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ECO 301Y1

The Economic History of Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe, 1250 - 1750

Topic No. 1 [1]: **The Black Death, Famines, and the Late-Medieval Demographic Crises: the Late-medieval Standard of Living Controversies**

READINGS: arranged, by topic section, in the chronological order of original publication. The more important are indicated by asterisks *

A. Demography: General and Methodological:

1. Thomas R. Malthus, An Essay on the Principle of Population, 1st edn. (London, 1798); 6th edn., 2 vols. (London, 1826).
2. A.M. Carr-Saunders, The Population Problem: A Study in Human Evolution (Oxford, 1922).
3. A.M. Carr-Saunders, World Population: Past Growth and Present Trends (New York, 1936). Especially chapters 6-7.
- * 4. J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population (Albuquerque, 1948).
- * 5. Carlo Cipolla, Jan Dhondt, Michael Postan, and Philippe Wolff, 'Rapports collectif', IXe congrès international des sciences historiques, Paris août - septembre 1950, 1 (1950), 225-41. Michael Postan's contribution was revised and subsequently published as the following:
- ** 6. Michael Postan, 'The Economic Foundations of Medieval Society', Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie, 161 (1951); and:

Michael Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1950), 130-67;

both reprinted in his Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 3 - 27; and 186 - 213 (the latter, with the revised title of 'Some Agrarian Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages.')
7. Roger Mols, Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIVe au XVIIIe siècles, 3 vols. (Louvain-Gembloux, 1954-56). See Vol. I on methodology.
8. Wilhelm Abel, Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters, 2nd edn. (Stuttgart, 1955).
- * 9. J. Krause, 'The Medieval Household: Large or Small?', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 9 (1956-57), 420-32. With a critique of Russell's demographic assumptions and methods.
10. Karl Helleiner, 'New Light on the History of Urban Populations', Journal of Economic History, 18 (1958), 56-61. A review-article concerning the Mols volumes, no. 6 above.
11. J.C. Russell, Late Ancient and Medieval Population (Philadelphia, 1958).

12. Carlo Cipolla, The Economic History of World Population (London, 1962), especially chapter 4, 'Births and Deaths', pp. 73-90.
- * 13. B.H. Slicher-van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850 (London, 1963), pp. 77-97, 132-37.
14. J.C. Russell, 'A Quantitative Approach to Medieval Population Change', Journal of Economic History, 24 (1964), 1-21.
15. J.C. Russell, 'Recent Advances in Medieval Demography', Speculum, 40 (1965), 84-101.
- * 16. David V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversely, eds. Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography (London: E. Arnold, 1965), especially:
- (a) D.E.C. Eversely, 'Population, Economy, and Society', pp. 23-70.
- ** (b) J. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', pp. 101-46.
17. J. C. Russell, 'The Pre-plague Population of England', Journal of British Studies, 5:2 (May 1966), 1-21.
- ** 18. Barbara Harvey, 'The Population Trend in England Between 1300 and 1348', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th ser. 16 (1966), 23-42. Opposes Postan's thesis of a pre-plague population decline, implicitly supporting Russell. But see also no. 40 below, a much more recent essay.
- * 19. Goran Ohlin, 'No Safety in Numbers: Some Pitfalls of Historical Statistics', in Henry Rosovsky, ed. Industrialization in Two Systems: Essays in Honor of Alexander Gerschenkron (New York, 1966), pp. 68 - 90; reprinted in Roderick Floud, ed. Essays in Quantitative Economic History (Oxford, 1974), pp. 59 - 78. An important critique of Russell's demographic statistics.
- ** 20. Karl Helleiner, 'The Population of Europe, from the Black Death to the Eve of the Vital Revolution', in E.E. Rich and Charles Wilson, eds., Cambridge Economic History, Vol. IV: The Economy of Expanding Europe in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 1-95, especially pp. 5-19, 68-95.
21. Marcel R. Reinhard, André Armengaud, Jacques Dupâquier, Histoire générale de la population mondiale (Paris, 1968).
- * 22. J. Z. Titow, English Rural Society, 1200-1350 (1969), chapter 3, 'The Standard of Living Controversy', pp. 64-96. Critique of both Russell and Barbara Harvey, defending the Postan thesis.
- * 23. E. Anthony Wrigley, Population and History (London, 1969), chapters 1-3.
24. Guy Fourquin, Histoire économique de l'occident médiéval (Paris, 1969), pp. 136-75, 225-34.
25. Harry Miskimin, The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460 (1969: reissued Cambridge, 1975), chapter 2.
- * 26. Norman J.G. Pounds, 'Overpopulation in France and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages', Journal of Social History, 3 (1969-70), 225-47.
- * 27. J.D. Chambers, Population, Economy, and Society in Pre-Industrial England (London,

- 1972), chapters 1-3.
- * 28. Josiah Cox Russell, 'Population in Europe, 500-1500', in Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Middle Ages, 900 - 1500, ed. Carlo Cipolla (London, 1972), pp. 25-70.
 - 29. Frederick Cartwright, Disease and History (New York, 1972).
 - 30. David Loschky, 'Economic Change, Mortality, and Malthusian Theory', Population Studies, 30 (1975), 439-52.
 - 31. Edward Miller and John Hatcher, Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086-1348 (London, 1978), chapter 2: 'Land and People', pp. 27-63; and chapter 9.
 - * 32. Michael M. Postan and John Hatcher, 'Population and Class Relations in Feudal Society', Past and Present, no. 78 (Feb. 1978): a contribution to 'Symposium: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', pp. 24-36; reprinted in T.H. Aston and C.H.E. Philpin, eds., The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe (Past and Present Publications: Cambridge, 1985), pp. 64-78.
 - * 33. Wilhelm Abel, Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur, 3rd edn. (Berlin, 1978; 1st edn. 1966): translated by Olive Ordish as Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries (London, 1980), chapters 1-3, but especially the introduction, pp. 1-16.
 - 34. Robert Fossier, 'Peuplement de la France du Nord entre le 10e et le 16e siècles', Annales de démographie historique (1979), 59 - 99.
 - 35. James L. Bolton, The Medieval English Economy, 1150-1500 (London, 1980): chapters 1 - 4.
 - * 36. Ester Boserup, Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-Term Trends (Chicago, 1981), part III: 'The Role of Demographic Factors in European Development', pp. 93-125.
 - 37. Jacques Dupâquier and A. Fauve-Chamoux, eds., Malthus Past and Present (London, 1983).
 - 38. David Coleman and Roger Schofield, The State of Population Theory: Forward from Malthus (Oxford, 1986):
 - a) Roger Schofield and David Coleman, 'Introduction: the State of Population Theory', pp. 1-13.
 - b) David Coleman, 'Population Regulation: A Long Range View', pp. 14-41.
 - 39. Pierre Alexandre, Le climat en Europe au moyen âge: contribution à l'histoire des variations climatiques de 1000 à 1425, d'après les sources narratives de l'Europe occidentale (Paris, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Études en Sciences Sociales, 1987).
 - 40. David Loschky and Maw Lin Lee, 'Malthusian Population Oscillations', Economic Journal, 97 (1987), 727-39.
 - 41. Paul Bairoch, La population des villes européennes : banque de données et analyse sommaire des résultats, 800-1850/ The Population of European Cities : Data Bank and Short Summary of Results, 800-1850 (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1988).
 - * 42. L. R. Poos, 'The Historical Demography of Renaissance Europe: Recent Research and

Current Issues', Renaissance Quarterly, 42 (1989), 749-811.

43. Massimo Livi-Bacci, Population and Nutrition: An Essay on European Demographic History, trans. by Tania Croft-Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- ** 44. Barbara Harvey, 'Introduction: the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century', in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 1 - 24.
45. Richard M. Smith, 'Demographic Developments in Rural England, 1300-48: a Survey', in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 25-78.
46. Gregory Clark, 'The Economics of Exhaustion, the Postan Thesis, and the Agricultural Revolution', The Journal of Economic History, 52 (March 1992), 61 - 84.
47. Ronald Lee, 'Accidental and Systematic Change in Population History: Homeostasis in a Stochastic Setting', Explorations in Economic History, 30:1 (January 1993), 1 - 30. See in particular 'The Origin of Long Swings in Historical Populations', pp. 21-28.
48. Karl Gunnar Persson, 'Was There a Productivity Gap between Fourteenth-Century Italy and England?' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 46:1 (February 1993), 105-114.
49. David Loschky and Ben D. Childers, 'Early English Mortality', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 24:1 (Summer 1993), 85 - 97.
- ** 50. Jan de Vries, 'Population', in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., Handbook of European History, 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol. I: Structures and Assertions (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 1 - 50.
51. David Kertzer and Peter Laslett, Aging in the Past: Demography, Society and Old Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
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54. Jared Diamond, Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies (New York, 1997).
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58. Guy Bois, La grande dépression médiévale: XIVE - XVe siècles: le précédent d'une crise systémique, Actuel Marx Confrontation (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000).

59. P.M.G. Harris, The History of Human Populations, vol. I: Forms of Growth and Decline (Westport: Praeger, 2001).
60. David Levine, At the Dawn of Modernity: Biology, Culture, and Material Life in Europe after the Year 1000 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
61. Bruce S. Fetter, 'History and Health Sciences: Medical Advances Across the Disciplines', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 32:3 (Winter 2002), 423-42. A review essay.
62. John Landers, The Field and the Forge: Population, Production, and Power in the Pre-Industrial West (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
63. P.M.G. Harris, The History of Human Populations, vol. II: Migration, Urbanization, and Structural Change (Westport: Praeger, 2003).
64. Andrew Hinde, England's Population: A History Since the Domesday Survey (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- * 65. E. A. Wrigley, Poverty, Progress, and Population (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
66. Tommy Bengtsson, Cameron Campbell, and James Z. Lee, eds., Life Under Pressure: Mortality and Living Standards in Europe and Asia (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
67. Katherine Lynch, Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200 - 1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
68. Nikola Koepke and Joerg Baten, 'The Biological Standard of Living in Europe during the last Two Millennia', European Review of Economic History, 9:1 (April 2005), 61-96.
69. Ethne Barnes, Disease and Human Evolution (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).
70. Hervé Le Bras, The Nature of Demography (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008).
71. Elisabeth Carniel, 'Plague Today', in Vivian Nutton, ed., Pestilential Complexities: Understanding Medieval Plague: in Medical History, supplement 27 (2008), 121-22.
- * 72. Lawrence R. Poos, 'The Historical Demography of Northern Europe, 1400 - 1650', in Troels Dohlerup and Per Ingesman, eds., New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Proceedings of Two International Conferences at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen in 1997 and 1999, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 104 (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2009), pp. 365-96.
- * 73. Steven A. Epstein, An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000 - 1500 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 6: 'The Great Hunger and the Big Death: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century', pp. 159-89.
- * 74. Lester K. Little, 'Plague Historians in Lab Coats: A Review Article', Past & Present, no. 213 (November 2011), pp. 267-90.

- * 75. Morgan Kelly and Cormac Ó Gràda, 'The Preventive Check in Medieval and Preindustrial England', Journal of Economic History, 72:4 (December 2012), 1015-35.

B. Demographic Crises in the Late Middle Ages: General Features

- * 1. Edouard Perroy, 'A l'origine d'une économie contractée: les crises du XIVe siècle', Annales: E.S.C., 4 (1949), 167-82. Republished in translation as 'At the Origin of a Contracted Economy: The Crises of the 14th Century', in Rondo Cameron, ed., Essays in French Economic History (Homewood, Ill., 1970), pp. 91-105.
- * 2. Karl Helleiner, 'Population Movement and Agrarian Depression in the Later Middle Ages', Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 15 (1949). A pioneering article, superseded by no. 10 below.
- ** 3. Michael Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1950), 130-67; reprinted in his Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 186 - 213 (with the revised title of 'Some Agrarian Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages'), and the latter on pp. 3 - 27.
4. Michael Postan, 'The Economic Foundations of Medieval Society', Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie, 161 (1951); reprinted in his Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 3 - 27.
5. Wilhelm Abel, 'Wüstungen und Preisfall im spätmittelalterlichen Europa', Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 165 (1953), 380-427. A classic, seminal article. But restated and updated (in English translation) in no. 13 below.
6. A.R. Lewis, 'The Closing of the Medieval Frontier, 1250-1350', Speculum, 33 (1958), 475-83.
7. Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West, trans. Cynthia Postan (London, 1962), Book IV: pp. 289-360.
- * 8. Léopold Genicot, 'Crisis: From Middle Ages to Modern Times', in Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn., ed. M.M. Postan (Cambridge, 1966), 660-702.
- * 9. Karl Helleiner, 'The Population of Europe from the Black Death to the Eve of the Vital Revolution', Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. IV (1967), 1-20, 68-95.
- * 10. David Herlihy, Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia, 1200-1430 (New Haven, 1967), chapters 3 - 5, pp. 55 - 120; see also pp. 271-82. See also below, section E. nos 3-4.
- * 11. Wilhelm Abel, Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries, 3rd edn., (Berlin, 1978); trans. Olive Ordish (London, 1980), chapter 1-3.
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- * 14. Richard M. Smith, 'Demographic Developments in Rural England, 1300-48: a Survey', in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in 'Crisis' of the Early

Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 25-78.

- ** 15. Barbara Harvey, 'Introduction: the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century', in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991) pp. 1 - 24.
16. Mavis Mate, 'The Agrarian Economy of South-east England before the Black Death: Depressed or Bouyant?' in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 79 - 109.
17. Mark Bailey, '*Per impetum maris*: natural disaster and economic decline in eastern England, 1275 - 1350', in Bruce M.S. Campbell, ed., Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 184 - 208.
- * 18. Michael Anderson, ed., British Population History from the Black Death to the Present Day, Studies in Social and Economic History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Includes the Hatcher essay in D.30, below.
- * 19. Troels Dohlerup and Per Ingesman, eds., New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Proceedings of Two International Conferences at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen in 1997 and 1999, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 104 (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2009). See the following essays.
- a) Gerhard Jaritz, 'The History of Late Medieval Everyday Life: A Review of Patterns and Contrasts', pp. 122-143.
- b) Christopher R. Friedrichs, 'Urban Transformation? Some Constants and Continuities in the Crisis-Challenged City', pp. 253-72.
- c) Ian Blanchard, 'The Late Medieval European 'Integration Crisis', 1340 - 1450', pp. 301-34.
- d) John Munro, 'Before and After the Black Death: Money, Prices, and Wages in Fourteenth-Century England', pp. 335-64.
- d) Lawrence R. Poos, 'The Historical Demography of Northern Europe, 1400 - 1650', pp. 365-96.
- e) Andrew Cunningham, 'Disease: Crisis or Transformation?', pp. 397-415.
- ** 20. John Aberth, From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages, 2nd edn. (Clifton, NJ: Routledge, 2009).
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- * 22. John Aberth, Plagues in World History (Landham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011).

C. **Famines and Problems of Malnutrition in Medieval Europe:**

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- * 3. Ian Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315-1322', Past and Present, no. 59 (May 1973), 3-50. Reprinted in R.H. Hilton, ed., Peasants, Knights, and Heretics (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 85-132.
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6. Dyer, Christopher, 'Changes in Diet in the Late Middle Ages: The Case of Harvest Workers', The Agricultural History Review, 36 (1988), 21 - 38.
7. Dyer, Christopher, Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200 - 1520 (Cambridge, 1989).
8. Massimo Livi-Bacci, Population and Nutrition: An Essay on European Demographic History, trans. by Tania Croft-Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
9. Catherine Geissler and Derek Oddy, eds., Food, Diet, and Economic Change: Past and Present (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).
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- ** 11. William C. Jordan, The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). The classic study of the 'Great Famine'.
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13. Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Dearth, Debt and the Local Land Market in a Late Thirteenth-Century Village Community', Agricultural History Review, 45:1 (1997), 1-17.
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- * 16. Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Markets and Famines in Pre-Industrial Europe', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 36:2 (Autumn 2005), 143-166.
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19. Nikola Keopke and Joerg Baten, 'Agricultural Specialization and Height in Ancient and Medieval Europe', Explorations in Economic History, 45:2 (April 2008), 127-46.
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- * 21. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Cormac Ó Gráda, 'Harvest Shortfalls, Grain Prices, and Famines in Preindustrial England', Journal of Economic History, 71:4 (December 2011), 859-86.

D. Plagues and Other Diseases in Late-Medieval Europe

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- * 2. J. Saltmarsh, 'Plague and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages', Cambridge Historical Journal, 7 (1941), 23 - 41.
- ** 3. Albert L. Burroughs, 'Sylvatic Plague Studies: the Vector Efficiency of Nine Species of Fleas Compared with *Xenopsylla cheopis*', Journal of Hygiene, 45:3 (August 1947), 371-96.

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- * 5. Hans Van Werveke, De Zwarte Dood in de zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1349-1351, in Mededelingen van de koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren, en schone kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, vol. XII, no. 3; Brussels, 1950). Has a French summary. A classic study.
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10. Johannes Nohl, The Black Death: A Chronicle of the Plague Compiled from Contemporary Sources (1961).
- * 11. Elisabeth Carpentier, 'La peste noire: famines et épidémies au XIVe siècle', Annales: E.S.C., 17 (1962), 1062-92.
12. Elisabeth Carpentier, Une ville devant la peste: Orvieto et la peste noire de 1348 (Paris: SEVPEN, 1962).
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14. Hans Zinsser, Rats, Lice, and History (Boston, 1963).
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 - * 17. David Herlihy, 'Population, Plague, and Social Change in Rural Pistoia, 1201-1430', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 17 (1965), 225-44.
 - ** 18. David Herlihy, Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia, 1200-1430 (New Haven, 1967), chapter 3, pp. 55-71; and 271-82.
 19. Richard W. Emery, 'The Black Death of 1348 in Perpignan', Speculum, 42 (1967), 611-23.
 20. John Henneman, 'The Black Death and Royal Taxation in France, 1347-1351', Speculum, 43 (1968).
 - * 21. Philip Ziegler, The Black Death (1969). Especially Chapter 15, pp. 240-59.
 22. J.F.D. Shrewsbury, A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1970).
 23. Geoffrey Marks, The Medieval Plague: The Black Death of the Middle Ages (New York, 1971).
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 - ** 26. A.R. Bridbury, 'The Black Death', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 26 (1973), 557-92.
 - ** 27. J.N. Biraben, Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranées, 2 vols. (Paris and The Hague, 1975-76). A very important study, which provides a very different view about the medieval dissemination of plague.
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 29. A.R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 30 (1977), 393-410. More relevant to subsequent topics. Not entirely consistent with his earlier article.
 - ** 29. John Hatcher, Plague, Population, and the English Economy, 1348-1530 (London, 1977), pp. 11-73. So far, the best survey for late-medieval England.
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16. David L. Farmer, 'Crop Yields, Prices and Wages in Medieval England', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, new series, 6 (1983), 115 - 55.
17. John Munro, 'Mint Outputs, Money, and Prices in late-Medieval England and the Low Countries', in Eddy Van Cauwenberghe and Franz Irsigler, ed., Münzprägung, Geldumlauf und Wechselkurse / Minting, Monetary Circulation and Exchange Rates, (Trierer Historische Forschungen, Vol. VIII, Trier, 1984), pp. 31-122.
18. David L. Farmer, 'Prices and Wages', in H. E. Hallam, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. II: 1042 - 1350 (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 715 - 817.
19. David L. Farmer, 'Prices and Wages, 1350 - 1500', in Edward Miller, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. III: 1348 - 1500 (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 431 - 525.
20. John Munro, 'Builders' Wages in Southern England and the Southern Low Countries, 1346 -1500:A Comparative Study of Trends in and Levels of Real Incomes', in Simonetta Caviococchi, ed., L'Edilizia prima della rivoluzione industriale, secc. XIII-XVIII, Atti delle "Settimana di Studi" e altri convegni, no. 36, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "Francesco Datini" (Florence, 2005), pp. 1013-76.
- * 21. Pamela Nightingale, 'Gold, Credit, and Mortality: Distinguishing Deflationary Pressures on the Late Medieval English Economy', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 63:4 (November 2010), 1081-1104.

QUESTIONS ON DEMOGRAPHY

1. When did the general growth of European population, the demographic upswing that commenced in the 10th-11th centuries, cease? In the later 13th century? In the early 14th century? Not until the Black Death of 1348? Or later? WHY and HOW?
2. Did climatic changes have any influence on demographic changes: in terms of agricultural output, nutrition (and thus resistance to both famine and disease) and the biological transmission of diseases?
3. What brought about the drastic demographic declines in 14th and 15th century Europe? Did a 'Malthusian Crisis' trigger that population decline? Or was the demographic decline chiefly the result of Plague? Were the causes of European population decline essentially *endogenous* or *exogenous* to the functioning of the European economy?
4. What relationships were there, in the 14th and 15th centuries, between/among: famine, warfare, and disease?
5. What was the Black Death? What forms did it take? How was it introduced into Europe? How did it spread? What determined or influenced the mortality rates from the Black Death and succeeding plagues?

For a vivid contemporary, first hand description of the plague in the reign of Byzantine or East Roman Emperor Justinian (r. 527-565), by his Prefect of Constantinople, the historian Procopius, see H.B. Dewing, ed., Procopius History of the Wars, Books I and II, in Greek and English translation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 450-73. Note the actual use of the word 'bubonic' in this description: βουβωνων (pp. 460-61).

6. The current debate about the biological nature of the Black Death: was it bubonic plague, and was it transmitted (as the bacillus *Yersinia pestis*) by rat borne fleas? Or was it some other disease?
7. What other factors determined high death rates in late-medieval Europe, in rural and urban areas?
8. What factors influenced changes in birth rates? What was the more powerful factor in determining demographic changes and population levels: the birth rate or the death rate? How were the two related?
9. What is the 'European marriage pattern'? What influence did it come to have on European birth and death rates? When did it commence -- in the Middle Ages, or later, in the early-modern era? Is there any evidence for a European marriage pattern anywhere in medieval Europe?
10. Why did the population decline continue for so long, into the 15th century? When, where, how, and why did that population decline come to a halt? What brought about the beginnings of population recovery?
11. What were the general economic and social consequences of population decline in late medieval Europe?
12. Discuss the relationships between living standards and population levels, demographic change.
13. Did population decline – from plagues, famines, wars, etc – lead to a rise in productivity and thus real-wages in later-medieval western Europe. What factors determined the levels of and changes in real wages and other real incomes?
14. Did demographic decline produce economic decline, or stagnation; or did it foster change and new economic growth?

15. What were the regional variations in demographic change in medieval Europe: what regions experienced long term demographic and economic decline, and which ones experienced population and economic growth?