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Raymond J. Jirran

A. *Introduction*¹

Students will now leave the Middle Ages with a consideration of what distinguishes that period from early modern times. This topic is entitled "Modern Europe" because formal, political foreign relations, as described in this lecture, is much more a characteristic of modern than medieval times. The course goal is **to evaluate ethnocentrism as reflected in perceptions of the year 1492** according to a criteria of the people, places, and times involved and the degree of certitude warranted.

B. *Chronology*

Periodization is an almost arbitrary function of the historian. As a practical matter, students should utilize 1492 as the dividing line between Medieval and Modern. Just as practically, students need to realize that other divisions are sometimes used.

There are a number of different dates, usually in the last half of the Fifteenth Century, used to mark the division between Medieval and Modern times. Because Americans like to think of 1492 as the great date, 1492 is the dividing point used in these lectures. In the former kingdoms of Western Europe, the appearance of strong and ambitious monarchs is used: in England, 1485, Henry VII; in France, 1461, Louis XI; in Spain, 1469, the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Some think that the posting of the ninety-five theses by Martin Luther in 1517 is the real break with the Middle Ages, but this opinion is weak because Luther was a medieval man, more concerned with the next life than with this life.

For the historian concerned with international relations, the noticeable difference can come with a date even more obscure to most Americans--1494. At that time, Charles VIII (1483-1498) of France led his army over the Alps toward the conquest of Italy. Because of the diplomatic intrigue involving large powers, some consider this conquest the "First Modern War". Finally, Westerners, including many students of the Professor, sometimes argue that what really makes the modern world is not politics but a combination of rationalism, natural science, and technology. This break came only with the Eighteenth Century. Non-Westerners, such as the Arabs, might prefer 1453, when Constantinople fell into their hands.

There are yet other Westerners who would look to 1455, with the invention of the printing press. They make the most sense to the professor. According to that way of thinking, the industrial revolution is not so much about the substitution of non-human for human manual labor, as it is about improving human communications, world-wide. In this way, Columbus is a forerunner of the astronauts, not because of what he discovered but because of how he communicated, namely across vast stretches of uncharted waters.

Before the second half of the Eighteenth Century, European roads were muddy and all but impassable much of the year. That is why, up to the Eighteenth Century, the river system of northern Europe was so important. Many students have toured these rivers, enjoying the overlooking castles. Farther to the east, contact with Asia was by way of the camel, a sort of land version of the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria. Neither ocean-going ships nor land traveling camels

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needed frequent refueling.² Columbus is significant for changing the ship from a relatively land-linked vessel to one capable of directly traversing the oceans of the world. Columbus had a world-class political impact.

C. Sovereignty

Any political framework is practically meaningless without a chronological reference. All political units, many of whose citizens have frequent relations of any kind, such as trade, travel, study, or war, are necessarily members of the same state-system. In practice, a state may be called "sovereign" or "independent" if its rulers have an armed force they can use against others. In this sense, there has been, since the height of Tenth Century feudal fragmentation, a continuous, though irregular, process of reducing the number of sovereign states, until today the whole world contains about 158. Actually, the last ten to twenty years has witnessed an increase from about 135 states.

To use a time-honored phrase, the established political system in Western civilization was maintained through the workings of "balance of power." This principle is not primarily a moral one, though some writers have defended it as basically moral in the sense that it tends to preserve the independence of organized states. Balance of power is rather a descriptive principle, a thread through the intricacies of international politics, by which no one state becomes disproportionately powerful. Through its political system, Western civilization parlayed the discoveries of Columbus into world-class dominion.

D. Dynasty and Nation

In a psychological sense, a dynastic state belongs to the king, whereas a national state is either impersonal³ or belongs to the people. Historians usually call states dynastic up to about the end of the Eighteenth Century. The Eighteenth Century was the century of the birth of nations when over twenty fragments emerged from the older Euro-American possessions. In the early modern period (1500-1750), many states were loose groups of formerly independent units that were sometimes separated from each other by foreign territory or separate languages. These early modern states were tied together almost solely by the ruling dynasty.

E. Conclusion

In this lesson, the student has seen how Europeans avoided solving the problem of constraining the power of politics over truth. This lack of harmony produced constant efforts to adjust and consequently improve the various factors in society in the West right down to modern times. By reading and studying the Introduction to Modern Europe, Chronology, Sovereignty, and Dynasty and Nation, students have been able both to evaluate ethnocentrism as reflected in perceptions of the year 1492 and to prepare a comment.

Supplement

F. Introduction

Some separate comments on modern warfare, Protestantism, 1492, Sovereignty, and Spain seem an appropriate addendum to this topic on Modern Europe. The August 1990 edition was the first to

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move material to the supplement from the lecture proper. The reason in 1990 was to make more room for margins. The reason more was moved in 1992 and 2000 was to offer fuller explanations in the continued sections.

G. Chronology (continued)

One moves from Gutenberg, mentioned on pages 362-363, 365, 431 in the seventh edition of Chambers⁴, to Galileo, to Newton to Einstein.⁵ Galileo demonstrated that "up" is not necessarily north; Newton demonstrated that whatever went up usually had to come down; Einstein demonstrated that what went up did not necessarily have to come down. In this way, the industrial revolution was more about building the first satellite rocket engine than about the transformation of energy.

H. Dynasty and Nation (continued)

According to Twentieth Century history, the purpose of the state was to ensure order. The long-lasting discussions of regionalism in the United States South and the newer discussions of regionalism world-wide are relevant.⁶ The function of the people was to ensure liberty. The two principles were in constant antinomy. Once order was established, the people were free to seek liberty. A compromise was worked out between the impersonal state and the free individual which was mediated by laws equal for all within the national bond. This interpretation suits Twentieth Century national identities.

Between 1560 and 1660 not only European diplomacy, but European warfare also changed its modus operandi. During this time, the sword, lance, and pike were replaced by the bow and arrow and the musket; armies grew larger; strategy became more protracted; society itself became more involved. Within a world context, the Europeans used their skills to kill rather than enslave their military opponents, thus gaining an advantage.⁷ That advantage consisted in not having to deal with people unalterably opposed to the rulers because those people were enslaved.

Early modern wars were not the total wars that have become common since the United States Civil War. Except for their disastrous effect on government, finances, and taxes, the early modern wars scarcely touched the lives of those common people who were not actually in the way of contending armies. In the peace settlements, no one negotiated the "national self-determination of peoples," or worried greatly about transferring areas and populations from one ruler to another. The great change came with the French Revolution, when the people began to take their own identities from their national origins. The participation of the people in the government developed gradually, beginning in early modern times and continuing to the present.

I. Protestantism

Moral wars paralleled political wars and, in the mind of Dr. Jirran, are the ultimate causes of all war. The teachers of the professor, both secular and religious, protected him from getting caught up in the following appealing scenario, which is useful for explaining certain misconceptions. Protestantism, rather than seen as a medieval carry-over, which it is, has also been viewed as the beginning of modern times, which it is not. The reasons why not are explained in the lecture on Catholicism.

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Since the August 27, 1990 rendition, students have been watching Chambers to see whether or not he follows the following scenario, without actually admitting to it. The Reformation lasted from 1517 until 1555, from Martin Luther posting his theses until the Council of Trent. The Counter-Reformation lasted from the Council of Trent until the Treaty of Westphalia, 1555-1648. The Age of Absolutism went from there until the French Revolution, 1648-1789.⁸ The problem with that is, that compared with what we are prepared to call modern times, both Protestants and Catholics were more medieval than modern. As of June 20, 1992 continuing through January 7, 2000, the above does seem to render the assumptions under which Chambers is working.

Protestantism is properly associated with the development of modern times. Protestantism helped to develop nationalism in Europe by dividing the area into territorial states. Borders were closed and intermarriage forbidden to prevent religious contamination. The unanticipated spin-off from such policies served nationalism so well that John Locke (1632-1704) refused to tolerate Catholics because Catholics were loyal to a foreign prince, the pope.⁹ Political theory has helped to influence the identities granted to church and state in Western civilization.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), who preceded Locke, thought that church government was a part of political sovereignty. For Hobbes, the pope only had a right to govern the Papal States, and nothing more. Hobbes was describing Sixteenth Century reality, not high political theory. In fact, even in the Papal States, the state took precedence over the church.¹⁰

From the Germanies came the principle, cuius regio eius religio, "the king names the religion." A corollary principle, less well-known, is "tota regio nil nisi religio," "there is no king without a religion." The translations are free translations made up by the professor. The point is that in the Germanies the prince-bishops were able to hang on to territorial churches and the princes were unable to unify their districts.

In southern and western Europe, however, things were different. There the princes determined the territories over which the bishops would hold jurisdiction and, as a result, unified nation-states developed. There the bishops were not equally princes. This does not mean that the secular kings corrupted the churches with dysfunctional bishops. While that did happen for a while up to the time of Saint Vincent de Paul, who died in 1660, in Spain and among the Italians, church reform was sponsored by the kings. This had been seen earlier under William the Conqueror, who sponsored church reform in England and ran into nowhere near the trouble with the church that Henry IV did at Canossa in 1077 before Gregory VII.

J. 1492

History is organized in two fundamental ways: according to chronology and according to topic. Newspapers, in the extreme, and Chambers to a much lesser extent, use chronology. The lectures by Dr. Jirran are more topical in nature. This particular lecture is topical, though about a date. There is a scholarly French book on 1492, using an ironic title, *1492: The Admirable Year*.¹¹

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While the professor prefers 1455 as the great divide, the history profession generally has not considered his line of thinking. Historians use 1492 as the great divide between medieval and modern, the year in which: the African King, Suni Ali Ber died, probably by drowning in the Niger River; Lorenzo de Medici, upon being asked for reconciliation with the church, turned to the wall, spat, and died; Erasmus was ordained a priest; Niccolo Leonicerno published On Pliny which pointed out medical errors and attributed the errors to Pliny himself;¹² Alexander VI was elected pope; Ivan III was recognized as King of the Russias; the Moors were driven out of Spain.

The Carmelites were a religious order of priests and brothers who used to run Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish on Harpersville Road, in Newport News. Before the Carmelites left the Peninsula in 1991, Dr. Jirran began incorporating some of their history into his lectures, as of local interest. The Carmelites added considerably to the collection of 1492 events which Dr. Jirran has collected. These events do offer a feel for the difference between medieval and modern.

In 1261 the Carmelites obtained exemption from the supervision of nuns. This exemption expired in 1492 in Mantua, Italy, at the very center of the Congregation. The community of nuns was known as St. Mary of Paradise.¹³ Supervising nuns is a particularly medieval practice.

Michael Fabrizio Ferrarini died in 1492. Ferrarini was a Carmelite with a humanist interest in Roman antiquities. When his religious brothers tried to sell off his collection of ancient inscriptions the municipality of Reggio forbade the Carmelites from alienating "so rare, unique and excellent a work." The Carmelites had already sold a portion of the collection to pay for the construction of the first cloister in Reggio.¹⁴ Buying and selling collectibles is a modern activity.

In 1492 a piece of lantern fell down from the dome of the Cathedral at Florence, wrecking part of the choir. The Cardinal soon proposed to demolish the old choir and build in its place a subterranean chapel.¹⁵

K. A Sense of Changing Times: ???34

Young high achievers tend to think that nothing happened before they were born and that nobody did anything before they did it. While the professor is hardly a young high achiever, he was born in 1934 and uses that date below for a sense of changing times.

In Topic 18--Byzantium, we noted that Raymond of Penafort put together developments in Church law between 1150 and 1234. In Topic 24--The Middle Ages, we noted in 1234, Henry III of England was effectively prevented by the law from arbitrarily declaring subjects outlaws. In a very real sense, by 1234 the law belonged to the whole community administered in the name of the king.

In 1434 Cosimo de' Medici rose to power.¹⁶

1534, Cardinal Cajetan died.¹⁷

Luther finished translating the Bible.¹⁸

Melchiorites gained political control of Munster.¹⁹

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Henry VIII broke with the pope and declared himself head of the Church and divorced Catherine on his own authority.

Paul III elected pope and called for the Council of Trent which finally began in 1545. First meeting of the seven "friends of the Lord," who in 1540 founded the Jesuits.²⁰

In Topic 24--The Middle Ages, we note that the notorious Spanish inquisition of torture and death which everyone, including Catholics in the United States, abhors, only ended in 1834 with a monarchical decree.

L. *Individual versus State Sovereignty*

1. Russia

For the interpretation offered in this lecture, the student is invited to consider France. The argument is that under the *ancien regime* the personal authority of the monarch had not surrendered to the impersonal authority of the state. The result was the French Revolution.

In Russia, on the other hand, that surrender was attempted by Peter the Great. Peter the Great was unsuccessful in establishing a Western bureaucratic state machine because the Cossacks were too independent. Cossacks were descended from runaway serfs who had settled along the Dnieper and Don rivers in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.²¹ They were Polish and Russian peasant-soldiers who had gained certain privileges in return for their military service for the Tsar, lost those privileges when they participated in peasant revolts. These peasant revolts occurred during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.²²

After that, the Cossacks were integrated into the Russian army. During the Russian civil war of 1918-20, the Cossacks fought the Red army. Between 1928 and 1933 many Cossack communities were collectivized. Cossack traditions, nonetheless, have survived to the present.²³

Back in the time of Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725), the personal authority of the monarch dare not give way to the impersonal authority of the state. This raises the argument the professor presents by one notch. With this argument, social class becomes irrelevant in Russia and England becomes the yardstick for everything else. Once social class becomes irrelevant and England becomes the yardstick for everything else, historical interpretation has run amuck and Dr. Jirran is free to offer an alternative.

The social class interpretation is based on political assumptions. The English interpretation is based on economic assumptions. The communication interpretation is based on religious assumptions. Communication is based on knowledge, which is found in its fullest in the Creator.

The Professor, with scholars generally, maintains that the reason Russia did not Westernize was for the lack of a middle class. That is a negative reason. Current research is adding the positive side of it, namely the Cossacks. Cossacks were soldier-farmers living in the Ukraine, a borderland in the southeast of Poland and a borderland south of Kiev.²⁴

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3. Continental Sovereignty Outside of Europe

One rendition of this lecture was written in 1992, the quincentenary²⁵ of the voyage of Columbus. The politics of the celebration merit some comment. Professor John H. Tinkham presented a paper, "Debunking the Columbus Myth," on March 28 at the annual meeting of the Virginia Social Science Association. Catholics join Hispanics, Italians, and Evangelical Protestants in celebrating the Columbus voyage. Others, such as the National Council of Churches, liberation theologians, native Americans and environmentalists, are not so enthused. One group of Indians is planning to get in a boat and "discover" Europe as part of the celebration.

The point is this. Myths are about what the community would have liked to have happened and about what the community would like to be. Across time, therefore, myths change. For example, in 1892 the celebration was in accord with the Age of Progress. The Columbus myth is undergoing change even as this lecture is delivered.²⁶ Attention turns to Spain.

M. Spain

One of the greatest nations leading into modern times was Spain. Spain also serves as one of the great indicators of ethnocentrism and arrogance in English-speaking countries. This means that Spain does merit some special care in these lectures. In 711 Spain was conquered by the Muslims. The idea of reconquering all of the Iberian Peninsula by the Christians was current in the chronicles of Alfonso III (838?-911?)²⁷, less than a century later.²⁸

The Muslim caliphate imposed merely an artificial unity on the Iberian Peninsula. The Muslims recruited African Berbers into their army, excluding Spanish Muslims. This meant that there arose a highly resented ruling caste of African warriors. Dr. Jirran likes to think that this caused the difference in racial attitudes between the Anglos and the Spanish in the New World. In 1009 a succession of crises occurred, which all of the non-Africans took advantage of to gain traction against the African state and, themselves, unite.

To step back seven years, in 1002 Cordoba was the strongest state west of Byzantium. For Cordoba see "Map 7.1 Expansion of Islam" on page 203 and "Map 10.1 Europe Ca. 1250" on page 333 in the seventh edition of Chambers.²⁹ By 1031 this great Muslim state had disintegrated as the balance of power shifted to Spanish Christians. From this point on, there began a revival of the Reconquista. Santiago de Compostella, noted in the northwest corner of Spain on "Map 7.5 Invasions of Northern Europe, Ninth through the Tenth Centuries" on page 231 in the seventh edition of Chambers.³⁰ This was supposedly the burying site of the Apostle James.³¹

In 1492, the Jews were driven out of Spain and remained out in such a way that, in 1877, there were only 406 Jews in a population of 17,000,000. In 1985, there were probably about 10,000 Jews in Spain. After 1850, there were probably a half million Jews in all of Europe, with about 25,000 in the Moroccan Protectorate of Spain.³² The Professor has seen no scholarly comment on the increased numbers of Jews before the Nazi holocaust.

In recent historical times, the Spanish attitude toward Jews has changed. In the 1860s, the idea was advanced that the reason for Spanish backwardness was religious intolerance. Thus, to

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compensate, when Jews were driven out of Russia and other Slavic lands, they were offered resettlement in Spain, beginning in 1881. In 1924, the Spanish government offered citizenship to those Jews who had lost the protection of Turkey, in the Treaty of Lausanne. During the Nazi holocaust, Spain was the main escape channel and harbor of refuge for all European Jewry. Spain saved more Jews than any other neutral nation. All of the above notwithstanding, Spain remained the only major European nation that refused to recognize Israel in 1948.

In 1976 Queen Sophie officially attended a synagogue service in Madrid as part of a response spearheaded by the Spanish clergy influenced by the Second Vatican Council. Further developments have not been noted by Dr. Jirran.

N. Conclusion

The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between the supremacy of the territorial state as the "natural" unit of human society and the claim of the church to govern human souls. Truth was used as the intellectual tool for resolving the tensions arising from the incompatible inseparables.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 0491-0503.

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page Column
Paragraph

Line

0491 1 2 1 **The Holy Roman Empire**

Shortly before the Holy Roman Empire ended in 1806, Voltaire (1694-1778) observed that it was neither holy nor Roman nor an empire. Not only that, its boundaries keep shifting from map to map. Holy Roman Empire, nonetheless, is a useful name.

0494 caption

". . . peasants . . . at the lowest level of European society . . ."

This caption implies there were no slaves in Europe during the Sixteenth Century, yet Saint Vincent de Paul (1580-1660) was chaplain to the Galley Slaves of France during the Seventeenth Century.

In the Sixteenth Century, "Germanic states that lacked maritime facilities sold convicts to Italian city-states for galley service." About 1000 "convicts" a year arrived in Marseilles, France in the later

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Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries.³³ Chambers, perhaps, is distinguishing between a European convict and an African slave.

0494 2 2 8-10

"At the end of Sigismund II's reign (r. 1548-1572), his [Polish] kingdom was the largest in Europe."

One might never get that idea from either "Map 14.4 The Empire of Charles V" on page 490 or "Map 14.1 The Growth of the Ottoman Empire under Suleiman the Great, 1520-1566) on page 496 in the seventh edition of Chambers.

0495 1 1 2-4

". . . the disparate races of the Balkans, the Middle East, and North Africa . . ."

Rather than *races* the Professor would prefer to use *peoples* or *ethnic groups* or even *regions*. In the *Forum on Regionalism, The American Historical Review* develops the variations at work.³⁴ Other terms which might also be appropriate include not only race but also class and gender.³⁵ Language, cultures, economies, politics, or identities might also work.³⁶

Endnotes

¹ The principal reason for revising the lectures, from this point on, is to update for the fifth edition of Chambers. The package notes used for the earlier revisions have been lost.

²

²William H. McNeill, "The Eccentricity of Wheels, or Eurasian Transportation in Historical Perspective," The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 5 (December 1987), page 1111 ff.

³See J. H. Shennan, The Origins of the Modern European State, 1450-1725 as described in Marc Raeff, review of Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, Societies in Upheaval: Insurrections in France, Hungary, and Spain in the Early Eighteenth Century and J. H. Shennan, Liberty and Order in Early Modern Europe: The Subject and the State, 1650-1800 in The American Historical Review, Vol. 93, No. 3 (June 1988), pp. 678.

⁴ Gutenberg is indexed on page 321 in the sixth edition of Chambers, 362-363, 365, 431 in the seventh.

⁵One moves from Gutenberg, mentioned on pages 427 and 428 in the fifth edition of Chambers, to Galileo, to Newton to Einstein.

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⁶ See especially Michael O'Brien, "AHR Forum: On Observing the Quicksand," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 100, No. 4 (October 1995), pages 1202-1207.

⁷ Peter Paret, review of Geoffrey Parker, The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800 (The Lees Knowles Lectures, 1984) in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (December 1989), pages 1342-1343.

⁸ This is researched in Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3 (July 1989), pages 383-404.

⁹ John Locke, *Epistola de Tolerantia* 1689, cf. John Locke, Ein Brief uber Toleranz, ed. Julius Ebbinghaus ("Philosophische Bibliothek," Vol. 289 ([Hamburg, 12975]), pages 92-95 (English and German), as cited by Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3 (July 1989), page 399, footnote 54.

¹⁰ This and the following three paragraphs draw from Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment," *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3 (July 1989), pages 400-401.

¹¹ William S. Maltby, review of Bernard Vincent, *1492: "L'Annee admirable"* in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 5 (December 1992), page 1487-1488.

¹² There is an interesting review by John M. Riddle of Roger French and Frank Greenaway, editors, Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, His Sources and Influence in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 93, No. 2 (April 1988), page 398.

¹³ Joachim Smet, O.Carm., The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Ca. 1200 AD until the Council of Trent (Rome: Carmelite Institute (Private Printing), 1975), pp. 105 and 115.

¹⁴ Joachim Smet, O.Carm., The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: Volume II The Post Tridentine Period: 1550-1600 (Darien, Illinois 60559; Cass Ave. N. at I-55 (Stevenson); Carmelite Spiritual Center) 1976 [no copyright], p. 156.

¹⁵ Morselli, "A Project by Michelangelo," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (May 1981), p. 128, fn. 40.

¹⁶ John M. Najemy, ??, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 1 (February 1996), page 122.

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¹⁷ John L. Thompson, "Hagar, Victim or Villain? Three Sixteenth-Century Views," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 2?? (April 1997), pages 216.

¹⁸ Seventh edition of Chambers, page 442.

¹⁹ Seventh edition of Chambers, page 447.

²⁰ Peter Kountz, "Ignatius of Loyola and a New Direction for the History of the Jesuits: Review Article [W. W. Meissner, S.J., *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint*], *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 3 (July 1996), page 470.

²¹The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 202.

²²The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 202.

²³The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), page 202.

²⁴Cossacks are described in the fourth edition of Chambers on page 552 and the end map, "Contemporary Europe." Cossacks are mentioned again on page 1001 relative to the 1917 Russian Revolution. The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 202.

²⁵To his surprise, Dr. Jirran did not find "quincentenary" in any of his dictionaries. This spelling comes from William Graves, "Report from the Editor," National Geographic, Vol. 180, No. 4 (October 1991), unnumbered fourth page.

²⁶John H. Tinkham, "Debunking the Columbus Myth," a paper presented March 28 at the annual meeting of the Virginia Social Science Association. That paper is in the possession of Dr. Jirran.

²⁷ *The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia: Third Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), page 20.

²⁸The dates for Alfonso III are (838?-911?). His chronicles were copied in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. See Derek W. Lomax, review of David Wasserstein, The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002-1086, The American Historical Review, Vol. 91, No. 4 (October 1986), p. 903.

²⁹For Cordoba see "Map 7.3 Expansion of Islam" on page 281 and "Map 9.1 Europe Ca. 1250" on page 352 in the sixth edition of Chambers; "Map 7.1" on page 203 and "Map 10.1" on page 333 in the seventh edition.

³⁰From this point on, there began a revival of the Reconquista. Santiago de Compostella, noted in the northwest corner of Spain on "Map 6.5 Invasions of the 8th-10th Centuries" on page 243 in the

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fifth edition of Chambers was the rallying point; "Map 6.4 Invasions of Europe, Eighth through Ninth Centuries" on page 172 in the sixth edition; "Map 7.5 Invasions of Northern Europe, Ninth through the Tenth Centuries" on page 231 in the seventh edition.

³¹The professor is doing this from memory and would appreciate it ??? were a student to document this from Jean Descola, tr. by Elaine P. Halperin, A History of Spain, published by Knopf in 1963, which the professor finished reading in the Winter of 1965, and gave to the Thomas Nelson Community College Learning Resources Center Library sometime after that.

³²Jose M. Sanchez, review of Ceasar C. Aronsfeld, The Ghosts of 1492, Jewish Aspects of the Struggle for Religious Freedom in Spain, 1848-1976 in The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 74, No. 2 (March 1988), pp. 331-2.

³³ David Eltis, "Europeans and the Rise and Fall of African Slavery ??," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (December 1993), page 1407. The Sixteenth Century date is implied. No readily identifiable documentation is offered for the practice.

³⁴ Celia Applegate, Karen Wigen, Michael O'Brien, and Vicente L. Rafael, "AHR Forum: Bringing Regionalism Back to History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), pages 1156-1220.

³⁵ Michael O'Brien, "AHR Forum: On Observing the Quicksand," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), page 1203.

³⁶ Vicente L. Rafael, "AHR Forum: Regionalism, Area Studies, and the Accidents of Agency," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 4 (October 1999), pages 1208-1209.