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ECO 2210Y

Topic Nos. 4-5:Manorial Institutions, Peasant Society, and Agrarian Change in LaterMedieval Western Europe, 1300-1520

<u>READINGS</u>: in chronological order of original publication

A. <u>Feudal and Manorial Institutions and Peasant Society to ca. 1350:</u> <u>General Studies: General and Methodological</u>

- Marc Bloch, <u>Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française</u>, 2 vols. (Oslo, 1931; reissued Paris, 1952 and 1964); reissued in English translation as <u>French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics</u>, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, Calif. 1966), chapters 1-3, especially pp. 77-101. The whole book is well worth reading.
- * 2. Marc Bloch, <u>La société féodale</u>, 2 vols. 1940: in English translation as <u>Feudal Society</u>, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1961), chapters 4, 11-14, 18-22.
- Marc Bloch, 'The Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seigniorial Institutions,' in J.H. Clapham and Eileen Power, eds., <u>The Cambridge Economic History of Europe</u>, Vol. I: <u>The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages</u>, 1st edn. (Cambridge University Press, 1941), pp. 224-77. Reprinted without change in M. M. Postan, ed., <u>The Cambridge Economic History</u>, Vol. I: <u>Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages</u>, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 235-89.
 - 4. Joseph Calmette, <u>La société féodale</u> (Paris, 1951).
 - 5. F.L. Ganshof, <u>Feudalism</u>, trans. Philip Grierson (London, 1952).
 - 6. Robert Boutruche, <u>Seigneurie et féodalité: le premier âge des liens d'homme à homme</u> (Paris, 1959): book I, chapters 2-4.
 - Georges Duby, <u>Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West</u> (trans. Cynthia M. Postan, London, 1962), book III, chapters 2, 4.
 - Georges Duby, 'The French Countryside at the End of the 13th Century,' in Rondo Cameron, ed., <u>Essays in French Economic History</u> (Homewood, III. 1970), pp. 33-41, trans. from 'Les campagnes françaises à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Esquisse d'histoire économique,' <u>Bulletino dell'istituto storico italiano per il medio evo</u>, 72 (1962), 161-73.

- M.M. Postan, ed., <u>The Cambridge Economic History of Europe</u>, Vol. I: <u>The Agrarian Life</u> of the Middle Ages, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1966):
 - a) François Ganshof and Adriaan Verhulst, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: France, the Low Countries, and Western Germany,' pp. 290-339.
 - b) Philip Jones, 'Italy,' pp. 340-431.
 - c) Robert Smith, 'Spain,' pp. 432-48.
 - d) Michael M. Postan, 'England,' pp. 549-632.
 - e) Léopold Genicot, 'Crisis: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times,' pp. 660-741.
- Marc Bloch, <u>Seigneurie française et manoir anglais</u> (Cahiers des Annales no. 16, Paris, 1967).
- 12. Elizabeth Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe,' <u>American Historical Review</u>, 79 (1974), 1063-88.
- 12. Esther Boserup, <u>Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-Term Trends</u> (Chicago, 1981), chapters 1 and 2. Though this book does not refer specifically to medieval Europe, its models and analyses are certainly relevant to both medieval and early-modern Europe. A very important book.
- Peter Gunst and Tamas Hoffman, eds., <u>Large Estates and Small Holdings in Europe in the</u> <u>Middle Ages and Modern Times: National Reports</u> (8th International Economic History Congress, Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1982). Not readily available.
- 14. Gregory Clark, 'The Cost of Capital and Medieval Agricultural Technique,' <u>Explorations</u> in Economic History, 25 (July 1988), 265-94. (Econometric)

- 15. K. G. Person, <u>Pre-Industrial Economic Growth: Social Organization and Technological</u> <u>Progress in Europe</u> (Oxford, 1988).
- Léopold Genicot, <u>Rural Communities in the Medieval West</u> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).
- 17. David Grigg, <u>The Transformation of Agriculture in the West</u> (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992).
- Philippe Contamine, Marc Bompaire, Stéphane Lebecq, Jean-Luc Sarrazin, <u>L'économie</u> <u>médiévale</u>, Collection U, série 'Histoire médiévale' (Paris: Armand Colin, 1993). Excellent survey of European medieval economic history, with several chapters

devoted to agrarian questions.

- * 19. Thomas W. Robisheaux, 'The World of the Village,' in Thomas A. Brady, jr., Heiko O. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., <u>Handbook of European History, 1400-1600</u>: <u>Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation</u>, Vol. I: <u>Structures and Assertions</u> (Leiden/New York/Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 79-112.
 - Susan Reynolds, <u>Fiefs and Vassals: The Evidence Reinterpreted</u> (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). An attack on Ganshof's classic study on <u>Feudalism</u>.
 - 21. Thomas N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship,' Speculum, 70:4 (October 1995), 743-59.
 - 22. Zvi Razi and Richard Smith, eds., <u>Medieval Society and the Manor Court</u> (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
 - 23. Timothy Reuter, Chris Wickham, and T.N. Bisson, 'Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution',' <u>Past</u> <u>& Present</u>, no. 155 (May 1997), pp. 177-225.

B. Field Systems: 'Open' and 'Common' Fields; Two and Three-Course Rotations

- 1. Paul Vinogradoff, <u>The Growth of the Manor</u> (London, 1905).
- Frederic Seebohm, <u>The English Village Community Examined in its Relations to the</u> <u>Manorial and Tribal Systems and to the Common or Open Field System of</u> <u>Husbandry</u>, 4th edn. (London, 1905).
- 3. H.L. Gray, <u>English Field Systems</u> (Cambridge, Mass. 1915).
- 4. E.C.K. Gonner, <u>Common Land and Inclosure</u> (1921; reissued with an introduction by E.L. Jones, London, 1968).
- Paul Vinogradoff, <u>Villainage in England</u> (London, 1923), part ii: 'The Manor and the Village Community,' chapter I; 'The Open Field System and the Holdings,' pp. 223-58; chapter II, 'Rights of Common,' pp. 259-77. See also chapters V and VI.
- Marc Bloch, <u>Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française</u>, 2 vols. (Oslo, 1931; reissued Paris, 1952 and 1964); in English translation as <u>French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics</u>, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, Calif. 1966), chapter 2, pp. 35-64.
 - T.A.M. Bishop, 'Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields,' <u>Economic History Review</u>, 1st ser. 6 (1935-36), 13-29; reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., <u>Essays in</u> <u>Economic History</u> (London, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 26-40.
 - 8. C. S. Orwin, 'Observations on the Open Fields,' Economic History Review, 1st. ser. 8

(1937-38), 125-35.

- ** 9. C.S. and C.A. Orwin, <u>The Open Fields</u> (1938; 2nd edn. Oxford, 1954), Introduction especially (pp. 1-14), and chapters I-V, pp. 15-68, especially III, 'The Open Fields,' pp. 30-52.
- * 10. Joan Thirsk, <u>Tudor Enclosures</u> (Historical Assoc. pamphlet No. G. 41, London, 1958; reissued 1967).
- M.A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire,' <u>Agricultural History</u> <u>Review</u>, 9 (1961), 73-83. An important article for demonstrating that open fields did not necessarily prove to be a barrier to change, at least in early-modern England. Reprinted in: W.E. Minchinton, ed., <u>Essays in Agricultural History</u>, Vol. I (1968), pp. 147-60; and E.L. Jones, ed., <u>Agriculture and Economic Growth in England</u>, <u>1650-1815</u> (1967), pp. 66-79.
- * 12. Lynn White, <u>Medieval Technology and Social Change</u> (Oxford, 1962), chapter II, 'The Agricultural Revolution of the Early Middle Ages,' pp. 39-78, esp. pp. 41-57. Rather simplistic and outdated, but still interesting.
 - W. G. Hoskins and L. Dudley Stamp, <u>The Common Lands of England and Wales</u> (London, 1963). Chapters 1 4; especially chapter 1, 'Common Land and Its Origin,' pp. 3-13; and chapter 3, 'Common Land and the Peasant Economy,' pp. 44-52.
- ** 14. Joan Thirsk, 'The Common Fields,' <u>Past and Present</u>, no. 29 (Dec. 1964), 3-25. The article that initiated the still current debate.
 - W.O. Ault, <u>Open-Field Husbandry and the Village Community: A Study of Agrarian By-Laws in Medieval England</u> (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series, vol. 55, Philadelphia, 1965).
- * 16. Jan Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the Open-Field System,' <u>Past and Present</u>, no. 32 (1966), 86-102. The first major attack on Thirsk.
- * 17. Joan Thirsk, 'The Origin of the Common Fields,' <u>Past and Present</u>, no. 33 (1966), 142-47. Her strong reply to Titow.
 - Joan Thirsk, 'Enclosing and Engrossing,' in Joan Thirsk, ed., <u>The Agrarian History of</u> <u>England and Wales</u>, IV: <u>1500-1640</u> (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 200-56.
- * 19. George C. Homans, 'The Explanation of English Regional Differences,' <u>Past and Present</u>, no. 42 (1969), 18-34. Continuing the Thirsk-Titow debate.
 - A.H.R. Baker, 'Some Terminological Problems in Studies of British Field Systems,' <u>Agricultural History Review</u>, 17 (1969).
 - 21. Jerome Blum, 'The European Village as Community: Origins and Functions,' <u>Agricultural</u> <u>History</u>, 45 (1971), 158- .

- 22. D.N. McCloskey, 'The Enclosure of Open Fields: Preface to a Study of its Impact on the Efficiency of English Agriculture in the Eighteenth Century,' Journal of Economic <u>History</u>, 32 (1972), 15-35. Though chiefly pertaining to a later period, still relevant to the question of medieval common fields, particularly since McCloskey subsequently became a very major participant in this debate. See below nos.
- 23. Michael Postan, <u>The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in</u> <u>the Middle Ages (1972)</u>, chapter 4: 'Land Use and Technology', pp. 41-72.
 - 24. W.O. Ault, <u>Open-Field Farming in England</u> (London, 1972).

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- A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, eds., <u>Studies of the Field Systems in the British Isles</u> (Cambridge, 1973). Studies by various authors, by regions. See in particular, chapter 14: Baker and Butlin, 'Conclusion: Problems and Perspectives,' pp. 619-56.
- Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Mathematical Model of Enclosure,' in J. and W. Los, eds., <u>Mathematical Models in Economics</u> (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 419-31. Relevant to the subject of common fields and their economic rationale.
- Edmund King, <u>Peterborough Abbey, 1086-1310: A Study in the Land Market</u> (London, 1975). Though not on the origins of the common fields, this study shows how peasant holdings could be re-arranged through purchase, sale, and transfers.
- Robert A. Dodgshon, 'The Land-Holding Foundations of the Open-Field System,' <u>Past and</u> <u>Present</u>, no. 67 (May 1975), 3-29. Reprinted in T. H. Aston, ed., <u>Landlords</u>, <u>Peasants and Politics in Medieval England</u> (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 6-32.
- ** 29. William N. Parker and Eric L. Jones, eds., <u>European Peasants and Their Markets: Essays in</u> <u>Agrarian Economic History</u> (Princeton, 1975). See the following essays:
 - a) Richard C. Hoffmann, 'Medieval Origins of the Common Fields,' pp. 23-71.
 - b) Donald McCloskey, 'The Persistence of English Common Fields,' pp. 93-120.
 - c) D.N. McCloskey, 'The Economics of Enclosure: A Market Analysis,' pp. 123-60.
 - d) Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'Enclosure and Depopulation: a Marxian Analysis,' pp. 161-76. See also the following:
 - Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'A Marxian Model of Enclosures,' <u>Journal of</u> <u>Development Economics</u>, 1 (1975), 287-336. Also relevant to the economics of common fields.
 - Stefano Fenoaltea, 'The Rise and Fall of a Theoretical Model: the Manorial System;' and also, 'Authority, Efficiency, and Agriculture Organization in Medieval England and Beyond,' both in <u>Journal of Economic History</u>, 25 (1975), 386-409, and 693-718,

respectively.

- ** 32. Donald N. McCloskey, 'English Open Fields as Behavior Towards Risk,' <u>Research in</u> Economic History, 1 (1976), 124-71.
 - 33. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'On a Marxian Model of Enclosures,' <u>Journal of Development</u> <u>Economics</u>, 3 (1976), 195-98. An attack on Cohen and Weitzmann, with their reply:

Jon Cohen and Martin Weitzman, 'Reply to Fenoaltea,' pp. 199-200.

- Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Risk, Transactions Costs, and the Organization of Medieval Agriculture,' <u>Explorations in Economic History</u>, 13 (April 1976), 129-51. Challenges McCloskey's thesis in nos. 27 and 30.
- 35. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe,' <u>Past and Present</u>, no. 70 (February 1976), pp. 30-74, reprinted in T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin, eds. <u>The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe</u> (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 10 63. He suggests that Open Field Farming with scattered strips as a mechanism to develop and ensure peasant social cohesion as a bulwark against further manorial (feudal) exploitation of the dependent peasantry.
- * 35. Donald McCLoskey, 'Fenoaltea on Open Fields: A Reply,' <u>Explorations in Economic</u> <u>History</u>, 14 (Oct. 1977), 405-10.
 - 36. J.A. Yelling, <u>Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850</u> (London, 1977). Important survey; but arranged geographically rather than chronologically.
- Michael Mazur, 'The Dispersion of Holdings in the Open Fields: An Interpretation in Terms of Property Rights,' <u>Journal of European Economic History</u>, 6:2 (Fall1977), 461-71. See no. 36 below.
- * 38. Donald McCloskey, 'Scattering in Open Fields: a Comment,' and

Michael Mazur, 'Scattering in Open Fields: A Reply,' both in

Journal of European Economic History, 9 (1980), 209-14, and 215-18, respectively.

- Bruce M. Campbell, 'Population Change and the Genesis of Common Fields on a Norfolk Manor,' <u>Economic History Review</u>, 2nd ser. 33 (1980), 174-92.
- 40. Bruce M. Campbell, 'The Regional Uniqueness of English Field-Systems: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk,' <u>Agricultural History Review</u>, 9 (1980),
- * 41. Carl J. Dahlman, <u>The Open Field System and Beyond: A Property Rights Analysis of an Economic Institution</u> (Cambridge, 1980). See chapter 2, 'Theories of the Open Field System,' pp. 16-64; and chapter 4, 'The Economics of Commons, Open Fields, and Scattered Strips,' pp. 93-145. A very major recent contribution to this

		debate, providing a viable economic alternative to the McCloskey model.
*	42.	Trevor Rowley, ed., <u>The Origins of Open Field Agriculture</u> (Totawa, N.J., 1981). Collected studies. See especially:
		a) David Hall, 'The Origins of Open-field Agriculture: The Archaeological Fieldwork Evidence,' pp. 22-38.
		b) H. S. A. Fox, 'Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System,' pp. 64 - 111.
**		c) Bruce Campbell, 'Commonfield Origins: The Regional Dimension,' pp. 112-29. Very important contribution, linking communal open fields to manorialism.
		d) Robert Dodgshon, 'The Interpretation of Subdivided Fields: A Study in Private or Communal Interests?' pp. 130-44.
		e) Victor Skipp, 'The Evolution of Settlement and Open-field Topography in North Arden down to 1300,' pp. 162-83.
**	43.	J.A. Yelling, 'Rationality in Common Fields,' <u>Economic History Review</u> , 2nd ser. 35 (1982), 409-15. Very important critique of both the McCloskey and Dahlman models.
*	44.	Donald McCloskey, 'Corn at Interest: The Extent and Cost of Grain Storage in Medieval England,' <u>American Economic Review</u> , 74 (1984), 174 - 87.
	45.	Richard M. Smith, 'Families and Their Land in an Area of Partible Inheritance: Redgrave, Suffolk, 1260-1320,' in R. M. Smith, <u>Land, Kinship and Life-cycle</u> (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 135-96.
	46.	Alan Nash, 'The Size of Open Field Strips: A Reinterpretation,' <u>The Agricultural History</u> <u>Review</u> , 33 (1985), 32-40.
	47.	H. S. A. Fox, 'The Alleged Transformation from Two-field to Three-field Systems in Medieval England,' <u>Economic History Review</u> , 2nd ser. 39 (Nov. 1986), 526-48.
	48.	Grenville Astill, 'Fields,' in Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds., <u>The Countryside of</u> <u>Medieval England</u> (Oxford and New York, 1988), pp. 62-85.
*	49.	 Donald McCloskey, 'Open Fields of England: Rent, Risk, and the Rate of Interest, 1300 - 1815,' in David W. Galenson, ed., <u>Markets in History: Economic Studies of the Past</u> (Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 5 - 51. A further refinement of the McCloskey model.
	50.	Mark Bailey, 'Sand into Gold: The Evolution of the Foldcourse System in West Suffolk, 1200 - 1600,' <u>The Agricultural History Review</u> , 38 (1990), 40 - 57.
	51.	John Komlos and Richard Landes, 'Anachronistic Economics: Grain Storage in Medieval

England,' <u>Economic History Review</u>, 2nd ser. 44 (February 1991), 36 - 45. An attack on McCloskey. See the following reply and rejoinder.

- 52. Donald N. McCloskey, 'Conditional Economic History: A Reply to Komlos and Landes;' and John Komlos and Richard Landes, 'Alice to the Red Queen: Imperious Econometrics,' <u>Economic History Review</u>, 2nd ser. 44 (February 1991), 128 - 136.
- 53. Donald N. McCloskey, 'The Prudent Peasant: New Findings on Open Fields,' Journal of Economic History, 51 (June 1991), 343-55. McCloskey again!

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- 54. M. M. Cosgel, 'Risk Sharing in Medieval Agriculture,' <u>Journal of European Economic</u> <u>History</u>, 21: (Spring 1992), 99 - 110.
- 55. Eric Kerridge, <u>The Common Fields of England</u> (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
- 56. Michael Turner, 'Common Property and Property in Common,' <u>Agricultural History</u> <u>Review</u>, 42:ii (1994), 158-62.
- 57. Rosemary L. Hopcroft, 'The Origins of Regular Open-Field Systems in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Journal of European Economic History, 23:3 (Winter 1994), 563-80.
 - Barry Harrison, 'Field Systems and Demesne Farming on the Wiltshire Estates of Saint Swithun's Priory, Winchester, 1248 - 1340,' <u>Agricultural History Review</u>, 43:i (1995), 1-18.
 - 59. Gregory Clark, 'Commons Sense: Common Property Rights, Efficiency, and Institutional Change,' Journal of Economic History, 58:1 (March 1998), 73-102.
 - Jane Whittle, 'Individualism and the Family-Land Bond: A Reassessment of Land Transfer Patterns Among the English Peasantry,' <u>Past & Present</u>, no. 160 (August 1998), 25-63.
 - 61. Randall Nielsen, 'Storage and English Government Intervention in Early Modern Grain Markets', Journal of Economic History, 57:1 (March 1997), 1-33.
 - 62. Mett Erjnæs and Karl Gunnar Persson, 'Grain Storage in Early Modern Europe', <u>Journal of</u> <u>Economic History</u>, 59:3 (Sept. 1999), 762-72. See McCloskey no. 44 above.
 - 63. Mark Bailey, <u>The English Manor, c. 1200 c. 1500</u> (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- * 64. Gary Richardson, 'What Protected Peasants Best? Markets, Risk, Efficiency, and Medieval English Agriculture', <u>Research in Economic History</u>, 21 (2003), 299 356.
- * 65. Cliff T. Bekar and Clyde G. Reed, 'Open Fields, Risk, and Land Divisibility', <u>Explorations</u> in Economic History, 40:3 (July 2003), 308-25.

C. Agrarian Changes in Continental Europe. ca. 1280 - ca. 1500

- ** 1. Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française, 2 vols. (Oslo, 1931; reissued Paris, 1952 and 1964); reissued in English translation as French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, Calif. 1966), chapters 3-4, especially pp. 77-125. 2. Carlo Cipolla, 'Trends in Italian Economic History in the Later Middle Ages,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1950). 3. A.R. Lewis, 'The Closing of the Medieval Frontier, 1250-1350,' Speculum, 33 (1958), 457-83. 4. Karl Helleiner, 'Population Movement and Agrarian Depression in the Later Middle Ages,' Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 15 (1959). 5. D. F. Dowd, 'The Economic Expansion of Lombardy, 1300 - 1500,' Journal of Economic History, 21 (1961). * 6. Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West (trans. Cynthia Postan, 1962), Book IV: 'Change and Upheaval in the XIVth Century,' pp. 289-360, especially chapter 2, pp. 312-32. 7. B.H. Slicher-van Bath, Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850 (1963), pp. 77-131, 137-43, 160-94. 8. Adriaan Verhulst, 'L'économie rurale de la Flandre et la dépression économique du bas moyen âge,' Etudes rurales, 10 (1963), 68-80. ** 9. Michael Postan, ed., Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1966):
 - a) F.L. Ganshof and Adriaan Verhulst, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: France, the Low Countries, and Western Germany,' pp. 290-339.
 - b) Philip Jones, 'Medieval Agrarian Society: Italy,' pp. 395-431.
 - c) M.M. Postan, 'Medieval Agrarian Society: England,' pp. 577-632.
 - d) Léopold Genicot, 'Crisis: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times,' pp. 700-42.
 - 10. Wilhelm Abel, <u>Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur</u> (Berlin, 1966; 3rd edn, 1978): translated by Olive Ordish as <u>Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the</u> <u>Twentieth Century</u> (London, 1980): especially chapter 2, 'The Fourteenth-Century

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Recession,' pp. 35-48; and chapter 3, 'The Late-Medieval Agrarian Depression,' pp. 49-95.

- ** 11. David Herlihy, <u>Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town</u>, <u>1200-1430</u>(New Haven, 1967), chapter 6, 'The Agricultural Economy,' pp. 121-47.
- Harry Miskimin, <u>The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460</u> (1969; reissued Cambridge, 1975), chapter 2, 'The Agrarian Economy,' pp. 14-72.
 - Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide, <u>La formation des prix céréaliers en Brabant et en Flandre au</u> <u>XVe siècle</u> (Brussels, 1975).
 - Guy Bois, <u>La crise du féodalisme</u> (Paris, 1976). Translated into English as: <u>The Crisis of Feudalism: Economy and Society in Eastern Normandy, c. 1300 1550</u> (Cambridge University Press, 1984). See especially Part II, 'The Economic Subjects: Peasants and Lords,' chapters 6 9, pp. 135 260; and Part III: 'The Stages of the Crisis,' pp. 261-368.
 - Herman Van der Wee and Eddy Van Cauwenberghe, eds., <u>Productivity of Land and Agricultural Innovation in the Low Countries</u>, <u>1250-1800</u> (Leuven, 1978). Especially the introduction by Herman Van der Wee.
 - 16. Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide, 'L'evolution des techniques agricoles en Flandre et en Brabant du XIVe au XVIe siècle,' <u>Annales: E.S.C.</u>, 36 (mai-juin 1981), 362 81.
 - Marie-Jeanne Tits-Dieuaide, 'Les campagnes flamandes du XIIIe au XVIIIe siècle: ou les succès d'une agriculture traditionelle,' <u>Annales: E.S.C.</u>, 39 (mai-juin 1984), 590 610.
 - Michael Toch, 'Lords and Peasants: A Reappraisal of Medieval Economic Relationships,' <u>Journal of European Economic History</u>, 15 (Spring 1986), 163-82. Principally on Germany.
 - Alain Derville, 'Le grenier des Pays-Bas médiévaux,' <u>Revue du Nord</u>, 69:273 (avril-juin 1987), 267-80.
 - 20. Richard C. Hoffmann, <u>Land</u>, <u>Liberties</u>, and <u>Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside</u>: <u>Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wroclaw</u> (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1989).
 - 21. Adrian Verhulst, <u>Précis d'histoire rurale de la Belgique</u> (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1990.)
 - Erik Thoen, 'Technique agricole, cultures nouvelles, et économie rurale en Flandre au bas moyen âge,' <u>Flaran</u>, 12 (Paris, 1990): <u>Plantes et cultures nouvelles en Europe</u> <u>occidental, au moyen âge et à l'époque moderne</u>, pp. 51-67.
 - 23. Michael L. Boyd, 'The Evolution of Agrarian Institutions: The Case of Medieval and

Ottoman Serbia,' Explorations in Economic History, 28 (January 1991), 36 - 53.

- ** 24. Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., <u>Land, Labour and Livestock: Historical</u> <u>Studies in European Agricultural Productivity</u> (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991).
 - a) Mark Overton and Bruce Campbell, 'Productivity Change in European Agricultural Development,' pp. 1 50.
 - b) K. Gunnar Persson, 'Labour Productivity in Medieval Agriculture: Tuscany and the Low Countries',' pp. 124 43.
 - 25. Karl Gunnar Persson, 'Was There a Productivity Gap between Fourteenth-Century Italy and England?' <u>Economic History Review</u>, 2nd ser., 46:1 (February 1993), 105-114.
 - 26. Stephen Epstein, 'Town and Country: Economy and Institutions in Late-Medieval Italy,' <u>Economic History Review</u>, 2nd ser., 46:3 (August 1993), 453-77.
 - Michael Toch, 'Hauling Away in Late Medieval Bavaria: The Economics of Inland Transport in an Agrarian Market,' <u>Agricultural History Review</u>, 41:2 (1993), 111 -23.
 - William H. TeBrake, <u>A Plague of Insurrection: Popular Politics and Peasant Revolt in</u> <u>Flanders, 1323 - 1328</u> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
 - 29. Herman Van der Wee, <u>The Low Countries in the Early Modern World</u>, translated by Lisabeth Fackelman (London, Variorum, 1993). Collected essays.
 - (a) 'Agricultural Development of the Low Countries as Revealed by Tithe and Rent Statistics, 1250 1800,' pp. 47-68. [From Herman Van der Wee and Eddy Van Cauwenberghe, eds., <u>Productivity of Land and Agricultural Innovation in the Low Countries, 1250 1800</u> (Leuven, 1978), pp. 1-23.]
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- 125. Phillipp R. Schofield, 'Dearth, Debt and the Local Land Market in a Late Thirteenth-Century Village Community,' <u>Agricultural History Review</u>, 45:1 (1997), 1-17.
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- 128. James Masschaele, Peasants, Merchants, and Markets: Inland Trade in Medieval England,

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- 132. Gregory Clark and Ysbrand Van der Werf, 'Work in Progress? The Industrious Revolution,' <u>Journal of Economic History</u>, 58:3 (September 1998), 830-43. An important article that compares labour productivity rates, chiefly in agriculture, from the 13th to 18th centuries.
- Phillip R. Schofield, 'Peasants and the Manor Court: Gossip and Litigation in a Suffolk Village at the Close of the Thirteenth Century,' <u>Past & Present</u>, no. 159 (May 1998), 3-42.
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- ** 136. Bruce M.S. Campbell, <u>English Seigniorial Agriculture</u>, <u>1250 1450</u>, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography no. 31 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
 - Mark Bailey, <u>The English Manor, c. 1200 c. 1500</u> (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- **Note:** The question of Serfdom, in western and eastern Europe, is a separate topic, the next one, with an equally extensive bibliography and list of questions.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What constituted *manorialism* in later medieval Europe? How were manorial institutions related to feudalism and serfdom? What differences are to be found among manorial institutions in Italy,

France, the Low Countries, and England in the later Middle Ages?

- 2. To what extent did manorial institutions act as barriers to agrarian change and to economic development in later medieval and early modern Europe? Under what specific conditions might you expect to find rising agricultural productivity within a manorial village?
- 3. What is meant by 'common' and 'open' field farming in northern Europe? What are the costs and what are the benefits of common or open field farming? What changes did such systems undergo from the 13th to 16th centuries; and why did such systems last so long (indeed to the 20th century in some parts of Europe)?
- 4. Explain why the open or common field system was found chiefly in: (a) northern Europe -- north of the Loire and Danube Rivers; (b) chiefly in strongly feudalized manorial regions; (c) regions of high population densities; (d) agricultural regions that practised a mixed farming that combined arable (heavily grain-oriented and livestock husbandry ('sheep and corn')? Why were the English Midlands, with parts of East Anglia, the chief zone for open-field farming. To what extent does the physical, economic, social, cultural, and 'political-institutional' geography of this region fit the components listed in no. 2 above.
- 5. What were the methods of arable and pastoral farming in northern Europe during the later Middle Ages? What crops were grown in southern and northern Europe; and under what conditions? What was the function of the 'fallow'? Explain the two- and three- field systems of crop rotations, and their variants. Explain the role of livestock and pastoral farming in northern European agriculture.
- 6. Did Europe undergo an 'agrarian depression' in the 14th and 15th centuries? What regional differences can be detected in analysing the fortunes of late medieval European agriculture? Were all sectors of agriculture affected or afflicted alike--or did grain and livestock farming experience different fortunes, in terms of prices and costs? Discuss also the changing fortunes of agriculture in specialized crops and viniculture.
- 7. What changes did manorial structures and institutions undergo in this period of population decline and 'agrarian depression'? Discuss in terms of demesne (domain) and peasant tenancy farming. What new types of peasant tenancies developed in this era?
- 8. What changes did agricultural techniques undergo in this late-medieval period? Before and after the Black Death? What was the relationship, if any, between demographic change and technical change in medieval European agriculture? For some general methodological considerations on this particular issue, though not related to specifically to medieval Europe, see:

Esther Boserup, <u>Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-Term Trends</u> (Chicago, 1981), chapters 1 and 2.

MODEL OF THREE-FIELD CROP ROTATION SYSTEM

Year	FIELDS: A	FIELDS: B	FIELDS: C
Ι	FALL (Winter) Wheat or Rye	SPRING (Summer) Oats, Barley Legumes (Peas and Beans)	FALLOW Resting Uncultivated (Double Ploughed)
П	SPRING	FALLOW	FALL
III	FALLOW	FALL	SPRING

(A) **Fall or Winter Fields:** consisted of crops that were planted in the Fall and harvested in the late Spring or early Summer: grains such as winter wheat and rye (rye being a northern crop in origin). Winter wheat was the only form of Roman-Mediterranean farming.

(B) **Spring or Summer Fields:** fields that were planted with both grain and vegetable crops in the Spring and harvested in the Fall (Autumn): new crop rotations added in early-medieval northern Europe and merged with the Roman system to become a so-called Three Field system.

(C) **The Fallow Fields:** one third of the arable lands, lying at rest, uncultivated (each field every third year). Communal grazing of livestock on natural grasses growing on the fallow (after double-ploughing).

THE EFFECTS OF CHANGING RELATIVE AREAS OF GRASS (LIVESTOCK-PASTURE) AND ARABLE (GRAIN CROPS) ON THE OUTPUT OF A 100-ACRE FARM: IN BUSHELS PER ACRE (WITH LIVESTOCK OUTPUT EQUIVALENTS)

Grass Area in Acres	Grain Area in Acres	Fallow Area (at Rest): Acres	Manure Tons per Acre Arable	Grain Yield: Bu. per Acre	Total Grain Output Bu.	Stock Output in Equiv Bu.*	TOTAL OUT- PUT IN BU.
100	0.0	0.0				1,000	1,000
80	13.3	6.7	>10.0	27.5	366	800	1,166
77	15.3	7.7	10.0	27.5	421	770	1,191
60	26.7	13.3	4.5	16.5	441	600	1,041
40	40.0	20.0	2.0	11.5	460	400	860
20	53.3	26.7	0.7	8.9	474	200	674
0	66.7	33.3	0.0	7.5	500	0	500

<u>Assumption:</u> Farm Operating on a Three-Field System with 2/3 in Crops and 1/3 Fallow (Uncultivated, Land at Rest) each Year

* Assumption: That the output of livestock products is equivalent to 10 bushels of grain per acre.

Source: Robert Shiel, 'Improving Soil Fertility in the Pre-Fertiliser Era,' in Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., *Land, Labour, and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity* (Manchester and New York, 1991), p. 71.

Area	1000 A.D.	1320 A.D.	1450 A.D.
Mediterranean: Greece, Balkans, Italy,	17.0	25.0	19.0
Iberia (Spain and Portugal)	(44%)	(34%)	(38%)
West-Central: Low Countries, France,	12	35.5	22.5
Germany, Scandinavia, British Isles	(31%)	(48%)	(45%)
Eastern Europe: Russia, Poland-	9.5	13.0	9.5
Lithuania, Hungary, Bohemia	(25%)	(18%)	(19%)
TOTALS:	38.5	73.5	51

EUROPEAN POPULATION DISTRIBUTIONS, 1000 - 1450 A.D.

Source: J.C. Russell, 'Population in Europe, 500 - 1500,' in Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe*, Vol. I: *The Middle Ages, 900-1500* (London, 1972), pp. 25-70: Table 1, p. 19.