵⁸⁶ Cervantes' famous novel (1605-16) had just been published in an excellent and long-lived Danish translation in 1776-7 by C.D. Biehl, a female playwright of the previous decade whom Ewald had replaced in the repertory of the Royal Theatre. In modern scholarship Ewald's so-called autobiography is rightly studied as a novel or a meta-novel, but in the romantic era readers took it to be the historical truth about the unruly poet. Admittedly, in Ewald as in Cervantes, it is hard to distinguish irony from earnestness, and that may exactly be the point of both writers. Later in the context of childhood war-games, Ewald mentions "the natural disposition everybody has to be free" which accounts for his fondness for hussars who, in contrast to common infantrymen, are individualists doing old-fashioned heroic deeds.⁵⁸⁷ In short, Ewald considers freedom to be one of the greatest goods on earth. He claims that ever since his childhood he has been led by two main factors, an inclination to be noticed and an inclination

Left: The Death of Balder. Engraving from *Ewalds Samtlige Skrifter* 3 (Copenhagen 1787).

to be free. He attributes this first of all to an innate pride, but he also derives it from a certain indolence that he thinks is caused by his detestation of the monotony involved in regular work, such as a parson's constant production of sermons.⁵⁸⁸ In this theoretical debate as well as in his actual life Ewald is heralding types of later romantic literature such as the idle wanderer, the carefree minstrel and good-for-nothing (in German *ein Taugenichts*) who lives for the moment without thought for the morrow. Freedom comes close to be identified as carelessness if not irresponsibility.

Summing up his observations, Ewald finds his own personality to be dominated by a strong tendency to the fictional (in Danish *romanagtig*) and fantastic. Having run away from home at sixteen and gone to Germany, he felt, he says, that his desire to be free was fully satisfied. Independence transcended homesickness and convinced Ewald that his fate was his own responsibility and to be determined by his ingenuity, his heart and his arm ("min Forstand, mit Hjerte og min Arm"⁵⁸⁹), of course along with God and Luck, as he commented, perhaps mockingly. Even allowing for Ewald's repeated references to his Quixotic predisposition, such praise of personal freedom was unheard of in Danish literature before 1700.

Ewald's last play, *The Fishermen* from 1779, is another versified singspiel, this time about an actual shipwreck at the north coast of Zealand in November 1774.⁵⁹⁰ The text describes how some poor fishermen do not dare to brave the storm to save the pound net that means everything to them economically, but they willingly risk their lives to save the last survivor of a sinking English ship. There are eighteen musical numbers, all of which carry the action forward except the most famous of them, "King Christian stood by lofty mast", which almost immediately was elevated to Danish royal anthem. Once more the performance at the Royal Theatre was successful. Ewald himself was present at the opening night in January 1780, although he was ailing and had to be carried to the theatre on a stretcher.

The moral of *The Fishermen* is patriotic rather than individualistic: as "Danes"—the word is used frequently in some scenes and even more so in the rough draft—they are courageous and do not hold materialistic values such as gold or land. They refuse to take money from the foreign captain whom they have saved; instead their collapsed economy

is remedied by a rich old Danish nobleman who lives abroad but happens to pass by their village as a nostalgic tourist. In other words, Ewald turns from the optimistic individualism of unlimited freedom to an equally optimistic collectivism, namely the ideal of Danish charity and solidarity even with foreigners. As far as is known, Ewald ended his life in unconditional submission to a sincerely held pietism. He died in 1781, thirty-seven years old but physically entirely broken.

Among the Danish romantics, Adam Oehlenschläger regarded Ewald as a solitary pyramid in the Egyptian desert.⁵⁹¹ He is perhaps the greatest of all Danish authors, but the time was not yet ripe for his individualistic and psychological approach to national identity.

Changing ideas of freedom

Immediately after Crown Prince Frederik's seizure of power in a regular coup in 1784, the young Copenhagen critic Knud Lyne Rahbek (1760-1830) founded a periodical called *Minerva* which appeared from 1785 until 1808. It was read in educated middle-class circles in Copenhagen and definitely helped form a public opinion which so far had missed a suitable medium. Rahbek and his more zealous co-editor C. Pram considered civil rights and civil freedom as an ideal the limits of which should be determined by law, not by the king who himself should be subject to the law. To a large extent this programme was not different from the practical goals of the reformist period of the young Crown Prince. He was so popular because he, as P.A. Heiberg said, with noble boldness emancipated *thought* (freedom of the press), the *peasants* (abolition of feudal bondage, "adscription") and the *slaves* (ban on the slave trade in the Danish West Indies).⁵⁹²

On the occasion of his wedding in 1790, the Crown Prince and his consort were greeted in the Royal Theatre by a singspiel in one act, *Høst-Gildet* (*Harvest Feast*), placed in an unnamed but typical Zealand village. The playwright, Thomas Thaarup (1749-1821), had carefully created a harmonious and festive mood, stressing the happy idyll in the conglomerate state of Denmark, Norway and Holstein (which were the privileged parts of the realm included in the *Law of Indigenous Rights* from 1776). The younger brother of the king, prince Frederik, and some reactionary noblemen in the audience were displeased with some lines of praise from the simple peasants in the play in which it was sug-

gested that the king had ennobled the peasantry and that a peasant can be a nobleman too. However the royal groom was satisfied, and the aristocrats had to swallow this democratic insult⁵⁹³ which was underlined by the inclusion of a modest monument to peasant emancipation (a *Frihedsstøtte*) in the stage props. It consisted of rough-hewn stones topped by a sheaf and crowned by a hat, probably a Phrygian cap symbolising freedom.⁵⁹⁴

Norwegian ideas of freedom

Quite another idea of freedom than Ewald's psychological one thrived in the Norwegian Society located in the narrow Copenhagen street Sværtegade. Since the Calmar Union of 1397 Norway had been ruled from Copenhagen by the Danish monarch. However, ever since the Middle Ages Norwegians had been able to uphold the ancient legal practice of *Odelsret*, meaning the right of peasants as freeholders (*Odelsbønder*) to inherit their farms. Whatever inferiority complexes Norwegian students in Copenhagen might harbour, on this one issue they were superior and looked down upon the suppressed Danish peasantry for its patience with tyrannical landowners. In contrast, Norway was the homeland of heroes (*Kiemper*) and of freedom. Even Danish writers envied Norway in this respect, and the historian Tyge Rothe in books from the 1780s assumed wrongly that *Odelsret*, which was mainly known from old Norwegian sources, originally had prevailed in all Scandinavian countries.⁵⁹⁵ Undoubtedly this revered tradition of native liberty was taken up at this time because of Rousseau's predilection for primitive down-to-earth life as more authentic than refined city culture. The theme of *Odelsret* did not inspire immortal poetry but was expressed in a renewed bucolic literature of both poetry and prose. In his historical poem "Hagen Adelsteen" from 1793, Claus Frimann first depicts a situation in which a Danish copyholder is rudely reminded by his feudal lord to pay his rent, while in another scene the Norwegian freeholder ("Odelsmanden") is sitting quietly in the shade of his brick wall, stroking his silver-grey beard and looking at the golden meadows surrounding his house. Frimann concludes that if anybody—maybe the Danish administration?—were to take away the consuetudinary rights of the Norwegian yeomanry ("Hævderetten"), their mind for lively speech and effective expression, even their fierce competitiveness ("den Ild, den Lue-Brand i Bryst") with other nations would be lost (stanza 5-6 of 57).⁵⁹⁶ The historical reality of Norwegian freeholding undoubtedly

contributed to the emergence of an independent Norwegian national identity leading up to Norway's secession from Denmark in 1814. Of the 112 representatives signing the Eidsvoll constitution on 17 May that year, three were former members of the Norwegian Society in Copenhagen. Freeholding is expressly mentioned as a permanent legal right for all Norwegians in § 107.

Another aspect of Norwegian patriotism in Copenhagen is furnished by Edvard Storm (1749-94) in a popular historical song, "Zinklars Vise" ("The Ballad of Zinklar"), written in an archaic style borrowed from late medieval anonymous Danish ballads (*folkeviser*). Storm retells an episode from the Danish-Swedish Calmar war: on 26 August 1612, 1400 Scottish mercenaries in Swedish service were ambushed in the Gudbrand's Valley on their way to Stockholm and killed by patriotic Norwegian peasants acting as volunteers in lieu of regular soldiers. Storm emphasises that the Scotsmen were paid in Swedish money to risk their lives, whereas the Norwegians fought for their own country and its (Danish) king. The moral is that not a single soul returned to



Frontispiece to Edvard Storm's *Samlede Digte* (Collected Poems) (Copenhagen 1785). An imagined monument celebrating patriotic Norwegians from a battle fought in 1612 (see note 597).

Scotland to tell how dangerous it is to visit “those that live among the Norwegian mountains” (stanza 18).⁵⁹⁷ The song was printed in 1782 in the periodical *Dansk Museum* and often reprinted and included in songbooks. Though exaggerated in terms of fallen enemies—only 300 fell, not 1400—it remains a factor in Norwegian identity.

Before the actual secession in 1814, Norwegian separatism hardly seemed serious in the eyes of the Danes. This attitude found support in, among other things, the satirical comedy *Republikken paa Øen* (*The Island Republic*) published by the Norwegian poet J. Nordahl Brun in 1793. As one of the first members of the Norwegian society in Copenhagen in 1772, the young Brun had been suspected of disloyalty to the Danish king on account of his literary works praising ancient Norwegian independence. However, his 1793 play reflects a different attitude to popular self-government and individual freedom. The setting is a island republic where the elected leader feathers his own nest, while the mob continues all the bad habits from the previous regime at the cost of ordinary people who no longer have a monarch to protect them. Finally the unruly mob takes over the entire state, until the Danish king sends a couple of frigates and restores law and order.

Jens Baggesen: A Third Interpretation of Freedom

The young poet Jens Baggesen (1764-1826) was considered the most promising talent in Danish literature between 1785 and the breakthrough of romanticism in 1802. His dominant mood was one of not-belonging. A son of the proletariat, the young man through charm and intelligence secured himself the protection of the internationally minded Holstein aristocracy, and he developed into an entertainer much in demand with its baronesses and countesses. In his writings he tries to carry on Ewald’s serious lyrical odes as well as Wessel’s versified comical anecdotes; in 1789 he completed a masterful translation of Holberg’s Latin novel from 1741 about Niels Kliim’s journey to the underworld.

Baggesen’s major work was, however, a first-person travel narrative à la Laurence Sterne, published under the title *Labyrinten* (*The Labyrinth*), I-II, 1792-3. It takes the reader from Copenhagen to Switzerland in Europe’s fateful year 1789, but the promised two-volume continuation of the journey from Basle to Paris and back to Denmark in 1790 was only published posthumously in 1830-1 from diary entries and private

letters, edited by C.J. Boye. The young Baggesen was portrayed by C. Pram as a “curious, enthusiastic, melancholy, indescribable person”.⁵⁹⁸ Undoubtedly his personality was a far cry from the harmonious and mature character of a contemporary like Goethe.⁵⁹⁹ In Paris Baggesen danced on the ruins of the Bastille to applause from passing Parisians, but it is uncertain whether this was a matter of political conviction or impulsive exhibitionism. In life as in his works, Baggesen was a riddle, probably also to himself.

In the chapter of his *Labyrinth* called “Herrmannsbierget” (Arminiusburg), he is at first on top of a German mountain where he launches into a regular Klopstockian ode in memory of the leader of the Cherusci, Herrmann, who defeated three Roman legions at this place in 9 CE, a topic dramatised by Klopstock as we saw earlier. By repeating the exotic names of native tribes participating in the battle he creates the effect of a tune that is answered by an echo from the valley saying that the losers’ blood is that of tyrants, shed for the sake of sacred Germanic freedom. Reacting to this, Baggesen proclaims freedom to be sacred also to him, his brow glows and his heart beats loudly by the memory of this victory. This leads to a lengthy poetical celebration of German culture and civilisation, ranging from Herrmann and Charlemagne through Luther and Leibniz to Klopstock, Wieland and Schiller (Goethe is not included). Baggesen is convinced that the true idea of liberty came from the German woods, in contrast to Montesquieu’s assertion in *The Spirit of the Laws* that all freedom in Europe stems from the English forests.

In the second half of the text the threatening clouds over the mountain top vanish, the sun breaks through in all its splendour, birds start to sing again, and all of a sudden Baggesen’s mood changes from pro-German to cosmopolitan. He embraces in his mind all European nations because they are all equally needed in the European concert. Today patriotism is meaningless unless it is a reflection of civic virtue. As culture, enlightenment and general refinement of humanity increase, the feeling of belonging expands and one day the whole globe may be one large home for all humanity. Such thematic shifts are conducted throughout the book.

In the chapter “Frihed og de fire Elementer” (Liberty and the four elements), Baggesen ponders the idea of freedom. He finds freedom in

nature, represented by the four ancient simple elements of water, air, fire (sun) and earth (treetops), to be more beautiful than all castles, stages and museums of the world put together. A coach is transporting him and his two travelling-companions through a flooded Hessian landscape on an early summer morning with a heavy fog slowly lifting. Baggesen compares the view to Noah's experience when preparing to land his ark on Mount Ararat. Pleased at having escaped water-logged Mannheim, the small group of travellers remembers "what we so easily forget and yet should never fail to remember: that *humanity cannot live on freedom alone*, and that the simple elements of nature barely last a full summer morning and its intoxication." The rising sun makes the travellers think of how freedom is expanding in Europe like a comet with an ever-spreading tail that seems to conquer all skies. Baggesen protests that he prefers the sun to a comet and is no particular friend of tails. But, he asks, what is freedom? There is human freedom, and there is civic freedom, both are matters of independence. Civic freedom relies on independence of everything except the law, and human freedom on independence of everything except reason. A third type of freedom, Baggesen adds, is called political, but this is hard to conceive of in terms of independence, since a state cannot be entirely independent without coming to an end as a state, at least as a culture state. To Baggesen it seems confused first to demand political, then civic and finally human freedom. "Give me", he responds, "first free, that is, moral, people, then in a minute I shall have free, that is, law-abiding, people, and once these are everywhere, political freedom follows automatically and completes the picture in an equilateral triangle with three identical angles." The quasi-serious and pseudo-scientific tone is then abruptly—but typically for the book in general—drowned out by a joke. His two friends claim that in theory one may easily make two and two easily three, but they protest that in practice this operation will never do. One of them offers an illustration: the three travellers have only brought one umbrella along and none of them can produce two or three from one, whereas it is possible to reduce three hats to two and two to one, which he demonstrates by knocking the hats off the heads of his two companions. Baggesen then spontaneously knocks off the speaker's hat, thus ending the incident in bare-headed anarchy. "With some difficulty we located our hats on the ground and got down from the coach to retrieve them. And thus ended our debates on revolutions."⁶⁰⁰ For Baggesen enthusiasm does not necessarily end in fanaticism, especially if balanced by humour.

Epilogue

Between Holberg and romanticism the concept of freedom does not form an important part in the building of a Danish national identity. The formula regarding personal freedom seems to imply subdued, often self-controlled individualism. Appreciation of individualism only penetrated this society with great difficulty as long as it was dominated by religion and patriotism, both supervised by an absolute monarch with old-fashioned paternalistic ideas of sternness but justice. Circumstances facilitating the flourishing of gifted and exceptional individuals were only to appear in the 1830s and 40s during the public and semi-public debate on democracy and participation of the people in the administration of the state. Even then there were limitations.

Advisory Assemblies of the Estates were introduced by decrees in 1831 and 1834 and operated from 1835, till they were substituted in 1848-9 by a democratic parliament (the *Rigsdag*). During the same years individual freedom became quite an issue. The young Jewish journalist and later prominent author M.A. Goldschmidt (1819-87) in 1840-6 edited a satirical periodical called *Corsaren* (*The Corsair*).⁶⁰¹ Its provocative motto ran: “Ça ira, ça ira!”⁶⁰² and from July 1842 the front page featured a woodcut of a pirate vessel in troubled waters, its two masts flying respectively the French tricolour and a death’s head pennant. In the spirit of radical French-oriented liberalism Goldschmidt published scornful and witty articles written by himself and his supporters against absolutism as well as against restriction on freedom of speech. He ran into trial after trial—some won, some lost—which only attracted desirable public attention to his political messages. Legal confiscation of a number inevitably meant new subscribers.

A different kind of individualism with a national or at least Scandinavian background was introduced by N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872). His poem “Rim-Brev til Nordiske Paarørende” (Rhyme Letter to Nordic Relatives), printed as dedicatory text in his programmatic handbook *Nordens Mythologi* (*Norse Mythology*), 1832, has the often quoted line: “Freedom for *Loki* as well as for *Thor*” (in Danish: “Frihed for *Loke* saavel som for *Thor*”).⁶⁰³ *Loki* is the entertaining and often too enterprising trickster among the pagan Norse gods who finally causes the death of *Balder*, god of innocence and goodness, and thus heralds the coming of the end of the world in a veritable doomsday battle, the *Ragnarok*.

Modern readers who are ignorant of Grundtvig's context invariably understand the line just quoted as an acceptance of a general dualism: good and evil are to enjoy the same conditions in earthly life. This is entirely wrong. Grundtvig does not work with a dichotomy from a stance of consistent relativism. As a Christian he would not dream of allowing room for what he considered evil. Death and Satan are intolerable enemies to human beings. Grundtvig assumes *three* powers. *Good* is represented by Thor with his magical hammer that may symbolise the spoken word (intelligence and strength combined). *Evil* is personified in the Jötuns (Giants) who are identified in purely materialist terms, devoid of culture and intellectual life, fond of eating, drinking, sex, fighting and other physical feats, all aimless. Loki however stands for a *third position*. He is by birth a Jötun, by choice a foster-brother of Odin, the father of the gods. Loki is an ambivalent character, handsome to look at but unreliable, though mostly mischievous rather than wicked. Normally he is accepted as an inhabitant of *Asgard*, the home town of the gods. Furthermore he serves as a crafty travelling-companion for Thor when visiting the earth, *Midgard*, or its dangerous outskirts, *Udgard*. Loki in Grundtvig's anthropology symbolises a hopeful category of the intelligent non-believer with eye and ear open for spiritual life (i.e., the Christian gospel and faith). He has the potential to be a true believer, but a conversion has not yet taken place. He can be persuaded to subdue his malicious side, and consequently he partakes in a "Freedom for everything deriving from spirit" (in Danish: "*Frihed for alt hvad der stammer fra Aand*").⁶⁰⁴ In his book *Brage-Snak* (*Bragi's Talk*) from 1844, Grundtvig suggests that attempts to tie Loki's hands or even to seal his mouth lead only to suppression of free thought and free speech. Loki, problematic as he appears, is simply to Grundtvig "the mouthpiece of freedom of speech in each present moment", and his possible abuse of this right should by no means be prevented, since the normal and appropriate use of freedom of speech then is compromised and endangered.⁶⁰⁵

Grundtvig did not care much for the system of political parties which grew out of the Danish democratic constitution, *Danmarks Riges Grundlov* of 1849, because he felt that it divided the Danish people instead of uniting it.⁶⁰⁶ As an elected parliamentarian 1848-58, Grundtvig held an everyday concept of freedom in very high esteem—in fact far above the idea of common equality from French revolutionary thinking—and he formulated it as a variation on the golden rule: you should allow your

neighbour the same freedom as you claim for yourself.⁶⁰⁷ Grundtvig in effect became a founder of the peaceful consensus society of twentieth century Denmark, though his idea of human rights was significantly different from those of the years 1776, 1789, 1830 and 1848. After the disastrous military defeat of 1864, Denmark was one of the smallest but also most purely “national” states in Europe, with a homogeneous population all speaking the same language. Considered in the light of Denmark’s long history, this was a unique situation, but to many Danes it eventually became natural and obvious. During the following century, Grundtvig’s idea of a common Danish identity (in Danish *Folkelighed*) defined in terms of shared history, language and literature suited Danish culture and outlook on life perfectly. Grundtvig’s views were taught and practised at his and his followers’ folk high schools, a network of local centres for general education and promotion of active citizenship scattered across the country from 1844 onwards, at its peak numbering about one hundred institutions. His many national songs were made available in *Højskolesangbogen* (*Songbook for Folk High Schools*), 1894 (with numerous later reprints) and have become popular far beyond the originally intended audience.

The feeling of a national family circle was shaken by immigration of guest workers and refugees in the final decades of the twentieth century, and at the beginning of the twenty-first Grundtvig’s ideas of freedom have rather unexpectedly been challenged by the establishment of a Muslim minority culture in the midst of Danish society. Time will show whether they are as needed as ever to uphold traditional Danish self-conception or have to be abolished in favour of precisely the kind of universal human rights that had such a hard time gaining ground in Denmark in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

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13. The Danish Way: Freedom and Absolutism. Political Theory and Identity in the Danish State ca. 1784-1800.

Michael Bregnsbo

The period 1784-1800 was formative and crucial in Danish history. In 1784 the old power-holders were deposed in a peaceful coup d'état staged by Crown Prince Frederick, the later Frederick VI, who became virtual head of state, acting on behalf of his father, the mentally deranged King Christian VII. Those who took power in 1784 were in favour of a policy of progress and modernization of society. The agricultural reforms of the late 1780s are a striking example in that regard. Freedom of expression had been introduced in 1770, and although later limited, the legislation was, especially during the period 1784 to 1799, administered most liberally and the limits of expression were exceptionally wide. Still, Danish absolutism was nevertheless challenged, especially after the French Revolution in 1789 when a trenchant ideological, political and social alternative was formulated.⁶⁰⁸

In the period under consideration, Denmark was but part of a larger conglomerate state, comprising also Norway and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the latter of which was a member of the German Empire. Thus, in his capacity of Duke of Holstein, the King of Denmark was also a German prince. Furthermore, to this composite state belonged also some small trading colonies in India, Africa and the West Indies.⁶⁰⁹

Research

In the historiography, the political system of the period has traditionally been described as a classic example of enlightened absolutism at its best⁶¹⁰. The crucial feature of virtual freedom of the press has been emphasized and one historian has even characterized the prevailing political theory of the age as an "opinion-guided absolutism"⁶¹¹ in which the government supposedly listened to public opinion and ruled in

accordance with it, thus acquiring legitimacy. Yet, scholars have also stressed internal ideological and political tensions and inconsistencies within the political system⁶¹². Within the Danish conglomerate state tensions between different nationalities were beginning to grow during the second half of the 18th century. This was first and foremost the case with Danes and German, though not so much in the duchies as in Copenhagen where approximately one fifth of the inhabitants had German as their native language and where the royal court, the government, the civil service, the army, and the cultural and industrial sectors had tended to be dominated by foreigners, mostly Germans born outside the Danish realm. This was beginning to provoke frustration and resentment among the Danish-speaking population in Denmark, especially the middle class, and it contributed to the formation of a distinct and self-conscious Danish identity⁶¹³. In Norway, there was a growing resentment against the government in Copenhagen and many Norwegians had the feeling – which they openly expressed – that their country was being financially exploited and disadvantaged in comparison with the kingdom of Denmark⁶¹⁴. These cases of a growing awareness of national identity were hardly threatening the integrity of the conglomerate state and it is difficult to be certain how widespread they were, but it is clear that from now on the government had to take these factors into consideration.

As for Danish political theory, we may point to Øystein Sørensen's study of Jens Schielderup Sneedorff, in which he sees "freedom" and "absolutism" as two key concepts and traces their development in the political theory of the later political philosophers, Tyge Rothe, Andreas Schytte, Michael Gottlieb Birckner and Peter Collett.⁶¹⁵ This should then be seen as a way to reconcile the Danish system of absolutist government with the political and ideological challenge – some would say threat – from France after 1789.

Yet, "freedom" and "absolutism" seem mutually incompatible, in fact, complete contrasts. The question to be addressed here is therefore: how was it possible to combine concepts such as "freedom" and "absolutism" in the prevailing political theory of the age, and which context of identity was associated with that theory? My emphasis in this will be to trace cohesion.

Source material

My interest is in the public debate and its presentation of ideas of freedom and absolutism to a wider audience, not in the learned works of professional philosophers. I am focussing on major speeches in the vernacular at the university, in grammar schools and in various clubs and societies, where such orations often were delivered in connection with solemnities such as the king's birthday. Other materials include cantatas, occasional poems, articles from periodicals, and printed sermons. It is debatable whether this source material reflects public opinion or merely published opinion – opinion having its origin in the absolutist regime and serving as propaganda. A sharp distinction may be difficult. The grammar schools, the university and the churches where prominent speeches were delivered, poems recited, cantatas sung, and sermons given were certainly public and official institutions. And while the clubs, associations and periodicals were private, their members and subscribers were overwhelmingly, though not exclusively, civil servants.⁶¹⁶ Still, all this material was hardly engineered or controlled by the government. The limits of free expression were indeed wide, and all speeches, sermons, articles cantatas etc. were published and thus part of the public debate. The question raised here is how coherent this public debate was concerning freedom and absolutism, not whether it was accurate and true to the historical circumstances. The impact of those arguments on the general public is barely taken into consideration.

Danish absolutism

The Danish system of absolutism had been established in 1660 and received its constitutional foundation in the Royal Law of 1665. This was achieved only after protracted conflicts between the king and the aristocracy. All executive, legislative and judiciary powers were vested in the king, there were no assemblies of estates, no *parlements* or other institutions which had any say in political or fiscal matters.⁶¹⁷ The Danish nobility had no special rights or privileged access to public positions, even if it did possess privileges through the possession of large landed estates. However, these were privileges which any great landowner could enjoy regardless of whether or not he was a nobleman. Conversely, nobility was not worth much to a nobleman who did not own landed property.⁶¹⁸ Unlike in Prussia, for example, posts as army

officers were open to anyone talented, commoner or noble; there was no preferential treatment of noblemen and no maximum quota for commoners seeking the officer's profession⁶¹⁹. Thus, due to the circumstances under which Danish absolutism had been introduced more than 100 years before, during the period under consideration here, the system retained certain anti-aristocratic and egalitarian features which must be taken into consideration.

Freedom and absolutism in Denmark

As usual, the concept of freedom had more than one meaning. As the opposite of force or slavery, everyone spoke out in favour of freedom. The agricultural reforms that liberated peasants from subjection to their landlords were often pointed out as an example of the desirability of freedom. However, freedom could also mean licence, as when publicists talked about lawlessness, disorder, destruction and oppression. Especially after the deterioration of the French revolution, this kind of freedom was seen as the rationale for "rebellious spirit", regicide, wars and civil strife. What opinion-makers in Denmark favoured was another type of freedom, namely "civic freedom" (*borgerlig frihed*). By this they meant civil rights: freedom from feudal restraints, freedom of trade, rule of law, and, not least, freedom of expression. It was a generally recurrent theme that in Denmark, such civic freedom had already been introduced by a benevolent absolutist government. At the same time, it was emphasised that being a citizen enjoying such freedoms also meant that one in return had a responsibility towards society, country and king. It was not enough just to abide by the law, an active and positive commitment to the promotion of the general good was demanded.⁶²⁰

The absolutist government was generally praised for its policy of securing peace and neutrality so that trade and shipping could prosper and resources could be concentrated on reforms and social development for the general good. In comparison with less absolutist regimes, the Danish one was considered superior as there were no vested interests (nobility or assemblies of estates or *parlements*) which for purely selfish reasons might block the king's endeavours to promote the general good. It was better to be under the rule of one than under the rule of a hundred⁶²¹. The expressions in favour of absolutism as an ideal political system tended to be based on inductive inferences: the Danish



The assembly hall at the Gymnasium or Grammar School in the town of Odense. During the eighteenth century, the professors gave major speeches on the King's birthday to celebrate the monarch's policies. From Holger Dyrbye: *Hugo Matthiessens Odense* (Odense 1991) 95.

system of absolutism works well, consequently absolutism as such is a good political system. Comparisons with other absolutist regimes were also made. A grammar school professor in Odense, Christian Gotthold Seydlitz, suggested in a public speech at the birthday of King Christian VII in 1794 that France before 1789 had been characterized by "princely despotism" and "monarchical tyranny" which had now been replaced by "despotism of the mob" and "republican tyranny" which was not any better. Furthermore, in France, the civil order had been replaced by a "ghastly spirit of party". Freedom of religion in France had led to persecution of Christians, and freedom and equality in general had caused "the most terrible disasters."⁶²² And in his speech on the same occasion the following year, the professor remonstrated with those who considered Louis XVI "the most virtuous man in the world." Seydlitz could not endorse such a characterization: Louis XVI had among other things been a perjurer and had made other errors so serious that he could not rightly be called a virtuous man. That said, Seydlitz emphasized that fortunately, not all kings were like that,⁶²³ but

he was not led to any general reflections on absolutism as a political system.

Occasionally, however, other types of government were discussed in comparison with the Danish one. In a sermon in 1794, Peder Baagøe, a parson in Roskilde explained the impracticality and absurdity of democracy: the farmer would have to leave his plough, the citizen his trade, the learned his book, and the aristocrat his party and join together to discuss and vote on all public matters every time the need arose. He asked: "Into what confusion would public administration sink? What chaos would not be the result of so many different and conflicting views of which most were focussed on one's personal advantage and only a few on the general good"⁶²⁴.

Freedom and absolutism certainly existed side by side in the political theory of the age, but sometimes on uneasy terms. On the king's birthday in 1798, H.G. Clausen, a pastor, held the speech in a patriotic club in the city of Kalundborg. Here, he described freedom of expression as "humanity's most holy right". He argued in favour of free exchange of opinion, because it led to greater clarity of thought and approximation to the truth, while promoting tolerance of those with different opinions. Disagreement among thinking people was a healthy sign, he thought. However, it was a quite different matter if disagreement "led to a spirit of party, personal hate and animosity" and if the debate reflected the views of special interests and cliques instead of different objective approaches to the matter in hand.⁶²⁵ In other words, freedom of expression should be used to discuss how to achieve *the* common goal but not what the common goal should be, still less to set up different parties.

The Danish way

From this outline, the political theory of freedom and absolutism may seem flawed and ad hoc, if not opportunistic. It did, however, have more cohesion and power of conviction than may appear and this has to do with its importance for the issue of identity. I will refer to sermons by three pastors of the Lutheran state church, one conservative, one progressive and one moderate.

The conservative was Abraham Volchersen, pastor in Elsinore. Under the impression of the reign of terror in France, he condemned the



Portrait of the progressive parson Frederik Carl Gutfeld, who contributed to the journal *Minerva*.

French revolution and all its deeds vehemently and passionately. He spoke of the “damned teachings of freedom, equality and rights” which was “the stupidest, the cruellest rabble learning.” But pastor Volchersen also emphasized that no government on earth was more reluctant to impose taxes than the Danish one, no royal house did more to help the different estates, also the lower ones, than the Danish one, and he praised the king of Denmark for promoting trade and industry and for having given the peasantry its freedom.⁶²⁶

The progressive country parson, Frederik Carl Gutfeld, spoke of an unfortunate people – of course, the French – who thought that the way to freedom was paved with the dead bodies of their fellow citizens. In Denmark, however, abuse had been abolished, prejudices been wiped

out, and chains been broken without violence. Ignorance and suppression had vanished like fog before the rising sun. In fact, Gutfeld showed some understanding of why things had developed the way they had in France. This becomes clear from his attack on the Danish nobility. Addressing a fictive nobleman, he said: "you who in your dreams may have dreaded violent revolution because you felt yourself worthy of being the first victim; you who in secure and happy Denmark maybe spoke of events that alone could, that alone had to take place in a nation which, tired of centuries of abuse, threw off its yoke and crushed its suppressors."⁶²⁷ But though violent revolution might be understandable in France, in Denmark the situation was very different and such violent deeds were not necessary.

The Copenhagen pastor Lauritz Smith said in his Christmas sermon in 1792 that freedom and equality were the watchwords by which the spirit of discord and rebellion were nowadays being spread from one country to country. According to Smith, these expressions did not contain anything novel that the world had not formerly known. Smith found the concepts equivocal and said that they were used as "incendiaries ... which were supposed to start fires, raise false ideas and seduce men to ferocious frenzy and destructive excesses." Smith for his part preferred orderly freedom, not licentiousness or lawlessness, but rational or civic freedom (*fornuftig* or *borgerlig frihed*). This kind of freedom was achieved by mastering the heart, tearing oneself away from the passions and desires and following the commands and precepts of reason without distraction from the senses. In civic life, everyone was entitled unhindered to seek their own perfection and happiness as long as it did not hurt other people or society in general. This kind of freedom, pastor Smith emphasized, existed in Denmark.⁶²⁸

Despite their differences, all three pastors were, at least in principle, in agreement that the goals of the French revolution were good and desirable, but they all – each in his own way – disapproved the means. The way in which these goals were pursued in Denmark was much better, more peaceful and harmonious. It was this idea of an alternative way to a society characterized by measured and appropriate freedom, equality and human rights that kept the ideas of freedom and absolutism together in what was considered a coherent and convincing political theory that may be called the Danish way.⁶²⁹ In the language of the time, namely in an article from 1793, it was described as follows:

“freedom hand in hand with wisdom had already ascended the most absolute throne in Europe, namely that of fortunate Denmark. Here it is sitting besides the royal power which has benevolently lifted it up and together they are blessing the people.”⁶³⁰

Another and crucially important aspect of this notion of a Danish way was the endeavours of the government to avoid war. One of the most frequently recurring political themes in sermons, major speeches, cantatas, articles etc was the notion that the foreign policy of the Danish government was different than that of other governments.⁶³¹ It was reiterated again and again that the king of Denmark preferred to be a benevolent father of the country rather than a war hero. It was a point of honour for the king not to conquer foreign territories but to develop his country and to improve the lot of its inhabitants.⁶³²

In sum, the semi-popular materials considered in this paper presented a political theory of absolutism and freedom by a constructive consideration of each of the two components. The concept of freedom was defined in such a way that the more radical elements which would have been politically dangerous because incompatible with the Danish system of government were taken out. Instead the focus was on civic freedom understood as personal and judicial liberties, not least, freedom of speech. But nobody spoke about political freedom, the freedom of the people to participate in the political process. As for absolutism, the tendency was to conclude from the special case of how well this system of government was working in Denmark to its general desirability, a point supported by the one-sided identification of the alternative as “democracy” which, stereotypically could be rejected as dangerous anarchy.

The question of identity

The political theory behind the “Danish way” helped to build up the idea and ideal of a Danish identity characterised by external peace, domestic tranquillity and harmonious cooperation between the monarchical government and the people in order to promote the general good, to improve the welfare of the population and by peaceful means to achieve freedom, equality and human rights (“menneskerettigheder”). But what kind of identity was this? Not a national identity. On the contrary, the attitudes and values which constituted the Danish way

could be shared by the full variety of ethnic groups within the composite state, and to a significant degree this was the case. In the many and varied sources investigated here, we find expressions of the attitudes of the Danish way by Norwegians⁶³³, Holsteiners⁶³⁴, Icelanders⁶³⁵ and even a speech at the king's birthday delivered in a Jewish community in Schleswig⁶³⁶. The Danish way did not mean a common language, origin or culture and can thus not be characterized as a national identity. It was based on certain values which anyone within the territories of the Danish monarch could endorse, irrespective of language or culture. The Danish way is therefore best characterized as a *patriotic identity*⁶³⁷. Besides aiming at presenting the Danish system of absolutist government as a much better way of securing freedom than the means adopted in France after 1789, another function of the discourse of a Danish way was to seek a common patriotic identity for the different peoples and territories within the conglomerate state.

A still from the end of the film *Kongen bød* (The King Commanded; 1938) commemorating the freeing of the peasants in 1788. The shadow of the French Guillotine looms over the working peasant as an alternative to agricultural reform and the Danish Way. From Thorkild Kjærgaard: *Danmark og den franske revolution/Le Danemark et la revolution française*, (Copenhagen 1989) 14



In 1799, freedom of expression was strongly curbed. In 1801 and again from 1807, Denmark was caught up in the Napoleonic Wars with disastrous results: the bombing of Copenhagen and seizure of the navy in 1807 and the cession of Norway in 1814. The long peace that had preceded these events had been a key element in the notion of Danish way, and after 1801 and 1807 the notion seems to have remained so consolidated that it could still be used. The argument was that the country had undeservedly and involuntarily been involved in the war, and that a consideration of all the good that the king had done for his people previously was the right incentive to self-defence and to make the necessary sacrifices.⁶³⁸

After the disastrous Danish defeat in the war of 1864, Denmark lost the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and became a nation state living in the shadow of the overwhelming German Empire. In this situation the Danish way was transformed to become part of the Danish national identity. Externally the emphasis was on neutrality and extreme reluctance to be involved in international political affairs but with strong interests in foreign trade. Internally, the foundation was consensus in the form of state-supervised cooperation. Thus, a political theory aimed at shaping a common identity in a multinational, multilingual, middle sized absolutist conglomerate state in response to revolution abroad and growing ethnic tensions at home eventually transformed itself into the national identity of a small democratic nation-state.

14. Subaltern Travelers in a Conglomerate World.

Michael Harbsmeier

In recent years travel accounts have attracted a great deal of attention from all sorts of historians engaged in structuralist and subsequently post-structuralist, post-colonial and other postmodern projects of deconstruction. Their focus has been the naive assumptions underlying traditional approaches to travel writing as transparent sources for a better understanding of the people and places described or the life, development and *Bildung* of the – usually white, male, adult – traveler describing them. However, as Tabish Khair has pointed out, earlier enthusiasm about unmasking colonial discourse, *Orientalism* and *Imperial Eyes* seems by now to be giving way to a more nuanced understanding of the reciprocity and negotiation, appropriation and resistance at play in travel writing that does not fit the image of European travelers writing about and trying to dominate the rest of the world.⁶³⁹ In what follows I will be dealing with a case in point: a series of accounts written by (northern, protestant, male) European, but nevertheless in important respects subaltern travelers.

At first glance, Danish travel writing from the eighteenth century seems to have quite a lot in common with contemporary European trends. While seventeenth-century travel accounts predominantly dealt with more exotic destinations in the East and West Indies, those of the eighteenth century increasingly covered also European itineraries. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century the main focus was on the extraordinary and exceptional “curiosities” of the real world as well as the *Kunst- und Wunderkammern* closer to home, but later in the century travelers tended to pay much more attention to ordinary things, to the rules of daily life and the regularities of nature characteristic of the places they visited. Parallel to this metamorphosis of the travelers’ attention we see also, both in Denmark and elsewhere in Europe, the emergence of travel writing arising from larger scientific expeditions. Finally we have a number of Danish examples of the general European Enlightenment trend to let fictitious visitors from other parts of the

world or even from different worlds portray and criticise people and conditions at home. In Denmark, the best known example was probably the imitation of Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* in Erik Pontoppidan's "Asiatic prince" *Menoza* (1742-3) who reportedly had been born not far from Tranquebar in India. Much more numerous, however, were the reports about what native Greenlanders had to say about Denmark and the Danes.

Superficially eighteenth-century Danish travelers or, more precisely, authors of travel accounts may thus seem to have done much the same kind of thing as contemporary travelers and travel authors from other parts of Europe. On closer inspection, however, and here we come to the main argument in this paper, one can identify a number of circumstances and tendencies clearly differentiating the travel accounts originating from the Danish conglomerate kingdom from those originating from other parts of the continent. A fully convincing analysis would presuppose a comparative account of the differences and similarities between the various traditions of eighteenth century European travel writing. For present purposes, however, I will content myself with a sketch of some of the features which I believe to be crucial for a better understanding of the peculiarities of Danish travel experiences. A summary of these features will introduce the subsequent presentation and analysis.

As Niels Brimnes has pointed out, early modern Danish colonial rule seems to have been based on a comparatively weak and unstable control over the native subjects, whether in Tranquebar in India, trade stations in coastal Africa, the slave colonies in the West Indies or the Eskimos in Greenland.⁶⁴⁰ The importance of native agency has of course been stressed in recent more or less revisionist colonial and postcolonial studies in general, but it seems fair to assume that Danish authorities found themselves in even more precarious situations than their Portuguese, Dutch, French or British, not to speak of their Spanish counterparts, if for no other reasons than demographic ones.

One of the symptoms of this comparative administrative weakness can be seen in the conspicuous presence of missionaries in almost all the Danish colonies in the eighteenth century, and this is reflected in the fact that theology and clergymen dominate in Danish travel writing – another general characteristic of the Danish version of that genre. In Greenland, it was the Lutheran priest Hans Egede who in 1721 initiated modern Danish settlement, with the Moravian Brethren begin-

ning their work less than a decade later. In Tranquebar, it was the Danish king who was responsible for sending the pietist missionaries from Halle who worked there from 1706 onwards. Missionary work among the slaves in the West Indies only began during the second half of the eighteenth century, but here as well as in the other colonies clergymen (such as Wilhelm Johann Müller at Frederiksborg in Ghana⁶⁴¹) and missionaries definitely were the authors of the most widespread, influential and informative accounts and descriptions published at the time. As we shall see, theology, pietism and clergymen also were to play a disproportionately prominent role in travels to other destinations than the colonies. Going to Arabia Felix or to Göttingen, Vienna and Rome was often motivated more by scholarly theological rather than secularly enlightened concerns and ambitions.

Looking at the biographies of the authors of the travel accounts and the way in which they financed their travels can lead us to a third and more general peculiarity of the Danish variety of enlightened traveling. Even though this point certainly needs to be investigated more thoroughly, it seems fair to apply a kind of Weberian ideal type, namely that by far the most of the travelers who wrote and published about their experiences did so as part of some official duty and thus from a subordinate position. Among the travelers undertaking their own voyages in the style of a conventional Grand Tour, strikingly few left any written, let alone published, account of their travels, whereas those who had to apply for funds and grants or those who were ordered by their superiors to go have left many more and much larger written and published records of their activities. Or to put it more crudely, Danish absolutism certainly did not prevent people from traveling of their own initiative, but writing accounts of voyages appears to have been the activity of people who in one or another kind of subordinate position had been paid or ordered to go where they did.

Finally, and most importantly, there is a fourth particular feature of eighteenth-century Danish travel accounts which I think deserves even more attention and on which I will concentrate in what follows. Turning over the pages of the traders and especially missionaries writing about people and places in the colonies, the diaries and travelogues of students and scholars reporting about their experiences in various European towns and universities, or the accounts and reports of clergymen and others engaged in all sorts of natural history and what then

was called statistics inside as well as beyond the boundaries of the conglomerate parts of the kingdom of Denmark, one finds surprisingly many statements by different kinds of native informants. From the missionaries and traders reporting from overseas we learn a lot about the opinions of more or less recently converted fishermen, peasants and slaves in and around the colonies, the students and scholars happily tell their readers about the knowledge, wisdom and opinions of the learned of all confessions whom they had met in conversation, and among the travelers writing about such parts of the Danish conglomerate state as the Faroe Isles, Iceland and Norway almost the majority are in fact writing about their own province of origin. In other words, travelers from the Danish conglomerate state not only tend to come from subordinate positions to their travels and writings, they also share a weakness for lending their pen to the views of others, sometimes the nobler and more famous, but more often to even more subordinate and remote subjects. If travel writing in general is characterised by a propensity towards the poly-vocal and multi-centered, travel writing originating from the conglomerate Danish state of the eighteenth century seems to have been open for a strikingly rich multitude of subaltern perspectives and voices.

Greenland, Arabia Felix, Tranquebar

It would require a substantial monograph to substantiate these four claims about the peculiar characteristics of the travel accounts produced under Danish kings in the 18th century. Parts of the ground, however, have already been covered by recent work on the subject. Thus in his brilliant thesis from 2006, Allan Sortkær has analysed in considerable depth what the texts of the Greenland missionary Hans Egede, the oriental explorer Carsten Niebuhr and the student and scholar Andreas Christian Hviid reveal about mental continuity and change during the Danish Enlightenment.⁶⁴² Although apparently more concerned with how the Danish examples reflect more general European trends, Sortkær often arrives at conclusions not very different from the results of my own investigations of the material from Greenland⁶⁴³ and the case of Carsten Niebuhr and his expedition to Arabia Felix in 1761-67.⁶⁴⁴ In what follows more attention will therefore be paid to some of the so far less studied examples in the hope of being able at least to point out what they could turn out to have in common also on closer inspection.



Det Grønlandske Optog 1724 (The Greenlandic procession). Broadsheet with woodcut from the 1720s.

As a consequence of the colonization of Greenland by Hans Egede from 1721 the Greenlanders Pooq and Qiperoq came to Copenhagen. On November 9, 1724 they demonstrated their hunting skills for the citizens. The Greenlandic Procession took place in the port of Copenhagen for the benefit of Grønlandske Kompagni (The Greenland Company) in Bergen.

In 1731, at the very beginning of his reign, Christian VI decided not to continue the colony in Greenland which Hans Egede had established less than ten years earlier. It was this deep crisis that made the subaltern voices of the Greenlanders appear in print. Quoting the comments and complaints of “his” Greenlanders, Egede came close indeed to identifying himself with what he claimed to be their point of view and with the cause of their salvation in his desperate critique of the King’s decision, which in fact never was carried out.⁶⁴⁵ If we add the numerous versions of what Pooq and other Greenlanders told their fellow countrymen about their experiences in Copenhagen and what they called “the Land of the Lord”, which in particular Hans Egede’s

son Paul made public,⁶⁴⁶ we have a whole series of subaltern accounts which themselves contain the accounts of other subaltern subjects.

Apart from the name of the ship on which it departed from Copenhagen in January 1761, the expedition to Arabia Felix initiated by the Göttingen professor of the Old Testament and Oriental languages Johann David Michaelis and funded by king Frederik V appears to have very little in common with the colonial and missionary efforts in Greenland. On closer inspection, however, it turns out that another crisis, the death of the other members of the *Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer*, actually forced the only survivor, the surveyor Carsten Niebuhr, to invent his own peculiar method of travel. When exploring Yemen together with Peter Forskål, Niebuhr had already enjoyed the advantages of moving around in disguise as a native stranger. Systematically cultivating and refining his adaptation to the local circumstances when on his own, Niebuhr managed to familiarize and identify himself to such an extent with the various local groups, that he easily managed again and again to surprise his readers by making them look at things from different local and native points of view.⁶⁴⁷ Thus not only was Niebuhr a subaltern traveler because he found himself under pressure of the official instructions and several hundred pages of questions⁶⁴⁸ meant for a whole crew of scholarly observers, but also in the sense of lending his pen to lots of other remote and subordinate voices.

Our next example is pure fiction, namely the story of the 'Asian prince' Menoza who went all the way from Tranquebar in India through Europe to Denmark where he settled on the island of Funen to write three volumes of letters about his voyage. The real author of these letters, the later Bishop of Norway and Rector of the University of Copenhagen Erik Pontoppidan, was a key figure in the development of pietism in Denmark. His adaptation of the *Lettres Persanes* (1721), which appeared in 1742-3,⁶⁴⁹ mainly served as a pretext for extended discussions of a wide range of theological questions. Born among heathen polytheists in a landscape called Nagraclub not far from Tranquebar in India, Menoza moves on to a kind of monotheism completely by his own reasoning. Leaving his home village together with his friend Ninaruk, a former slave, Menoza first converts to Islam, then to Judaism and, in turn, to Catholicism as it was practiced by the Portuguese missionaries who were his hosts, until he finally finds himself among the protestant Lutheran missionaries from Halle at the Danish colony in Tranquebar.

It is from this starting point that Menoza embarks on his Grand Tour through Europe by way of Portugal, Spain, Avignon and Montpellier in France, Geneva, Rome, Venice, Vienna, Munich, London, Amsterdam through to Copenhagen and the island Funen, where he finally settles to put into writing the 56 letters containing his descriptions of and comments on all sorts of religious and confessional matters loosely kept together by this itinerary.

As pastor for King Christian VI from 1735 and professor of theology at the University of Copenhagen from 1738, the author of *Menoza* certainly was no subaltern traveler himself. The fact, however, that Pontoppidan, already author of the new and enormously widespread catechism that founded the Danish “second reformation”,⁶⁵⁰ made so extensive use of a prince from Asia as spokesman for his views on so many both worldly and religious matters testifies to the receptiveness of the Danish reading public to yet another rather remote and faraway voice and point of view. Hans and Paul Egede, Michaelis and Niebuhr, Pontoppidan and Menoza can be comprehended as variations on one and the same theme, and they were not the only ones.

Actually one of the most striking examples of remote voices being made systematically accessible for a Danish audience also originated from Tranquebar. Having tried in vain to find Danish candidates willing to work as missionaries in the Danish colony in South India that was founded already at the beginning of the seventeenth century, King Frederik IV finally agreed to hand over the task to a group of missionaries from Halle, at the time the center of pietist Protestantism in Europe. Two of these missionaries, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, were particularly eager to publish the progress of their work in the series of *Hallesche Berichte*, which were to appear in 108 “continuations” from 1710 to 1772⁶⁵¹, as well as in other publications. Two of these continuations contain no less than 99 letters written by native Tamils in response to questions put to them by the missionaries. Originally written on palm-leaves in the Tamil language, they were printed in German translation in the *Hallesche Berichte* from 1714 and 1717. One can of course find countless further examples of the Danish Halle missionaries’ exceptionally deep interest in the language, religion and mentality of the Tamils whom they tried hard to convert to their version of protestant Christianity, but the 99 letters, which became known as the Malabar correspondence,⁶⁵² may suffice

to show that perceptiveness to the voices of remote others was indeed a strikingly dominant aspect of the accounts of the pietist missionaries.⁶⁵³

North Africa to Russia

Among the numerous travelers to non-European destinations beyond the Danish conglomerate realm three further examples provide particularly illuminating confirmation of the pattern we are describing.

Hark Oluf, a seaman who was captured in the Mediterranean and sold as a slave in Algeria in 1724, apparently had a splendid career as treasurer for his master before he returned to his native North-Sea island of Amrum in Schleswig-Holstein twelve years later. However, in the account of his captivity, a booklet published in Danish in 1747 and in German translation in 1751, he nevertheless presented himself as a victim and as a slave with almost no influence whatsoever on his fate under his Muslim masters.⁶⁵⁴ Subordination to the will of others was part of the very genre of captivity accounts that flourished during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

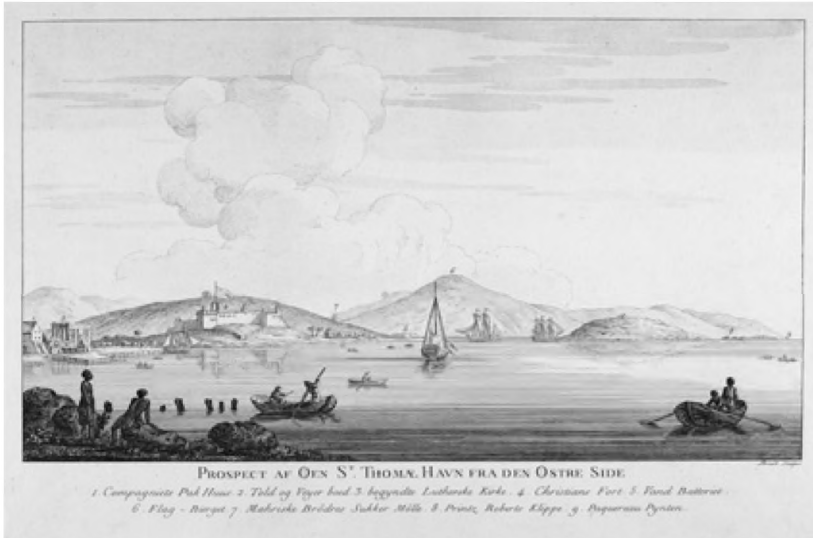
An apparently quite different case was Georg Høst who, after studying theology, went to Morocco in the service of the Dansk-Afrikanske Compagnie from 1760 to 1768. Quickly improving his command of Arabic, which he had studied already at home, Høst made himself indispensable in the ongoing negotiations between the Danish company and the Moroccan ruler. In the two books he published after assuming office as secretary and member of the Royal Board in the Danish West Indies, Høst provided ample evidence of his deep involvement not only in diplomacy, but also in the internal workings of the government and administration of Sultan Muhammad III. By means of the impressive number of names, concepts and phrases reproduced in Arabic throughout his text and most conspicuously in the chapters devoted to the sciences of “the Moors”, Høst literally lends his pen to whole series of statements originating from the more remote parts of the conglomerate world.⁶⁵⁵ In short, both Georg Høst and Hark Oluf wrote from subordinate positions, but the former as a voluntary scribe for foreign a power, the latter as a thoroughly involuntary victim of such a power.

Peder von Haven, who in 1743 published an account of his stay in Russia from 1736 to 1739, was neither enslaved nor, as the other Danish authors of reports about Russia from the eighteenth century,⁶⁵⁶ part of a diplomatic mission. Von Haven originally went on a travel grant to pursue his theological studies in the protestant University of Helmstedt, but when one of his teachers was offered a position as director of the Botanical Garden in St. Petersburg he decided to follow him and try his luck in the new Russian capital. Working first for his former teacher and then as secretary and curate for a Norwegian-born vice-admiral of the Russian navy, von Haven ended his stay in Russia as private tutor for the son of a general of the Russian army in Moscow. In his travelogue, von Haven devotes much attention to the religious and ethnic minorities and their situation in the expanding Empire, but perhaps his most original contribution is a consistently comparative understanding of details in the dogma and practices of the Orthodox church.⁶⁵⁷

During his stay in Russia, von Haven went through a whole series of subordinate positions. How much he himself was aware of his subaltern situation becomes strikingly clear when he tells us about the Danish dog of the Russian general in Moscow. This dog, which was brought from Copenhagen to Moscow by a French officer, was held in very high esteem by the general, who claimed that the dog both could read his thoughts and distinguish clearly between his friends and enemies by wagging his tail at the former and barking at the latter. Perhaps, von Haven continues, it was because the dog sensed that both of them, dog and tutor, were Danes that he was held in so high esteem and treated so well by dog as well as master.⁶⁵⁸

West Africa to the West Indies

All the travelers quoted so far had their own particular reasons for trying to enter into dialogue and negotiations with the various counterparts and hosts whom they were eager to quote, represent or identify with in various ways. To this rule there was, however, at least one important exception: the slaves which were brought on Danish ships from trading posts on the West African coast to the Danish West Indies. In the accounts of Eric Tillemann from 1697,⁶⁵⁹ Johannes Rask, a pastor at Christiansborg castle near Accra from 1708 to 1712⁶⁶⁰, Ludevig Ferdinand Römer, a merchant and slave trader for the West India and Guinea company in the same area from 1739 to 1749,⁶⁶¹ one looks in



Prospect of Øen St Thomas Havn (Prospectus of the port at the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies) Engraving by F.L. Bradt (1747-1829).

vain for any trace of empathy in their descriptions of the situation of the slaves, let alone explicit criticism of the trade. And in the preface to Römer's book by the pietist bishop and professor Erik Pontoppidan, whom we have encountered as the true author of *Menoza*, there is an explicit defence of the slave trade as a means of improving the conditions of the Africans by moving them across the Atlantic to a healthier and more stable environment.⁶⁶² But by the 1780s, the slave trade has become a major problem, as we see in letters describing the middle passage by the physician and botanist Paul Erdmann Isert who was appointed chief surgeon to Christiansborg in 1783 but made the voyage to the Danish West Indies on a slave ship a couple of years later. Witnessing a slave rebellion on the open sea, which almost cost him his life, Isert later tried to find support for establishing plantations in West Africa in order to end the traffic which he found abhorrently inhuman.⁶⁶³

However, we should not conclude that the travel accounts relating in various ways to the slave trade fall outside the model offered in this paper without considering another major voyage of exploration and investigation to the Danish West Indies, namely that undertaken by the

Moravian brother Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp in the years 1767-1768, a decade after Pontoppidan's defensive preface, but two decades before the critical account of Isert. Oldendorp's primary assignment was to report about the work of his fellow Moravian missionaries among the slave population of the plantations. Even the limited parts of his 6000-page handwritten history of the mission that were printed in two volumes, heavily edited by Johann Jakob Bossart, in 1777⁶⁶⁴, are to a large extent based on Oldendorp's extensive interviews and conversations with some of the slaves. However, the complete version of his report, which is now available in four scholarly volumes⁶⁶⁵, gives overwhelming evidence of Oldendorp's almost obsessive interest in the life-histories, religious convictions and social conditions of the slave informants whom he often quotes verbatim, stating their individual names.

Both the Halle missionaries in Tranquebar and Oldendorp in the West Indies devoted considerable systematic energy to learning the language and familiarizing themselves with the living conditions of the targets of their proselytizing ambitions. This great attention to what the heathen or recently converted actually said or intended was equally important for Hans and Paul Egede in Greenland. However, only the Moravians – Oldendorp in the West Indies as much as David Cranz in Greenland – developed a kind of cult of the “*Erstlinge*”, the first baptized of a given heathen tribe or nation. Such Orthodox Lutheran missionaries may not have adored the images and paintings of their *Erstling*, but they certainly all had a fascination with listening to the voices of the individuals they hoped to Christianize.

Dependencies

Having been to Greenland and the West Indies, to Tranquebar and Arabia Felix, to Russia and North Africa in our attempt to uncover a common pattern of travel writing we will now enter more familiar territory, or at least destinations closer to the centre of the conglomerate Empire. Already the earliest Danish expedition to Iceland in the eighteenth century, the *Landkommission* from 1702 to 1712 headed by Árni Magnússon and Páll Jónsson Vídalín to map the land and put an end to conflicting land claims, lives up to our expectations in more than one respect: the two protagonists were natives not of that part of the kingdom from which they departed, Denmark, but of the island they were to investigate more closely. Furthermore, the whole project

ran into so much local trouble and so many local conflicts that at the end there was no report or account to be published. Local and natives voices were strong enough, so to speak, simply to drown that of the travelers. What is more, the outcome of the project that is best remembered by posterity was Ární Magnússon's efforts to bring all the manuscripts he could find back to his collection in Copenhagen, an activity that seems to have his main preoccupation. In this case the travelers did not write down the words of Icelanders but rather took the natives' own written words, at least those of their ancestors, and brought them home en masse.

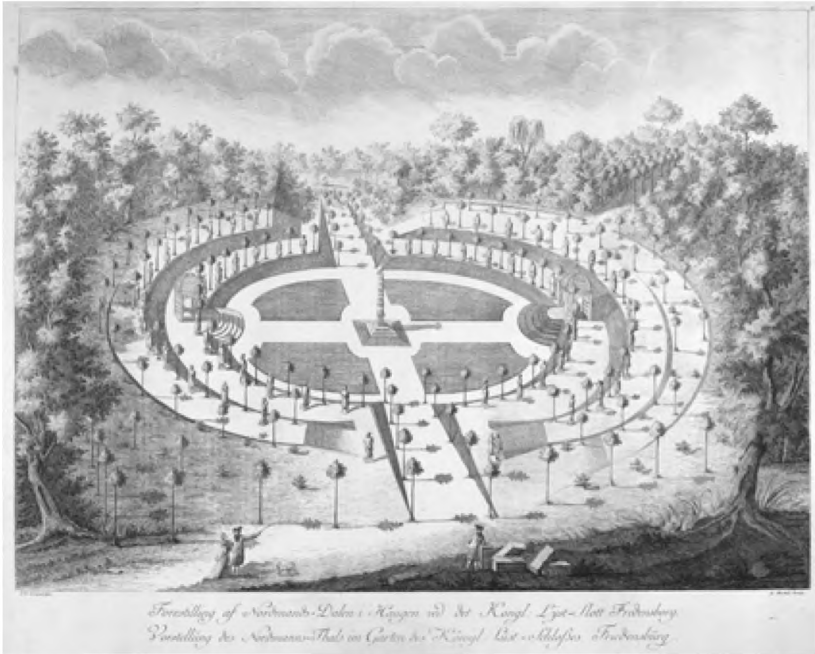
The next expedition was a visitation, ordered by Christian VI, that brought Ludvig Harboe to Iceland from 1741 to 1745 to tidy up religious practices. It seems to have had similarly disappointing results, and Niels Horrebow, who went to Iceland in 1749, was the first to write a report on his findings. Horrebow went on his own initiative though with official permission of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters to undertake mathematical and physical observations. He managed to publish a book about his voyage which in great detail defended the Icelanders against the harsh and arrogant judgements of a German travel writer⁶⁶⁶, but he was called home prematurely already after two years by the Academy which wanted to replace him with two young native Icelanders, Eggert Ólafsson og Bjarni Pálsson who as students at the University of Copenhagen had demonstrated better qualifications for the task at hand. Generally seen as one of the earliest and most comprehensive expressions of a new romantic and nationalist image of Iceland, the book by these two travelers certainly deserves a closer analysis.⁶⁶⁷ For our present purposes, however, it is enough to point out, that as native Icelanders these two authors lent their pen to their contemporary fellow natives, thus illustrating how subaltern travelers sometimes differed very little from their hosts. This point is confirmed by the last two Danish-Icelandic expeditions of the eighteenth century. The second and much larger *Landkommission* from 1770 to 1771 was once again a major collective enterprise which instead of a final report has left a polyphony, if not cacophony, of Danish and Icelandic voices and echoes in the archives.⁶⁶⁸ Finally, Olaus Olavius was another native Icelander and author of a two-volume economic description of the northern parts of Iceland⁶⁶⁹, though he is better remembered for his often reprinted topography of northern Jutland, written during his years as a customs officer there.⁶⁷⁰

Turning to the Faroe Isles, the pattern remains much the same, though less dramatically so. Two of the three book-length accounts of the Faroe Isles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are the products of foreign Danish residents or visitors. Lucas Jacobsen Debes took office as pastor in Thorshavn in 1652. When he published his description of the islands during his second visit to Copenhagen in 1673, Debes was deeply involved in conflicts between some newly appointed Danish officials, on one side, and himself and a number of his colleagues and their parishioners on the other. Trying to appeal for support from the King, Debes actually published two books, one containing the account of the Faroe Isles and one devoted to winning royal support by bringing together enormous amounts of biblical quotations confirming the love, respect and obedience all subjects owe to their King.⁶⁷¹

Jørgen Landt, whose description of the Faroe Isles appeared in 1800, fits even less into our model. Having prepared himself thoroughly in botany and natural history before taking office as pastor on the island of Nordstrømø at the age of 41, Landt seems to have spent most of his seven years there collecting botanical and statistical information rather than engaging in conversation with his parishioners or other inhabitants of the islands.⁶⁷²

The third early modern topographer of the Faroe Islands fortunately brings us back on the right track. Jens Christian Svabo was born on the island of Vaag in 1746 and went to Copenhagen to study, having finished the “learned”, or “Latin” (i.e., grammar) school in Thorshavn in 1756. Engaging in studies of economics and natural history while working on a dictionary of the still unwritten Faroese language, Svabo managed to get by with odd jobs and minor publications until 1781 when a royal order sent him to his native islands for two years in order to collect material for a systematic physical and economic description of the country. Although only published two centuries later, Svabo’s comprehensive notes are yet another example of a traveler lending his pen to other, remote voices, for they included a large collection of texts of Faroese folk songs. Sadly Svabo spent the rest of his life in utter poverty and finally had to leave Copenhagen in order to live on the support of his kinsmen at home.⁶⁷³

Norway was a part of the conglomerate empire that for a long time had attracted royal visits on a regular basis. Christian IV reportedly visited



Nordmandsdalen. Engraving by A. Heckel based on a drawing by J.G. Grund 1773.

“The Norwegian Valley” in the Royal Park at Fredensborg Castle in northern Zealand. Construction of the monument began in 1764 on the order of Frederik 5. On the terraces of the garden 60 statues represent common Norwegian peasants, fishermen and their wives, supplemented by ten figures from the Faroe Isles.

Norway on no less than twenty-six occasions;⁶⁷⁴ Christian V went at least once, in 1685; and during the course of the eighteenth century both Frederik IV (in 1704), Christian VI (in 1733) and Frederik V (in 1749) went northwards in the footsteps of their predecessors. However, during the eighteenth century printed accounts of these royal excursions declined in both frequency and size. Christian VI’s voyage was still portrayed in two formidable hand-made volumes, available exclusively at the royal reference library, but the richly illustrated account of the expedition by Frederik V only covered the earliest stages of the tour, ending before the king and his retinue had even left Jutland!⁶⁷⁵

Even a superficial look at the long list of descriptions of Norway from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁶⁷⁶ makes it clear that there has been a continuous exchange, both written and oral, between trav-

elers from other parts of the double monarchy and local enthusiasts in studying natural history and antiquities. Thus pastor Peder Claussøn's posthumously published *Norriges oc omliggende Øers sandfærdige Beskrivelse* (True Description of Norway and Surrounding Islands)⁶⁷⁷, the outcome of visitations to a long series of parishes, served as a model for both Norwegian and Danish topographers, antiquaries and natural historians who likewise were engaged in exchanges between written and oral, local and imperial pieces of information and text. Claussøn himself reportedly began his career as a writer with a series of manuscripts about Iceland (1580), the Faroe Islands (1592) and Greenland (1596) before embarking on the natural history of Norway itself. (Almost two hundred years later, the North Atlantic dependencies were still included with the Norwegian half of the kingdom.)⁶⁷⁸

Of the flood of travelogues about Norway from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, three works stand out as particularly interesting from our perspective. When the Holstein-born secretary to the Danish Chancellery, Erik Johan Jessen, in 1743 was commissioned to work out a description of the countries belonging to the king, he collected large amounts of material by sending out questionnaires to local authorities in both Denmark and Norway. When Jessen finally published a volume covering the "natural and civil conditions in the kingdom of Norway" twenty years later, he did so in his own name, but the real author seems to have been the Norwegian student Hans Steenbuch, and once again one hardly can distinguish the traveler from the hosts.⁶⁷⁹

Our next traveler, Norwegian-born Gerhard Schøning was a historian educated in Copenhagen who already at the age of 29, 1751, published an "essay on the ancient geography of the Northern countries, particularly Norway"⁶⁸⁰, which earned him appointment as rector of the grammar school [katedralskolen] in Trondheim. He returned to Norway together with the Danish historian Peter Frederik Suhm and they collaborated on a volume about Danish and Norwegian history.⁶⁸¹ Together with the Bishop of Trondheim, J. E. Gunnerus, they also laid the foundations for new Norwegian academy of sciences. 15 years later, Schøning was called back to Denmark to teach at Sorø Academy. Continuing his life project, a new history of his home country, Schøning obtained a royal grant to go to Norway again in 1773, this time in order to collect antiquarian evidence in various provinces. Although broken off earlier than planned due to the offer of yet another high office in Denmark, this expedition

led to the first modern historical and antiquarian survey of Norwegian provinces published in two volumes in 1779.⁶⁸²

Our next example is the Norwegian pastor and missionary Knud Leem who worked among the Sami of the Finnmark from 1725 to 1728 and published an authoritative account of “his” Sami in Copenhagen in 1767.⁶⁸³ This reminds us of the close connections between concerns that may appear contradictory and incompatible to us today, namely the purely secular and rational interests in history, natural history and economy, on one hand, and the religious and missionary efforts on the other. A most important bridge between the two was a common interest, if not obsession, with language and names, that is with different kinds of local knowledge. Absolutism, so it seems, lets travelers go to more or less remote destinations in order to collect and bring home such local knowledge. Danish books about Norway thus tended to be by Norwegian authors, and Norwegian missionaries, such as Hans Egede or Knud Leem strongly emphasized their linguistic interests and qualifications. Twenty years before his ethnographic monograph, Leem had already published the first grammar of the Sami language.⁶⁸⁴

Also Erik Pontoppidan, the creator of the Asian prince Menoza, started his Norwegian literary career with matters of language. Pontoppidan was appointed bishop of Bergen at the time of the last royal visit to Norway in 1749. His *Glossarium Norvagicum*,⁶⁸⁵ published the same year, in more ways than one prepared the way for his later more comprehensive monograph on the natural history, ethnography, ethno-botany and ethno-zoology of the parts of the country he was able to visit or to learn about from other sources.⁶⁸⁶ In view of Pontoppidan’s earlier severe critique of popular “heathen” and “papist” superstitions,⁶⁸⁷ this work passes on surprising amounts of local Norwegian beliefs and traditions without criticism.⁶⁸⁸ Like the other travelers we have been describing, Pontoppidan channels local knowledge and remote voices from one end of the conglomerate empire to the other, more often than not from the periphery to the center, to Copenhagen.

Europe

Coming to the end of our circumnavigation of the outer parts of the conglomerate Danish kingdom we are left with a series of travelers who did not go to any remote or peripheral destination within or beyond

the boundaries of the kingdom, but to towns and universities commonly considered closer to the centre of European civilisation. A very considerable number of people went to such European destinations for educational, scholarly, recreational, economic, personal and other purposes. However, by narrowing down our focus to those travelers who published book-length accounts of their tours to Germany, Holland, France, Italy, England and Spain during the course of the eighteenth century,⁶⁸⁹ we end up with a relatively restricted list of candidates, who turn out to have quite a lot in common. They were relatively young when they left; they did not go at their own expense but relied on grants to pay for their costs while away; most of them had studied theology or related disciplines, and among these, surprisingly many went with the specific purpose of studying at the libraries in Catholic Europe where “oriental manuscripts”, as they were called, were assumed to contain important information for a better understanding of the Old and the New Testament. Even though an disproportionately large number of these students moved on to high and influential positions in later life, they went abroad as students without the entourage characteristic of contemporary travelers who already belonging to an established elite.⁶⁹⁰ For these reasons, the following should be enlisted as further examples of subaltern individuals eager to listen and lend their pen to the voices of both the authors of the ancient oriental manuscripts and the many interlocutors of all sorts whom they met on their way. Officially many of them went to study or to prepare themselves for studying the former, in the end, however, many of them turned out to have learnt much more from the latter. They include the following:

Andreas Christian Hviid, born 1749, went to Kiel, Göttingen, Vienna, Venice, France and Holland 1777 to 1780;⁶⁹¹ Jacob Georg Christian Adler, born 1756, studied in Kiel and Copenhagen, went to Rome 1780-82;⁶⁹² Frederik Sneedorff, born 1760, went to Göttingen, Leipzig, Switzerland, France and England 1783 to 1786⁶⁹³; Frederik Münster, born 1761, visited the Two Sicilies 1788 to 1790⁶⁹⁴; Jens Baggesen, born 1764, 1792-3;⁶⁹⁵ Gregers Otto Bruun Begtrup, born 1769, studied theology, but was more interested in agriculture and economy; he went through Germany, Switzerland France, Holland and England from 1795 til 1798;⁶⁹⁶ Andreas Chrstian Gierlew, born 1774, traveled in Italy 1801-05;⁶⁹⁷ Børge Riisbrigh Thorlacius, born 1775, went to France 1799.⁶⁹⁸

Each of these travelers and especially the prosopography of the whole group deserve detailed analysis. However, enough has been said to make us expect that such closer analysis will refine and improve rather than disprove and falsify the model of the subaltern traveler in a conglomerate world.

As we have followed the footsteps of so many different travelers to so many different destinations both inside and outside the boundaries of the Danish conglomerate kingdom, we have time and again been brought back to our point of departure: the fact, that so many travelers in so many different locations listened so eagerly to the voices of other people, the commands of their superiors, the arguments of their partners in conversation, the complaints, confessions or demands of the heathen they had come to baptize in India, Africa, the West Indies, Greenland or northern Norway or the subjects in the Scandinavian dependencies they were sent to interrogate about matters such as land use, property relations, natural history or religion. In all these cases our subaltern travelers appealed to their readers as humble witnesses to the view of others whom the travelers had listened to in so many different ways (or sometimes only read). Under the conditions of conglomerate absolutism, travel writing was a way of letting the subjects from all corners of the empire and the world have their own say. The travelers listened and quoted with varying degrees of empathy and understanding, but since they, too, were in subordinate and subaltern positions, they only rarely raised their voice in their own name.

Two of the best known pieces of Danish travel writing from the eighteenth century illustrate exactly this point. The subterranean voyage of Ludvig Holberg's *Niels Klim*, published anonymously in Latin in Leipzig 1741 famously shows how the world can be exposed to critique when seen from a series of strikingly different points of view without identifying either the author or the protagonist with any of these standpoints. Things had changed dramatically half a century later. For Jens Baggesen, who had translated *Niels Klim* into Danish, it was no longer enough to listen to the voices of others. In his Sterne-inspired travelogue *Labyrinten* from 1791-92 there is a remarkable passage which very well illustrates what powers could be released once travelers no longer restricted themselves to speak for other subaltern subjects, but felt empowered, in the name of humanity, to speak for themselves in speaking of the other. Towards the end of an ethnographic masterpiece in *Laby-*

rinten about the Jewish ghetto in Frankfurt, The Jew Street (*Jødegaden*) Baggesen exclaims:

What would an earthling unacquainted with our history, an alien to European customs, at least a person free of our prejudices – a Huron, Peruvian or Peluanian⁶⁹⁹ – what would he not think when hearing the following:

That a people which God himself from the beginning of history had offered his special protection, himself had given laws and governance and for millennia had preserved from all dangers with a father's particular care for his best loved children – this according to the Europeans' own opinion and from the God whom they themselves worship –

That a people which this God entrusted with humanity's particular Palladium, the understanding of His Unity – which he thereby consecrated to the world's other moral teachers – a people of whose womb sprang truly the first, the supreme moral legislator who is divinely recognized by the Europeans themselves

That a people, finally, which Christians regard as their true spiritual paternity, whose religion they of necessity must consider their own religion's mother – that this people in these last times, from the moment that Christians, their spiritual sons, got into power, and for no other reason than that it was this peculiar people – that this people has been all but deprived of right to citizenship. Right to own land, access to the most common rights, deprived the use of most of their human powers and abilities, dispossessed of the right to support themselves honestly – and thus excluded from the benefits of civil society, thrown into a perpetual prison on the earth that God created for all of humanity, exposed to contempt, insult and persecution – completely left to the corruption that inevitably arises from lack of social respect, lack of participation in society's common means of refinement, and the most horrifying of all slavery?

“Oh terror! Oh sacrilege! Oh bloody tenthousandfold patricide!” – that is what nature's non-political son would cry. And with this cry I finished my sorrowful observation.⁷⁰⁰

Notes

Notes to the Introduction

1. I am greatly indebted to Henrik Horstbøll for many discussions of the matters in these brief introductory remarks.
2. All parenthetical references are to the essays in the present volume.

Notes to Chapter 1

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60. A-M. Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales: Europe xviii-xxe siècle* (Paris 1999), 32-3, 44-5.
61. Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, 188, 190.
62. H.F. Vermeulen, "Origins and institutionalization of ethnography and ethnology in Europe and the USA, 1771-1845", in *Fieldwork and Footnotes: Studies in the History of European anthropology*, ed. H. F. Vermeulen and A. Alvarez Roldan (London and New York, NY 1995), esp. 39-41. I am indebted to Michael Harbsmaier for this reference.

63. I.A. Blackwell, "Remarks on Bishop Percy's Preface", *Northern Antiquities* (London 1847), esp. 33-4.

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64. Guy Miège, *The Present State of Denmark* (London 1693); G. Pierre-ville, *The Present State of Denmark and Reflections on the Ancient State Thereof* (London 1683). It should be noted that Samuel von Pufendorf's highly successful *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe*, an English translation of which (by Jodocus Crull) was published the year after the appearance of Molesworth's *Account*, also has a separate chapter on Denmark.
65. William Carr, *The Travellers Guide and Historians Faithful Companion* (London 1690), 197–204; idem, *An Accurate Description of the United Netherlands, and of the Most Considerable Parts of Germany, Sweden and Denmark* (London 1691), 133–7; idem, *Travels Through Flanders, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark* (London 1693), 133–7.
66. Private information. At the ensuing sale the collection, previously in the possession of the Clements family of Ravensdale, Co. Louth, Ireland, and reported on by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1913, was broken up. I understand that it has since been re-consolidated. There are microfilm copies of the originals in the National Library of Ireland.
67. Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London 1967), 111, 229–30, 378; J. G. Simms, "The Parliament of 1713" in *Historical Studies iv: papers read before the fifth Irish Conference of Historians*, ed. G. A. Hayes-McCoy (London 1963), 83–5.
68. Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Cambridge, MA 1959), ch. 5.
69. *Franco-Gallia; or, An Account of the Free State of France, and Most Other Parts of Europe, Before the Loss of Their Liberties ... Translated by the Author of the Account of Denmark* (London 1711). A further edition was published in 1721.
70. *An Account of Denmark, as It Was in the Year 1692* (London 1694), preface (a4).
71. The details of Molesworth's life and career are conveniently summarised in the biographical articles contained in *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks et al., 5 vols. (Cambridge 2002), 4: 826–35; and *The Oxford Dictionary of Na-*

- tional Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford 2004), 38: 530–2.
72. The most comprehensive modern biography is Robert Voitle, *The Third Earl of Shaftesbury, 1671-1713* (London 1984).
 73. See *Letters from ... the Late Earl of Shaftesbury, to Robert Molesworth*, ed. John Toland (London 1721).
 74. Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge 1994).
 75. M.A. Stewart, “John Smith and the Molesworth circle” in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, 2 (1987): 89-102; Ian McBride, “William Drennan and the Dissenting tradition” in *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion*, ed. David Dickson et al. (Dublin 1993), 56; Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-1730: The Crucible of his Thought* (Dublin 2001). The quotation from Toland is at British Library [henceforth B.L.], Add. MS 4465, f. 21.
 76. C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692-1714* (Dublin 2000).
 77. H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (new edn, London 1978), 324–5; Maurice Craig, *Dublin, 1660–1860* (Dublin 1980), 106–8; Rolf Loeber, *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Ireland 1600-1720* (London 1981), 54–5; Edward McParland, “Edward Lovett Pearce and the new junta for architecture” in *Lord Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, ed. Toby Barnard and Jane Clark (London 1995), 151–65.
 78. Finola O’Kane, *Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Ireland: Mixing Foreign Trees with the Natives* (Cork 2004), ch. 1.
 79. Hugh Mayo, „Robert Molesworth’s *Account of Denmark*: Its Roots and Its Impact“, unpublished PhD thesis (University of South Denmark 2000). I am grateful to Dr Mayo for many fruitful discussions on Molesworth and his *Account*.
 80. Molesworth, *Account*, 76–8, 83, 86–9, 94–5, 98.
 81. *Ibid.*, 42.
 82. For a discussion of the possible influence of Petty on Molesworth, see Mayo, thesis, 220–35. “The ingenious Sir William Petty” is cited in Molesworth, *Account*, 91.
 83. For what follows, see especially D. W. Hayton, “Anglo-Irish attitudes: changing perceptions of national identity among the

- Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, ca. 1690-1740' in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, 17 (1987): 145-57; Jim Smyth, "Like amphibious animals': Irish protestants, ancient Britons", in *Historical Journal* 26 (1993): 785-97.
84. See for example, Molesworth, *Account*, preface (a4, c4), 75.
 85. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* [henceforth *CSP Dom.*], 1699, p. 36; Historical Manuscripts Commission [henceforth H.M.C.], *Various Collections*, 8: 231, 242, 255, 256.
 86. Molesworth, *Account*, 98.
 87. H.M.C., *Ormonde MSS*, new ser. 6: 92-559, passim.
 88. *Ibid.*, 150, 209; 7: 74-5, 76, 81, 89, 181.
 89. Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London 2005), ch 7, esp. 390-3.
 90. Molesworth, *Account*, preface (c4), contains a reference to Sidney's embassy.
 91. Harris, *Restoration*, ch. 6.
 92. B.L., Add. MS 61639, f. 3. For confirmation that he travelled on the continent after 1685, see *CSP Dom.*, 1685, p. 441.
 93. Mayo, thesis, 181-7.
 94. D. W. Hayton, *Ruling Ireland, 1685-1742: Politics, Politicians and Parties* (Woodbridge 2004), 36-40.
 95. *House of Commons 1690-1715*, ed. Cruickshanks et al., 4: 828-9.
 96. *Ibid.*, 829-30; Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester 1977), 165.
 97. Edith Mary Johnston-Liik, *History of the Irish Parliament 1692-1800: Commons, Constituencies and Statutes*, 6 vols. (Belfast 2002), 5: 259; H.M.C., *Bucleuch MSS*, 2: 223, 534.
 98. See above, p. 43.
 99. Molesworth, *Account*, 42-4.
 100. Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623-1677* (Cambridge 1988); idem, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677-1683* (Cambridge 1991); Mark Goldie, "The Roots of true whiggism, 1688-94", in *History of Political Thought*, 1 (1980): 195-236.
 101. Molesworth, *Account*, ch. 10.
 102. *Ibid.*, 268.
 103. *Ibid.*, 42.
 104. Stanley to Harley, n.d. (B.L., Add. MS 70206). I am grateful to Dr S. N. Handley for drawing my attention to this file of letters.
 105. Same to same, 3 Oct. 1693 (*ibid.*).

106. For what follows, see Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics*, ch. 6.
107. *Ibid.*, 107–19.
108. Indeed, as late as June 1694 Molesworth's relations with the Junto were good enough for him to be recommended to an unresponsive King William by Shrewsbury, Somers and other whigs for a place on the excise commission (though admittedly in order to prevent him becoming "a very troublesome popular speaker" if embittered by neglect: *CSP, Dom.*, 1694–5, pp. 180, 182–3. See also Nottingham University Library, Portland (Bentinck) MSS, Sunderland to Portland, 13 July 1694 (PwA 1238); H.M.C., *Bucleuch MSS*, 3: 22.
109. See in general Susannah J. Abbott, "Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Popery: Religion and Language in English Politics, 1678–1720", unpublished PhD thesis (University of Reading 2004).
110. Johnston-Liik, *Hist. Irish Parl.*, 5: 260; H.M.C., *Portland MSS*, 5: 113; *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, 5 vols. (Oxford 1963–5), 2: 4–5.
111. J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies, 1660-1730* (Cambridge 1992); Sir Robert Howard, *The History of Religion ...* (London 1694); *The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Richard Cocks, 1698–1702*, ed. D. W. Hayton (Oxford 1996), xxii–xxiv.
112. Molesworth, *Account*, preface (b2), 251–4.
113. For example his discussion of holy days (*ibid.*, 254), which echoes comments made elsewhere in his writings about the stultifying effects of Catholic practice on the native Irish economy.
114. *Ibid.*, 258.
115. *Ibid.*, 268.
116. Robert Molesworth, *The Principles of a Real Whig* (London 1775) [the reprinted preface to *Franco-Gallia*], 8–9. It is worth noting that in his will Molesworth left bequests to the established Church of Ireland, to parishes where he had estates: a velvet cloth for the communion table at Swords, Co. Dublin, and a sum of money to be put to any subscription for a new parish church at Philipstown in King's County. The National Archives [of the U.K.], Public Record Office, PCC 239 Plymouth.
117. J. F. Boshier, "The Franco-Catholic danger" in *History* 79 (1994): 5–30; Steven C. A. Pincus, "Popery, trade and universal monarchy: the ideological context of the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War" in *English Historical Review*, 107 (1992): 1–29; *idem*,

- “The English debate on universal monarchy” in *A Union for Empire: the Union of 1707 in the History of British Political Thought*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge 1995), 37–62; idem, “The making of a great power? Universal monarchy, political economy, and the transformation of English political culture” in *The European Legacy* 5 (2000): 531–45.
118. B.L., Add. MS 34095, ff 41–368, *passim*; Add. MS 36662, ff 15–423, *passim*.
 119. B.L., Add. MS 34095, f. 73.
 120. *Ibid.*, f. 78.
 121. *Ibid.*, f. 177.
 122. *Ibid.*, f. 268.
 123. *Ibid.*, f. 352.
 124. Some of these comments were also made in previous diplomatic correspondence, for example the letters Daniel Butts and Thomas Fotherby in 1686–8 both complain about the corruption and inefficiency of the Danish court, and the misery endured by the populace: see B.L., Add. MSS 41828, ff 284, 287, 297; 41829, ff 8, 19–20, 32, 35.
 125. See for example, Molesworth, *Account*, 123–7. For Christian V’s resentment, see the memorial presented by his envoy in England, Mogen Skeel (B.L., Sloane MS 3826, ff 173–5).
 126. Most famously in C. H. Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth’s Skrift “An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692”* (Copenhagen 1879).
 127. *Ibid.*, Add. MS 37407, f. 6. He was probably right to be suspicious of the Earl of Nottingham, who was quick to criticise his conduct to the king: H.M.C., *Finch MSS*, 2: 399. In July 1694 the whig Secretary of State, Shrewsbury, recommended Molesworth to the new Lord Deputy in Dublin, Capel, as one who had been “ill used by the late ministers for being too stiff to that principle which you and I have been ready to own” (H.M.C. *Buccleuch MSS*, 2: 97).
 128. Mayo, thesis, chs 4, 6.
 129. See the petition he submitted to the Treasury during his embassy, at B.L., Add. MS 33057, f. 312.
 130. Benjamin Rand, *The Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen of Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury* (London 1900), 383–5, 392–3; H.M.C., *Portland MSS*, 2: 204; 5: 82.
 131. That it was not entirely expelled is clear from his “waspyish” comments in a House of Commons debate at Westminster in 1698

- on the subsidy paid to the Danes (*CSP Dom.*, 1698, p. 83; *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III, from 1696 to 1708: Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury* by James Vernon, ed. G. P.R. James, 3 vols. (London 1841), 2: 9.
132. As argued in Lois G. Schwoerer, *No standing armies! The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Baltimore 1974), 174–5.
133. Interestingly enough, the *Account of Denmark* seems to have been cited in the 1693/4 session by an M.P. or M.P.s critical of King William's use of the veto (Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics*, 127, 140), though there is no evidence that Molesworth himself was involved. It may have been an act of malice intended to embarrass him.

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134. Apart from the references detailed below the present article has also benefited from two unpublished PhD dissertations: Paul Ries, *An Account of Denmark as it was in the years 1660-1703 – An Enquiry into some Political, Legal, Religious and Literary Aspects of early Danish Absolutism, with special Reference to Ideas about God, Man and the Universe* (Cambridge 1968) and Hugh Mayo, *Robert Molesworth's 'Account of Denmark': – its Roots and its Impact* (Odense 2000). The classic Danish treatment is Chr. H. Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth's Skrift "An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692"* (Copenhagen 1879) which, however, must be consulted with care due to the author's poor judgement and penchant for speculations. The most recent sketch of Molesworth's life is by David W. Hayton in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 38 (Oxford 2004), 530-2. Cf. also Gerald E. Aylmer, "English perceptions of Scandinavia in the 17th century", in *Europe and Scandinavia. Aspects of the Process of Integration in the 17th Century*, ed. Göran Rystad (Lund 1983), 181-93.
135. Further English editions were published in 1705, 1738, 1744, 1745 (twice) and 1752 and further French editions in 1705, 1714, 1732. Cf. Paul Ries, "Robert Molesworth's 'Account of Denmark': a study in the art of political publishing and bookselling in England and on the Continent before 1700", *Scandinavica. An International Journal of Scandinavian Studies* 7 (1968): 108-25.
136. Holger de Fine Olivarius, *A Letter from Mr. Olivarius, Professor of*

- Danish Laws at the University of Kiel, to his Countrymen, the Danes, upon the Subject of Mr. Molesworth* (Kiel 1794), 16.
137. Franz v. Jessen, *En slesvigsk Statsmand* (Copenhagen 1930), I: 141-90. Cf. also C.O. Bøggild-Andersen, *Statsomvæltningen i 1660. Kritiske Studier over Kilder og Tradition* (Copenhagen 1936), 2, ed. with a supplement (Århus 1971), 229-56; Robert Molesworth, *En beskrivelse af Danmark som det var i året 1692*, transl. by Svend Lynstrup, with a postscript by Erik Kjersgaard (Århus 1977), 159-99; Paul Ries, "Robert Molesworths Analyse des dänischen Absolutismus", in *Arte et marte. Studien zur Adelskultur des Barockzeitalters in Schweden, Dänemark und Schleswig-Holstein*, ed. Dieter Lohmeier (Neumünster 1978), 43-66.
 138. Robert Molesworth, *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692* (London 1694; reprint Copenhagen 1976), the preface, fol. a 4 v.
 139. Molesworth, *An Account*, the preface, fol. c 7 r.
 140. Molesworth, *An Account*, the preface, fol. c 7 r.
 141. Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman. Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Cambridge, MA 1961), 88-133.
 142. G. Pierreville, *The Present State of Denmark and Reflexion upon the Ancient State thereof* (London 1683); Guy Miege, *The Present State of Denmark* (London 1683).
 143. *British Diplomatic Instructions 1689-1789*. Volume III. *Denmark*, ed. James Frederick Chance (London 1926), 5.
 144. *British Diplomatic Instructions 1689-1789*. Volume I. *Sweden, 1689-1717*, ed. James Frederick Chance (London 1922), 49 (instruction to James Jefferyes, ambassador to Charles XII at Bender, 11. January 1710/11, verbatim as in Molesworth's instruction). Also 1, 2, 17, 44, 66, 106-7.
 145. One example among many: William Temple, "A Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, and Flanders with Their relation to England in the year 1671", in William Temple, *Works*, I-IV (London 1770), II: 205-28.
 146. Ries, "Political publishing and bookselling", 119.
 147. Cf. the letter from Skeel to Reventlow and from Paulli to Jessen printed in Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth*, 213-15. Skeel's opinion is summed up in the following lines: "il [Crull] n'aurait pas fait

- mal, de s'adresser a quelqv'un, qui eut pu encore l'instruire de plusieurs particularitez. Il paroît aussy, qv'il y a fort longtems, qv'il est sorti de Danemarc, parce qv'il parle de la grandeur des Chateaux de Ripen et de Hadersleben et de la dependance de nos baptemes, noces et enterremens. Il y a bien qv'elqv'es informations plus nouvelles, mais en general la chose n'est pas assez bien appropriée au tems present ... son liure meriteroit d'etre loué, quand ce ne seroit que pour la bonne volonté, qv'il a eue de nous obliger", Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth*, 214.
148. Ries "Political publishing and bookselling", 110, polemizing against Brasch.
149. Molesworth, *An Account*, 201-18. Incidentally, the last thing known about the activities of La Foulereuse is his authorship of a couple of pro-Danish pamphlets during the next round of the conflict around 1700. Cf. Jessen, *En slesvigsk Statsmand*, 190. H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexikon*, vol. III (Copenhagen 1926), 101-2.
150. Cf. Chr. Bruun (ed.), *Bibliotheca Danica*, 2nd edn., vol. III, (Copenhagen 1962), col. 237-40, 243-56.
151. Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth*, 209.
152. Frank Grunert, "Zur aufgeklärten Kritik am theokratischen Absolutismus. Der Streit zwischen Hector Gottfried Masius und Christian Thomasius über Ursprung und Begründung der summa potestas", in *Christian Thomasius (1655-1728). Neue Forschungen im Kontext der Frühaufklärung*, ed. Friedrich Vollhardt (Tübingen 1997), 51-77.
153. Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth*, 209-11.
154. Brasch, *Om Robert Molesworth*, 216.
155. Molesworth, *An Account*, 75.
156. Pierre Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses* (La Haye 1731), IV: 705 (letter 8 March 1694, mentioning *An Account*), 755 (letter 5 November 1697: "Mr. Molesworth, dont le mérite est si connu par toute l'Europe, & qu'il a si bien fait connoître dans ses Emplois & dans ses Livres"), 761 (letter 29 April 1698: "l'estime que tout le monde doit avoir pour Monsieur leur [Molesworth's two sons] Pere, dont les illustres qualitez ont paru avec tant d'éclat, & que j'honore infiniment").
157. Laurits Thura, *Hans Rostgaards Liv og Levnet* (Copenhagen 1726), 31:
 "Et avindsygt Gemyt, hves Pen, sig selv til Skamme,

Har spøtted Ædder paa dend heele danske Stamme, (b)
 Maa dog bestaa, en Dansk sig ynsker før spedalsk,
 End at gaa fra sin Eed, og være Kongen falsk.

- (b) Dette Skrift er først udgivet her udi Engelland paa Engelsk; Skribenten har ej været sit navn bekjendt/ som dog er vel bekjendt/ men her maa være unævnt; Bogen selv/ kalded The Account of Denmark er strax derpaa af det høje Herskab bleven forbuden.”
158. “(b) This publication was first published here in England and in English; the author has been embarrassed to disclose his name/ yet he is a name/ but still not to be named here; The book itself/ called The Account of Denmark has subsequently been banned by high authority”. Thura is wrong on the last point. The book was never banned. Cf. Ries, “Political publishing and bookselling”, 116-18.
159. Molesworth, *An Account*, 150; cf. also 250-1.
160. *Journal de Hambourg, Contenant divers memoires curieux & utiles sur toute sorte de sujets*, vol. II (Hamburg 1695), 3-10; [H. Basnage], *Historie des ouvrages des savans, Par Monsr. B***, mois mars, avril & mai 1694*, 390-9.
161. Johannes Moller, *Bibliotheca septentrionis eruditi Sive syntagma tractatum de scriptoribus illius* (Leipzig 1699).
162. “Verum enimvero sola peccantes ignorantia veniam a generosis Septentrionis Habitatoribus facile impetrabunt, non item Censores illi αυτοχειροτόνητοι, qui cum Jano Huarto, Medico Hispano, *Scrutinii Ingeniorum* Autore, πατριδομανία etiam φιλόπτω atque superciliosa dementati, *Homines sub Septentrione degentes totos intellectu destitui, qui autem sunt intra Septentrionem & Zonam torridam*, Hispanos, ac eorum Vicinos, *prudētissimos esse*, inepte sibi persuadent, ac, in *Cimbriæ Literatæ Prodrōmo*, breviter olim a nobis sunt castigati. Eadem cum his Phrenesi, sed longe periculosius, quod cæco in Patriam Affectui odium in Boreales, ob privatas quasdam offensas, junxerit rabiosum ac Vatinianum, laborat, ac proinde vel tribus Anticyis videtur esse insanabilis, Scriptor ex Hybernia nuperus, cui, si ejus exemplo, in gentes integras debacchari nobis esse volupe, barbariem Popularium suorum, vivis a S. Bernhardo Claravallensi, Joh. Goodio, & qui utrumque allegat, Guilh. Cambdeno (in *Descript. Britann.*) depictam coloribus, vestigiaque hujus in ipsiusmet reliqua Ingenio, exprobrare posse-

- mus. Est is Molesworthius, Wilhelmi III., Brittanorum Regis, Legatione in Aula Danica, ab A. circiter 1690., per triennium, sed, ob ingenii asperioris importunitatem haud satis decore, functus, qui cum, ob hanc, non eo, quo optabat, in pretio se a Monarcha Augustissimo, Christiano V., ac Magnatibus Aulicis, haberi indignaretur, vindictæ cupidus, mox post discessum e Dania, Librum de Facie illius moderna, in eam pariter atque Imperia reliqua Monarchica ac ὀνυπέυθυνα, in Prolegomenis dicacitate effræni traducta, injurium, in lucem protrusit”, Moller, *Bibliotheca*, the preface, 17-18.
163. Molesworth, *An Account*, 250-1, alluded to by Moller, *Bibliotheca*, the preface, 33-4.
 164. Molesworth, *An Account*, 255-6; cited by Moller, *Bibliotheca*, the preface, 19-20, 31.
 165. Molesworth, *An Account*, 257, cited by Moller, *Bibliotheca*, the preface, 20, 34.
 166. Moller, *Bibliotheca*, The preface, 32-37.
 167. Kåre Foss, “En strid om kongerikene Norges og Danmarks gode navn og rykte omkring 1700: Pierreville – Molesworth – Holberg”, *Edda. Nordisk tidsskrift for litteraturforskning*, 31 (1931): 1-59.
 168. Ludvig Holberg, *Introduction Til de fornemste Europæiske Rigers Historier* (Copenhagen 1711), republished in 1728, 1757. Critical edition in: Ludvig Holberg, *Samlede Skrifter*, ed. Carl S. Petersen, vol. I (Copenhagen 1913), 1-382.
 169. Ludvig Holberg, *Anhang Til hans Historiske Introduction Eller Underretning Om de Fornemste Europæiske Rigers og Republikvers Stater* (Copenhagen 1713), republished in 1757. Critical edition in: Holberg, *Samlede Skrifter*, vol. I, 383-512.
 170. Ludvig Holberg, *Dannemarks og Norges Beskrivelse* (Copenhagen 1729), republished in 1749 and 1762, a German translation was published in 1730. Critical edition: Ludvig Holberg, *Samlede Skrifter*, ed. Carl S. Petersen, vol. V (Copenhagen 1920), 153-723.
 171. Arent Berntsen, *Danmarckis oc Norgis Fructbar Herlighed* (Copenhagen 1650-56, reprint 1971).
 172. Erik Pontoppidan, *Norges Naturlige Historie* (Copenhagen 1752-53, reprint 1977).
 173. Erik Pontoppidan, *Den danske Atlas* (Copenhagen 1763-67, reprint 1968-72).
 174. Cf. Harald IIsøe, “Danskerne og deres fædreland. Holdninger og opfattelser ca. 1550-1700”, in *Dansk identitetshistorie. 1. Fædreland*

- og modersmål 1536-1789*, ed. Ole Feldbæk (Copenhagen 1991), 27-88, especially 78-83 (a rather superficial treatment); Ole Feldbæk, "Fædreland og Indfødsret. 1700-tallets danske identitet", in *Dansk identitetshistorie*, 111-230. Neither of these contributions highlights the connection suggested here.
175. E.g. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 163, 175, 189, 203, 205, 207-8, 266-7, 289-90, 566, 664.
 176. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 173.
 177. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 275-309 (on learning and letters), 175.
 178. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 175-6.
 179. This rendering of *An Account's* title indicates that Holberg used the French edition with the title *Etat du Royaume de Danemark, Tel qu'il étoit en 1692* (Amsterdam 1695), cf. Ries, "Political publishing and bookselling", 115.
 180. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 203-4.
 181. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 206-7. Hobbes' line of argument, even if partly overlapping, is different; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge 1996), 117-38 (chapters 17-19).
 182. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 207.
 183. Holberg, *Danmarks og Norges Beskrivelse*, 208-24. The pages 215-24 contain a reprint of the Lex Regia (Royal law) of 1665, published for the first time in 1709.
 184. [André Roger], *Lettres sur le Dannemarc*, vol. I-II (Geneva 1757-64); Danish, German and English editions followed suit. When Roger died in 1759 his relation Elie-Salomon-François Reverdil completed the unfinished draft of the second volume. Cf. Henrik Horstbøll, "Mellem despoti og demokrati. Den schweiziske forbindelse: Roger, Mallet og Reverdil om den danske enevælde", *Fund og forskning* 42 (2003): 153-76.
 185. Roger, *Lettres*, vol. I, preface, *3.
 186. Ludvig Holberg, *Remarques sur quelques positions, qui se trouvent dans l'esprit des loix* (Copenhagen 1753), Critical edition in: Ludvig Holberg, *Samlede Skrifter*, ed. Carl S. Petersen, vol. XVII (Copenhagen 1942), 255-90. Four of the five letters that make up this pamphlet were published in Danish in the fifth, posthumous volume of Holberg's *Epistler* (Copenhagen 1754) (= Epistels 514, 516, 518 & 519), the best critical edition of which is Ludvig Holberg, *Epistler*, ed F.J. Billeskov Jansen, vol. I-VIII (Copenhagen 1944-54), vol.

V. Cf. also Edvard Holm, *Holbergs statsretlige og politiske Synsmaade* (Copenhagen 1879, reprint 1975), and Edvard Holm, *Om det Syn paa Kongemagt, Folk og borgerlig Frihed, der udviklede sig i den dansk-norske Stat i Midten af 18de Aarhundrede (1746-1770)* (Copenhagen 1883, reprint 1975); Juliane Engelhardt, "'Adel er arvelig, men Dyd maa erhverves'. Den patriotiske bevægelse i det danske monarki 1780-1799", *Fortid og Nutid* (2002), 161-87.

Notes to Chapter 4

- 187 The author is grateful for comments at the Conference in Copenhagen. He is pleased to acknowledge the permission of the British Library Board and the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland to cite MSS in their care.
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189. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes, 12 vols (Edinburgh 1814-1875) [hereafter cited as APS], 2: 95 (c. 6).
190. APS, 2: 115-16.
191. Dauvit Broun, "The origin of Scottish identity", in *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, ed. Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and K. J. Stringer (Copenhagen 1994), 35-55; Alexander Grant, "Aspects of national consciousness in medieval Scotland", *ib.*, 68-95; Troels Dahlerup, "Danish national identity, c. 700-1700", *ib.*, 56-67.
192. J. W. Cairns, "From *Claves Curiae* to Senators of the College of Justice: changing rituals and symbols in Scottish courts", in *Symbolische Kommunikation vor Gericht in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Reiner Schulze (Berlin 2006), 251-68 at 261-65; J. W. Cairns, "Advocates' hats, Roman law and admission to the Scots bar, 1580-1812", *Journal of Legal History* 20.2 (1999): 24-61.
193. Tamm, "The Danes and their legal heritage", 50-1.
194. J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of composite monarchies", *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48-71.
195. See, e.g., Ernst Ekman, "The Danish Royal Law of 1665", *Journal of Modern History* 29 (1957): 102-7. An English-language version was published by Jenkin Philipps as *Lex Regia: Or the Royal Law of Denmark* (London 1731).

196. Tamm, "The Danes and their legal heritage", 48-50.
197. See Ditlev Tamm, "Der dänische König als Richter und Gesetzgeber", *Symbolische Kommunikation vor Gericht in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Reiner Schulze (Berlin 2006), 357-73.
198. See John Morrill, "The English, the Scots, and the dilemmas of union, 1638-1654", in *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900*, ed. T. C. Smout (Oxford 2005), 57-74; C. A. Whatley, "Taking stock: Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century", *ib.*, 103-25.
199. See, e.g., C. A. Whatley, *Bought and Sold for English Gold? Explaining the Union of 1707*, 2nd edn (East Linton 2001).
200. APS, 11: 406-14, c. 7 at 411-12 (art. 22).
201. APS, 11: 406-14, c. 7 at 413 (art. 24). On contemporary ideas of sovereignty in Scotland, see Colin Kidd, "Sovereignty and the Scottish constitution before 1707", *Juridical Review* (2004): 225-36; J. W. Cairns, "Scottish law, Scottish lawyers and the status of the Union", in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707*, ed. John Robertson (Cambridge 1995), 243-68; John Robertson, "An elusive sovereignty: the course of the Union debate in Scotland 1698-1707", *ib.*, 198-227.
202. Julian Goodare, "The estates in the Scottish Parliament, 1286-1707", in *The Scots and Parliament*, ed. Clyve Jones (Edinburgh 1996), 11-32. Other than some now quite outdated works there is rather a dearth of detailed discussion of the institutional history of the Scottish Parliament. It is to be hoped that the third volume of *The Scottish Parliament: A Thematic History*, ed. K. M. Brown and A. R. MacDonald (Edinburgh, forthcoming) may remedy this somewhat. Details of the functioning of the Parliament may be gleaned from R. S. Rait, *The Parliaments of Scotland* (Glasgow 1924) and C. S. Terry, *The Scottish Parliament: its Constitution and Procedure, 1603-1707* (Glasgow 1905).
203. George Mackenzie, *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh 1688), 5; Francis Grant, *Law, Religion and Education, Considered; In Three Essays: With Respect to the Youth; Who Study Law: As a Principal Profession, or Accessory Accomplishment* (Edinburgh 1715), Essay on Law, 43. (All subsequent references to this work will be to this individually paginated Essay on Law.)
204. Julian Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 1560-1625* (Oxford 2004), 128-48.
205. A. E. Whetstone, *Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and*

- Nineteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh 1981), 3.
206. Alexander Murdoch, "*The People Above*": *Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh 1980), 22-3.
207. APS, 7: 540-7.
208. Murdoch, "*People Above*", 23-5; Whetstone, *County Government*, 61-94.
209. APS, 4: 434-5, c. 14.
210. See, e.g., Murdoch, "*People Above*", 26-7.
211. See, e.g., S. J. Brown, "Religion in Scotland", in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. H. T. Dickinson (Oxford 2002), 260-70 at 261-4.
212. J. W. Cairns, "Revisiting the foundation of the College of Justice", in *Miscellany Five*, ed. H. L. MacQueen, Stair Society, vol. 52 (Edinburgh 2006), 27-50.
213. J. W. Cairns, "Historical introduction", in *A History of Private Law in Scotland*, 2 vols, ed. Kenneth Reid and Reinhard Zimmermann (Oxford 2000), 1: 14-184 at 123-4.
214. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 122-3.
215. See generally S. J. Davies, "The courts and the Scottish legal system 1600-1747: the case of Stirlingshire", in *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500*, ed. V. A. C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker (London 1980), 120-54.
216. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 83-4, 120.
217. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 118-19; Whetstone, 2-3.
218. Whetstone, *County Government*, 1.
219. *The Minutes of the Justices of the Peace for Lanarkshire, 1707-1723*, ed. C. A. Malcolm, Scottish History Society, 3rd Ser., vol. 17 (Edinburgh 1931), xxi, xxiii-xvi.
220. Murdoch, "*People Above*", 27.
221. See, e.g., Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 2, 8, 10, 37-59. On the background to this view of Scots law, see J. W. Cairns, "*Ius Civile* in Scotland, ca. 1600", in *Law for All Times: Essays in Memory of David Daube*, ed. Ernest Metzger (Lawrence, KS 2004), 136-70.
222. APS, 11: 406-14, c. 7 at 410-11 (arts. 18-21). On the abolition of the Privy Council, see 6 Anne, c. 40 (1707) with the discussion in P. W. J. Riley, *The English Ministers and Scotland* (London 1964), 90-3.
223. APS, 11: 402-3, c. 6; 6 Anne, c. 8
224. APS, 11: 406-14, c. 7 at 413-14; 6 Anne, c. 11.

225. David Stevenson, "The English and the public records of Scotland, 1650-1660", in *Miscellany One*, Stair Society, vol. 26 (Edinburgh 1971), 156-68.
226. APS, 11: 406-14, c. 7 at 413 (art. 24).
227. F. D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland, 1651-1660* (Edinburgh 1979), 36.
228. *Scotland and the Commonwealth: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland, From August 1651 to December 1653*, ed. C. H. Firth, Scottish History Society, vol. 18 (Edinburgh 1895), xvii-xviii. The commissions were temporary, later extended.
229. L. M. Smith, "Scotland and Cromwell: a Study in Early Modern Government", unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford 1980), 72.
230. Quoted in A. R. G. MacMillan, "The judicial system of the Commonwealth in Scotland", *Juridical Review* 49 (1937): 232-55 at 241.
231. *The Cromwellian Union: Papers Relating to the Negotiations for an Incorporating Union Between England and Scotland, 1651-1652*, ed. C. Sanford Terry, Scottish History Society, vol. 40 (Edinburgh 1902), 65-8, 86-7, 164; Smith, "Scotland and Cromwell", 69.
232. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait (London 1911; repr. Abingdon 1982), 2: 873-5, 883-4.
233. *Scotland and the Protectorate: Letters and Papers Relating to the Military Government of Scotland From January 1654 to June 1659*, ed. C. H. Firth, Scottish History Society, vol. 31 (Edinburgh 1899), 308-16, 403-5; Dow, *Cromwellian Union*, 145-6, 178-81.
234. Dow, *Cromwellian Union*, 166.
235. See, e.g., MacMillan, "Judicial system of the Commonwealth", passim; A. J. G. Mackay, *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple, First Viscount Stair* (Edinburgh 1873), 58.
236. David Hume, *History of England*, new ed., 6 vols. (London 1762), 6: 76; James Macpherson, *The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration, to the Accession of the House of Hanover*, 2 vols. (London 1775), 1: 21-2; Hugo Arnot, *The History of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh 1779), 136-7. On the context of these assessments, see Colin Kidd, "Eighteenth-century Scotland and the three unions", in *Anglo Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900*, ed. T. C. Smout (Oxford 2005), 171-87 at 183-4.
237. See Cairns, "Historical introduction", 101-5.

238. *Cromwellian Union*, 187-224 at 203.
239. Found quoted in Clare Jackson, "Restoration to revolution: 1660-1690", in *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603-1715*, ed. Glenn Burgess (London 1999), 92-114 at 107.
240. APS, 9: 45; *An Account of the Proceedings of the Estates in Scotland, 1689-1690*, 2 vols, ed. E. W. M. Balfour-Melville, Scottish History Society, 3rd Ser., vols. 46-7 (Edinburgh 1954-5), 1: 38.
241. APS, 11: 411. See the discussion in Parliament: APS, vol. 11, 380-1.
242. Exchequer Court (Scotland) Act, ss. 1-2, 28; 6 Anne, c. 53.
243. John Clerk and John Scrope, *Historical View of the Forms and Powers of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1820) is the only general work on this Court.
244. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 96-100.
245. See J. W. Cairns, "'Importing our lawyers from Holland': Netherlands' influences on Scots law and lawyers in the eighteenth century", in *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994: Mackie Monograph 3*, ed. G. G. Simpson (East Linton 1996), 136-53 at 139.
246. (Scroll), Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton to James Stuart Mackenzie, April, 1764, National Library of Scotland, MS 16731, fol. 139.
247. Bute can be traced matriculating in Groningen in 1730 and Leiden in 1732: *Album studiosorum Academiae Groninganae* (Groningen 1915), col. 178; *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV* (The Hague 1875), col. 940. On Argyll, see, e.g., J. W. Cairns, "William Crosse, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Glasgow, 1746-1749: a failure of enlightened patronage", *History of Universities* 12 (1993): 159-96 at 161.
248. (Scroll), Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton to James Stuart Mackenzie, April, 1764, National Library of Scotland, MS 16731, fol. 139.
249. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 131-2.
250. Joanna Innes, "Legislating for three kingdoms: how the Westminster Parliament legislated for England, Scotland and Ireland, 1707-1830", in *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850*, ed. Julian Hoppit (Manchester 2003), 15-47 at 20, 21-2.
251. Innes, "Legislating for three kingdoms", 22-9.
252. Bob Harris, "The Scots, the Westminster Parliament, and the

- British state in the eighteenth century”, in *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660-1850*, ed. Julian Hoppit (Manchester, 2003), 124-45. B. F. Jewell, “The Legislation Relating to Scotland After the Forty-Five”, unpublished PhD thesis (University of North Carolina 1975), 209-47 demonstrates in detail the process by which influential Scots secured the Annexation Act of 1752.
253. 7 Anne, c. 21 (1709).
 254. Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746* (London 1980), 107-8; William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present. The Edinburgh History of Scotland Volume IV* (Edinburgh 1968), 57-8.
 255. 1 Geo. I, c. 54 (1715).
 256. Jewell, “Legislation Relating to Scotland”, 113-46.
 257. Jewell, “Legislation Relating to Scotland”, 147-208.
 258. 20 Geo. II, c. 50 (1746).
 259. 20 Geo. II, c. 43 (1746); see Cairns, “Historical introduction”, 147-9.
 260. See Jewell, “Legislation Relating to Scotland”, 113-208.
 261. R. S. Tompson, “James Greenshields and the House of Lords: a reappraisal”, in *Legal History in the Making: Proceedings of the Ninth British Legal History Conference, Glasgow 1989*, ed. W. M. Gordon and T. D. Fergus (London 1991), 109-24.
 262. Thomson, “James Greenshields”, 118-19; 10 Anne, c. 10 (1712).
 263. 10 Anne, c. 21 (1712), repealing the relevant provisions of APS, 9: 196-7, c. 53.
 264. Ferguson, *Scotland*, 61-2.
 265. See, e.g., Brown, “Religion in Scotland”, 265, 268-9.
 266. Bruce Lenman, “The Scottish episcopal clergy and the ideology of Jacobitism”, in *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks (Edinburgh 1982), 36-48.
 267. 7 Geo. II, c. 16; 10 Geo. III, c. 51; 12 Geo. III, c. 72; Nicholas Phillipson, *The Scottish Whigs and the Reform of the Court of Session, 1785-1830*, Stair Society, vol. 37 (Edinburgh 1990), 3-4.
 268. Harris, “The Scots, the Westminster Parliament, and the British state”.
 269. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 2. For Grant’s study in Leiden, and for a persuasive argument that this treatise was written by Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, see Clare Jackson, “Revolution principles, *Ius Naturae*, and *Ius Gentium* in early-Enlightenment Scotland: the contribution of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen (c.

- 1660-1726)", in *Early Modern Natural Law Theories: Context and Strategies in the Early Enlightenment*, ed. T. J. Hochstrasser and Peter Schröder (Dordrecht 2003), 107-40 at 128, n. 46, 130 n. 63.
270. Cairns, "Ius Civile in Scotland", 136-47.
271. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 45.
272. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 11; Franz Wieacker, *A History of Private Law in Europe, with Particular Reference to Germany*, trans. Tony Weir (Oxford 1995), 159-95; Klaus Luig, "Usus modernus," in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. A. Erler and E. Kaufmann (Berlin 1971-98), 5: cols. 628-36. The late G. C. J. J. van den Bergh in *Die holländische elegante Schule: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Humanismus und Rechtswissenschaft in den Niederlanden 1500-1800* (Frankfurt am Main 2002), 63 points out that it is often unclear whether the term "usus modernus" is being used as an analytical category or a concrete historical phenomenon. Here I use it as both.
273. See generally Manlio Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000-1800*, 2nd edn, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Washington, DC 1995).
274. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 2-8.
275. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 43-59.
276. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 10, 14-15, 59-60, 63, 121.
277. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 3, 27-30, 60, 76, 146-7.
278. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 45.
279. See generally Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690; Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge 2003).
280. This is most clearly set out in his "A Discourse on the 4 First Chapters of the Digest to Shew the Excellence and usefullnesse of the Civill Law", found in British Library, MS Add. 18,236. See the discussion in J. W. Cairns, "The civil law tradition in Scottish legal thought", in *The Civilian Tradition and Scots Law: Aberdeen Quincentenary Essays*, ed. D. L. Carey Miller and Reinhard Zimmermann (Berlin 1997), 191-223 at 207-11.
281. Thomas Craig, *Jus feudale, tribus libris comprehensum: quibus non solum consuetudines feudales, et praediorum jura, quae in Scotia, Anglia, et plerisque Galliae locis obtinent, continentur; sed universum jus Scoticum, et omnes fere materiae juris clare et dilucide exponuntur, et ad fontes feudalis et Civilis singula reducuntur*, ed. James Baillie, 3rd edn (Edinburgh 1732), 49 (1.8.4).
282. Craig, *Jus feudale*, 49-50 (1.8.6-9).

283. Craig, *Jus feudale*, 51-3 (1.8.13-17).
284. Craig, *Jus feudale*, 14 (1.2.14), 50 (1.8.9); Thomas Craig, *De unione regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, ed. and trans. C. Sanford Terry, Scottish History Society, vol. 60 (Edinburgh 1909), 90, 328.
285. Cairns, "Civil law tradition", 204-6.
286. See, e.g., P. G. Stein, "Legal thought in eighteenth-century Scotland", *Juridical Review* (N.S.) 2 (1957): 1-20, at 3-7 (repr. in Peter Stein, *The Character and Influence of the Roman Civil Law: Historical Essays* (London 1988), 361-80); P. G. Stein, "Stair's general concepts. I. The theory of law", in *Stair Tercentenary Studies*, ed. D. M. Walker, Stair Society, vol. 33 (Edinburgh 1981), 181-7; Thomas Richter, "Did Stair know Pufendorf?", *Edinburgh Law Review* 7 (2003): 367-78; Thomas Richter, "Molina, Grotius, Stair and the Jus Quaesitum Tertio", *Juridical Review* (2001): 219-22.
287. James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, *Institutions of the Law of Scotland: Deduced from its Originals, and Collated with the Civil, Canon and Feudal Laws, and with the Customs of Neighbouring Nations*, ed. D. M. Walker (Edinburgh 1981), 88 (1.1.16).
288. Stair, *Institutions*, 80 (1.1.12). See W. M. Gordon, "Stair's use of Roman law", in *Law Making and Law Makers in British History*, ed. Alan Harding (London 1980), 120-6; W. M. Gordon, "Roman law as a source [of Stair's *Institutions*]", *Stair Tercentenary Studies*, ed. D. M. Walker, Stair Society, vol. 33 (Edinburgh 1981), 107-12.
289. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 135-9; Cairns, "Civil law tradition", 212-17.
290. Stair, *Institutions*, 60-1, 84-5 (1.1.15).
291. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 121, 137.
292. Mackenzie, "Discourse", in British Library, MS Add. 18,236, fols. 57-58r, 60v-61r. See Cairns, "Historical introduction", 134-7.
293. On the differences between Mackenzie and Stair as to fundamental laws, see Clare Jackson, "Natural law and the construction of political sovereignty in Scotland, 1660-1690", in *Natural Law and Civil Sovereignty: Moral Right and State Authority in Early Modern Political Thought*, ed. Ian Hunter and David Saunders (Basingstoke 2002), 155-69. Given that Stair's political views were much closer to those of Grant than the latter's were to those of Mackenzie, the link between their views of politics and law can be seen to be very complex and not always self-evident.
294. Cairns, "Civil law tradition", 212-17.
295. Patrick Turnbull, *Analogia Legum: Or, A View of the Institutes of the*

- Laws of England and Scotland, Set One against the Other; To shew wherein those Two Laws agree and differ* (London 1745), viii. On Turnbull, see Cairns, "Scottish law, Scottish lawyers and the status of the Union", 245-6.
296. Andrew McDouall, Lord Bankton, *An Institute of the Laws of Scotland in Civil Rights: With Observations upon the Agreement or Diversity Between them and the Laws of England* (Edinburgh 1751-3; repr. in Stair Society, vols. 41-3 (Edinburgh 1993-5)).
297. The statistics are given in Robert Feenstra, "Scottish-Dutch legal relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" in Robert Feenstra, *Legal Scholarship and Doctrines of Private Law, 13th-18th Centuries* (Aldershot 1996), XVI at 34-6. For assessment of the decline in studying in the Netherlands, see, e.g., J. W. Cairns "Legal study in Utrecht in the late 1740s: the education of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes", in *Summa Eloquentia: Essays in Honour of Margaret Hewett*, ed. Rena van den Bergh (Pretoria 2002 [= *Fundamina* (2002)]), 30-74 at 38-44, 69-74. On Scots participation in the Dutch intellectual world, see J. W. Cairns, "Alexander Cunningham's proposed edition of the Digest: an episode in the history of the Dutch Elegant School of Roman law", *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 69 (2001): 81-117, 307-59.
298. The subjects of other nations also stopped studying in the Netherlands and elsewhere around 1750: see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford 1995), 1049-51.
299. *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle*, ed. Geoffrey Scott and F. A. Pottle, 19 vols. (New York, NY 1928-37), 15: 290-1.
300. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 166-8.
301. Knud Haakonssen, *The Science of a Legislator: The Natural Jurisprudence of David Hume and Adam Smith* (Cambridge 1981), 154-77; David Lieberman, *The Province of Legislation Determined: Legal Theory in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge 1989), 144-58.
302. Knud Haakonssen, "Natural jurisprudence and the theory of justice", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Cambridge 2003), 205-21 at 205-6.
303. Haakonssen, "Natural jurisprudence and the theory of justice", 208-9. See also J. W. Cairns, "Legal theory", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Alexander Broadie (Cambridge 2003), 222-42 at 231-3.

304. Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy: From Grotius to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge 1996).
305. Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Principles of Equity* (Edinburgh 1760). See Lieberman, *Province of Legislation Determined*, 159-75.
306. J. W. Cairns, "Ethics and the science of legislation: legislators, philosophers, and courts in eighteenth-century Scotland", *Jahrbuch für Recht und Ethik* 8 (2000): 159-80 at 167-75.
307. J. W. Cairns, "Adam Smith and the role of the courts in securing justice and liberty", in *Adam Smith and the Philosophy of Law and Economics*, ed. R. P. Malloy and Jerry Evensky (Dordrecht 1994), 31-61.
308. J. W. Cairns, "As famous as a school for Law, as Edinburgh for medicine': legal education in Glasgow, 1761-1801", *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, ed. Andrew Hook and R. B. Sher (East Linton 1995), 133-59.
309. J. W. Cairns, "The first Edinburgh chair in law: Grotius and the Scottish Enlightenment" in *Ex iusta causa traditum: Essays in Honour of Eric H. Pool*, ed. by Rena van den Bergh (Pretoria 2005 [= *Fundamina* (2005)]), 32-58 at 47-52.
310. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 159-62.
311. S. J. Connelly, "Ireland, Scotland and Wales in the Hanoverian state", in *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, ed. Alexander Grant and K. J. Stringer (London 1995), 193-207, at 201.
312. H. V. Bowen, "Clive, Robert, First Baron Clive of Plassey (1725-1774)", in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford 2004).
313. Found quoted in Jackson, "Restoration to revolution", 105.
314. See A. J. MacLean, "The 1707 Union: Scots law and the House of Lords", in *New Perspectives in Scottish Legal History*, ed. Aalbert Kiralfy and H. L. MacQueen (London 1984), 50-75.
315. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 96.
316. See Cairns, "Scottish law, Scottish lawyers and the status of the Union", 243-8.
317. Cairns, "Historical introduction", 166-8.
318. Grant, *Law, Religion and Education*, Law, 42, 105, 108.
319. Tamm, "The Danes and their legal heritage", 46-8, 51.

Notes to Chapter 5

- 320 My article is based upon: Ole Feldbæk, "Nærhed og adskillelse", *Danmark-Norge 1380-1814*, ed. Esben Albrechtsen, vol. 4 (Oslo and Copenhagen 1998). Bibliography: 411-27; idem (ed.), *Dansk Identitetshistorie* vols. 1-4 (Copenhagen 1991-92). English summaries: 4: 541-65; idem, "National identity in eighteenth-century Denmark", in *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, ed. Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (Copenhagen 1994).

Notes to Chapter 6

- I am grateful to the University of Chicago's Franke Institute for the Humanities and Morris Fishbein Center for the History of Science and Medicine for their support while researching this paper. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
- 321 Since Erich Trunz' classical 1931 article "Der deutsche Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur," *Deutsche Literatur zwischen Späthumanismus und Barock* (Munich 1995), 7-82, much work has been done on group-formation and community-building among the humanists; for example Christine Tremml, *Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung: Sozio-kulturelle Untersuchung zur Entstehung eines neuen Gelehrtenstandes in der frühen Neuzeit* (Hildesheim 1989); and Eckhard Bernstein, "From outsiders to insiders: some reflections on the development of a group identity of the German humanists between 1450 and 1530," *In laudem Caroli: Renaissance and Reformation Studies for Charles G. Nauert*, ed. J. V. Mehl (Kirksville, MO 1998), 45-64. Also, Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, NJ 1993).
322. Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Chicago, IL 2004).
323. For a recent overview, see Marina Frasca-Spada and Nicholas Jardine (eds.), *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge 2000). Also, Roger Chartier, *Culture écrite et société: l'ordre des livres XIVe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1996); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, IL 1998); and Karl A. E. Enenkel et al. (eds.), *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organization of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period* (Leiden 2005).

324. Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen 1997); Jonathan I. Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2001); and Martin Mulsow, *Moderne aus dem Untergrund: Radikale Frühaufklärung in Deutschland*, (Hamburg 2002). Also, Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, NY 1995).
325. Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment*, 142-155.
326. Monique Vincent, *Le Mercure galant: Présentation de la première revue féminine d'information et de culture 1672-1710* (Paris 2005). Also, Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences: Une histoire du vêtement XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1989); Ros Ballaster et al., (eds.), *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity, and the Woman's Magazine* (London 1991); and Jennifer Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford 2004). For many entertaining examples, see also Joan DeJean, *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented High Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication and Glamour* (New York, NY 2005), especially 35-82.
327. Charles-Louis de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, trans. C. J. Betts (London 1973), 184.
328. Madeleine Delpierre, *Se vêtir au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1996), 79-92.
329. [Anonymous], *Mundus Muliebris: or, the Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd and her Toilette Spread In Burlesque. Together with the Fob-Dictionary, Compiled for the Use of the Fair Sex* (London 1690), 22.
330. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, 68 vols. (Graz 1961), XXI: 700.
331. Abbé de Bellegarde, *Modèles de conversations pour les personnes polies* (Amsterdam 1709), 344-345.
332. Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen 1982).
333. Mary Terrall, "Natural philosophy for fashionable readers," in Frasca-Spada and Jardine (eds.), *Books and the Sciences in History*, 239-254. Also, Geoffrey V. Sutton, *Science for a Polite Society: Gender, Culture & the Demonstration of Enlightenment* (Oxford 1995).
334. Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds*, trans. H. A. Hargreaves (Berkeley, CA 1990), 3.
335. Quoted in Ballaster et al. (eds.), *Women's Worlds*, 47.
336. On these lectures, see also Hans-Jürgen Engfer, "Christian

- Thomasius: Erste Proklamation und erste Krise der Aufklärung in Deutschland,” *Christian Thomasius 1655-1728: Interpretation zu Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Werner Schneiders (Hamburg 1989), 21-36.
337. Christian Thomasius, *Christian Thomas eröffnet der Studirenden Jugend zu Leipzig in einem Discours Welcher Gestalt man denen Frantzosen in gemeinen Leben und Wandel nachahmen solle?* (n.p., n.d.), 3.
338. *Ibid.*, 35.
339. *Ibid.*, 36.
340. Thomasius was not interested in Mademoiselle de Scudéry’s novels, but in her shorter orations and treatises. These have recently been republished in Madeleine de Scudéry, *Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*, trans. Jane Donawerth and Julie Strongson (Chicago, IL 2004). Thomasius’ textbook was Baltasar Gracian, *L’Homme de cour*, trans. Amelot de la Houssaye (Paris 1684).
341. Samuel Pufendorf, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, 5 vols. (Berlin 1995-), I: *Briefwechsel*, ed. D. Döring (Berlin 1995), 186.
342. See also Matthias Kaufmann, “Die Rolle des Decorum in der Ethik des Christian Thomasius,” *Jahrbuch für Recht und Ethik / Annual Review of Law and Ethics*, 8 (2000): 233-245.
343. Christian Thomasius, *Allerhand bißher publicirte Kleine Teutsche Schrifften* (Halle 1701), 240.
344. Christian Thomasius, *Außerlesene und in Deutsch noch nie gedruckte Schrifften*, 2 vols. (Halle 1705, 1714), II: 213-14.
345. *Ibid.*
346. Already before Thomasius, the professor in Frankfurt Oder Johann Christoph Becmann wrote on decorum in his book on moral philosophy, *Lineae doctrinae moralis de natura moralium variisque eorum casibus ductae* (Frankfurt an der Oder 1679). His *Conspicuum doctrinae politicae et moralis: brevis thesibus earumque demonstrationibus propositus* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1691) also included a one-page chapter “De decoro,” 166-7. Another three page chapter, with the same title, could be found in the Halle professor Johann Franz Buddeus *Elementa philosophiae practicae quibus ethica, jurisprudentia naturalis, jurisprudentia gentium, et politica, tum generalis, tum specialis succincte traduntur in usum praelectionum academicarum edita* (Halle 1697), 377-80. Thomasius listed his early inspirations in *Cautelae circa praecognita jurisprudentiae in usum auditorii thomasi* (Halle 1710), 237-8.

347. Casper Gottschling, *Einleitung in die Wissenschaftt guter und meistens neuer Bücher* (Dresden 1713), 312.
348. [Lacombe de Vriigny], *Relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Danemarc* (Rotterdam 1707), 77.
349. Christoph Heinrich Amthor, *Einleitung zur Staats und Sitten-Kunst* (Kiel 1706), XV.
350. Christoph Heinrich Amthor, *Collegium homileticum de jure decori* (Leipzig 1730), 114-15.
351. Christoph Heinrich Amthor, *Entbeut der Allehie Studierenden Jugend, Seinen freundlichen Grus / Und eröffnet Derselben hiemit ein Collegium über Das Recht der Manierlichen Sitten* (Kiel 1708), unpag.
352. Amthor, *Einleitung zur Staats und Sitten-Kunst*, 89.
353. *Ibid.*, 97- 8.
354. *Ibid.*, 105.
355. Quoted in translation in Jones, *Sexing La Mode*, 15.
356. Amthor, *Einleitung zur Staats und Sitten-Kunst* 109.
357. Amthor, *Entbeut der Allehie Studierenden Jugend*, unpag.
358. Samuel Pufendorf, *The Whole Duty of Man, According to the Law of Nature*, trans. Andrew Tooke (Indianapolis, IN 2003), 248.
359. Amthor, *Collegium homileticum* 229-30.
360. Amthor, *Collegium homileticum de jure decori, eller en Videnskab som lærer hvorledes mand i omgiængelse med alle slaks Folk maneerlig og velanstændig skal opføre sig*, trans. and ed. F. G. Voss (Copenhagen 1728), *fortale*, unpag.
361. Christian Thomasius, *Einleitung zu der Vernunft-Lehre, worinnen durch eine leichte/ und allen vernünfftigen Menschen/ waserley Standes oder Geschlechts sie seyn/ verständliche Manier der Weg gezeiget wird/ ohne die Sylogisticâ das wahre/ wahrscheinliche und falsche von einander zu entscheiden/ und neue Warheiten zu erfinden* (Halle 1691).
362. On the Thomasius school, see also Max Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulphilosophie im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Hildesheim 1992); and Hinrich Rüping, *Die Naturrechtslehre des Christian Thomasius und ihre Fortbildung in der Thomasius-Schule* (Bonn 1968).
363. *Iris og Hebe*, I (1796): 160-1.
364. Alexander Kosenina (ed.), *Charlataneria eruditorum. Satirische und kritische Texte zur Gelehrsamkeit* (St. Ingbert 1995).
365. H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Forfatterlexicon omfattende Danmark, Norge og Island indtil 1814*, 12 vols. (Copenhagen 1924-35), XI: 493-508.
366. Ludvig Holberg, *Værker i tolv bind*, ed. F. J. Billeskov Jansen, 12 vols. (Copenhagen 1969-71), VII: 324.

367. Ibid., VII: 324.
368. Andreas Rydelius, *Nödiga Förmufts-Öfningar/ at lära kenna thet sundas wägar och thet osundas felsteg*, 6 vols. (Linköping, 1718-37, 1737), IV: 260-1.
369. August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Über Literatur, Kunst und Geist des Zeitalters. Eine Auswahl aus den kritischen Schriften*, ed. Franz Finke (Stuttgart 1979), 7.
370. Elena Esposito, *I paradossi della moda: Originalità e transitorietà nella società moderna* (Bologna 2004). Esposito's book has also been published in German, as *Die Verbindlichkeit des Vorübergehenden. Paradoxien der Mode*, trans. Alessandra Corti (Frankfurt am Main 2004).
371. Immanuel Kant, *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht*, 1798, §68, in *Werke in Sechs Bänden*, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel, 6 vols. (Darmstadt 1998), VI: 572.
372. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, XXI: 702.
373. See also Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, "How Germany Left the Republic of Letters," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 65.3 (2004): 421-32.
374. Justus Lipsius, *Tvvo Bookes Of Constancie*, trans. John Standling [1594] (New Brunswick, NJ 1939), 90.

Notes to Chapter 7

- 375 This paper can be understood as an elaboration on the "moral cosmopolitanism" described by Pauline Kleingeld in "Six varieties of cosmopolitanism in late eighteenth-century Germany", *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999): 505-24.
376. For a theoretical framework of what this can mean, see Stephen Nathanson, *Patriotism, Morality, and Peace* (Lanham 1993).
377. For a good survey of the elements of such an education in the previous centuries, see Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (Cambridge 1996), esp. 21-35, 69-74, 80-3, 217-44.
378. Vigneul-Marville [Bonaventure d'Argonne], *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature* (Rouen 1700), 1: 60 [cited in Françoise Waquet, "Qu'est-ce que la République des lettres?", *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 147 (1989): 485].
379. See Simone Zurbuchen, *Patriotismus und Kosmopolitismus: Die Schweizer Aufklärung zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (Zürich 2003).

380. See J. C. Laursen, "Ludvig Holberg's *History of the Jews* [1742]: Arguments for Religious Toleration" in L. Simonutti, et al. (eds.), *La Formazione storica della alterità* (Florence 2001), 3: 921-31.
381. In Ludvig Holberg, *Samlede Skrifter*, 17: 259-90 (Copenhagen 1942).
382. *Ibid.*, 170-240.
383. See J. G. A. Pocock, "Enthusiasm: the anti-self of enlightenment", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60 (1998): 7-28.
384. *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* in *Oeuvres complètes de Montesquieu* (Oxford 2000), 92-3.
385. Kristoff Glamann, *Otto Thotts uforgribelige Tanker om Kommerciens Tilstand* (Copenhagen, 1966), 18.
386. Ludvig Holberg, *Ludvig Holbergs Memoirer*, ed. F.J. Billeskov Jansen (Copenhagen 1963), 119; translated in Stewart E. Fraser (ed.), *Ludvig Holberg's Memoirs* (Leiden 1970), 125.
387. Glamann, *Otto Thotts uforgribelige Tanker*, 18.
388. For sources for this and the following paragraph, see H. Horstbøll and J. C. Laursen, "Spinoza in Denmark: An Unknown Painting of Spinoza and the Spinoza Collection of Count Otto Thott", *Studia Spinozana* 15 (1999) [2006], 248-64.
389. Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment* (Oxford 2001), 133, 645, 686.
390. Published in Glamann, *Otto Thotts uforgribelige Tanker*, 83-138.
391. Kristoff Glamann and Erik Oxenbøll, *Studier i dansk Merkantilisme. Omkring tekster af Otto Thott* (Copenhagen 1983), 22, 74; Axel Nielsen, *Det statsvidenskabelige Studium i Danmark før 1848* (Copenhagen 1948), 23. Concerning Amthor, see also Kasper Eskildsen's essay in the present volume.
392. [P. F. Suhm], *Essay sur l'Etat Présent des Sciences... dans le Danemarck* (Copenhagen 1771), 30, 15. *Luxdorfs Samling*, First Series, vol. 12, no. 19.
393. *Bibliotheca Luxdorphianna, sive index librorum quos reliquit Bolle Wilhelmus Luxdorff* (Copenhagen 1789).
394. *Luxdorfs Samling af Trykke-Frihedens Skrifter*, in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. See J. C. Laursen, "Luxdorff's press freedom writings: before the fall of Struensee in early 1770's Denmark-Norway", *The European Legacy* 7 (2002): 61-77.
395. *Luxdorfs dagbøger*, ed. Eiler Nystrøm (Copenhagen 1915, 1930).
396. Svend Cedergreen Bech, "Luxdorff (Lüxdorff) Bolle Willum" in *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3rd edn. (Copenhagen 1981), 9: 216.

Most of the information in this and the following paragraph are taken from this article.

397. See Ole Feldbaek, "Aufklärung und Absolutismus: Die Kulturpolitik Friedrichs V", *Text & Context* 33 (1994): 26-37.
398. George Savile, Marquess of Halifax, *Complete Works*, ed. J. P. Kenyon (Harmondsworth 1969), 49-102. They would even agree with his national pride (96-7), but their wide intellectual interests still gave them a cosmopolitan perspective.
399. General introductions are: Heinrich Niehues-Pröbsting, *Der Kynismus des Diogenes und der Begriff des Kynismus* (Munich 1979); D. R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism* (London 1937; reprint Bristol 1987); Ragnar Höistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King* (Uppsala 1948); R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (eds.), *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and its Legacy* (Berkeley, CA 1996).
400. Michèle Clément, "'Abrutis, vous pouvez cesser de l'être': Le Discours de la servitude volontaire et la pédagogie cynique", *Libertinage et philosophie au XVIIe siècle*, 7 (2003): 105-19.
401. Jean-Michel Gros, "La place du cynisme dans la philosophie libertine", *Libertinage et philosophie au XVIIe siècle*, 7 (2003): 121-39.
402. Clément, "'Abrutis...'", 110.
403. See Stefan Winkle, *Die heimlichen Spinozisten in Altona und der Spinozastreit* (Hamburg 1988).
404. See, generally, Stefan Winkle, *Struensee und die Publizistik* (Hamburg 1992).
405. Listed in Winkle, *Struensee und die Publizistik*, 118-20.
406. See Stefan Winkle, *Johann Friedrich Struensee: Arzt, Aufklärer, Staatsmann* (Stuttgart 1983, 1989).
407. Unfortunately, H. Niehues-Pröbsting missed Struensee in *Der Kynismus* and in his survey chapter: "The modern reception of cynicism: Diogenes in the Enlightenment" in R. Bracht Branham and M.-O. Goulet-Cazé (eds.), *The Cynics*, 329-65.
408. "Nachrichten vom Diogenes", *Monatschrift zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* (Hamburg 1763), suppressed by the censor and actually published under the false title *Zur Belustigung* 1 (Hamburg 1764): 57-67.
409. Winkle, *Struensee und die Publizistik*, 106-7.
410. "Lobrede auf die Hunde und das Album Graecum", *Monatschrift zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* (Hamburg 1763), suppressed by the censor and actually published under the false title *Zur Belustigung* 3 (Hamburg 1764): 233-53.

411. See Holger Hansen, *Kabinetsstyrelsen i Danmark, 1768-1772* (Copenhagen 1916-19).
412. See Vibeke Winge, "Dansk og Tysk i 1700-tallet" in Ole Feldbaek (ed.), *Dansk Identitetshistorie* (Copenhagen 1991), 1: 89-110; and Ole Feldbaek, "Fædreland og indfødsret. 1700-tallets danske identitet" in Feldbaek (ed.), *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, 1: 169-80.
413. See J. C. Laursen, "David Hume and the Danish debate about freedom of the press in the 1770's", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998): 167-73; J. C. Laursen, "Voltaire, Christian VII of Denmark, and freedom of the press", *SVEC [Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century]* 2003/06, 331-48; J. C. Laursen, "Télémaque manqué: Reverdil at court in Copenhagen" in P. Coleman, et al. (eds.), *Reconceptualizing Nature, Science, and Aesthetics* (Geneva 1998), 147-56.
414. J. C. Laursen, "Spinoza in Denmark and the fall of Struensee", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61 (2000): 189-202.
415. Michael Oakeshott, "The tower of Babel" [orig. 1948] in *Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays* (Indianapolis, IN 1991), 486.
416. Ibid.
417. Ibid., 476.
418. Ibid.
419. Michael Oakeshott, *The Politics of Faith and the Politics of Scepticism* (New Haven, CT 1996). See J. C. Laursen, "Oakeshott's skepticism and the skeptical traditions", *European Journal of Political Theory* 4 (2005): 37-55.

Notes to Chapter 8

- 420 *Om Lovenes Natur og Aarsag eller Om det Forhold, som Lovene bør have til hver Regierings Forfatning, til dens Sæder, Clima, Religion, Handel o.s.v.*, trans. Jens Hvas, 3 vols. (Copenhagen 1770-71). A second Danish translation was published in 1998.
421. For the following, see Ditlev Tamm, 'Montesquieu et le Danemark', in *Montesquieu du Nord au Sud*. Actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris les 29 et 30 janvier 1999. Cahiers Montesquieu (Naples and Oxford 2000), 35-41; and F.J. Billeskov Jansen, 'Montesquieu et Holberg', *ibid.*, 43-8.
422. *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, ed. J. Ehrard (Paris 1968), 120 and 145.
423. Ludvig Holberg: *Remarques sur quelques positions, qui se trouve dans*

- L'Esprit des Loix* (Copenhagen 1753). Reprinted in Ludvig Holberg, *Samlede Værker*, 18 vols. (Copenhagen 1913-63), 17 : 255-90
424. All in: *Samtlige Skrifter*, 9 vols. (Copenhagen 1775-77).
425. *Staternes indvortes Regering* (Copenhagen 1773-76); *Staternes udvortes Regering* (Copenhagen 1774-75); *Danmarks og Norges naturlige og politiske Forfatning*, (Copenhagen 1777).
426. "Det er en Lykke for det menneskelige Kiøn, at vor Alder har frembragt saadant et Genie, der har været i Stand til at indsee Sandheden, som Vankundighed og Passioner i saa lang Tid have skjult, have Dygtighed til at sige dem paa en saadan Maade, som har fundet almindeligt Bifald hos alle Hoffer og Folkeslægter, undtagen hos sine Landsmænd. Hvem seer ikke, at jeg mener Montesquieu" (*Staternes indvortes Regering*, p. XLIV)
427. Stampe's ideas are to be found in the responses, declarations, letters, etc., that he wrote in his office as Procurator-General, *Erklæringer, Breve og Forestillinger Generalprokurørembedet vedkommende*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen 1793-1807).

Notes to Chapter 9

- 428 *Forsøg til et Udkast af en Historie over Folkenes Oprindelse i Almindelighed, som en Indledning til de Nordiske Folkes i Saerdeleshed* (Copenhagen 1769), x, 356 pp., 7 tables. A German translation was published at Lübeck in 1790. There is a very good entry on Suhm by Malte Brun in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Michaud), 45 vols. (Paris 1843-65), 40. 417b-419b. Throughout this essay I place page references in the text in parentheses whenever it is clear which text is being cited.
429. A typical instance of Suhm's biblical references occurs on p. 107: "Assur, Sem's third son settled in Assyria; on that point Scriptures leave no doubt, and it can, in addition to the references already given, be shown by countless more." Suhm then refers to twenty different books in the Old Testament, for many of these with more than one reference.
430. Samuel Bochart's work consists of two parts in one very large folio volume of 864 pp., plus extensive indices for each part: *Geographiae sacrae pars prior, Phaleg seu de dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in aedificatione turris Babel* (Cadomi, 1646), 360 pp. *Geographiae sacrae pars altera, Chanaan seu de coloniis et sermone phoenicum* (Cadomi 1646), [xviii], 361-864. Suhm's bibliography

- lists a copy, Frankfurt, 1674. Richard Cumberland, *Origines gentium antiquissimae*, or, *Attempts for discovering the first planting of nations*. In several tracts, (London 1724), xxxiii, 480 pp. Suhm lists a copy, Magdeburg, 1754.
431. James Ussher, *Annales veteris testamenti* (1650). Suhm lists a copy, Bremen, 1686.
432. Leibniz's programmatic essay is: "Brevis designatio meditationum de origine gentium, ductis potissimum ex indicio linguarum," in *Miscellanea Berolinensia* (1710), 1–16. Suhm lists this and two other Leibniz items. Cf. Aarsleff, "The study and use of etymology in Leibniz," in *From Locke to Saussure* (Minneapolis, MN 1982), 84–100.
433. Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. E. V. Rieu, revised by his son D. C. H. Rieu (Penguin Books 1991), 159.
434. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn., ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (1996), sv. "Cimbri, a German tribe from the north of Jutland," which in the 2nd century BCE migrated to southern France with their neighbors, the Teutons. See also, *ibid.*, sv. "Teutones."
435. To get a sense of how Suhm's *Essay* differs from the general tenor of the literature on national origins that had appeared since about 1700, it is instructive to read ch. 2, "Prologue: the Mosaic foundation of early modern identity," in Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge UP 1999), 9–72. Cf. also the quotation from Montesquieu at page 27 in Kidd's contribution to this volume.
436. *Deux dissertations*. I. *Sur l'origine des langues*, II. *Sur les runes avec des essais sur divers sujets* (Copenhagen, chez Cl. Philibert, 1767). This publication was anonymous, but the author was T. E. F. von Finecke. Johs. Lollesgaard, *Sprogfilosoferen og Sprogforsken i Danmark ved det 18. Aarhundredes Midte* (Copenhagen 1925), cites, p. 39, von Finecke, *Trois Dissertations sur l'origine, les progrès et les abus du langage* (1756). Lollesgaard gives a good account of the gestural origins theory which von Finecke rejects. There is an entry on von Finecke in C. F. Bricka (ed.), *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, 19 vols. (Copenhagen 1887–1905), vol. 5.
437. On p. 19 the author cites one of the Jesuits: "Le Père Lafitau nous fait voir chez les peuples Américains, la religion, les coutumes, les moeurs des Nations de l'Asie, et même de la Grèce; il nous fait aussi retrouver en Amérique le peuple dont Heorodote

- & Pline avoient parlé, & qu'on avoit mis au rang des choses fabuleuses." On p. 8 is a reference to "Art *Alph.* in *Dict. Enc.*" which is Du Marsais's entry on "Alphabet" in Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, here correctly quoted from 1 (1751), 295. Precise references to the *Encyclopédie* are very rare, as is indeed any reference at all, in any country.
438. Lucian's story about Nero's mime is in *Lucian*, trans. A. M. Harmon, 8 vols. (Loeb Classical Library), 5 (1956), 266–9. For Lucian and Condillac, see Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, trans. and ed. H. Aarsleff (Cambridge 2001), xxxiii–xxxiv. The intermediary was Jean-Baptiste Du Bos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719 in 2 vols., thereafter in 3 vols.). The third part of that work (after 1719) is devoted to a "Dissertation sur les représentations théâtrales des anciens," for which Lucian's dialogue "De Saltatione" is the chief source.
439. Jens Kraft, *Kort Fortaebning af de Vilde Folks fornemteste Indretninger, Skikke og Meninger, til Oplysning af det menneskelige Oprindelse og Fremgang i Almindelighed* (Sorøe 1760), Preface [6 pp.], 383 pp. There has been a recent republication ed. by Ole Høiris (DK-8270 Højbjerg: Intervention Press, 1998), with an Introduction by Høiris, pp. 5–69. This includes the pagination of the first issue. Pages 211–20 has bibliography of items cited by Kraft, a good many items with inadequate bibliographical information. In translation Kraft's title reads: "Brief Account of the Principal Institutions, Customs and Beliefs of Savage Nations for Elucidation of the Origin and Progress of Humanhood in general." I use the awkward "humanhood" because the familiar term "humanity" is freighted with meanings that do not cover 'det menneskelige' (lit. the human) which is perhaps best rendered as "what it means to be human."
440. Lafitau's work was published in 1724 at Paris in 2 folio vols, under the admirably brief title I have given. A four-volume edition was issued in smaller format the same year. The text I have used is *Customs of the American Indians compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, trans. and ed. William F. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore, 2 vols. (cxix, 365 pp. ; 347 pp.) as vols. 68 (1974) and 69 (1977) in *Publications of the Champlain Society*. This edition has a solid introduction (I:xxix–cxix), detailed notes, rich bibliographies, and very full indices. I will call this indispensable edition FM. The 2 vols. of FM each have the same contents as the volumes of the

original 2-vol. French text, with six chs. in vol. I and nine chs. in vol. II, for a total of fifteen. In addition to its own pagination, FM also has the pagination of the French text. In references I give both; thus I.35/14 with the last number being that of the French text. Kraft used a recent German translation of Lafitau that appeared in *Allgemeine Geschichte der Länder und Völker von America. Nebst einer Vorrede von Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten. Mit vielen Kupfern*, (Halle: bey Johann Justinus Gebauer, 1752–53), 2 vols. Vol. I, Introduction [20 pp.], 688 pp.; vol. II, Introd., 905 pp. This large-format set is usually—and oddly—listed under the name of the translator J. F. Schröter, but his name is not on the title page of either volume, and his identity appears only with his initials JFS at the end of a dedication to “Johann Friedrich von Münchhausen des hohen Stifts zu Halberstadt.” The introduction to vol. I makes it clear that Baumgarten is responsible for the contents and disposition of these amazing volumes. In the Introduction Baumgarten explains that Part I will treat “the customs, lives, &c, of the so-called savages of America, and present a comparison of them with the antiquities of primitive times [der ungesitteten Zeiten] in other parts of the world.” Part I (up to p. 507 of vol. I) contains a translation of the entire French text, as well as the illustrations and “the explanations” of them. Part II, says Baumgarten, is devoted to “the actual history of the lands of America since their discovery.” It takes up the latter part of vol. I and all of vol. II, with much additional matter supplied by Baumgarten. Part II has texts by Charlevoix, including his *Histoire et description générale de la nouvelle France* (though perhaps not the complete text). The German text of Lafitau differs from the original French text in two respects. In the Baumgarten text the original Ch. I, “Design and Plan of the Work,” is not counted as a chapter, with the effect that the German text has a total of 14 chapters. The other change, says Baumgarten, is introduced for the reader’s convenience; he has divided each chapter into numbered paragraphs, along with brief marginal descriptions of their contents which are also all listed at the head of each chapter. Both these changes are evident in Kraft’s references.

441. There is a good discussion of Huet’s *Demonstratio* in A. Dupront, *P.-D. Huet et l’exégèse comparatiste au XVII^e siècle* (Paris 1930). The excellent chapter on “Le comparatisme des Moïses” has relevance beyond Huet.

442. FM I.cx; the editors are quoting from *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. L. J. Cappon, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, NC 1950), II: 305. FM I:lviii–lviii points out that, before Lafitau, there was already a long tradition of comparing American customs with descriptions given in classical sources. FM I.lxi gives a survey of Lafitau’s many references to those sources.
443. Kraft’s words are: “I alt dette haver jeg alene søgt at forklare Mennesket af Mennesket selv.” It is useful to be aware that in Danish “Menneske” is a neuter noun, thus without gender and rightly translated by the plain English “man.”
444. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn., 19 (1911), 131; this long article (19: 128–44) first appeared in the 9th edn. Lang’s first refutation of Max Müller’s system came in “Mythology and Fairy Tales,” in *Fortnightly Review* 19 (1873): 618–31.
445. “Fontenelle’s forgotten common-sense,” in Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2 vols. (London 1887), 2: 321–4. “Origine” first appeared in 1724 in *Oeuvres diverses de M. [Bernard Bovier] de Fontenelle*. It was reprinted several times before it again came in vol. 3 (1758) of *Oeuvres de M. de Fontenelle*, Nouvelle ed., 10 vols. (Paris 1758–61). This vol. 3 also contained the first printing of the essay “Sur l’histoire,” which is so closely related to “Origine” that a number of paragraphs are verbatim the same in the two essays. Both were probably written before 1700. I am using *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3 (Paris: Fayard, 1989), where “Sur l’histoire” is on pp. 169–85; “De l’origine des fables” on pp. 187–202. There is a good analysis of “Origine” in J.-R. Carré, *La Philosophie de Fontenelle ou le sourire de la raison* (Paris: Alcan, 1932), pp. 122–32.
446. “Il y a eu de la Philosophie même dans ces siècles grossiers, et elle a beaucoup servi à la naissance des Fables,” 188–9; “étrange sorte de Philosophie,” 189; “Cette Philosophie des premiers siècles rouloit sur un principe naturel, qu’encore aujourd’hui notre Philosophie n’en a point d’autre,” 189; “De cette Philosophie groissière qui regna nécessairement dans les premiers siècles sont nés les Dieux et les Déesses,” 190; “ce que nous appellons la Philosophie des premiers siècles,” 192; “dans les premiers siècles on expliqua par une Philosophie chimérique ce qu’il y avoit de surprenant dans l’histoire des faits,” 194.
447. Cf. in “Sur l’histoire” a statement to the same effect: “Tout ceci est pris dans le fond de la nature humaine, et s’applique par conséquent à tous les Peuples du monde. Aussi n’y en a-t-il aucun

dont l'histoire ne commence par des fables, hormis le Peuple élu, chez qui un soin particulier de la Providence a conservé la vérité" (175).

448. Cf. also this strong statement by Fontenelle: "Je ne pousserai le parallèle des fables anciennes et de nos erreurs. Je veux seulement montrer comment on peut dans ces fables étudier les égaremens de l'esprit humain, voir d'où il part, et jusqu'où il va; le suivre dans tous les degrés d'absurdité; et ensuite nous faire à nous-mêmes l'application de ce que nous aurons trouvé et dans d'autres Peuples et dans d'autres siècles, fort assurés qu'il y aura toujours sujet de la faire" ("Sur l'histoire" 182).
449. Høiris, Introduction, p. 25 (cf. note 439). Høiris does not tell why he does not include Kraft's Part III, though perhaps it was omitted because its subject is religion.
450. *Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, ed. by Jean Starobinski, in Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3 (Paris: Pléiade, 1964), 111–223. In English translation in Rousseau, *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed. Victor Gurevitch (Cambridge UP 1997), pp.114–222. Both of these texts have good editorial notes. The quotation is from French 170, English 166; similarly the next quotations are from pp. 132–3 and 132.
451. Lang 1.28; this is quoted in Carré, p. 135. (See note 439.)
452. Here Kraft refers to "Lafitau moeurs des sauv. Chap. I," which is the original ch. 2, "The Origins of the Peoples of America," FM 1.74–9/81–9; these pages are on "Origin of the Lycians," with Lafitau concluding: "My own opinion is then, that the largest number of American peoples came originally from those barbarians who occupied the continent and islands of Greece, whence having for many centuries sent out colonies in every direction." According to Herodotus and other classical sources, Lycia lies in the south-western corner of Asia Minor.
453. I am grateful to Henrik Horstbøll for the requisite xerox copy.

Notes to Chapter 10

- 454 Ole Feldbæk, "National identity in eighteenth-century Denmark", in *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, ed. Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (Copenhagen 1994), 142.
455. Ove Malling, *Store og gode Handlinger af Danske og Norske og Hol-*

- stenere* (Copenhagen 1777). German translation: *Grosze und gute Handlungen einiger Dänen, Norweger und Holsteiner* 1-2 (Copenhagen and Leipzig 1779).
456. Gerhard Schøning published an "Account of the origin of the Norwegian and several other Northern people": *Afhandling om de Norskes og endeel andre nordiske Folkes Oprindelse* (Sorø 1769). He continued with "History of Norway": Gerhard Schøning, *Norges Rügges Historie* 1-2 (Sorø 1771-73), 3 (Copenhagen, 1781). Jan Ragnar Hagland, "Nordisk fortid og 1700-talets filologiske prosjekt", in *Norsk Litteraturhistorie. Sakprosa fra 1750 til 1920*, ed. E.B. Johnsen and Trond Berg Eriksen (Oslo 1998), 165-75.
457. P.F. Suhm, "Skriue-frihed", 1771 in *Samlede Skrifter* VI (Copenhagen 1790), 433; and idem., "Brev til Kongen", in *Samlede Skrifter* XVI (Copenhagen 1799), 3-8. Concerning the immediate uses of the freedom of the press: Edvard Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk af Trykkefrihedens Historie 1770-1773* (Copenhagen 1885/1975); and John Christian Laursen, "Censorship in the Nordic countries, ca. 1750-1890: transformations in law, theory, and practise", *Journal of Modern European History*, 3.1 (2005): 100-16.
458. The first volume from 1769 was translated to German: P.F. Suhm, *Versuch eines Entwurfs von einer Geschichte der Entstehung der Völker im Allgemeinen, als eine Einleitung zu einer Geschichte von der Entstehung der Nordischen Völker insonderheit* (Lübeck 1790).
459. P.F. Suhm, "Historien af den danske Agerdyrkning og Landvæsen", 1771, in *Samlede Skrifter* IX (Copenhagen 1792), 126-7.
460. Hans Gram, "Om det gamle Ord Herremand", in *Skrifter som udi Det Kiøbenhavnse Selskab af Lærdoms og Videnskabers Elskere ere fremlagte og oplæste i Aaret 1745* (Copenhagen 1746), 265.
461. P.F. Suhm, "Danmarks, Norges og Holstens Historie udi tvende Udtog til Brug for den studerende Ungdom" 1776, in *Samlede Skrifter* VIII (Copenhagen 1792), 326. German translation: *Geschichte Dännemarks, Norwegens und Hollsteins in zweien Auszügen zum Gebrauch der studirenden Jugend* (Flensburg und Leipzig 1777).
462. The legal expert, or "General-Procureur" in the Danish Department of the central administration, Oluf Lundt Bang made use of Suhm's theory: Oluf Lundt Bang, *Afhandling om Bondestanden i Danmark* (Copenhagen 1786). Concerning property, he wrote: "No doubt the greatest prosperity that you are able to imagine would exist at the moment the arable land was divided into portions such that each of them could just feed a peasant family, be-

cause then both the population and the fruits of the earth would increase.” *Afhandling*, 78.

463. Paul-Henri Mallet, *Introduction a l’Histoire de Dannemarc, ou l’on traite de la Religion, des Loix, des Moeurs & des Usages des Anciens Danois* (Copenhagen 1755). This volume was immediately followed by the publication of the Edda: Paul-Henri Mallet, *Monumens de la Mythologie et de la Poésie des Celtes et particulièrement des anciens Scandinaves: pour servir de supplement et de preuves a L’Introduction a l’Histoire de Dannemarc* (Copenhagen, Claude Philibert, printed by L.H. Lillie, 1756). The Introduction from 1755 was translated to Danish in 1756: Paul-Henri Mallet, *Indledning udi Danmarks Riges Historie, hvorudi handles om de gamle Danskes Guds-Dyrkelse, Love, Sæder og Skikke* (Copenhagen, printed and payed by Ludolph Henrich Lillie, 1756). Like the French edition, the translation was composed in Roman rather than Gothic letters. According to a review in a learned magazine the type would prevent the common man from reading the book, *Efterretninger om Nye Bøger og Lærde Sager* (1756), 644-5.

Claude Philibert published a revised edition of the History in Geneva: Paul-Henri Mallet, *Histoire de Dannemarc* 1-2 (Geneva 1763). The third enlarged edition was published in nine volumes (Geneva 1787-88).

German translation: *Herrn Professor Mallets Geschichte von Dänemark. Mit einer Vorrede Herrn Gottfried Schützens* 1-2 (Rostock and Greifswald 1765-66).

Biography of Mallet: Simonde de Sismondi, *De la vie et des écrits de P.H. Mallet* (Geneva 1807), and Hélène Stadler, *Paul-Henri Mallet* (Lausanne 1924). About Mallet’s translations: Cyrille Gigandet, “Arracher quelque portion de ces odieuses barières qui nous divisent’: Analyse des préfaces aux traductions ’nordiques’ du genevois Paul-Henri Mallet” in *La vie intellectuelle aux refuges protestants* 2, ed. Jens Häselser and Antony McKenna (Paris 2002), 153-74.

464. L. Dufour-Vernes, *Lettres de Paul-Henri Mallet a Jacob Vernes 1750-1761* (Geneva 1894), 21-2. The birthday of Frederik V fell on 31 March.
465. L. Dufour-Vernes, *Lettres* (Geneva 1894), 18.
466. Quoted from the translation of Thomas Percy, *Northern Antiquities: or a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the ancient Danes* (London 1770), li. Because Percy used the revised

- edition of Mallet's history, published in Geneva in 1763, his translation is collated with the original French edition: Mallet, *Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc*: "L'histoire ne nous parle d'aucun peuple qui ait causé de plus grandes, de plus subites, & de plus nombreuses revolutions en Europe que les Scandinaves, & dont les antiquités soient en même tems plus généralement ignorées." (Copenhagen 1755), 3. The Danish edition: Paul-Henri Mallet, *Indledning udi Danmarks Riges Historie* (Copenhagen 1756), Preface, A3.
467. *Northern Antiquities*, I. Mallet, *Introduction*: "voir des Peuples, des Princes, des Conquéranes & des Législateurs se succéder rapidement sur la Scène, sans connoître leur facon de penser, leur caractere, l'esprit qui les animoit; c'est sans doute ne tenir que les quelettes de l'histoire, c'est ne voir que des ombres muettes & errantes dans l'obscurité, au lieu de vivre & de converser avec des hommes. Dans cette persuasion je me suis toujours proposé de ne toucher au corps même de l'histoire de Dannemarc, qu'après avoir offerte au lecteur un crayon des moers & de du génie de ses anciens habitans." (2-3); Mallet, *Indledning*, Preface, A3.
468. *Northern Antiquities* II, v-vi; collated with Mallet: *Monumens de la Mythologie et del la poésie des Celtes et particulièrement des anciens Scandinaves*: "Comme je la considere toujours ici par ce qu'elle avoit de général, j'employe le terme de *Celtique*, comme le plus universel, sans prétendre entrer dans toutes les disputes auxquelles ce mot a donné lieu, & qui ne viennent, je pense, que de ce qu'on ne s'entend pas." (Copenhagen 1756), 6.
469. *Northern Antiquities*, li; Mallet, *Introduction*: "une religion simple & militaire come lui, une forme de gouvernement imaginée par le bon sens & la liberté" (5); idem., *Indledning*, Preface, A4
470. *Northern Antiquities*, lii; Mallet, *Introduction*: "Rome cependant s'élève, & bientôt envahit tout. A mesure qu'elle s'aggrandit, elle oublie ses anciennes moers, & fait perdre aux peuples qu'elle soumet, le premier esprit qui les avoit animés; mais il demeure inaltérable dans les climats froids del l'Europe, & s'y maintient come leur indépendance. /.../ Alors on voit les vainqueurs reporter au milieu des nations vaincues, c'est à dire, dans le sein de la servitude & de la molesse, cet esprit d'indépendance & d'égalité" (5-6); idem., *Indledning*, Preface, A4
471. *Northern Antiquities*, liii; Mallet, *Introduction*: "ne sait-on pas qu'ils ont autrefois porté dans les pays les plus florissant & les plus

célèbres, & en général partout où ils se sont établis, cette espèce de gouvernement qu'ils avoient imaginés dans leurs forêts, gouvernement qui subsiste encore en entier dans quelques lieux, & qui dans les Etats mêmes où l'on a jugé à propos d'en abolir la forme, n'est pas tout à fait détruit, puisque les moers & l'esprit qu'il a coutume de faire naître & d'entretenir, y regnent encore à divers égards. Ne seroit-ce point là en effet la principale cause de ce courage, de cette aversion pour la servitude, de cet empire de l'honneur qui caractérisent presque toutes les nations Européennes, & de cette modération, de cette familiarité, de ces égards pour l'humanité qui distinguent si heureusement nos Souverains d'avec les Tyrans invisibles & superbes de l'Asie" (7); idem., *Indledning*, Preface, A4 –B.

472. *Northern Antiquities*, 107-8; Mallet, *Introduction*: "Que l'on compare les traits que nous venons de rapporter, avec le commencement de la Théogonie d'Hésiode, les monumens mythologiques de quelques nations de l'Asie, & le livre de la Génese, on se convaincra bientôt, que la conformité qui se trouve entre plusieurs circonstances de leurs récits, ne peut être entièrement l'ouvrage du simple hazard" (66); idem., *Indledning*, 63.
473. *Northern Antiquities*, 122-3. Mallet, *Introduction*: "Il y a eu un tems où la face entiere de l'Europe offroit le même spectacle que les forêts de l'Amérique; mille petites nations errantes, sans villes ni bourgs, ni agriculture, ni arts; n'ayant pour subsister que quelques troupeaux, des fruits sauvages, & le pillage, se fatiguant sans cesse par des courses & des attaques, tantôt vaincues, souvent terrassées, & détruites. Les mêmes causes produisent partout les mêmes effets" (76); idem., *Indledning*, 72.
474. *Northern Antiquities*, 157; Mallet, *Introduction*: "Les moindres affaires sont décidées par l'avis des Grands, mais en celles d'importance il faut encore celui du peuple" (101); idem., *Indledning*, 96.
475. *Northern Antiquities*, 168-69; Mallet, *Introduction*: "Le peuple conserva cependant le droit d'élire ses Rois, se faisant en même tems une loi de faire tomber son choix sur le plus proche parent du Roi défunt, ou du moins sur quelqu'un de la famille Royale, qu'on croioit issue des Dieux mêmes. On montre encore les lieux où se faisoient ces élections; & come le Dannemarc a été longtems partagé en trois Royaumes, on trouve aussi trois principaux monumens de cet usage, l'un près de *Lund* en Scanie, l'autre à *Leyre* en

- Selande, & le troisième pres de *Viborg* en Jutlande” (102); idem., *Indledning*, 97-8.
476. *Northern Antiquities*, 172; Mallet, *Introduction*: “Cependant ne terminons pas cet article sans faire encore un nouvel effort pour développer la façon de penser de ces peuples sur les sujet du gouvernement. L’importance de la matière nous servira d’excuse, si nous allons chercher jusqu’aux extrémités de l’Europe quelques rayons de lumière propres à l’illustrer” (118); idem., *Indledning*, 112
477. *Northern Antiquities*, 172-3; Mallet, *Introduction*: “Aucune force extérieure ne les croise, ni ne les gêne, c’est une nation livrée à elle même, qui s’établit dans un pays isolé, & come séparé du reste du monde; dans tous ses établissemens on ne voit que la plus pure expression de ses inclinations, & de ses sentimens, & ils lui sont en effet si naturels que l’on n’apperçoit pas dans les recits aussi naïfs, qu’étendus des Chroniques Islandoises qu’aucune délibération générale, aucune irrésolution, aucune expérience des états différens, ayent précédé chez eux, l’institution de cette forme Politique. Tout y naît & s’y arrange de soi-même, & comme les abeilles forment leurs ruches, les nouveaux Islandois établissent chez eux ce Gouvernement, qui semble ne devoir être le fruit que d’une longue expérience, & d’une étude réfléchie des hommes, & don’t un grand génie de ce siècle, remarque avec étonnement qu’il a été trouvé dans les bois” (118-19); idem., *Indledning*, 112-13.
478. *Northern Antiquities*, 178-9; Mallet, *Introduction*: “les *Etats généraux* de l’Islande, (*Al-ting*) qui répondoient aux *Als-herjar ting* des autres nations Scandinaves, ou au *Wittena-Gemot* des Anglo-Saxons. /.../ Le President de cette grande assemblée étoit le *Juge Souverain* d’Islande. Il possédoit cette charge à vie, mais c’étoit les Etats qui la lui conféroient; ses principales fonctions étoient de convoquer les *Etats Généraux*, & de veiller au maintien des loix, d’où lui venoit le nom Islandois de *Lagman*, ou d’*Home de loix* qu’il portoit” (122); idem., *Indledning*, 116.
479. *Northern Antiquities*, 181; Mallet, *Introduction*: “Telle a été la forme de cette république aujourd’hui si peu connue dans le reste du monde, quoiqu’il n’y en ait peut être eu aucune, même dans les beaux jours de l’ancienne Grece qui ait produit autant d’Historiens & de Poètes, & sur laquelle il nous reste encore autant de monumens” (123); idem., *Indledning*, 117.

480. *Northern Antiquities*, 181; Mallet, *Introduction*: “Il est aisé de reconnoître dans ce tableau de la constitution politique de l’ancienne Islande, le génie de tous les peuples Celtes qui ont jamais existé sans mélange des autres nations. Cette limitation de l’autorité des Rois ou des Chefs de l’Etat par des assemblées représentatives de la nation, qui se reservoient le pouvoir législatif dans toutes les choses importantes, étoit come une espèce de moule, dans lequel ont été jettés pendant une longue suite de siècles, presque tous les Gouvernemens de l’Europe” (124); idem., *Indledning*, 117-18.
481. *Bernstorffske Papirer* 1, ed. Aage Friis (Copenhagen 1904), 134 and 185-6.
482. Hans Gram, “Om det gamle Ord Herremand” (Copenhagen, 1746), 265.
483. *Northern Antiquities*, lv; Mallet, *Introduction*: “[Dalin] a donné une nouvelle histoire de Suède dans la langue de ce pays, où l’on trouve beaucoup de recherches & d’esprit, & qui est très digne de paroître dans une langue plus universellement répandue. Dans trois ou quatre chapitres, où l’auteur traite de la Religion, des loix & des moers des anciens Suédois, il a sù repandre sur ces matieres un jour & un agrément qu’il n’est pas ordinaire d’y rencontrer” (10); idem., *Indledning*, Preface, B2.
484. Olof Dalin, *Svea Rikes Historia. Förste Delen, som innehåller hela hedniska tiden* (Stockholm 1747), 60-1, 96 and 219: “Hvar och en för mögen Hudfader, Odalsman eller Bonde, som den tiden war alt det samme.”
485. Peter Hallberg, *Ages of Liberty. Social Upheaval, History Writing and the New Public Sphere in Sweden 1740-1792* (Stockholm 2003), 193.
486. Dalin, *Svea Rikes Historia*, 203.
487. “Således måste fordom en Svensk Konung trenne ganger förplikta sig hos sit Folk, at hålla dets Lag helig och vårda dets trygghet, inan han kunde säjas fullkomligen hafva antagit Riksstyrelsen” (Dalin, *Svea Rikes Historia*, 226). The history of Dalin, among others, became an arsenal of anti-aristocratic historical arguments in the political debates in Sweden in the 1770’s. Peter Hallberg, *Ages of Liberty* (Stockholm 2003), 202-4. Peter Hallberg, “Den förlorade friheten. Historieskrivning och samhällskritik under sen frihetstid” in *Riksdag, kaffehus och predikstol. Frihetstidens politiska kultur 1766-1772*, ed. Marie-Christine Skuncke and Henrika Tandefelt (Stockholm, 2003), 339-52. Jonas Nordin, *Ett fattigt men*

- fritt folk. Nationell och politisk självbild i Sverige från sen stormaktstid till slutet av frihetstiden* (Stockholm 2000), 218-21. Nils Eriksson, *Dalin – Botin – Lagerbring. Historieforskning og historieskrivning i Sverige 1747-1787* (Göteborg 1973).
488. “Det war som et hufvudstycke I gamla Celto-Scythiska Guda-lä-
ren, at Hus-fäder woro Konunger i sina hus, och Enväldige öfver
hustruer, barn och tjenstefolk. Så brukade också de gamle Bri-
tanner” (Dalín, *Svea Rikes Historia*, 60 and 96: “Det gamla Celto-
Scytiska ordet”).
489. “Men folket förbehöll sig dock derwid sit fria wahl, hållandan
sig likwål inom gamla Koninga-ätten, ... Dette Efterträdelse-Sätt
hade följt med Svear och Göter altutifrån Gamla Scythiska byg-
den” (Dalín, *Svea Rikes Historia*, 222).
490. *Northern Antiquities*, liv; Mallet, *Introduction*: “La grande préroga-
tive de la Scandinavie, dit très bien l’admirable auteur de l’Esprit
des Loix, & qui doit mettre les nations qui l’habitent au dessus
de tous les peuples du monde, c’est qu’elles ont été la ressource
de la liberté de l’Europe, c’est à dire, de presque toute celle qui
est parmi les hommes. Le Goth Jornandes, ajoute-t-il, a appelé le
Nord de l’Europe, la fabrique du genre humain; Je l’appellerois
plutôt la fabrique des instrumens qui brisent les fers forgés au
midi. C’est là que se forment ces nations vaillantes qui sortent
de leur pays pour détruire les Tyrans & les esclaves, & apprendre
aux hommes que la nature les ayant fait égaux, la raison n’a pû
les rendre dépendans que pour leur bonheur” (8); idem., *Ind-
ledning*, Forfatterens Fortale, Arksignatur B 1-2. Mallet did not
quote Montesquieu on contemporary history: “Another of the
northern kingdoms has lost its laws: but we may trust to the cli-
mate that they are not lost in such manner as never to be recover-
ed” (Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (New York, NY 1975),
266).
491. J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion*, 1 (Cambridge 1999), 280-1
and 288.
492. Edward Gibbon, “An Examination of Mallet’s Introduction to the
History of Denmark”, in *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon*, ed.
John Lord Sheffield, 6 (Basel 1797), 274-5.
493. *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon*, 6: 277-80.
494. Margaret Clunies Ross, *The Norse Muse in Britain 1750-1820* (Tri-
este 1998), 96-104; and Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy’s Reliques*
(Oxford 1999), 84-96. Colin Kidd, *British Identities before National-*

- ism. Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge 1999), 207-10. Gauti Kristmannsson, "Translating kinship and difference: Thomas Percy's 'scaldic' transformations", in *Norden och Europa 1700-1830. Synvinklar på ömsesidigt kulturellt inflytande*, ed. Svavar Sigmundsson (Reykjavik 2003), 117-29.
495. The Translators Preface, *Northern Antiquities*, xiii.
496. *Northern Antiquities*, xvii. Margaret Clunies Ross: "Percy's purpose was not only to correct an egregious error, but to ensure that the prior claim of the early Scandinavians to the development of literature and culture in Europe was not usurped by the advocates of Celtic influence" (*The Norse Muse* (Trieste, 1998), 98).
497. Margaret Clunies Ross, "Percy and Mallet. The genesis of Northern antiquities", in *Sagnating helgáð Jónasi Kristjánssyni*, ed. Gudrun Kvaran, Sigurgeir Steingrímsson and Gisli Sigurdsson (Reykjavik 1994), 107-17.
498. Anton Blanck, *Den nordiske renässansen i sjuttonhundratalets litteratur* (Stockholm 1911), 39-62; Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen, "Grundtvig's Norse mythological imagery – an experiment that failed", in *Northern Antiquity. The Post-Medieval Reception of Edda and Saga*, ed. Andrew Wawn (Enfield Lock 1994), 42-4.
499. Sandvig published "Reliques" too: *Levninger af Middel-Alderens Digtekunst* (Copenhagen 1780). The second volume was published by Rasmus Nyerup (Copenhagen 1784).
500. *Dansk Litteraturhistorie 4*, (Copenhagen 1983), 312-15.
501. Tyge Rothe, *Tanker om Kierlighed til Fedrenelandet* (Copenhagen 1759).
502. Tyge Rothe, *Christendommens Virkning på Folkenes Tilstand i Europa I-VI* (Copenhagen 1774-83) (Five 'parts' in six volumes). The first four parts were translated into German: *Die Wirkung des Christenthums auf den Zustand der Völker in Europa I-IV* (Copenhagen 1775-82).
503. Tyge Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen" in *Christendommens Virkning V* (1783), 102.
504. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen", 65 with reference to William Robertson, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. With a View of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century I* (London 1769).
505. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen", 65, 99 and 105 with references to Gilbert Stuart, *A View of Society in Europe in its Progress from Rudeness to Refinement* (Edinburgh 1778).

506. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen" (107) with references to Wilh. Robertson, *Historie om Amerika I* (Copenhagen 1780), James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London 1775), William Russell, *The History of America* (London 1778) and Adam Ferguson. *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh 1767). Rothe again referred to "Adair, Robertson, Russell" in his chapter on "Blood Feud" (212). Except for the Danish translation of the selections from Robertson's *History of America*, Rothe referred to the English titles. In the case of Gibbon he referred to the German translation.
507. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen" (105): "Det har feylet Stuart, den tenkende Britter, og det har feylet mangel en, baade Britanniens og de andre oplyste europæiske Landes ellers ypperlige Skribentere, at de ey have kiendt Snorro, og ey ved ham kiendt Nordens de gamle Bønder og Odelsmænd." See also 106, 109-117.
508. As in the case of Suhm, the esteemed historian Hans Gram authorized Rothe's notion of the original free, landowning peasant or "Bondé": Tyge Rothe, *Nordens Statsforfatning I* (Copenhagen 1781), 49 and 69.
509. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen", 56.
510. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen", 115.
511. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen", 116.
512. Tyge Rothe, *Nordens Statsforfatning før Lehnstiden, og da Odelskab med Folkefrihed – i Lehnstiden, og da Birkerettighed, Hoverie, Livegenskab med Aristokratie I-II* (Copenhagen 1781-82). It was published in German too: *Nordens Statsverfassung vor der Lehnszeit, mit Odels Recht und Volksfreyheit, in der Lehnszeit, und dann adliche Gerichtsbarkeit, Frohndienste, Leibeigenschaft samt Aristokratie I-II* (Copenhagen and Leipzig 1784-89).
513. Rothe, *Nordens Statsforfatning I*: 3. Further discussion: Helge Paludan, "Vor danske Montesquieu", *Historie* 13.3 (1980):15. and Henrik Horstbøll, "Civilisation og nation 1760-1830", in *Danmarks Historie* 10, ed. Søren Mørch (Copenhagen 1992), 164-76.
514. Rothe, *Nordens Statsforfatning I*: 130-52 and 236-46.
515. Rothe, "Europas Lehnsvæsen", 424.
516. Tyge Rothe, *Danske Agerdyrkeres – især den til Hovedgaard hæftede Festebondes Kaar og borgerlige Rettigheder, for saavidt samme er bestemte ved Lovene, eller Vort Landvæsens System, som det var 1783, politisk betragtet* (Copenhagen 1784). Knud Erik Svendsen, "Tyge Rothe og Christian Albrecht Fabricius – en diskussion om den fremti-

- dige produktionsmåde i Danmark”, in *Danske Økonomer. Festskrift i anledning af Socialøkonomisk Samfunds 75 års jubilæum* (Copenhagen 1976), 95-103.
517. Rothe, *Danske Agerdykere*, 86.
518. *Ibid.*, 378.
519. Frants Dræbye had recently published a Danish translation of Adam Smith, *Undersøgelse om National-Velstands Natur og Aarsag* 1-2 (Copenhagen 1779-80). About the translation: Hans Degen, “Om den danske oversættelse af Adam Smith og Samtidens Bedømmelse af den” *Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift* 74 (1936): 223-32. Peter Kurrild-Klitgaard, “Adam Smith og kredsen bag National-Velstands Natur”, *Libertas* 26 (1998): 5-14.
520. Tyge Rothe, “Tale fremsagt i Selskabet for Borderdyd 2. maj 1785” in *Adspredte Skrifter* II (Copenhagen 1799), 304.
521. Rasmus Nyerup, “Culturens Fremskridt, samt Bondens og Borge-rens Forfatning” in *Historisk Statistisk Skildring af Tilstanden i Danmark og Norge i ældre og nyere Tider* (Copenhagen, 1803).
522. Rasmus Nyerup, “Udsigt over Folkeculturens Fremgang. Danmarks og Norges Culturtilstand i det 9de og 10de Aarhundrede: Odelsbondens eller den fri Agedyrkers hæderlige Stilling” in *Historisk Statistisk Skildring* 1 (Copenhagen 1803), 52-65.
523. Rasmus Nyerup, “Oversyn over Fædernelandets Mindesmærker fra Oldtiden, saaledes som de kan tænkes opstillede i et tilkommende National-Museum” in *Historisk Statistisk Skildring* 4 (Copenhagen 1806).

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- 524 Louis Philippe, *Memoirs* [compiled in exile 1802-12, revised 1848-50] (Paris 1973-74), 191; this quotation is from the translation by John Hardman (New York, NY 1977), 111.
525. Knud J.V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark* (Basingstoke 2004), 187-216.
526. Other papers in the present volume discuss these developments more fully. See also *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, ed. O. Feldbæk, vols. 1-2 (Copenhagen 1991); and the distinct perspectives adopted in response to more recent European work, observable in for example S. Olden-Jørgensen, ‘Humanistic and political patriotism in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Denmark’, in *Patria und Patriotien vor dem Patriotismus: Pflichten, Rechte, Glauben und die Rekon-*

- figurierung europäischer Gemeinwesen im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed R. von Friedeburg (Wiesbaden 2005), 243-57.
527. B. Blüdnikow, "Folkelig uro i København 1789-1820", *Fortid og Nutid* 33 (1986): 1-54; and his *Sladder og satire: Københavnerliv i 1780'erne* (Copenhagen 1988). The records of the Copenhagen police have so far not been exploited effectively by historians: see T. Munck, "Keeping the peace: 'Good police' and civic order in eighteenth-century Copenhagen", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32 (2007): 1-25.
528. Modern editions include J. Holmgård, *Fæstebonde i Nørre Tulstrup Christen Andersens dagbog, 1786-1797* (Copenhagen 1969); J.D. Rasmussen, *Sognefoged i Stavnsholt Lars Nielsens dagbog 1789-96* (Copenhagen 1978); K. Schousboe, *En fæstebondes liv: erindringer og optegnelser af gårdfæster og sognefoged Søren Pedersen, Havrebjerg (1776-1839)* (Copenhagen 1983).
529. M. Rheinheimer, *Die Dorfordnungen im Herzogtum Schleswig: Dorf und Obrigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart 1999).
530. The increasing number of petitions submitted to the crown, seen as an effective means of communication between subject and ruler, constitute a varied body of source material regarding normative concepts of identity at different levels of society, reflecting such efforts of self-projection as the petitioners (or their scribe) thought appropriate for the occasion. The central processing of these petitions has been studied by M. Bregnsbo, *Folk skriver til kongen: supplikkerne og deres funktion i den dansk-norske enevælde i 1700-tallet* (Copenhagen 1997; with a 2-CD sample of material, published by Selskabet for Udgivelse of Kilder til Dansk Historie, 2005), but since the original texts submitted by the petitioners are excluded from the analysis, the remit is not appropriate in the present context. As Bregnsbo explains (59-61), many of the original submissions are no longer preserved, in part because the formal outcome or decision was often written onto the original, which was then sent back to the petitioner.
531. Publications on rural society and agrarian reform outweigh any other area of Danish eighteenth-century history. Significant contributions include Fridlev Skrubbeltang, *Det danske landbosamfund 1500-1800* (Copenhagen 1978); Claus Bjørn, *Bonde, herremand, konge: bonden i 1700-tallets Danmark* (Copenhagen 1981); Claus Bjørn, 'De danske cahiers: studier i bondereaktionerne på forordningen af 15 april 1768', *Landbohistorisk Tidsskrift* 2R5

- (1983): 145-70; Birgit Løgstrup, *Bundet til jorden: stavnsbåndet i praksis 1733-1788* (Copenhagen 1987); H. Arnold Barton, 'The Danish agrarian reforms, 1784-1814, and the historians', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 36 (1988): 46-61; Peter Henningsen, 'Den rationelle bonde: en historisk-antropologisk analyse af traditionalismen i dansk bondekultur', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 100 (2000): 329-81.
532. Landsarkivet for Fyn: Odense Tugthus. This workhouse admissions register is discussed more fully in T. Munck, 'Social identity and community in eighteenth-century urban Denmark', in *Social and Political Identities in western Europe*, ed. A. Grant and K. Stringer (Copenhagen 1994), 128-44.
533. H.C. Johansen, *Befolkningsudvikling og familiestruktur i det 18. århundrede* (Odense, 1975) remains the fundamental work on the early censuses; his detailed case-study, *Næring og bystyre: Odense 1700-1789* (Odense 1983) is an unusually thorough exploration of what extant source material can tell us about urban structures and perceptions.
534. *Nyeste Kiøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1787), 415f. This journal (normally referred to as *Lærde Efterretninger*) was published from 1720 to 1810, but with a title which changed progressively from *Nye Tidender om lærde Sager* (in 1720) to *Kiøbenhavnske lærde Efterretninger* (for the last 20 years) with six other variant titles in between. When cited in the notes to this paper, the title will be given in full, as indicated on the particular issue used.
535. For a recent discussion of the significance of rank (and venality) in this context, see P. Henningsen, "'Den bestandige maskerade": standssamfund, rangsamfund og det 18. århundredes honnête kultur', *Historisk Tidsskrift (Copenhagen)* 101 (2001), 312-43.
536. For examples from other parts of Europe, see notably Olivia Smith, *The Politics of Language 1791-1819* (Oxford 1984); regarding the lack of literary and grammatical self-confidence amongst even noble French women, see D. Goodman, 'L'ortographe des dames: gender and language in the old régime', *French Historical Studies* 25 (2002): 191-223.
537. T. Munck, 'Literacy, Educational Reform and the Use of Print in eighteenth-century Denmark', *European History Quarterly* 34 (2004): 275-303, especially 292-4.
538. H. Ilsoe, *Bogtrykkerne i København og deres virksomhed ca. 1600-1810* (Copenhagen 1992), 225-53; T. Kjærgaard, 'The rise of the press

- and public opinion in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14 (1989): 215-30. However, since German texts were common in Denmark, quantitative estimates based on Danish-language material alone may understate actual levels of access to some categories of print.
539. C. Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 2001); H. Horstbøll, *Menig mands medie: det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500-1840* (Copenhagen 1999).
540. There is no Danish equivalent to the English Short Title Catalogue. The survey which follows is based on the old printed *Bibliotheca Danica: Systematisk Fortegnelse over den danske Literatur fra 1482 til 1830*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen 1877-1931), used alongside systematic retrievals from the current version of the on-line catalogue of the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen (REX), and selectively supplemented by means of the older card catalogues of the Royal Library. I am grateful to Henrik Horstbøll, and his colleagues at the Royal Library, for clarifying the scope and limitations of the on-line system. Neither *Bibliotheca Danica* nor the on-line catalogue consistently record information on the format or length (in number of pages) of all individual items. Equally, the categorisation of printed material by language, subject category or place of publication is not entirely consistent in either, and manual verification is essential. It is therefore not yet possible to compile detailed quantitative profiles comparable to those notably for Sweden, for example in A. Jarrick, 'Borgare, småfolk och böcker i 1700-talets Stockholm', *Historisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm 1990): 207-11.
541. Munck, 'Literacy, Educational Reform', 291-6.
542. *Bibliotheca Danica*, vol.4 (1902), 289-434, lists collected as well as single editions, reprints and translations. On the German feud (Tyskerfejden) as portrayed by Danish historians, see *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, ed. O. Feldbæk, vol.2 (Copenhagen 1991), 9-109. It is worth emphasising, however, that Danish interpretations of this controversy have tended to overstate its real impact: although the inflammatory texts published by a few Danish grub-street writers gave focus to some long-standing frustrations, there was no substantive follow-up, and German cultural influences continued to play a major role in the 1790s and beyond.
543. *Bibliotheca Danica*, vol.4 (1902), 438-502.
544. H. Horstbøll, 'Trykkefrihedens bogtrykkere og skribenter

- 1770-1773', *Grafiana: Årbog for Danmarks Grafiske Museum /Dansk Pressemuseum* (2001): 9-25; H. Horstbøll, 'Bolle Luxdorphs samling af trykkefrihedens skrifter 1770-73', *Fund og Forskning i det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 44 (2005): 371-414.
545. Some short extracts were published in Copenhagen in 1771 in a miscellaneous compendium entitled *Fremmedes Tanker, eller Forsøg til Udbredelse af læseværdige og nyttige Oversættelser*, dealing primarily with demographic matters, but giving no impression of the underlying themes of the whole text. I am grateful to Henrik Horstbøll for alerting me to the existence of this publication.
546. Only Hume's essay on freedom of the press was translated, as noted by J.Chr. Laursen, 'David Hume and the Danish debate about freedom of the press 1770-1772', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59 (1998): 167-72.
547. Rigsarkivet, Danske Kancelli, Forskellige Institutioner, 4: Generalkirkeinspektionskollegiet, 11, Indsendte Visitatsberetninger fra biskopperne, report from Hans Adolph Brorson, 1759 (no pagination).
548. For a full listing, see J.D. Søllinge & N. Thomsen, *De danske aviser 1634-1989*, vol.1: 1634-1847 (Odense 1988).
549. *Nyeste Kiøbenhavnse Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1788), 202.
550. *Minerva*, 1. Aargang (Dec. 1785): 239-304.
551. *Minerva* (May 1791): 301f.
552. See also L. Kruse, *Die französische Revolution im Spiegel der Kopenhagener Zeitschriftenpresse, 1789-1799: Eigen- und Fremdbild der Pressefreiheit* (Rostock 2004), for a recent closer study of this aspect.
553. The *Lærde Efterretninger* (exact title varied over time) was published weekly, in convenient octavo format – with at first just 8 pages per week, then double (1728-48), reverting for a while to 8 pages per week after the change of ownership (1749-67), then once more increasing to 16 pages for the rest of its duration – thus amounting, with occasional extras, to either one or two volumes of around 440 pages per annum. The issues in each year normally had continuous pagination, so issue or section numbers are not given in the references that follow, just year and page; the variant titles of the journal are reflected in the citations.
554. The set now in the holdings of the University Library in Odense, for example, is composite, with some blocks purchased from private collections but others from institutional libraries such as Herlufsholm School. It seems that not all copies were read avidly:

- a few volumes from the latter set were still uncut when consulted in 2005.
555. *Kjøbenhavnske Nye Tidender om lærde Sager* (1762), 2-3, where the editors lamented that so much was being published that they could not keep up, especially in the literary field.
 556. During the 1780s and 90s, reviews in the *Lærde Efterretninger* alone resulted in scores of independently published pamphlets, some of them containing mostly personal invective, some addressing more substantive disagreements. Most were in Danish, but German and French were also used on occasion.
 557. *Nye Tidender om lærde og curieuse Sager* (1747), 64.
 558. *Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1772), 46f.
 559. *Kjøbenhavnske nye Tidender om lærde og curieuse Sager* (1749), 317-20; *Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1771), 193-201 and 209-13.
 560. *Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1773), 205-7.
 561. *Kjøbenhavnske Nye Tidender om lærde Sager* (1763), 203-50, pursued further in a separately paginated supplement the following year (1764), 1-88.
 562. *Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1770), 397f.
 563. *Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1771), 615-17.
 564. *Nyeste Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1790), 483-4.
 565. *Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1767), 163-6; see also the comments on one of the relatively rare Danish translations from English in the volume for 1770, 227-38.
 566. *Nyeste Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1790), 353-65.
 567. For a further discussion of this material, see T. Munck, 'Absolute monarchy in later eighteenth-century Denmark: centralized reform, public expectations and the Copenhagen Press', *The Historical Journal* 41 (1998): 201-24, esp. 218f.
 568. *Nyeste Kjøbenhavnske Efterretninger om lærde Sager* (1789), 140; (1790), 529f and 544-7.
 569. *Kjøbenhavnske lærde Efterretninger* (1795), 137-44, 165-73, 257-63 and 361-6.
 570. T. Munck, 'Keeping the Peace', 1-25.
 571. J.R. Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (London 1994); H. Bots, ed., *La diffusion et la lecture des journaux de langue française sous l'ancien régime* (Amsterdam 1988); P. Rétat, ed., *La Gazette d'Amsterdam: miroir de l'Europe au xviii^e siècle (Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century [SVEC], 2001/06)* (Oxford 2001);

for the comparative context, see M. Welke, 'Die Legende vom "unpolitischen Deutschen": Zeitungslesen im 18. Jahrhundert als Spiegel des politischen Interesses', *Jahrbuch der Wittheit zu Bremen* 25 (1981), 161-88; H. Barker and S. Burrows (eds.), *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North America, 1760-1820* (Cambridge 2002); H.-J. Lüsebrink and J.D. Popkin (eds.), *Enlightenment, Revolution and the Periodical Press (SVEC, 2004/06)* (Oxford 2004).

Notes to Chapter 12

Quotations from Danish and Latin texts are translated or, where relevant, revised by the author.

- 572 "Loqvebamus tanquam in libera civitate: Lusimus, jocati sumus, facetiisque invicem certavimus absque metu, cum ob libertatem lingvæ, & dicta incautius prolata nemini succensuerit: & si forte succenseret, ira tamen sine verbere considerabat." Ludvig Holberg, *Opuscula Latina*, I (Copenhagen 1974): 272-3.
573. Thorkild Kjærgaard, *Denmark Gets the News of '76* (Copenhagen 1975).
574. Thorkild Kjærgaard, *Danmark og den franske revolution / Le Danemark et la révolution française* (Copenhagen 1989).
575. *Minerva*, III (July-September 1789): 418-21.
576. A fundamentally different interpretation has been offered by Thorkild Kjærgaard in his dissertation *Den danske Revolution 1500-1800. En økohistorisk tolkning* (Copenhagen 1991); Eng. trans. by D. Hohnen, *The Danish Revolution 1500-1800. An Ecohistorical Interpretation* (new edn, Cambridge 2006).
577. Karin Kryger, *Frihedsstøtten* (Copenhagen 1986).
578. K.L. Rahbek, *Erindringer af mit Liv* (Copenhagen 1827), IV: 197.
579. Edvard Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk af Trykkefrihedstidens Historie 1770-1773* (Copenhagen 1885).
580. L. Koch, "Bidrag til censurens historie under Fredrik V", in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 6. Rk., 2. Bd. (1889), 67-94; cf. Edvard Holm, *Nogle Hovedtræk af Trykkefrihedstidens Historie 1770-1773* (Copenhagen 1885), 20-1.
581. Harald Jørgensen, *Trykkefrihedsspørgsmaalet i Danmark 1799-1848. Et Bidrag til en Karakteristik af den danske Enevælde i Frederik VI's og Christian VIII's Tid* (Copenhagen 1944).

582. *Skrivefrækhed*, ed. Teddy Petersen (Tønder 1989); Frantz Dahl, *Frederik VI og Anders Sandøe Ørsted i 1826* (Copenhagen 1929).
583. Edvard Holm, *Holbergs statsretlige og politiske Synsmaade* (Copenhagen 1879).
584. J. Paludan, *Fransk-engelsk Indflydelse paa Danmarks Litteratur i Holbergs Tidsalder* (Copenhagen 1913), 68-70.
585. Johannes Ewald, *Samlede Skrifter*, I (Copenhagen 1914), 149.
586. *Ibid.*, IV (1919), 248.
587. *Ibid.*, 252.
588. *Ibid.*, 254.
589. *Ibid.*, 257.
590. In his preface the playwright erroneously dates the incident to 1775, trusting Ove Malling's information in his patriotic textbook *Store og gode Handlinger af Danske og Norske og Holstenere* (*Great and Good Deeds of Danes, Norwegians, and Holsteiners*) (Copenhagen 1777), 48.
591. „Han stod ene, som Pyramiden paa den egyptiske Slette.” Adam Oehlenschläger, „Johannes Ewald”, *Athene. Et Maanedsskrift*, I (October 1813): 308.
592. „Vise i Anledning af den 29 Januar 1793” (‘‘Song on the occasion of 29 January 1793’’ [the birthday of King Christian VII]), in *Peter Andreas Heibergs Udvalgte Skrifter*, ed. Otto Borchsenius and Fr. Winkel Horn (Copenhagen 1884), 593.
593. *Thomas Thaarups efterladte poetiske Skrifter*, ed. K.L. Rahbek (Copenhagen 1822), 15, 35; K.L. Rahbek, *Erindringer af mit Liv* (Copenhagen 1827), IV: 47-8; P. Hansen: *Den danske Skueplads*, I (Copenhagen sd [1889]), 506-10.
594. Torben Krogh, *Danske Teaterbilleder fra det 18^{te} Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen 1932), 141-3. Only a description of the monument by the scene painter (Thomas Bruun) exists; there are unfortunately no depictions, let alone the set piece itself. Concerning the real *Frihedsstøtte*, see p. 252-4 above.
595. See Henrik Horstbøll's essay in the present work.
596. Et Selskab [The Norwegian Society], *Poetiske Samlinger. Tredie Stykke* (Copenhagen 1793).
597. Storm's concluding stanza 19 heralds a monument commemorating the event in order to warn future enemies and inspire future patriots to resistance. The title page of his *Samlede Digte* (Copenhagen 1785) bears a frontispiece copper engraving showing a low granite base on which is seen a tablet under a small and primitive

- wooden roof. N.A. Abildgaard in ca.1787 sketched a more solid and more scornful monument, see Karin Kryger, "Dansk identitet i nyklassicistisk kunst", in *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, 1: *Fædreland og Modersmål 1536-1789*, ed. Ole Feldbæk (Copenhagen 1991), 363-5. None of these monuments ever materialised.
598. Concerning Pram, see above at notes 575 and 592.
599. In March and June 1795 Baggesen visited Goethe in Weimar on several occasions, but he never told anything about his conversations with the famous statesman and poet (in contrast to his detailed reports on time spent with other literary celebrities of the day, such as Voss, Wieland, Schiller, Herder). See August Baggesen: *Jens Baggesens Biographie*, 2 (Copenhagen, 1844): 135, 14; and cf. the guarded statement from Baggesen's sons about their father's judgement that Goethe was Germany's greatest poet but that he, Baggesen, was unable to find personal harmony with him, *Jens Baggesen's Poetische Werke in deutscher Sprache*, 1, ed. Carl Baggesen and August Baggesen (Leipzig 1836), XIX.
600. A scholarly and annotated edition of Baggesen's *Labyrinten* is in preparation.
601. *Corsaren 1840-46. M.A. Goldschmidts årgange genudgivet*, 7 vols., ed. Uffe Andreasen (Copenhagen 1977-81).
602. The words quoted which mean something like "Now we are getting on!" form the beginning of a well-known revolutionary song from France, continuing "les aristocrates à la lanterne!" ("hang the aristocrats!").
603. N.S.F. Grundtvig, *Nordens Mythologi* [1832], in *Grundtvigs Udvalgte Skrifter*, V, ed. Holger Begtrup (Copenhagen 1907), 385.
604. See note 603.
605. Grundtvig, *Brage-Snak* (1844), in *Grundtvigs Udvalgte Skrifter*, VIII, ed. Holger Begtrup (Copenhagen 1909), 666-7.
606. Although Grundtvig had been a member of the assembly preparing the constitution, he stayed away from the final vote, because, as he explained in his weekly paper *Danskeren* (*The Dane*) 2 June 1849, 334-5, the text was neither bad enough to be rejected nor good enough to be accepted.
607. "The true and happy freedom of nations does not rely on majority arrogance and stubbornness on paper and in parliaments but on nationally accepted government and justice which safeguard the freedom of all citizens to believe, to speak and to do just as they like, as long as they grant the same right to their neighbour"

(1867), N.F.S. Grundtvig, *Historisk Børne-Lærdom (History Teaching for Children; 7th edn. Copenhagen 1867)*, 24. There are many variations of this formula in Grundtvig's writings. Cf. Kaj Baagø, "Grundtvig og den engelske liberalisme", in *Grundtvig-Studier 1955* (1955), 7-37; Flemming Lundgreen-Nielsen, "Grundtvig og danskhed", in *Dansk Identitetshistorie, 3: Folkets Danmark 1848-1940*, ed. Ole Feldbæk (Copenhagen 1992), 72, 141; idem., "Løven i buret. Grundtvig i 1848", in *1848 – det mærkelige år*, ed. Claus Bjørn (Copenhagen 1998), 148.

Notes to Chapter 13

- 608 In English recent accounts of Danish history in this period include: H. Arnold Barton, *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era* (Minneapolis, MN 1986), Knud J.V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark* (Basingstoke, Hampshire 2004).
609. The term "conglomerate state" was originally formulated by the Swedish historian Harald Gustafsson. According to him in a typical conglomerate state, "the state area consisted of several territories brought together by a ruling house but held together by few other factors. Each territory – or rather the social elite of each territory – had its distinctive relations to the ruler, its privileges, its own law code, its administrative system staffed by that same local elite, and often its own state assembly. In questions like taxation or conscription, the ruler had to negotiate with each territory separately. This is an ideal type of conglomerate state... The opposite is the *unitary state*, where the whole state territory stands in the same type of relation to the power centre, where the same laws apply to all parts of the realm, and where the administration is not dominated by local interests. This could also be a 'nation-state', if there is only one culture and one language within the state. The idea of the 'nation-state', however, is a nineteenth-century phenomenon, and even then it is more of a dream than a reality. An ethnically uniform state of any size has hardly ever existed – and will hopefully never come into being", Harald Gustafsson, "Conglomerates or unitary states? Integration processes in early modern Denmark-Norway and Sweden", in: *Föderationsmodeller og Unionsstrukturer. Über Staatenverbindungen in der frühen Neuzeit vom 15. zum 18. Jahrhundert, Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, vol. 21 (Vienna and Munich 1994), 45. Another term

- is composite state, J.H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies", *Past and Present* 137 (1992): 48-71. The Danish monarchy of the age was indeed such a conglomerate or composite state. It was heterogeneous, it consisted of territories with very different political, legal, social and economic structures. In Danish historiography, the tendency has been to write the history of Denmark as if the country always has been identical with the present-day small state, more or less ignoring of its membership of a much larger state formation and the implications of this. However, in recent year a more comprehensive Danish historiography has emerged: Ole Feldbæk, *Nærhed og adskillelse 1720-1814. Danmark-Norge 1380-1814*, vol. 3 (Oslo 1998), Birgit Løgstrup, "Enevælden og konglomeratstaten – et forsøg på en helhedsopfattelse af Danmarkshistorien i tidlig moderne tid", *Historie* 2004.2 (2004): 253-301, Michael Bregnsbo and Kurt Villads Jensen, *Det danske imperium. Storhed og fald* (Copenhagen 2004).
610. Edvard Holm, *Den offentlige Mening og Statsmagten i den dansk-norske Stat i Slutningen af det 18de Aarhundrede (1784-1799)* (Copenhagen 1888, reprint 1975), Thomas Munck, "The Danish reformers", in *Enlightened Absolutism. Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth Century Europe*, ed. H.M. Scott (London 1990), Johny Leisner, "Den oplyste enevælde. Historien om en dansk succes", in *Landboreformerne – forskning og forløb*, ed. Claus Bjørn (Odense 1988).
611. Jens Arup Seip, "Teorien om det opinionsstyrte enevælde", *Historisk tidskrift* (Norway) 38 (1958-59).
612. Henrik Horstbøll, "Enevælde, opinion og opposition. En diskussion af historisk kritik og politisk krise i Danmark i slutningen af 1700-tallet", *Historie*, new series, 17.1 (1987): 35-53; Lars Kruse, *Die französische Revolution im Spiegel der Kopenhagener Zeitschriftenpresse 1789-1799. Eigen- und Fremdbild der Pressefreiheit*. Rostocker Studien zur Regionalgeschichte, Vol. VIII (Rostock 2004).
613. Vibeke Winge, "Dansk og tysk i 1700-tallet", in *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, vol. 1, ed. Ole Feldbæk (Copenhagen 1991), 89-110; Ole Feldbæk, "Fædreland og indfødsret. 1700-tallets danske identitet", loc. cit., 111-230; Ole Feldbæk and Vibeke Winge, "Tyskerfejden 1789-1790. Den første nationale konfrontation", in *Dansk Identitetshistorie*, vol. 2, ed. Ole Feldbæk (Copenhagen 1991), 9-109; and Vibeke Winge, "Dansk og tysk 1790-1848", loc. cit., 110-149.

614. Feldbæk, *Nærhed og adskillelse*, 159-171, 281-307.
615. Øystein Sørensen, *Frihet og enevælde. Jens Schiøderups Sneedorffs politiske teori* (Oslo 1988).
616. Holger Lund, *Selskabet for Borgerdyd. Et Bidrag til dansk Kulturhistorie* (Copenhagen 1885), appendix, J.H. Monrad, *Den københavnske klub 1770-1820* (Aarhus 1978), 86, 90f., and 108; Thorkild Kjærgaard, "The Rise of the Press and Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century Denmark-Norway", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 14 (1989); Michael Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt set fra prædikestolen. Danske præsters deltagelse i den offentlige opinionsdannelse vedrørende samfundsordenen og statsmagten 1750-1848, belyst ved trykte prædikener. En politisk-idéhistorisk undersøgelse* (Copenhagen 1997), 37-43; idem., "'Rigernes lyksalighed under en landsfaders beskyttende enevælde.' Talerne på kongens fødselsdag på Odense Gymnasium i slutningen af 1700-tallet", *Fynske årbøger* 1997 (1997): 20; Thomas Munck, "Absolute Monarchy in late 18th century Denmark: centralized reform, public expectations and the Copenhagen press", *Historical Journal* 41 (1998): 191-224; idem., "Literacy, educational reform and the use of print in 18th Century Denmark", *European History Quarterly* 34 (2004): 275-303.
617. Jespersen, *History of Denmark*, 35-45.
618. Sigurd Jensen, "Stands- og klasseforhold i Danmark i tiden mellem slutningen af 1700-tallet og i dag", in *Ståndsamhällets upplösning i Norden* (Åbo, 1954), 5-10.
619. Gunner Lind, "Military and Absolutism: The Army Officers of Denmark-Norway as a Social Group and Political Factor, 1660-1848", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 12 (1987).
620. Michael Bregnsbo, "Clerical attitudes towards society in the age of revolution: points of view on government, freedom, equality and human rights in Danish sermons, 1775-1800", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 16 (1990): 11-14.
621. Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt*, 243-69.
622. Christian Gotthold Seydlitz, "Opmuntring til en patriotisk og skønnsom Glæde over vor Lykke under den danske Regiering. En Tale den 29. Januarii 1794", *Almeennyttige Samlinger til Hiertets Forbedring og Kundskabernes Udbredelse* 27 (1794): 303-7. All translations from Danish or German are by the author.
623. Christian Gotthold Seydlitz, *Om den gode og viise Fyrstes tilbørlige Bestemmelse, med Hensyn til den danske Regiering. En Tale holden paa*

- Kongens Fødselsdag den 29. Januarii 1795 paa Gymnasio i Odense* (Odense 1795), 11f.
624. Peder Baagøe, *Et Folks Lyksalighed under en fredelig Regiering. En Tale til Aftensang tredje Søndag efter Hellige tre Konger 1794* (Copenhagen 1794), 28f.
625. H.G. Clausen, *Tale holden i det Kallundborgske patriotiske Selskabs overordentlige høitidelige Møde ved dets Præmiers aarlige Uddeeling den 29. Januarii 1798* (Copenhagen 1798), 7-8.
626. Abraham Volchersen, *Tanker i Betragtning over Tidernes Tegn til det værdigste Forhold af det Danske, det Norske og Staternes Folk. Prædiken paa 25de Søndag efter Trinitatis* (Copenhagen 1793), 49, 50, 59f., and 67f.
627. Frederik Carl Gutfeld, "Tale i Anledning af Slotsbranden", *Minerva* vol. II (Copenhagen 1794): 46 and 54.
628. Lauritz Smith, *Tvende sidste Prædikener i Holmens Kirke, holdte anden Juledag 1792 og Nye-Aars Dag 1793 til Aftensang* (Copenhagen 1793), 9-15.
629. Michael Bregnsbo, "Historisk essay. Den danske vej. Om traditionen for den danske konsensuskultur", *Historie* 1996,2 (1996): 311-27..
630. Quoted from Holm, *Den offentlige Mening og Statsmagten*, 90.
631. Christian Bruun (ed.), *Bibliotheca Danica* (Copenhagen 1877-1902, reprint 1961-63), vol. 3, columns 509-23.
632. Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt*, 250-68; idem., "Rigernes lyksalighed under en landsfaders beskyttende enevælde", 17-34; and among the many published speeches, cantatas, poems etc. of the period: Carolus Gustavus Schiøt, *Landsfaderens Fortrin for Erobreren. Tale paa Hans Majestæt Kong Christian den Syvendes Fødselsdag den 29. Jan. 1786. Holden i det Kgl. Lærde og typographiske Selskab i Odense* (Odense 1786); Joachim Daniel Preisler, *Til Kongens Allerhøistsammes Fødselsfest den 29. Jan. 1790* (Copenhagen 1790); A. Tidemand, *Sang paa Kongens Fødselsfest den 29. Jan. 1790* (Copenhagen 1790); anonymous, *Det Danske og Norske Folks Røst paa Kong Christian den Syvendes Fødselsdag den 29. Jan. 1792* (Copenhagen 1792); Lars W. Hersom, *Tre nye Sange, i Anledning af Fødselsdagene den 28., 29. og 30. Januarii 1793. Helligede Konge-Huuset* (Copenhagen 1793).
633. E.g. Rasmus Peter Langhorn, *Religionens velgjørende Indflydelse paa det menneskelige Hierte, erindret udi et Æredigt til Kong Christian den*

- Syvende, paa Allerhøystsammes Fødsels-Dag den 29. Jan. 1787* (Bergen 1787).
634. Joh. Masius Feldmann, *Der Zeiten Geist, ein Gedicht am Königlichen Geburtsfeste 1793 im Hörsale des akademischen Gymnasium in Altona vorgelesen* (Altona 1793), Gottlieb Ernst Klausen, *Rede über den Gemeingeist. Zur Feyer des Königlichen Geburtsfestes am 30. Jan. 1797 im Christianeo zu Altona gehalten* (Altona 1797).
635. E.G.G. (=E. G. Hoff), *Lucku-Osk til Konungsins á hans fæðingar-degi Þem 29. Jan. 1784. – Lykønskning til Kongen paa Hans Fødsels-Fæst 1784*. [Icelandic poem with Danish translation] (Copenhagen 1784); anonymous, *Liódmælis-korn til konungsins, á hans sæla burðar-degi Þeim 29. Jan. 1786. – Liden Ode etc.* (Copenhagen 1786).
636. Jos. Jasmann, *Freudiges Loblied, unserm König Christian dem Siebenten und dessen Thronerben gewidmet; oder: Ode auf die Gegenwart, womit Kronprinz Friedrich die Synagoge in Friedrichsstadt Ao. 1799 zu beehren geruhete* (Frederiksstad 1799).
637. For examples of patriotism in Denmark during this period, see Tine Damsholt, *Fædrelandskærlighed og borgerdyd. Patriotisk diskurs og militære reformer i Danmark i sidste del af 1700-tallet* (Copenhagen 2000); Juliane Engelhardt, “‘Adel er arvelig, men Dyd maa erhverves’. Den patriotiske bevægelse i det danske monarki 1780-1799”, *Fortid og Nutid* 2002.3 (2002): 161-187; and Thomas Lyngby, *Den sentimentale patriotisme. Slaget på Reden og H.C. Knudsens patriotiske handlinger* (Copenhagen 2001).
638. Bregnsbo, *Samfundsorden og statsmagt*, 270-4.

Notes to Chapter 14

- 639 Tabish Khair, Introduction, in *Other Routes. 1500 years of African and Asian Travel Writing*, ed. Tabish Kahir, Martin Leer, Justin D, Edwards and Hanna Ziadeh (Oxford 2006). The allusion is to Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY 1978) and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London 1992).
640. Niels Brimnes, “Herredømmets svære balance, den danske kolonialadministration i Tranquebar under kasteurolighederne 1787-89”, *Historie, Jyske Samlinger*, Ny række XIX (1993): 641-71. And more explicitly in a yet unrealized research proposal: see <http://www.landsarkivetkbh.dk/multikulturel/forskere/nb.htm>.

641. Wilhelm Johann Müller, *Die Africanische Landschafft Fetu* (Hamburg 1676; reprint Graz 1968).
642. Allan Sortkær, *At Oplyse Verden. En Mentalitetshistorisk Skildring af 1700-Tallets Danske Rejsebeskrivelser*, unpublished thesis (Aarhus University 2006).
643. Michael Harbsmeier, *Stimmen aus dem äußersten Norden. Wie die Grönländer Europa für sich entdeckten*, *Fremde Kulturen in alten Berichten* Bd. 11 (Sigmaringen 2001); idem., “Bodies and voices from Ultima Thule: Inuit explorations of the Kablunat from Christian IV to Knud Rasmussen”, in *Narrating the Arctic. A Cultural History of Scientific Practices*, ed. Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin (Canton, MA 2002), 33-71; idem., “A Greenland Mirror”, in *From Dust to Gold – Handbooks and Broadsheets from The Royal Library*, ed. Karen Skovgaard-Petersen (Copenhagen 2006), 105-32.
644. Michael Harbsmeier, *Indledning*, in *Carsten Niebuhrs Rejsebeskrivelse fra Arabien og andre omkringliggende lande. Første Bind* (København 2003), 9-32; idem., “Orientreisen im 18. Jahrhundert”, in *Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) und seine Zeit. Beiträge eines interdisziplinären Symposiums vom 7. – 10. Oktober 1999 in Eutin*, ed. Josef Wieshöfer and Stephan Conermann, *Oriens et Occidens. Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben* Bd. 5 (Stuttgart 2003), 63-84.
645. Sortkær, *At oplyse verden*, 40-2.
646. Paul Egede, *Efterretninger om Grønland, uddragne af en Journal holden fra 1721 til 1788* (København 1788) and the extracts translated in Harbsmeier, *Stimmen aus dem äussersten Norden*.
647. For more about Niebuhr’s method see Harbsmeier, *Indledning*.
648. Johann David Michaelis, *Fragen an eine Gesellschaft gelehrter Männer, die auf Befehl Ihro Majestät des Königes von Dänemark nach Arabien reisen* (Frankfurt 1762).
649. *Menoza, en asiatisk Printz, som drog Verden omkring, og søgte Christne, særdeles i Indien, Spanien, Italien, Frankrig, Engelland, Holland, Tydskland og Dannemark, men fandt lidet af det han søgte : et Skrift, som indeholder den Naturlige, saavel som den aabenbarede Religions uryggelige Grunde, og advarer mod de fleeste Christnes kiendelige Afvøye, i Lærdom og Levnet*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen 1742-43).
650. See Henrik Horstbøll, “Læsning til salighed, oplysning og velfærd. Om Pontoppidan, pietisme og lærebøger i Danmark og Norge i 17- og 1800-tallet”, *Fortid og Nutid*, June 2003: 83-108; Horstbøll, “Enlightenment and Pietism in Denmark-Norway in

- the Eighteenth Century. The Discourse of Erik Pontoppidan". In *Pietism; Revivalism and Modernity 1650-1850*, ed. Daniel Lindmark, Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008 (in press); Horstbøll, "Pietism and the Politics of Catechisms", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29 (2004): 143-60.
651. *Der Königl. Dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandter Ausführlichen Berichten, Von dem Werck ihres Amts unter den Heyden* (Halle 1710-72). The complete text can be consulted at <http://www.francke-halle.de/main/>
652. *An Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the People of Malabar in the East-Indies. In several Letters of the most learned Men of that country to the Danish Missionaries* (London 1717).
653. Johann Ernst & Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Die Malabarische Korrespondenz. Tamilische Briefe an deutsche Missionare*. Eine Auswahl. Eingeleitet und erläutert von Kurt Liebau (Sigmaringen 1998). See also Hanco Jürgens, "German Indology *avant la lettre*: The Experiences of the Halle Missionaries in Southern India, 1750-1810", in *Sanskrit and 'Orientalism' in Germany, 1750-1958*, ed. Douglas T. McGetchin, Peter K. J. Park and Damodar Sar Desai (Manohar 2004), 41-82
654. Martin Rheinheimer, *Der fremde Sohn. Hark Olufs Wiederkehr aus der Sklaverei* (Neumünster 2001).
655. Georg Høst, *Efterretninger om Marokos og Fes samlede der i Landene fra Ao 1760 til 1768* (Copenhagen 1779); idem., *Den marokkaniske Kajsers Muhammad Ben Abdallahs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1791). For a discussion see Per Kristian Rasmussen, *Morocco, Mawly Muhammad and Georg Høst. Four Scandinavian Accounts on Morocco in the Reign of Sultan Muhammad III C. 1750-1790*, unpublished MA dissertation ("hovedfagsoppgave") (University of Bergen 1989).
656. Their accounts were only published much later: Just Juel, *En Rejse til Rusland under Tsar Peter. Dagbogsoptegnelser af Viceadmiral Just Juel, dansk Gesandt i Rusland 1709-1711*, ed. Gerhard L. Grove (Copenhagen 1893); Rasmus Æreboe, *Notarius Publicus Rasmus Æreboes Autobiografi*, ed. Gerhard L. Grove (Copenhagen 1889).
657. Peder von Haven, *Reise udi Rusland*. Første udgave fra 1743 med forord af Ludvig Holberg. Genudgivet og kommenteret af Peter Ulf Møller og Jesper Overgaard Nielsen (Aarhus 2003). Cf. review by Michael Harbsmeier in *Nordisk Øst-Forum* 3 (2004): 412-16.
658. "Vi bleve ogsaa forbundne til at omgaaes meget med en fornemme

russisk Herre, der har beviist mig stor Gunst, og hvis Meriter altid uden Partiiskhed fortiene at berømmes. Men hand havde dog nogle faae Capricier, særdeles een, hvilken jeg ey kand forbigaae her at melde. Hand eyede en Dansk Vand-Hund af de store sortegraae-kryllede, hvilke, når de klippes derefter, see ud som smaae Løver. Denne Hund havde en Fransk Officier bekommet her i Kiøbenhavn, og bragt med sig til Moscov, hvorfra hand var reyst til Armeen. Hunden kunde ikke alleene gjøre mange Kunster, men forstod eller saae paa sin Herres Øyne næsten aldt, hvad hand talte eller meente. Og dette bevægte Herren til at indbilde sig, at Hunden maatte have Menniskelig Forstand: hvorudover hand diverterte sig daglig med at fortælle og viise for fremmede dette Dyrs fuldkommenheder, stadig troende, at, hvem Hunden smigrede for, den var hans Ven, men, hvem han gøede af, den var hans, nemlig Herrens, Fiende. Som nu denne snilde Hund kunde maaske lugte paa mig, at jeg var fra samme Land som hand; saa var han altid meget logrende og smidig imod mig end og den første Gang, da hand saae mig. Dette bragte hans Herre til at fatte en fortroelig Godhed for mig, givende selv een og anden Gang den Aarsag ikke utydelig tilkiende. Hans Malsic, det er Dreng (saaledes heede Hunden paa Russisk; thi hans første Herre, Fransk-Manden, havde kaldet ham *Garçon*) var hans rette Raadførere i slige Poster. Naar jeg betænker dette, og tillige forestiller mig hvormeget got jeg har nydt af bemeldte Herre; kand jeg ikke andet end bevidne, at dette Lands-Mandskab har været mig profitablere end fast alle andre (von Haven, *Reise udi Rusland*, 169).

659. Eric Tilleman, *En liden enfoldig Beretning om det Landskab Gvinea, og dets Beskaffenhed* (Copenhagen 1697). Modern English translation (Wisconsin-Madison 1994).
660. Johannes Rask, *En kort og sandferdig Reisebeskrivelse til og fra Guinea* (Trondheim 1754).
661. Ludevig Ferdinand Römer, *Tilforladelig Efterretning om Kysten Guinea* (Copenhagen 1760). Modern French translation 1989. Modern English translation Oxford 2000.
662. S. E. Green-Pedersen, "Teologi og neger-slaveri: om Erik Pontopidans fortale til L. F. Rømers: Tilforladelige Efterretninger fra Kysten Guinea", in *Festskrift til Poul Bagge* (Copenhagen 1972), pp. 71-87.
663. Paul Erdmann Isert, *Reise nach Guinea u. d. Caribäischen Inseln*

- in Columbien, in Briefen an seine Freunde beschrieben* (Copenhagen 1788). English translation (Oxford 1992).
664. Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den caribischen Inseln S. Thomas, S., Croix und S. Jan* (Barby 1777).
665. Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, *Historie der caribischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan*. Kommentierte Edition des Originalmanuskriptes, 2 parts in 4 volumes (Dresden 2000–02).
666. Niels Horrebøw, *Tilførladelige Efterretninger om Island med et nyt Landkort og 2 Aars meteorologiske Observationer* (Copenhagen 1752), criticizing *Johann Anderson's forðum første Borgemeister i Hamborg Efterretninger om Island, Grønland og Strat Davis* (Copenhagen 1748).
667. Eggert Ólafsson & Bjarni Pálsson, *Reise igiennem Island 1752 – 57*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1772).
668. Thoroughly analysed by Harald Gustafsson in *Mellan kung och allmoge. Ämbetsmän, beslutproces och inflytande på 1700-talets Island* (Stockholm 1985), ch. 5, 102-69.
669. Olaus Olavius, *Oeconomisk Reise igiennem de nordvestlige, nordlige og nordostlige Kanter af Island*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1780).
670. Olaus Olavius, *Beskrivelse over Skagens Købstad og Sogn* (Copenhagen 1787).
671. Lucas Jacobsen Debes, *Færoæ et Færoa Reserata. Det er: Færøernis og Færøeske Indbyggeris Beskrivelse* (Copenhagen 1673; reprint, ed. Jørgen Rischel, Copenhagen 1963); *Kongelig Majestæt ved Profeten Jeremiam Afmalet* (Copenhagen 1673).
672. Jørgen Landt, *Forsøg til en Beskrivelse over Færøerne* (Copenhagen 1800; Eng. trans. 1810).
673. Jens Christian Svabo, *Indberetninger fra en Reise i Færøe 1781 of 1782*, ed. N Djurhuus (Copenhagen 1976).
674. According to Mogens Brøndsted, *Danske i Norge* (Copenhagen and Oslo 1953), 16. For the earliest of Christian IV's travels to Norway see *Kongens reise til det ytterste nord. Dagbøger fra Christian IVs tokt til Finnmark og Kola i 1599*, ed. Rune Blix Hagen and Per Einar Sparboe (Tromsø 2004).
675. Erik Westengaard, "Lykkelig den som rejser i Norge. Christian 6. og Frederik 5.s rejser til Norge 1733 og 1749", in *Norgesbilleder. Dansk-norske forbindelser 1700-1905*, ed. Mette Skougaard, (Copenhagen 2004), 84-103. Christian VII should have visited Norway in 1768 but went instead to London and Paris. See Ole Feldbæk, *Danmark – Norge 1380-1814*, vol. IV (Oslo 1998), 37-8; Ulrik Lan-

- gen, "Der König und die Philosophen. Zum Aufenthalt Christian VII von Dänemark in Paris im Jahre 1768", in *Europareisen politisch-sozialer Eliten im 18. Jahrhundert. Theoretische Neuorientierung – kommunikative Praxis – Kultur und Wissenstransfer*, ed. Joachim Rees, Winfried Siebers and Hilmar Tilgener, (Berlin 2002), 105-28. Crown prince Frederik apparently was received in Norway with great enthusiasm in 1788, but I have not been able to find any printed account of this final royal visit to Norway. See Feldebæk, *Danmark – Norge*, IV: 186-9; and Øysten Rian, "En blasert prins på Vestfold-besøk", *Vestfoldminne* (1982): 39-41.
676. Such as that of Fredrik Bætzmann, *Norge. Uddrag af ældre og nyere forfatteres skrifter* (Copenhagen 1880).
677. Peder Claussøn, *Norriges oc omliggende Øers sandfærdige Bescriffuelse* (Copenhagen 1632; reprinted 1727).
678. Nicolai Jonge, *Chorographisk Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge, samt Farøe, Island og Grønland* (Copenhagen 1779, actually the 6th volume of the work entitled "Holbergs Geografi"). Lars Hess Bing, *Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge, Øerne Island og Færøerne, samt Grønland, forfattet i alphabetisk Orden* (Copenhagen 1796).
679. Erik Johan Jessen, *Det Kongerige Norge fremstillet efter dets naturlige og borgerlige Tilstand* (Copenhagen 1763).
680. Gerhard Schøning, *Forsøg til de nordiske landes, særdeles Norges, gamle Geografi* (Copenhagen 1751).
681. Gerhard Schøning and Peter Frederik Suhm, *Forbedringer til den gamle danske og norske historie* (Copenhagen 1757).
682. Gerhard Schøning, *Reise som giennem en deel af Norge i de aar 1773, 1774, 1775 paa Hans Majestets Kongens bekostning* (Copenhagen 1779).
683. Knud Leem, *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, deres Tungemaal, Levemaade og forrige Afgudsdyrkelse* (Copenhagen 1767; numerous reprints).
684. Knud Leem, *En Lappisk Grammatica efter den Dialekt, som bruges af Fjeld-Lapperne udi Porsanger-Fjorden, samt et Register over de udi samme Grammatica anførte Observationers Indhold; hvorhos er føyet et Blad af den berømmelige Historie-Skrivers Hr. Baron Ludvig Holbergs Kirke-Historie oversat i det Lappiske Tungemaal med en Analysis over et hver Ord* (Copenhagen 1748). Later he also published a dictionary: *Lexicon Lapponicum bipartitum, Lapponico-Danico-Latinum & Danico-Latino-Lapponicum, cum indice Latino*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen 1768-81).

685. Erik Pontoppidan, *Glossarium norvagicum eller Forsøg på en Samling ad sådanne rare norske ord, som gemeenlig ikke forstås af danske folk* (Copenhagen 1749).
686. Erik Pontoppidan, *Det første Forsøg paa Norges naturlige Historie, forestillende dette Kongeriges Luft, Grund, Fielde, Vande, Vexter, Metaller, Mineralier, Stenarter; Dyr, Fugle, Fiske, og omsider Indbyggernes Naturel, samt Sædvane og Levemaade*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1752-3).
687. Erik Pontoppidan, *Fejekost til at udfejje den gamle surdejg eller de i de danske lande tiloversblevne og her for dagen bragte levninger af saavel hedenskab som papisme*, ed. Jørgen Olrik (Copenhagen 1923; Latin original 1736).
688. Michael Neiiendam, *Erik Pontoppidan*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1930-33), II: 173-81.
689. One can track down most of these in the list of *Rejseberetninger* given by Vello Helk, *Dansk-Norske Studierejser 1661-1813*, 2 vols. (Odense 1991), II: 35-9, by subtracting the accounts that remained unpublished at the time.
690. For this reason, Winfried Siebers and Joachim Rees have only considered unpublished manuscripts in their monograph *Erfahrungsraum Europa. Reisen politischer Funktionsträger des Alten Reichs 1750-1800*, Aufklärung und Europa. Schriftenreihe des Forschungszentrums Europäische Aufklärung e.V.; Bd. 18 (Berlin 2005).
691. Andreas Christian Hviid, *Udtog af en Dagbog holden i Aarene 1777-1780 paa en Reise igennem Tyskland, Italien, Frankrige og Holland* (Copenhagen 1787).
692. Jacob Georg Christian Adler, *Kurze Uebersicht seiner biblisch-kritischen Reise nach Rom* (Altona 1783).
693. Frederik Sneedorff, *Samlede Skrifter; Første del som idenholder: Breve fra Göttingen og Leipzig i Aarene 1783-86 og Breve paa en Reise igennem Tydskland, Schweitz, Frankerige og Engelland i Aarene 1791-1792* (Copenhagen 1794).
694. Frederik Münter, *Efterretninger om begge Sicilierne, samlede paa en Reise i disse Lande i Aarene 1785 og 1786*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1788-90).
695. Jens Baggesen, *Labyrinthen* (Copenhagen, 1792-93). I am referring here only to Baggesen's early travels which were supported by grants.
696. Gregers Otto Bruun Begtrup, *Bemærkninger om det engelske land-*

- brug*, samlede paa en Reise i England i Aaret 1797 (Copenhagen 1800).
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698. Børge Riisbrigh Thorlacius, *Efterretninger om Undervisningens, Literaturens og Religionsvæsenets Tilstand i Frankrige uden for Paris, samlede paa en Reise i Departementerne i Aaret 1799* (Copenhagen 1801).
699. The name of this North Borneo tribe would have been new to Baggesen's readers.
700. Jens Baggesen, *Labyrinten eller Reise giennem Tydskland, Schweitz og Frankerig*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1792-93), here from the 1965 edition, 212-13.

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