

Mobilität und Migration in der Frühen Neuzeit. By Márta Fata. Einführungen in die Geschichtswissenschaft. Frühe Neuzeit 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020. 248 pp.

Utb-Band, the objective of which is to assist university education, launched a new book series (*Einführungen in die Geschichtswissenschaft*) in cooperation with Göttingen-based publisher Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht with the aim of introducing different topics to university students. The first volume of the series, which has already been published three times, explores migration, one of the most significant social processes of our time and a process which had a profound impact in an already exciting period, the early modern era. The author of the book, Márta Fata, a professor at the University of Tübingen and an associate of the Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, summarizes her rich teaching and research experience in this work. An explicit purpose of the volume is to offer the reader an interpretation of migration processes examined over a longer period of time from an adequate distance and with sufficient thoroughness. Firstly, this purpose is well served by the framing of the text: the introduction describes the problems of the 2015 refugee crisis, and the conclusion responds to the processes of the present in their historical context. Secondly, although it openly and self-evidently places emphasis on the Germans of the Holy Roman Empire, the book still examines and discusses forms of mobility on a European and global scale. From a methodological point of view, this is best made possible by the author's choice, after presenting the problematic issues raised by the definition of "migration," to take a clear stand in support of a rather broad and flexible use of the term, the meaning of which is by no means absolute. Consequently, Fata places emphasis on the historical actor's individual decision to migrate. Naturally, this decision entrenched behind arguments can spark controversies over interpretation, but it is an unavoidable conclusion from the point of view of the logic and argumentation of the volume. The role of the individual decision requires a more layered analysis of the economic, social, and cultural factors that influence it. From the point of view of the book, this would seem a difficult choice, because the inquiry must then address all this while staying within the framework of a textbook in its direction and language, which Fata manages to achieve by incorporating colorful, often individual examples and obviously the relevant key literature.

In the first section of the book, entitled "Begriffe, Theorien und Typologien," Fata presents the most important scholarly theories concerning the migration

process, with particular emphasis on the increasingly broad reception of migration in Germany since the 1980s (it took this long not to consider migration as a continuation of the interwar *Ostkolonisation* theory, which has a strong political connotation, but rather as something which should be addressed as part of modernization theories). Fata argues that research on migration in the early modern era is of special importance, since in this era the process of migration underwent a major qualitative change: compared to earlier times, far more people set out on much longer journeys, and in addition to the already more mobile lower and upper groups of society, this also affected the middle classes more strongly, especially serfs, who earlier had been strongly attached to the land.

The fact that for many Germans, the opening of the world was marked by the South American travelogue by Hans Staden, a soldier from Homberg, and his account of gold and silver (but also of cannibalism) is in itself due to several circumstances that bear the distinct marks of the early modern era (“Expansion und Erfahrung der Welt”): the discovery of the New World and the spread of news through printing, as well as the fact that Charles V, the Spanish monarch, was also Holy Roman Emperor. Therefore, the expansion of Europe, which is at the same time the start of Wallerstein’s modern world order, became not only unstoppable but increasingly impulsive, and alongside its positive aspects, this also resulted in the demographic disasters suffered by indigenous populations and the violent persecution and/or Europeanization of their cultural value systems, which was made worse by the atrocities committed against certain groups. This also shows how Fata’s concept prevails in the book, according to which the complexity of migration can only be addressed objectively through a discussion of both its advantages and its disadvantages, and in addition to the presentation of migration as process, this is also reflected in a series of case studies. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the technological developments that facilitated migration, in which, in addition to the improvements in navigation and shipbuilding, the Hungarian invention for passenger transport, the coach, is also presented, as is the stagecoach, which helped speed up the flow of information.

For early modern states, practical mercantilism was the most dominant direction in economic philosophy and economic policy (“Die Bevölkerung als zentrale Kategorie des frühneuzeitlichen Staates”). This also shaped thinking about the growth of the population, to which Fata devotes a separate chapter. The useful and thus growing European population, which could thus pay more taxes and provide more soldiers, also underwent a transformation in its structure as a result of conquests and colonization. As a consequence of emigration, the

population of Europe declined, and this was intensified by the casualties of the Thirty Years' War and the ensuing epidemics, but the resulting wave of refugees also had a structural impact. Furthermore, the seventeenth century witnessed a radical change in the East and Central European region. Turkish rule, which had controlled the Carpathian Basin for 150 years, essentially fell in the last third of the seventeenth century, putting the population policy of the Habsburgs on a new footing. For the monarchs, who thought in terms of practical considerations, the primary goal was to repopulate the extensive areas that had been deserted and completely fallen out of agricultural cultivation under Turkish rule.

The next chapter (“Die Migrationssteuerung”) focuses on the difficulties and administrative labyrinths of the controlled and uncontrolled state of migration. Fata places great emphasis on explaining that there were no uniform migration regulations in the Holy Roman Empire that would apply across the entire empire, but migration was regulated on a provincial level (according to a more or less similar conception of population policy). As a result, a wide variety of practices were in use with regard to support for, control of, and promotion of migration. This also affected recipient countries, since they offered different privileges to new settlers in light of this, while strongly considering the immigrants' social composition and even their sectarian affiliation. In addition to this heterogeneity, however, an important result of the era was the establishment and continuous refinement of the basic system of passports, which recorded not only the identity of the migrants but also their reasons for relocating.

In Fata's discussion of people who traveled for religious reasons, one important focus of the argument is the fact that, alongside sectarian affiliation, economic and social circumstances also played a significant role in decisions to migrate (“Die religiös motivierte Migration”). This finding is not only revelatory in itself, but also gains particular importance if, as a result, we begin to see the religiously persecuted not only as suffering subjects but also as actors making strategic decisions in the hopes of improving their circumstances. In this context, the book also describes the extent to which the socio-economical and socio-cultural characteristics of recipient territories are the legacy of earlier ages and what new transcultural processes were induced by the migrations of the time. Fata also considers the importance of ministers and pastors, who often played important roles in organizing migrations, in particular because of their crucial mediating role between the issuing and receiving territories.

The series of almost innumerable wars in the early modern era is also shown in a different light in the book (“Die militärische und kriegsbedingte Migration”).

Population movement (particularly the movement of people who were refugees) is presented not only a consequence of the wars but also as the result of recruiting efforts and the movement of soldiers, which was a prerequisite to the hostilities. At the same time, the mercenaries who served in the armies that grew continuously during the seventeenth century could and did cross great distances, not only in terms of space but also from the perspective of social mobility. Furthermore, war involved not simply the mobilization of soldiers but also the mobilization of the convoys which followed them, such as adjutants, servants, paramedics, field surgeons, and army chaplains. This is why war became part of field training in several educational programs, for instance in the programs provided for the Lutheran pastoral students at the University of Tübingen.

The next chapter (“Die Siedlungsmigration”) focuses on the settlements dominating the early modern era, the significance of which is still felt today. Fata discusses the approach according to which the main motivations underlying the creation of these kinds of settlements lay not simply in their usefulness but, as one can say after Francis Bacon, also in the fact that these settlements constituted an investment in the future, though there was no actual guarantee of success. From the perspective of the Holy Roman Empire, western destinations meant the British colonies in North America. The religious tolerance and political liberties of Pennsylvania attracted emigrants in large numbers, who left their densely populated homelands in which they struggled to earn a livelihood, settled in this part of the New World, and ran farms. The other direction of emigration pointed towards Brandenburg-Prussia and Hungary. In addition to the settlement policies of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs, Fata also compares the conditions and cultural backgrounds of the settlers. She emphasizes the possible motives which prompted people to settle in this direction, which still have not been exhaustively explored, and she also examines the practice of remigration, which was far from unprecedented and was particularly common if a spouse died on the road or if migrants were disappointed by the circumstances they found when they settled in the lands which they had hoped would be their new homes.

This is followed by a discussion of migrants who were on the road because of their occupations, but whose journey, unlike the previous ones, was circular, i.e., they returned home at least once (“Die Erwerbsmigration”). These migrants included seasonal workers, for example, whose employment was basically determined by the seasonality of their work at home. Itinerant traders are also presented here, who were typically treated with distrust due to their strange appearance and linguistic gaps, especially if they beat local merchants’ prices with

their cheaper goods. Still, they played key roles, as they contributed to the trade of goods among cities and countries. Urban and rural trade relations were also strengthened by Jewish merchants, also classified in this group, who transported the finished goods of the towns to the villages and sold the agricultural surplus of the village at town markets.

Compared to the previous category, those who migrated expressly due to subsistence pressures were in a more socially peripheral position (“Die Subsistenzmigration”). Many kinds of people belong to this category, such as some of the beggars or Roma, as well as deserters. A source dated 1801 lists 22 types among such migrants. Also included in this group were people who set off due to the local effects of the Little Ice Age or confrontations with the authorities. The diversity of this group makes these migrants difficult to grasp at a source level, and individual examples are best able to illustrate the survival strategies used by members of this group. The chapter concludes with a more detailed description of Roma, regarding whom it is worth emphasizing that although for a long time they refused to settle down and adopt the associated farming lifestyle, and their particular socio-cultural traits also contributed to the fact that they were treated as strangers, they still performed military service in groups 300–400-people strong in the Thirty Years’ War, which enabled most of them to join the majority society.

Nearing the end of the book, Fata devotes a separate chapter to peregrinators (“Spielarten der Peregrination”). The discoveries that were made in the sixteenth century, intensifying migration, and the spread of printing significantly broadened knowledge of the world. At the same time, as the common language of educated circles, Latin maintained its position, although by the end of the period, as national languages gained prominence and influence, French also caught up with it. Fata distinguishes between two directions of peregrination, *peregrinatio apostolica*, the actual missionary work, and *peregrinatio academica*, the training of itinerant students. The best examples of the former include the Jesuits’ expansion, their missions in Asia, Africa, and South America (and the accounts of these missions, which were increasingly spreading), while as regards the latter, students visiting the series of German universities that were rapidly growing in number due to the Reformation merit mention. It is important to highlight the regional connections these universities had. For example, for Protestant theology students in Hungary and Transylvania, first Wittenberg and then Heidelberg became the preferred destination. Fata discusses the *Kavalierstour* as a particular form of *peregrinatio academica*, which meant the high-standard travel of the noble youth to see the

world. The purpose of these journeys was not simply to provide the young man with new experience but also to build relationships among the European court elite. The migration of academically trained scholars (“Gelehrtenmigration”) also belongs to this category. Albert Szenczi Molnár, the prominent Hungarian Calvinist pastor, linguist, and literary translator of the period, spent a significant portion of his professional career in the Holy Roman Empire. It was here that he revised the earlier Hungarian translation of the Bible by Gáspár Károli, and it was also here that he translated the Heidelberg Catechism into Hungarian and wrote his Hungarian grammar in Latin.

In the chapter entitled “Dimensionen der Integration,” Fata describes the directions and dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. For example, she points out the pan-European integrative nature of Humanism, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment, while the Reformation, its positive aspects notwithstanding, divided Christianity even further. Towns and cities came to play stronger mediating roles, which also ensured better circulation of knowledge. However, particularly due to language constraints, settlers were not integrated, and this limited the spread of their ingenuity in farming. Thus, all the factors that may have served or may have hindered integration are given emphasis, such as religion, language, culture, and skin color.

As a conclusion to the book, Fata highlights that several factors (such as scientific discoveries, colonization, the Reformation, and the continuous wars) in the early modern era generated continuous movement, and this affected thinking in a broader sense and radically influenced the lives of people at the time. All these factors must be taken into consideration if we want to find our way among the seemingly confusing processes of migration.

The book includes 10 illustrations, and the bibliography indicates primary sources related to each topic by chapters complemented with short descriptions of the content of the sources, either a few words or a sentence. The index of places and names following the list of images likewise makes the book easier to use. Although the volume was primarily written for Bachelor’s and Master’s students in Germany, it is a rich work which will be of interest to a much wider audience, such as German and non-German historians, sociologists, and readers who simply want better to orient themselves in the processes which have shaped and continue to shape the world.

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