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Oscar Jané, *Louis XIV et la Catalogne. De la politique au Sud de l'Europe au XVIIe siècle*. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 2016. 275 pages. Map, tables, figures, notes, bibliography, and glossary. 22 € (cl). ISBN 9782354122522.

Review by Darryl Dee, Wilfred Laurier University

In 1641, the Catalans, who had risen in revolt against their overlord, Philip IV of Spain, forged an alliance with France and named Louis XIII their new sovereign as Count of Barcelona. This event marked the beginning of six decades of intense French involvement in Catalan affairs. Oscar Jané, *Professor Agregat* at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, has written a fine study of France's approach to Catalonia. [1] Thoroughly exploiting archives in Paris, Madrid, Barcelona and Perpignan, he anatomizes French military, diplomatic, political, and cultural policies. Equally important, he analyzes how the Catalan elites responded to these efforts.

French relations with Catalonia and the Catalans were shaped by the prolonged confrontation with Habsburg Spain. Cardinal Richelieu seized upon the Catalan revolution as an opportunity to open a new front on the home territory of France's mortal enemy, casting the French as the defenders of ancient Catalan liberties menaced by Castilian tyranny. In 1659, the Peace of the Pyrenees awarded Roussillon and Cerdagne to France. Yet, the French continued to harbor ambitions for the rest of the Principality of Catalonia. To weaken Castilian control over it, they supported the peasant insurgents called the *miquelets* as well as the Revolt of the Barratines from 1687 to 1689. Louis XIV's armies invaded during the Dutch War and the Nine Years' War; in the latter, they even managed to take Barcelona in 1697. Jané argues convincingly that French actions were driven less by a coherent design than by opportunism and the exigencies of war. For example, they regularly occupied the Empordà region because it served as an indispensable source of supplies for their troops.

Roussillon became the key to French intervention in Catalonia. So that it could serve effectively as a military base and a springboard for meddling in the internal affairs of the Principality, its new masters severed its links to Catalonia and created new ones to France. They abolished its traditional institutions and replaced them with a new set of authorities: a Sovereign Council, a noble governor (invariably a member of the Noailles clan), and an intendant. They also introduced the salt tax, the *gabelle*, the principal purpose of which was not fiscal but rather to connect Roussillon economically to Languedoc and the other French provinces. The introduction of the *gabelle* provoked the rising of the Angelets, which flared up intermittently from 1663 to 1673 and was the longest-running tax revolt of Louis XIV's personal rule. Beginning in the 1670s, the French authorities initiated an ambitious program of fortification in the Pyrenees, culminating with the construction of the great fortress of Mont-Louis, one of Vauban's masterpieces. Jané asserts that this new military frontier was the first and strongest confirmation of French domination of Roussillon, as "ces coûteuses constructions ne représentaient pas seulement un élément physique (places fortes, murailles, lieux militaires stratégiques, protections militaires des localités), elles comportaient aussi des éléments sociaux, commerciaux et mentaux, voire d'ordre culturel. Les affaires militaires touchent la population et créent des barrières" (p. 88).

French policies in Roussillon also sought to change its religious structures and the cultural makeup of its elites. After 1659, the Roussillonais clergy was the section of the population most strongly opposed to French rule. To end this opposition, the French authorities successfully strove to extend into the new territory Louis XIV's power to nominate bishops. They also brought in large numbers of French regular clergy, notably Jesuits from Toulouse. These Jesuits then played an instrumental role in the most important French cultural policy in Roussillon, the spread of the French language and its use in public life. Jané maintains that this linguistic effort was not aimed at the assimilation of the population, but was designed instead to bind the elites closer to France.

The strongest and most interesting part of Jané's study is his analysis of the Catalan elites under French rule. During the Catalan Revolution, large numbers of the Principality's elites had collaborated with the French. After the Castilian reconquest of 1652, many of them sought refuge in Roussillon. The French compensated these refugees for the fortunes they lost in Catalonia with benefices in Roussillon. They also appointed them to key positions in the new administration: The Sovereign Council was made up almost entirely of refugees from Catalonia. The most important of the Catalan refugee-collaborators was Ramon Trobat, who became president of the Sovereign Council, intendant, and the chief Roussillonais client of the Marquis de Louvois, Louis XIV's powerful minister of war. In return, the refugees helped the French both rule Roussillon and advance their interests in Catalonia. The Sovereign Council showed an implacable hostility to the Angelets, playing a leading part in their suppression. The pro-French refugees were also a constant source of criticism of Castilian rule over Catalonia. More concretely, they maintained networks of supporters and informants in the Principality.

The first wave of Catalan refugees, according to Jané, represented a "génération d'adaptation." Raised in the Catalonia of the Spanish *Monarquía*, they had to implant themselves in Roussillon as well as learn the ways of French political culture. Thanks to their success as collaborators and agents of the royal government, their offspring continued to dominate the government of the province, holding all of its key offices with the exceptions of the intendancy and the episcopate of Perpignan. Moreover, as a result of sustained efforts to spread French language and culture, the members of this new generation were thoroughly assimilated. Jané uses the example of Jacint Rigaut, who, upon moving to Paris in 1682, francised his name to Hyacinthe Rigaud, to demonstrate how the younger Roussillonais elites were able to integrate themselves into the wider kingdom.

French relations with Catalonia would be completely and dramatically transformed after 1700. By the will of the last Habsburg, Charles II, Philippe of Anjou, Louis XIV's grandson, inherited the kingdoms of Spain. Not only could the French no longer pose as the defenders of Catalan liberties, they now became their principal opponents. In 1705, the Catalans threw their support behind the Archduke Charles, the Habsburg claimant to the Spanish throne. The reversal of French policy in Catalonia was complete.

One of Jané's aims is to rebalance a historiography of the personal reign of Louis XIV that focuses too heavily on Northern Europe. He succeeds admirably in showing how France's policy toward Spain evolved. In addition, by showing how developments in Roussillon were always tied to French interests in Catalonia, he considerably expands and modifies the conclusions of Peter Sahllins and David Stewart.^[2] Finally, Jané's book joins a group of studies of the *pays conquis* under Louis XIV that concludes that the French state did not follow a pre-existing plan for the annexation and integration of new territories. Instead, it adapted itself to local conditions and reacted to changing circumstances.^[3]

NOTES

[1] The book is a revised and condensed version of *Catalunya i França al segle XVII. Identitats, conraidentitats I ideologies al segle XVII (1640-1700)* (Barcelona: Afers, 2006).

[2] Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); David Stewart, *Assimilation and Acculturation in Seventeenth-Century Europe: Roussillon and France, 1659-1715* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997).

[3] See in particular Charles Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern Small State: the Mahuet of Lorraine* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011); Phil McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy on the Frontiers: Louis XIV's military occupations of Lorraine and Savoy* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2013); Peter G. Wallace, *Communities and Conflict in Early Modern Colmar, 1575-1730* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1995); and this reviewer's *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France: Franche-Comté and Absolute Monarchy, 1674-1715* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009).

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