

THE TITLE OF THIS BOOK, and perhaps also of the course for which you are reading it, is *Early Modern Europe*. The dates in the title inform you about the chronological span covered (1450–1789), but they do not explain the designation “early modern.” That term was developed by historians seeking to refine an intellectual model first devised during this very period, which saw European history as divided into three parts: ancient (to the end of the Roman Empire in the west in the fifth century), medieval (from the fifth century to the fifteenth), and modern (from the fifteenth century to their own time). In this model, the break between the Middle Ages and the modern era was marked by the first voyage of Columbus (1492) and the beginning of the Protestant Reformation (1517), though some scholars, especially those who focused on Italy, set the break somewhat earlier with the Italian Renaissance. As the modern era grew longer and longer, historians began to divide it into “early modern” – from the Renaissance or Columbus to the French Revolution in 1789 – and what we might call “truly modern” – from the French Revolution to whenever they happened to be writing.

As with any intellectual model, the longer this tripartite division was used, the more problematic it seemed. The voyages of Columbus may have marked the beginning of European exploration and colonization, but there was plenty of earlier contact between Europeans and other cultures, and Columbus himself was motivated more by religious zeal – generally regarded as “medieval” – than by a “modern” desire to explore the unknown. The Protestant Reformation did bring a major break in western Christianity, but Martin Luther was seeking to reform the church, not split it, just like medieval reformers, of which there were many. Other developments traditionally regarded as marks of modernity, such as the expansion of capitalism, the growth of the nation-state, or increasing interest in science and technology, were also brought into question as scholars found both earlier precedents and evidence that these changes were slow in coming. (Similar points were also made by scholars rethinking the ancient/medieval break, who argued that the end of the Roman Empire was not as momentous as it had earlier seemed.) More philosophical issues also emerged: What exactly do we mean by “modernity”? Will it ever end? Has it ended? What comes afterward? The thinkers who first thought of themselves as “modern” saw modernity as positive – and “medieval” as negative – but is modernity necessarily a good thing?

If “early modern” is not as clear as it seems, what about the other part of the title, “Europe”? What is “Europe”? The answer most of us learned in school – one of the world’s seven continents – can easily be rejected simply by looking at a globe. If a continent is a “large land mass surrounded by water” (which we also learned in school), then surely the correct designation for what is conventionally called “Europe” is the western part of the continent of Eurasia. If we look very closely at the globe, in fact, Europe is a small northwestern part of the huge continent of Afroeurasia, a term increasingly used by geographers and world historians for what is the world’s largest land mass.

The idea of “Europe” derived more from culture than geography. The word “Europe” was first used by Greek writers in the seventh century BCE to designate their side of the Mediterranean (the sea whose name means “middle of the world,” which it was to the ancient Greeks) from the other side, “Asia,” which to the Greeks originally included Africa. They derived the word from the myth of Europa, the daughter of Agenor, a Phoenician king. In the myth, Europa was awakened by a dream in which two continents which had taken the shape of women argued over who should possess her: Asia said she had given birth to her and so owned her, but the other as yet unnamed continent asserted that Zeus would give Europa to her. Right on cue, Zeus fell in love with the beautiful Europa as she gathered flowers with her friends, and carried her away after changing into a bull. He took her to Crete, where she bore him a number of sons, including two who later became judges of the dead, and gave her name to the continent. In a tamer version of the myth, told by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus and repeated by later Christian writers, merchants from Crete carried Europa away in a ship shaped like a bull to marry their king. Herodotus notes that the (Asian) Trojans later abducted Helen, wife of the Greek king Menelaus – an event that led to the Trojan War – in part to avenge Europa. Like all mythology, either version of this story raises questions of interpretation: Crete is actually located between Asia and Europe; does this represent Greek ambivalence about Europe’s separation from Asia? Is Zeus’ abduction (some scholars use the word “rape”) of Europa a demonstration and justification of men’s rights over women and mothers’ lack of rights to their own children, both of which were law in ancient Athens? Why were Zeus’ children from this affair given such powers, rather than his children by his wife, Hera? And where was Hera during all this, anyway? If Europa was snatched away by merchants rather than Zeus, why didn’t her father come after her?

Whatever we may think of this myth, it is clear that the idea of “Europe” came from Greeks asserting their distinction from people who lived on the other side of the Aegean or Mediterranean. In this it is much like the notion of “modern,” that is, a term used consciously by people to differentiate themselves from others, to create a boundary between “us” and “them.” Europe’s geographical indistinctness has allowed its boundaries to be disputed and changed over time. The western border seems relatively easy to define because it is marked by the Atlantic Ocean – but is it? Are the British Isles part of Europe? (This may seem self-evident, but then there is the commonly used phrase “Britain and



**Map 1.** Geographic map of Europe.

Europe.”) Is Iceland? Does Iceland become part of Europe once the Vikings get there? Does Greenland? The eastern boundaries are even more vague; various rivers were proposed as the dividing line, but none of them stretch the entire way from the Arctic to the Aegean Sea. In the eighteenth century Swedish and Russian officials suggested that the Ural Mountains and the Ural River, which flows into the Caspian Sea, were the best boundary, in part because the Russians wanted to assert that the main cities of Russia were clearly European. This boundary is the one most commonly given today when discussing Europe geographically, but for historical discussions it often seems too far east. Is the story of Russia always part of European history? Is the story of the Ukraine? During the period covered in this book – and until World War I – much of eastern Europe, including almost all of the area known to the ancient Greeks, was part of the Ottoman Empire, whose leaders were Muslim and Turkish, a people originating in central Asia. Thus geographically the Ottoman Empire was clearly part of Europe, but is its history “European” or not?

This questioning of terminology may seem both paralyzing and pedantic – don't we all basically know what “modern” and “Europe” mean? In fact, even historians who emphasize that these terms are problematic continue to use them because they are convenient and meaningful. Thus this book is still titled *Early Modern Europe*, though its chronology and geography are somewhat flexible. Concern with terminology is key to new ways in which history is being studied, researched, and presented, however. As they have for thousands of years, historians continue to ask “What can we learn about the past?” but they put greater emphasis on *why* we know what we do, and on the way that people in the past understood and recorded their own situation. Why did certain things get written down and preserved, so that they became the historical sources on which our understanding of the past is based? Who did the writing, and what was their point of view? How and why did people shape their own memories and create their own history? What was left out, or intentionally or unintentionally distorted? How were both the lived experience and stories about that experience different for different types of people – men and women, poor and wealthy, common and elite, rural and urban? How does our understanding of the past change if we include information from non-written sources, such as art, material objects, or oral traditions?

As they paid greater attention to the perspective of their sources, so historians also paid greater attention to the ways in which their own point of view shaped the story they were telling. It was no accident that the history of peasants and working people received greater attention after World War II, when the students attending colleges and universities – some of whom majored in history and eventually became historians – came more often from working-class families than they had earlier. It is not surprising that interest in women's history surged during the 1970s, when more women began to attend college and the feminist movement encouraged them to analyze their own situation. It is similarly not surprising that an interest in cultural diversity, historical encounters between different groups, and world history developed in the 1990s, along with new patterns of migration and an increasingly international intellectual community. In reference to the issues discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it is not surprising that doubts about “modern” and “Europe” emerged at a point when people were discussing the negative consequences of modern processes such as industrialism and globalization, and debating the adoption of the euro as a currency, the proper role of Europe in a post-colonial world, and the merits of various countries' membership of NATO and the European Union.

Every historian, like every person, approaches the past from his or her own perspective, which shapes the subjects one finds interesting, the methods one uses to find information, and the language one uses to describe one's findings. A point of view is sometimes described as “bias,” but that word carries a very negative charge, and implies there can be history that is “unbiased,” that is, simply a recounting of the facts of the past. Because the gathering of those facts is done by human beings, however, and the sources that reveal those facts were also made largely by human beings, every story is only partial.

This recognition of the limitations of history has occurred at the very same time that our knowledge of the past has widened dramatically, as peasants, workers, women, and various types of minority groups have been added to the picture of every region and era. Thus historians, particularly those wishing to examine a broad geographic era over a long time frame, are faced with two challenges: capturing the diversity of people's experiences while still outlining key developments, and paying attention to individual perspectives – their subjects' and their own – while still telling a story of the past that makes sense.

### Structure of the book

This book is designed to cover more than three hundred years of European history, viewing Europe as both larger and more connected to the rest of the world than it often has been. Thus it definitely faces the challenges just noted, which emerge first as decisions about how best to structure the story. Any arrangement is an intellectual scheme imposed by an author on a group of events, developments, individuals, and groups. Some books arrange material over a fairly long period topically, which allows readers to see continuities and long-term changes, and better understand aspects of life that change fairly slowly, such as social structures, economic systems, family forms, or ideas about gender. Some books arrange material more or less chronologically, which works better for things that involve dramatic change, such as epidemics, wars, and revolutions.

This book splits the difference. It is arranged in two general sections, one covering roughly 1450–1600 and the other roughly 1600–1780. Within each section there are five topical chapters: “Individuals in society”; “Politics and power”; “Cultural and intellectual life”; “Religious developments”; “Economics and technology.” Before, between, and after these two sections there are three chapters titled “Europe in the World” that each look at the relationships between Europe and the rest of the world in 1450, 1600, and 1789 in terms of travel, trade, exploration, colonization, and other types of contacts. Chapter 1 also provides an overview of European society in 1450 in each of the five topical areas, setting the stage for the rest of the book, while chapters 7 and 13 briefly summarize the major developments from all realms of life.

The book covers the basic events long identified with this period – the Renaissance, the Reformation, the rise of capitalism, the voyages of discovery, the growth of the nation-state, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment – but also highlights ways in which historians see these as problematic, in the same way that they have interrogated “early modern” and “Europe.” Each chapter discusses a historiographical debate or two, that is, disagreements among scholars about the ways in which material should be interpreted, processes analyzed, or causation ascribed. Such debates are not new in history, and the discussions here include both long-standing debates in historiography, such as

those about the origins of capitalism, and very recent disputes, such as those about the origins of sexual identity.

Questions about the concept “early modern” have made it clear that any beginning date is relatively arbitrary; some of the processes understood as modern began in the Middle Ages, if not in antiquity. But developments in the field of history over the last several decades have made 1450 seem a better starting point than the more common 1500. Why? The focus on the ways in which the past gets recorded has led to greater interest in the mechanisms of recording as both cultural and technological phenomena. Around 1450, printing with movable metal type was invented in Germany by artisans – Johann Gutenberg and others – who adapted existing techniques from metallurgy, wood-block printing, wine pressing, fabric stamping, and paper-making. (Artisans in Korea developed a similar technology somewhat earlier, but there is no evidence that this spread from Korea to Germany.) Though the number of people who could read and write, and who were thus immediately influenced by this new technology, was quite small, its ultimate impact as a vehicle of social change was enormous. Gutenberg was recently ranked, in fact, as the “most influential person of the millennium” by a cable-television network.

In addition to printing, by the 1450s Portuguese ships were sailing regularly back and forth to Cape Verde in West Africa, bringing back gold and slaves through contacts with the Mali Empire and laying the groundwork for Portugal’s later colonial empire. In 1453, the Ottoman Turks under Mehmed II conquered Constantinople, and began to establish themselves firmly as a European power. Both of these developments are significant in a European history that pays more attention to Europe’s place in the world, and together they dramatically influenced Columbus, who was trying to find an alternative route to the East to challenge both the Portuguese and the Muslim Turks.

The year 1453 also marked the end of the Hundred Years War between England and France, a war whose last battles, like the siege of Constantinople, involved the use of artillery, which some military historians view as the beginning of modern warfare. It is hard to imagine any development that has had more impact on the lives of all types of people – not simply soldiers and their generals – than modern warfare. If we choose to see births as significant, the 1450s was an influential decade. Both Columbus and his patron Queen Isabella of Spain were born in 1451, and the man who gave his name to the New World, Amerigo Vespucci, was born in 1454; Leonardo da Vinci was born in 1452, and Henry VII, the first Tudor monarch, in 1457. Thus we can continue to debate the problematic notion of “modernity,” but still find some (imperfect) markers in the 1450s.

The same is true for the point at which “early modern” became “modern.” The beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 is the conventional breaking point, though historians have long recognized that using this date privileges the political history of western Europe. The late eighteenth century did bring significant developments in other areas and realms of life, however. During the 1780s, Edmund Cartwright invented the steam-powered loom, opening a

spinning and weaving factory that used his new machines and represented a new type of workplace. In 1787, the first fleet of convicts set sail from Britain to Australia, carrying about a thousand people to a new colony on what was not yet designated a continent (that would come about a hundred years later). In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft published *The Vindication of the Rights of Women*, the first explicit call for political rights to be extended to the female half of the population. In the early 1790s, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their carving-up of Poland, which disappeared from the map until the end of World War I. (The dates of the subsequent volume in this series – from 1789 to 1919 – thus make sense in women’s and Polish history as well as general European political history; the end of World War I brought voting rights to women in many European countries along with the reestablishment of Poland as a country.) The years around 1789 therefore saw changes in economic structures, the process of colonization, political theory, and international relations, though the French Revolution has not lost its role as a major turning point.

### Sources for early modern history

Everything we can learn about the past is ultimately based on original sources, that is, on documents and objects from the period we are investigating. Paying greater attention to the perspective of our sources and to our own perspective in evaluating them has not changed this. But what sources exist for early modern Europe? The easiest to access are printed materials, which became steadily more numerous as the technology of the printing press spread out from Germany after 1450. By 1500 over 200 cities and towns in Europe had presses, and scholars estimate that there were somewhere between eight and twenty million *incunables*. (Books printed in the first fifty years after the printing press was invented are called *incunables* or *incunabula*, from the Latin words meaning “in the cradle,” because they come from the infancy of printing.) This vastly exceeds the number of books produced in all of western history up to that point, and the amounts were so fantastic that some people saw printing as an invention of the devil. This opinion did not halt the spread of printing, however, and by 1600, about 200,000 different books or editions had been printed, in press runs that averaged about 1,000 copies each. The book was thus the first modern mass-produced commodity.

Printers were not in the business for charity, and they printed anything that would sell: books for lawyers, such as classical legal codes like that of the Roman Emperor Justinian, collections of customary laws, and legal commentaries, all bound in fancy leather bindings in matching sets; books for doctors, surgeons, pharmacists, and midwives, such as herbals, books of instruction, and classical medical treatises; books for students, such as manuals of language instruction, grammars, dictionaries, cheap editions of the classics, often bound in paper in smaller formats so that students could easily carry them to class; books and other printed materials for members of the clergy, such

as hymnals, Latin missals, breviaries, and psalters. All of these survive in far greater numbers than manuscript examples of the same types of texts.

Printed materials for what we might term the “general reader” are still more common, though it is important to recognize that even by 1789 most people in Europe could not read. Those who could were overwhelmingly urban, middle- or upper-class, and male. Their tastes in reading thus shaped the printed sources that are available to historians. What did literate people want to read? Until about 1700, they wanted to read religious materials; the best-selling authors, particularly after the Reformation in the 1520s but even before, were religious. This was *both* because people were very interested in religion in general and in their own salvation, and also because religious works were cheap, lively, illustrated, and gory. There were plenty of extremely expensive whole Bibles, but things like Luther’s sermons or those of popular Catholic preachers such as Bernard of Siena were published in very small paperback editions of one, two, or three sermons, putting them well within the reach of most literate buyers. In terms of their tone, they were much more like a modern political debate – the sort of thing that occurs now on television, not in the press – than a complicated theological treatise. Particularly after the Reformation, religious opponents were often harsh in their invective, with lots of name-calling and scandal-mongering. Here, for example, is Luther: “Next one should take the pope, cardinals, and whatever servants there are of his idolatry and papal holiness, and rip out their tongues at the roots as blasphemers of God and nail them on the gallows, although all this is insignificant punishment in relation to their blasphemy and idolatry.”<sup>1</sup> The illustrations in religious pamphlets were often just as dramatic, with woodcuts or engravings of Luther as the Anti-Christ or the pope as the Whore of Babylon. The pamphlet from which the quotation above comes has a woodcut illustration by Lucas Cranach showing four cardinals hanging on a scaffold with their tongues tacked up beside them. Books of saints’ lives described not only their good deeds and acts worthy of emulation, but also their violent and tragic deaths. The Reformation produced religious martyrs on all sides, and books describing their deaths were very popular; the best-selling book in English for many years was John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, which describes in great detail the deaths of many Protestants during the reign of Mary Tudor. It is clear that people not only got religious inspiration, but what we might also call religious titillation from these best-sellers.

People did not spend all their time reading religious materials, however, and printers recognized very early that there was a market for other types of books and pamphlets. They printed historical romances, such as those of King Arthur and Tristan and Isolde, and by the seventeenth century novels that told of the triumphs and tragedies of contemporary fictional characters. They printed biographies of historical and contemporary figures, the more scandalous the better, and chronicles of city or regional history. “How-to” manuals were very popular, such as herbals and books of home remedies for everything from headaches to the plague. There were guides on how to manage your money,



**Fig. 1.** This single-sheet broadsheet, by the Protestant artist Matthias Gerung, shows Christ at the top deciding who will get into heaven and two linked devils at the bottom, one wearing the triple-crowned papal tiara and one a Turkish rolled turban. Graphic images like this were produced and printed by all sides in the religious controversies of the Reformation.

how to run a household, how to write love letters and business letters. There was pornography, graphically illustrated, and cookbooks, also often illustrated. There were guides for travelers with handy phrases, discussions of the weather, and descriptions of the strange customs of foreign lands.

After the voyages of discovery, printers discovered that people liked to read about the experiences of more adventurous travelers, and Columbus's letters and notebooks were reprinted frequently along with those of other travelers. Enterprising publishers frequently gathered together the most bizarre and exciting stories in one volume – "Tales from Foreign Lands" or something similar – often neglecting to mention these were gathered from many sources and often contained totally fictitious accounts mixed in with real ones. Among this kind of travel book, those that concentrated on strange animals and creatures, called "bestiaries," were especially popular. They described normal animals such as hedgehogs and porcupines (although giving wild stories about

their habits and abilities), real ones someone had heard about such as giraffes or rhinoceroses, and fictitious ones such as centaurs, mermaids, and cyclopes. All of these animals were listed in alphabetical order, with no distinction made between those that were real and those that were not.

Books were generally bound in cloth or leather and were often passed around or handed down from one generation to the next. They are mentioned in wills and inventories (which continued to be hand-written, not printed), which are one of our best sources about what people were actually *reading*, or at least what they had in their possession, indicating that someone thought they *should* be reading it. Wills of quite ordinary people begin to mention printed books in the late fifteenth century, so that we know these early books were not simply in some monastery or noble library. Most of the books produced in the early modern period have long since disintegrated, of course, but many survive, and those judged important were reprinted in later centuries; modern editions of many types of works are thus widely available, either in print copies or increasingly on the web. Within the last twenty years those modern editions have included more works by women and men who were not members of the elite, thus making their ideas and words accessible to a much larger number of students and scholars. Each chapter in this book includes selections from works that were printed in the early modern period, some by well-known authors and some by less-familiar individuals.

In addition to books, printers also produced much smaller, cheaper booklets, with eight, sixteen, or twenty-four pages, often called “chap-books.” They were written in very simple language with a small vocabulary, and were often illustrated, so that those who were illiterate or barely literate could also get something from them. Chap-books were sold by wandering peddlers who often sold other things as well, such as pins, needles, marbles, and (printed) playing-cards. It is difficult to tell how many of these chap-books were produced or exactly what they contained, as they had paper covers and most of them have long since disappeared. From those that have survived and from discussions of them in other sources, we can tell that many of them were about recent battles and heroes, new inventions, tools, techniques for farming and building, famous people and what was happening to them, or freakish events and strange occurrences. Similar subjects were also the subjects of single-sheet broadsides, usually illustrated and then sold on street corners. By the late sixteenth century printers began to combine these subjects together in almanacs, adding witty sayings, moral maxims, humor, horoscopes and other astrological predictions, long-term weather forecasts, and agricultural advice. By the early seventeenth century, printers in some European cities began to publish weekly newsheets, and by the early eighteenth literary and scientific pamphlets at regular intervals.

For many historical questions, then, printed materials provide a steadily increasing number of sources. For other questions, however, manuscript – which literally means hand-written – sources are the only way to find information. Governments slowly began to print their law codes and some official decisions or proclamations after the development of the printing press, but