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Topic No. 2 [3] Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1260 - 1600

[Topics Nos. 2 and 3]:

**The Problem of Serfdom in European Economic Development,
14th to 17th Centuries: West and East**

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

A. Serfdom West and East and the Nature of Medieval European Agriculture:

Historical Background, General Studies, and Theoretical Models of Agrarian Change

- * 1. Marc Bloch, La société féodale, 2 vols. (Paris, 1940; republished Paris, 1968). Published in English translation as: Feudal Society, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1961), chapters 18-21, 24.
- ** 2. Marc Bloch, 'The Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seignorial Institutions', in J.H. Clapham and Eileen Power, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 1st edn. (Cambridge University Press, 1941), pp. 224-77. See no. 5, below.
3. Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West (trans. C.M. Postan, London, 1962), pp. 197 - 360.
4. B.H. Slicher-Van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850 (trans. Olive Ordish, London, 1963), pp. 29-53, 137-50, 160-94.
- ** 5. Michael M. Postan, ed., Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 2nd rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1966):
 - ** (a) Marc Bloch, 'The Rise of Dependent Cultivation and Seignorial Institutions', pp. 235-89 (esp. 283-9).
 - (b) François Ganshof and Adriaan Verhulst, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: France, the Low Countries, Western Germany', pp. 305-39.
 - * (c) Leopold Genicot, 'Crisis: From the Middle Ages to Modern Times', pp. 660-742, especially pp. 725-38.
- * 6. Evsey D. Domar, 'The Causes of Slavery or Serfdom: A Hypothesis', Journal of Economic History, 30:1 (Mar. 1970), 18-32.
7. Douglass C. North and R.P. Thomas, 'An Economic Theory of the Growth of the Western World', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 23 (Apr. 1970), 1-18.
- * 8. Douglass C. North and Robert P. Thomas, 'The Rise and Fall of the Manorial System: A Theoretical Model', Journal of Economic History, 31 (Dec. 1971), 777-803.

9. J.C. Russell, 'Population in Europe, 500-1500', in C.M. Cipolla, ed. Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. I: The Middle Ages (London, 1972), pp. 25-70;
10. D.C. North and R.P. Thomas, The Rise of the Western World (Cambridge, 1973), especially chapters 3 (pp. 19-24), 7 (pp. 71-90), and 8 (pp. 91-101).
11. Roger Mols, 'Population in Europe, 1500-1700', in Carlo Cipolla, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe, Vol. II: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1974), pp. 15-82.
- * 12. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'The Rise and Fall of a Theoretical Model: the Manorial System', Journal of Economic History, 25 (June 1975), 386-409. An attack on the North-Thomas model.
13. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Authority, Efficiency, and Agricultural Organization in Medieval England and Beyond: A Hypothesis', Journal of Economic History, 25 (Dec. 1975), 693-718. Continuing from his previous article, attacking the North-Thomas model.
- * 14. Marc Bloch, Slavery and Serfdom in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers, trans. William R. Beer (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).
 - a) 'How and Why Ancient Slavery Came to an End', pp. 1-32.
 - b) 'Personal Liberty and Servitude in the Middle Ages, Particularly in France: Contribution to a Class Study', pp. 33-92.
 - c) 'The "Collberti:" A Study on the Formation of the Servile Class', pp. 93- 150.
 - d) 'The Transformation of Serfdom: Concerning Two Thirteenth-Century Documents Regarding the Parisian Region', pp. 151-62.
 - e) 'Blanche de Castile and the Serfs of the Chapter of Paris', pp. 163-78.
 - f) 'Serf de la Glèbe', pp. 179-202.
- * 15. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200 - 1800, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
 - a) Cicely Howell, 'Peasant Inheritance Customs in the Midlands, 1280 - 1700', pp. 112-55.
 - b) Margaret Spufford, 'Peasant Inheritance Customs and Land Distribution in Cambridgeshire from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries', pp. 156 - 76.
 - c) Joan Thirsk, 'The European Debate on Customs of Inheritance, 1500 - 1700', pp. 177-91.
- ** 16. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past and Present, no. 70 (February 1976), pp. 30-74, reprinted in T. H. Aston and C. H. E. Philpin, eds., The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 10 - 63. See section B, below.

This seminal article by the then young American Marxist historian attacked the use of

traditional demographic and market (commercial) models to explain the rise and decline of serfdom in various parts of Europe. Brenner's provocative, wide-ranging, sometimes complex and certainly imperfect (and very long) article sparked a fierce controversy, still raging, chiefly in the form of vigorous attacks by other Marxists and non-Marxists alike, as detailed in section B: 'The Brenner Debate'.

- * 17. Jerome Blum, The End of the Old Order in Rural Europe (Princeton, 1978).
- 18. Georges Duby, Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1978), republished in English trans. as The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, with a forward by Thomas Bisson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
- 19. Wilhelm Abel, Agricultural Fluctuations in Europe from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries, trans. Olive Ordish (London, 1980), pp. 35-98.
- 20. Peter Gust and Tamas Hoffmann, eds., Large Estates and Small Holdings in the Middle Ages and Modern Times: National Reports (8th International Economic History Congress 1982, Budapest: Adademiai Kiado, 1982). Not readily available.
- * 21. Stefano Fenoaltea, 'Slavery and Supervision in Comparative Perspective: A Model', Journal of Economic History, 44 (September 1984), 635 - 68.
- * 22. Robert Millward, 'The Early Stages of European Industrialization: Economic Organization Under Serfdom', Explorations in Economic History, 21 (1984), 406 - 28.
- 23. K. G. Person, Pre-Industrial Economic Growth: Social Organization and Technological Progress in Europe (Oxford, 1988).
- 24. Evsey D. Domar, Capitalism, Socialism, and Serfdom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Collected essays.
- 25. Léopold Genicot, Rural Communities in the Medieval West (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990).
- 26. Adriaan Verhulst, 'The Decline of Slavery and the Economic Expansion of the Early Middle Ages', Past & Present, no. 133 (November 1991), 195-203.
- 27. Pierre Bonnassie, From Slavery to Feudalism, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 28. Stanley Engerman, 'Coerced and Free Labor: Property Rights and the Development of the Labor Force', Explorations in Economic History, 29 (January 1992), 1-29.
- 29. Werner Rösener, Peasants in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1992).
- 30. Robert M. Townsend, The Medieval Village Economy: A Study of the Pareto Mappings in General Equilibrium Models (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- 31. Thomas W. Robisheaux, 'The World of the Village', 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. 79-112.
- 32. Werner Rösener, The Peasantry of Europe, trans by Thomas M. Barker (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994).

33. Thomas N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship', Speculum, 70:4 (October 1995), 743-59.
34. Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery', Past & Present, no. 149 (November 1995), 3-28. A related topic, on the earlier Middle Ages, that may provide some additional perspectives on the decline of serfdom.
35. J.-M. Duvosquel and Eric Thoen, eds., Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honorem Adriaan Verhulst (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducajn & Zoon, 1995).
36. Gerhard Jaritz, 'The Material Culture of the Peasantry in the Late Middle Ages: 'Image' and 'Reality'', in Del Sweeney, Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 163-88.
- * 37. Michael L. Bush, ed., Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1996): see the following studies:
- a) Michael L. Bush, 'Introduction', pp. 1-17.
 - b) Stanley L. Engerman, 'Slavery, Serfdom, and Other Forms of Co-erced Labour: Similarities and Differences', pp. 18-41.
 - c) Peter Kolchin, 'Some Controversial Questions Concerning Nineteenth-Century Emancipation from Slavery and Serfdom', pp. 42-67.
 - d) Michael Bush, 'Serfdom in Medieval and Modern Europe: A Comparison', pp. 199-224.
 - e) Wendy Davis, 'On Servile Status in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 225-46.
 - f) Robert Brenner, 'The Rises and Declines of Serfdom in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', pp. 247-76.
 - g) Christopher Dyer, 'Memories of Freedom: Attitudes Towards Serfdom in England, 1200 - 1350', pp. 277-95.
38. Bas J. P. Van Bavel and Erik Thoen, eds., Land Productivity and Agro-Systems in the North Sea Area: Middle Ages - 20th Century: Elements for Comparison, CORN Publication Series 2: Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).
- a) Guy DeJongh and Erik Thoen, 'Arable Productivity in Flanders and the Former Territory of Belgium in a Long-Term Perspective (from the Middle Ages to the End of the Ancien Régime)', pp. 30-64.
 - b) Guy DeJongh and Eric Vanhaute, 'Arable Productivity in Belgian Agriculture, c. 1800 - c. 1950', pp. 65-84.
 - c) Bas J.P. van Bavel, 'Arable Yields and Total Arable Output in the Netherlands from the Late Middle Ages to the Mid-19th Century', pp. 85-112.
 - d) Peter C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Crop Yields in Dutch Agriculture, 1850 - 1990', pp. 113-35.
 - e) Gérard Béaur, 'From the North Sea to Berry and Lorraine: Land Productivity in Northern France, 13th - 19th Centuries', pp. 136-67.

- f) Dan C. Christensen, 'Estimating Arable Production and Productivity in Danish Agriculture during the Age of Reform, 1750 - 1850', pp. 168-188.
 - g) Mark Overton and Bruce M.A. Campbell, 'Statistics of Production and Productivity in English Agriculture, 1086 - 1871', pp. 189-208.
 - h) Edward J.T. Collins, 'Power Availability and Agricultural Productivity in England and Wales, 1840 - 1939', pp. 209-225.
 - i) Jan Bieleman, 'Farming System Research as a Guideline in Agricultural History', pp. 235-50.
 - j) Jean-Pierre Jessenne, 'Agrosystems and Rural Change in Northern France, c.1750 - c.1850', pp. 251-70.
 - k) Erik Thoen and Eric Vanhaute, 'The "Flemish Husbandry" at the Edge: the Farming System on Small Holdings in the Middle of the 19th Century', pp. 271-96.
 - l) Bas J.P. van Bavel, 'A Valuation of Arable Productivity in the Central Part of the Dutch River Area, c. 1360 - c.1570', pp. 297-310.
 - m) Peter Priester, 'Wheat Yields in Zeeland from c. 1585-1995', pp. 311-24.
 - n) Bethanie Afton, 'Land Productivity in a Lightland Agricultural System: the Hampshire Downs, 1835 - 1914', pp. 325-3 6.
 - o) Jean-Michel Chevet, 'A New Method of Estimating Land Productivity', pp. 339-56.
 - p) Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'The Development of Agricultural Productivity in Europe, 1500 - 1800', pp. 357-76.
 - q) Paul Brassley, 'Land Productivity and Agricultural Systems: Some Conclusions', pp. 377-82.
- * 39. Stephan R. Epstein, ed., Town and Country in Europe, 1300 - 1800 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
40. Bruno Blondé, Eric Vanhaute, and Michèle Galand, eds., Labour and Labour Markets between Town and Countryside (Middle Ages - 19th Century), CORN Publication Series 6: Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).
- a) Eric Vanhaute, and Michèle Galand, 'General Introduction', pp. 13-16.
 - b) Jean-Pierre Sosson, 'Some Thoughts on Mediaeval Towns and the Division of Labour during the so-called Pre-Corporative Period', pp. 19-32.
 - c) Adriaan Verhulst, 'On the Preconditions for the Transition from Rural to Urban Industrial Activities (9th-11th Centuries)', pp. 33-41.
 - d) Franz Irsigler, 'From Captive Manorial Trade to Free Urban Trade: ON the Development of the Division of Labour in the Rhine-Westphalia Region (9th - 15th Centuries)', pp. 42-52.
 - e) Derek Keene, 'Industrial Organisation in English Towns, 650 - 1150', pp. 53-74.

- f) Stephan Epstein, 'Introduction to Part II', pp. 76-81.
 - g) William R. Day, Jr., 'Population Growth and Productivity: Rural-Urban Migration and the Expansion of the Manufacturing Sector in Thirteenth-Century Florence', pp. 82-110.
 - h) Eric Mielants, 'The Role of Medieval Cities and the Origins of Merchant Capitalism', pp. 111-39.
 - i) Peter Stabel, 'Urban Markets, Rural Industries and the Organisation of Labour in Late-Medieval Flanders: the Constraints of Guild Regulations and the Requirements of Export-Oriented Production', pp. 140-57.
 - j) Michael Limberger, 'Early Forms of Proto-Industries in the Backyard of Antwerp? The Rupel Area in the 15th and 16th Centuries', pp. 158-73.
 - k) Bruno Blondé, 'Introduction to Part III', pp. 175-77.
 - l) Mateos Royo, 'Municipal Politics and Corporate Protectionism: Town Councils and Guilds in the Kingdom of Aragon in the 16th and 17th Centuries', pp. 178-97.
 - m) Carl A. Hoffmann, 'Labour Markets between the Distribution of Trades in the Countryside and the Loss of Economic Centrality in Towns in the Holy Roman Empire: Examples of Proto-Industrial Areas in Early-Modern South Germany (Baden, Bavaria, Swabia, Württemberg)', pp. 198-217.
 - n) Harald Deceulaer, 'Urban Artisans and their Countryside Customers: Different Interactions between Town and Hinterland in Antwerp, Brussels and Ghent (18th Century)', pp. 218-35.
 - o) Sylvie Lefèbvre, 'The City and the Forest: a Privileged Relationship? Some Remarks on the Cse of the Soignes Forest, 16th - 18th Centuries', pp. 236-49.
 - p) Eric Vanhaute, 'Introduction to Part IV', pp. 251-53.
 - q) José A. Nieto Sánchez and Victoria López Barahona, 'Women's Work and Proto-Industrialisation: Madrid and New Castile (1750-1850)', pp. 254-65.
 - r) Marc Libert, 'The Butcher's Trade in Brussels during the French Period (1797-1812): Between Corporatist Traditions and Deregulation', pp. 266-77.
 - s) Valérie Piette, 'Women Going to the Cities: Migration and Stereotypes: the Example of Servants in Brussels in the 19th Century', pp. 278-91.
 - t) Martina De Moor, 'The Occupational and Geographical Mobility of Farm Labourers in Flanders from the End of the 19th Century to the Middle of the 20th Century', pp. 292-304.
41. Michael McCormick, 'New Light on the "Dark Ages": How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy', Past & Present, no. 177 (November 2002), 17-54. Again, the importance of slavery in relation to the origins of serfdom.
42. Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., Il mercato della terra, secoli XIII - XVIII, Istituto internazionale di storia economica "F. Datini" Prato, Serie II: Atti delle 'Settimane di Studi' et altri convegno no. 35 (Florence: Le Monnier, 2004). [Not readily available, unfortunately]

- a) Laurent Feller, 'Quelques problèmes liés à l'étude du marché de la terre durant le Moyen Age', pp. 21 - 45.
- b) Aurelio Cernigliaro, 'Caratteristiche giuriche della proprietà terriera feudale', pp. 49-56.
- c) Alfio Cortonesi, 'Espansione dei coltivi e proprietà fondiaria nel tardo medioevo, L'Italia del Centro-Nord', pp. 57-96.
- d) Jean-Pierre Amalric, 'La propriété de la terre dans l'Europe du sud (Italie, Midi de la France, Espagne): typologie, utilisation, marché', pp. 97-118.
- e) Bas van Bavel, 'The Land Market in the North Sea Area in a Comparative Perspective, 13th -18th Centuries', pp. 119-46.
- f) Adam Manikowski, 'Il mercato fondiario nel moderno stato polacco-lituano: problemi e stato della ricerca', pp. 147-58.
- g) Sandro Carocci, 'Poteri signorili e mercato della terra (Italia ed Europa Occidentale, secc. XI-XIV)', pp. 193-222.
- h) Werner Rösener, 'Die Auflösung des Villikationssystems und der Grundstücksmarkt im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland', pp. 223-42.
- i) Michael North, 'From Land Mobility to Immobility: The Emergence of the Early Modern Manorial Economy', pp. 261-70.
- j) Bernard Bodinier, 'Vente de biens nationaux et marché de la terre: essai de comparaison européenne', pp. 271-314.
- k) Zvi Razi, 'The Peasant Land Market and Family in England, c. 1250 - c. 1450', pp. 563-68.
- l) Bjørn Poulsen, 'Land Mobility in Late Medieval Denmark', pp. 623-36.
- m) John Drendl, 'Commodities, Credit and Land on the Local Market and on the Urban Market: the Role of Secondary Agglomeration in the Economy: Comparison of Anglo-Saxon and French Historiography', pp. 685-702.
- n) Tim Soens and Erik Thoen, 'Credit and the Land Market in Late Medieval and Early Modern Flanders', pp. 703-20.
- o) Philipp Schofield, 'Credit and the Peasant Land Market in the Medieval English Countryside', pp. 785-96.
- p) Anton Furió, 'El mercado de la tierra en la Valencia de los siglos XIII al XV: crédito, endeudamiento y compraventa de parcelas', pp. 797-812.
- q) Luca Clerici, 'Formazioni, circolazione et dissoluzione dei diritti sulla terra in una società di Antico Regime: Vicenza, 1467-1500', pp. 831-46.
- r) Mercedes Borrero Fernández, 'El papel de la tierra en el mercado del crédito rural: Andalucía siglos XV y XVI', pp. 915-32.
- s) Peter Hoppenbrouwers, 'Family Affairs: Passing Property under an

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t) Joseph Goy, 'Rapporto tra mercato della terra e trasmissione per via ereditaria e dotale', pp. 979-84.

* 43. Paul Freedman and Monique Bourin, Forms of Servitude in Northern and Central Europe: Decline, Resistance, and Expansion, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

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b) Michel Parisse, 'Histoire sémantique: de *servus* à *homo*', pp. 19 - 56.

c) Vincent Corriol, 'Nommer les serfs dans la terre de Saint-Claude (Jura: début XIIIe - début XVIe siècle)', pp. 57-74.

d) Julien Demade and Joseph Morsel, 'Les *Eigenleute* de Franconie auz XIIIe - XVe siècles: essai d'appréhension spatiale et sémantique d'une catégories malmenée', pp. 75-113.

e) Tom Scott, 'South-West German Serfdom Reconsidered', pp. 115-28.

f) Ghislain Brunel, 'Les hommes de corps du chapitre cathédrale de Laon (1200-1460): continuité et crises de la servitude dans une seigneurie ecclésiastique', pp. 131-77.

g) Denise Angers, 'La Normandie à la fin du Moyen Âge: des servitudes sans servage', pp. 179-94.

h) Kurt Andermann, 'Leibeigenschaft in der Markgrafschat Baden an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit', pp. 197-211.

i) Sigrid Schmitt, 'Wildfänge, Ausleute und "recht Untertanen." Die Herausbildung der Territorialeibherrschaft im Mittlerheingebiet (15. - 16. Jahrhundert', pp. 213-27.

j) Roger Sablonier, 'Leibherrschaft unter "freien Schweizern:" Eigenleute des Klosters Einsiedeln in Eidgenössischen Territorialen', pp. 229-55.

k) Heide Wunder, 'Abhängigkeit ohne Leibeigenschaft: Das hessische Adelsdorf Schwebda im 18. Jahrhundert', pp. 257-86.

l) Werner Rösener, 'Die Leibeigenschaft also Problem in den Bauernaufständen des Spätmittelalters im südwestdeutschen Raum', pp. 289-312.

m) Heinz Dopsch, 'Neue Leibeigenschaft oder alte Höeigkeit? Zu desn Beschwereden und Forderungen aufständischen Bauern im Ostaplenraum an der Wedne zur Neuzeit', pp. 313-40.

n) Michael H. Gelting, 'Legal Reform and the Development of Peasant Dependence in Thirteenth-Century Denmark', pp. 343-67.

o) Jeppe Büchert Netterstrøm, 'Feud, Protection, and Serfdom in Late

Medieval and Early Modern Denmark (c. 1400 - 1600)', pp. 369-84.

- p) Janos M. Bak, 'Servitude in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (A Sketchy Outline)', pp. 387-400.
- q) Marian Dygo, 'Zur Genese der sog: "zweiten Leibeigenschaft" in Polen', pp. 401-18.
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- a) Harry Kitsikopolous, 'Introduction'
- b) Harry Kitsikopolous, 'England'
- c) George Grantham, 'France'
- d) Paolo Malanima, 'Italy'
- e) Kostis Smyrlis, 'Byzantium'
- f) Ana Rodriguez, 'Spain'
- g) Janken Myrdal, 'Scandinavia'
- h) Grzegorz Mysliwski, 'Central Europe'
- i) Janet Martin, 'Russia'
- j) Harry Kitsikopoulos, 'Epilogue'
49. Richard Goddard, 'Small Borough and the Manorial Economy: Enterprise Zones or Urban Failures', Past & Present, no. 210 (February 2011), pp. 3-31.
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B. Medieval Manorialism: Landlords, Peasants, and Open or Common Fields: the debate about communal farming and its relationship to serfdom

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2. Frederic Seebohm, The English Village Community Examined in its Relations to the Manorial and Tribal Systems and to the Common or Open Field System of Husbandry, 4th edn. (London, 1905).

3. H. L. Gray, English Field Systems (Cambridge, Mass. 1915).
4. E.C.K. Gonner, Common Land and Inclosure (1921; reissued with an introduction by E.L. Jones, London, 1968).
- * 5. Paul Vinogradoff, Villainage in England (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.
- ** 6. Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française, 2 vols. (Oslo, 1931; reissued Paris, 1952 and 1964); in English translation as French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (Berkeley, Calif. 1966), chapter 2, pp. 35-64.
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- * 9. C. S. and C. S. Orwin, The Open Fields, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1954). A classic study: see especially chapters 3, 5, and 11.
- * 10. Joan Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures (Historical Assoc. pamphlet No. G. 41, London, 1958; reissued 1967).
- * 11. M.A. Havinden, 'Agricultural Progress in Open-Field Oxfordshire', Agricultural History Review, 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., Essays in Agricultural History, Vol. I (1968), pp. 147-60; and E.L. Jones, ed., Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815 (1967), pp. 66-79.
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- * 14. Joan Thirsk, 'The Common Fields', Past and Present, No. 29 (1964), 3-25. Challenged by Titow (1965).
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16. Jan Z. Titow, 'Medieval England and the Open-Field System', Past and Present, No. 32 (1965), 86-101.
17. Joan Thirsk, 'The Origin of the Common Fields', Past and Present, No. 33 (1966), 142-47: a reply to Titow (1965).

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 - * 43. Carl H. Dahlman, The Open Field System and Beyond: A Property Rights Analysis of an Economic Institution (Cambridge, 1980).
 - * 44. Christopher Dyer, Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680 - 1540, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
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 - (d) Robert Dodgshon, 'The Interpretation of Subdivided Fields: A Study in Private or Communal Interests?' pp. 130-44.
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 - 55. 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', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 44 (February 1991), 128 - 136.
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 74. Richard Britnell, 'Fields, Farms and Sun-Division in a Moorland Region, 1100 - 1400', Agricultural History Review, 52:i (2004), 30-37.
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 - 84. John Langdon and James Masschaele, 'Commercial Activity and Population Growth in Medieval England', Past & Present, no. 190 (February 2006), pp. 35-81
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 - 90. P. L. Larson, Conflict and Compromise in the Late Medieval Countryside: Lords and Peasants in Durham, 1349 - 1400 (London: Routledge, 2006).
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 - * 92. Bruce M. S. Campbell, The Medieval Antecedents of English Agricultural Progress, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS872 (Aldershot, Hampshire; and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2007). This volume contains the following studies, with their original bibliographic information:
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fourteenth-century English agriculture: the verdict of recent research', in J. M. Duvosquel and Erik Thoen, eds., Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe: Studia in Honorem Adriaan Verhulst (Ghent: Smoeck-Ducajau & Zoon, 1995), pp. 541-59.

- b) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Agricultural progress in medieval England: some evidence from eastern Norfolk', The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 36:1 (1983), 26-46.
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- d) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Land, labour, livestock, and productivity trends in English seigniorial agriculture', in B.M.S. Campbell and Mark Overton, eds., Land, Labour, and Livestock: Historical Studies in European Agricultural Productivity (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 144-82.
- e) Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, 'A new perspective on medieval and early modern agriculture: six centuries of Norfolk farming, c. 1250 - c. 1850', Past & Present, no. 141 (1983), pp. 38-105.
- f) Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, 'Norfolk Livestock Farming, 1250 - 1740: a comparative study of manorial accounts and probate inventories', Journal of Historical Geography, 18:4 (1992), 377 - 96.
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- h) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Measuring the commercialisation of seigneurial agriculture, c. 1300', in R.H. Britnell and Bruce M. S. Campbell, eds., A Commercialising Economy: England, 1086 - c. 1300 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 132-93.
- i) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Matching supply to demand: crop production and disposal by English demesnes in the century of the Black Death', Journal of Economic History, 57:4 (1997), 827-58.
- j) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Constraints of Constrained? Changing Perspectives on Medieval English Agriculture', NEHA-Jaarboek voor economische, bedrijfs- en techniekgeschiedenis, 61 (1998), 15-35.

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- d) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Common field Origins: the Regional Dimension', in T. Rowley, ed., The Origins of Open Field Agriculture (London: Croon Helm, 1981),

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- e) Bruce M. S. Campbell and R. A. Godoy, 'Common field Agriculture: the Andes and Medieval England Compared', in D. W. Bromley, ed., Making the Commons Work: Theory, Practice and Policy (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1992), pp. 99-127.
 - f) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Towards an Agricultural Geography of Medieval England: Review Article of John Langdon's Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in England Farming, from 1066 - 1500 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986)', Agricultural History Review, 26:1 (1988), 87-98.
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 - i) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'The Livestock of Chaucer's Reeve: Fact or Fiction?', in Edwin B. DeWindt, ed., the Salt of Common Life: Essays Presented to J. Ambrose Rafts (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 271-305.
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95. Ben Dodds, 'Demesne and Tithe: Peasant Agriculture in the Late Middle Ages', Agricultural History Review, 56:ii (2008), 123-41.
96. Harry Kitsikopoulos, 'Manorial Estates as Business Firm: the Relevance of Economic Rent in Determining Crop Choices in London's Hinterland, c. 1300', Agricultural History Review, 56:ii (2008), 142-66.
97. Mark Bailey, 'The Form, Function, and Evolution of Irregular Field Systems in Suffolk, c. 300 to c. 1550', Agricultural History Review, 58:1 (2009), 15-36.
- * 98. Bruce M. S. Campbell, Land and People in Late Medieval England, Variorum Collected

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- a) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Portrait of Britain: AD 1300', History Today, 50:6 (2000), 1-10.
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 - f) Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'England: Land and People', in S. H. Rigby, eds., A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 3-25.
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99. Ben Dodds and Richard Britnell, eds., Agriculture and Rural Society after the Black Death: Common Themes and Regional Variations (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2009).
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 - * 102. Mark Bailey, 'Beyond the Midland Field System: The Determinants of Common Rights Over the Arable in Medieval England', Agricultural History Review, 58:ii (2010), 153-171.
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105. Richard Goddard, John Langdon, and Miriam Müller, eds., Survival and Discord in Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of Christopher Dyer, The Medieval Countryside, vol. 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
- * 106. Mark Bailey and Stephen Rigby, eds., Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death: Essays in Honour of John Hatcher, The Medieval Countryside vol. 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012): *Part II: Landlords and Peasants*
- Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Grain Yields on English Demesnes after the Black Death', pp. 121-74.
- Martin Stephenson, 'Risk and Capital Formation: Seigneurial Investment in an Age of Adversity', pp. 175-212.
- David Stone, 'The Black Death and its Immediate Aftermath: Crisis and Change in the Fenland Economy, 136 - 1353', pp. 213-44.
- Erin McGibbon Smith, 'Court Rolls as Evidence for Village Society: Sutton-in-the-Isle in the Fourteenth Century', pp. 245-76.
- Phillipp Schofield, 'The Arundell Estates and the Regional Economy in Fifteenth-Century Cornwall', pp. 277-297.
- John Munro, 'The Late Medieval Decline of English Demesne Agriculture: Demographic, Monetary, and Political-Fiscal Factors', pp. 299-348.
- * 107. Philip Slavin, Bread and Ale for the Brethern: The Provisioning of Norwich Cathedral Priory, 1260 - 1536, Studies in Regional and Local History, vol. 11 (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2012).
108. Philip Slavin, 'Landed Estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and Their Management in the Early Fourteenth Century', Journal of Historical Geography, 42 (2013), 36-49.

C. The Brenner Debate:

'Few historical issues have occasioned such discussion since the time of Marx as the transition from feudalism to capitalism in western Europe.' (From a review of no. 8, below.)

- ** 1. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past and Present, no. 70 (Feb. 1976), 30-74. 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. 10-63.
2. 'Symposium: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past and Present, no. 78 (Feb. 1978):
- * (a) M.M. Postan and John Hatcher, 'Population and Class Relations in Feudal Society', pp. 24-36.
- (b) Patricia Croot and David Parker, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development', pp. 37-46.

- ** (c) Heide Wunder, 'Peasant Organization and Class Conflict in East and West Germany', pp. 47-55.

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, 79-90, 91-100, respectively.

3. 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe: A Symposium', Past and Present, no. 79 (May 1978):

(a) Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, 'A Reply to Professor Brenner', pp. 55-59.

(b) Guy Blois, 'Against the Neo-Malthusian Orthodoxy', pp. 60-69.

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. 101-106, 107-18.

4. 'Symposium: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', Past and Present, no. 80 (August 1980):

(a) Rodney H. Hilton, 'A Crisis of Feudalism', pp. 3-20.

- * (b) J.P. Cooper, 'In Search of Agrarian Capitalism', pp. 20-65.

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5. Arnost Klima, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Bohemia', Past and Present, no. 85 (Nov. 1979), 49-67. 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. 182-212.

6. R.H. Britnell, 'Minor Landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism', Past and Present, no. 89 (Nov. 1980), 3-22. Reprinted in T.H. Aston, ed., Landlords, Peasants, and Politics in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 227-46.

- * 7. Robert Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe: The Agrarian Roots of European Capitalism', Past & Present, no. 97 (Nov. 1982), pp. 16-113. A very lengthy reply to all of his critics. 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. 213-327.

- ** 8. 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). Introduction by R. H. Hilton, pp. 1 - 9 (well worth reading).

This collection contains all of the above essays from Past and Present except for no. 6, by Britnell.

9. Robert Brenner, 'Economic Backwardness in Eastern Europe in Light of Developments in the West', in Daniel Chirot, ed., The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe:

Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 15-52.

10. R. W. Hoyle, 'Tenure and the Land Market in Early-Modern England: Or a Late Contribution to the Brenner Debate', Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 43 (Feb. 1990), 1 - 20.
11. Michael L. Bush, ed., Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage (London and New York: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1996): see the following studies:
 - a) Michael L. Bush, 'Introduction', pp. 1-17.
 - b) Stanley L. Engerman, 'Slavery, Serfdom, and Other Forms of Co-erced Labour: Similarities and Differences', pp. 18-41.
 - c) Peter Kolchin, 'Some Controversial Questions Concerning Nineteenth-Century Emancipation from Slavery and Serfdom', pp. 42-67.
 - d) Michael Bush, 'Serfdom in Medieval and Modern Europe: A Comparison', pp. 199-224.
 - e) Wendy Davis, 'On Servile Status in the Early Middle Ages', pp. 225-46.
 - ** f) Robert Brenner, 'The Rises and Declines of Serfdom in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', pp. 247-76.
 - g) Christopher Dyer, 'Memories of Freedom: Attitudes Towards Serfdom in England, 1200 - 1350', pp. 277-95.
- * 12. Peter Hoppenbrouwers and Jan Luiten van Zanden, eds., Peasants into Farmers? The Transformation of Rural Economy and Society in the Low Countries (Middle Ages - 19th Century) in Light of the Brenner Debate, CORN Publication Series 4: Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001).
 - a) Peter Hoppenbrouwers and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Introduction: the Brenner Debate and Its Historiographical Fate', pp. 13-18.
 - b) Peter Hoppenbrouwers, 'Mapping an Unexplored Field: the Brenner Debate and the Case of Holland', pp. 41-66.
 - c) Jan de Vries, 'The Transition to Capitalism in a Land Without Feudalism', pp. 67-84.
 - d) Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'A Third Road to Capitalism: Proto-Industrialization and the Moderate Nature of the Late Medieval Crisis in Flanders and Holland, 1350 - 1550', pp. 85-101.
 - e) Erik Thoen, 'A "Commercial Survival Economy" in Evolution: The Flemish Countryside and the Transition to Capitalism (Middle Ages - 19th Century)', pp. 102-57.
 - f) Michael Limberger, 'Merchant Capitalism and the Countryside in the West of the Duchy of Brabant (15th - 16th Centuries)', pp. 158-78.
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QUESTIONS for Discussion

1. What is meant by the term 'serfdom'; and what relationship does the term have with the terms 'feudalism' and 'manorialism' or 'seigniorialism'?
2. What economic, social, institutional, and legal conditions denoted or indicated servile status, the status of serfdom? What gradations of 'bondage' or of 'servitude' were there between slavery and freedom in European serfdom, in late medieval and early modern times? How did conditions of serfdom vary across Europe, from England to Russia, from late medieval to modern times?
3. How have western and eastern historians, Marxist and non-Marxist historians, differed in their analysis of 'feudalism' and 'serfdom'?
4. Discuss the validity and usefulness of various theoretical models in explaining the expansion and decline of serfdom, in eastern and western Europe: (a) demographic models, (b) market or trade-oriented models, (c) political-institutional-legal models, (d) Marxian models of class structures.
5. To what extent did serfdom constitute a barrier or impediment to economic development, in western and eastern Europe, from late-medieval to early-modern times? To what extent were servile institutions compatible with agrarian change, rising agricultural productivity, economic expansion?
6. In your own view, what are the chief factors explaining the decline of serfdom in western Europe from the late Middle Ages? What differences can you see between the declines of serfdom in England and in France?
7. In your view, what factors explain the extension and expansion or intensification of serfdom in eastern Europe, east of the Elbe River, from late-medieval or early-modern times? When was the crucial period of change, the rise of the 'New Serfdom'?: the 14th, the 15th, the 16th, or the 17th century?
8. Explain the apparent paradox of a decline of serfdom in the West and its expansion in the East. What were the differences between Eastern and Western serfdom?
9. When, how, and why did serfdom come to an end in eastern Europe: in Prussia, Poland, Hungary, and Russia?
10. What was the heritage of eastern European serfdom: how long did it continue to impede industrialization in this region?

The Blum-Brenner Model to Explain the Differences between Western and Eastern Feudal-Manorial Power Structures and the Changing Fortunes of Serfdom

FEATURES	Western Europe	Eastern Europe
Villages	divided lordships; thickly settled; peasant charters; and manorial court rolls	single lordships; thinly settled; no, few, or weak peasant charters
Field Systems	Common/Open Fields with scattered interspersed strips and communal village regulations	Common fields with more consolidated family holdings; weak village authority, subject to feudal-manorial lords
Village governments	peasant villager councils and manorial reeves from the villages govern the village economy.	village government by <i>schultz/schultheiss</i> mayors appointed by feudal lords
Central governments	strong, more centralized national monarchies; or strong territorial princes.	weak monarchical governments; elected monarchies
Aristocracies	weak nobilities, especially at the baronial & knight levels	powerful and increasingly stronger feudal nobilities
Courts	Royal courts expanding their powers at the expense of manorial/seigniorial courts; manorial courts that entrench customary rights of the peasant tenants, fixing rents & entry fines	weak or non existent royal courts; powerful and independent feudal/manorial courts that do not recognize peasant tenancy rights, or conditions of tenures
Rents	customary, fixed rents, increasingly in fixed nominal cash payments	more arbitrary rents, more in labour services and kind
Towns	Strong, independent towns, with vibrant urban economies	Weak and small towns, with dependent economies

Official Money Wages for Building Craftsmen for the Kingdom of England and the City of London: by Parliamentary Statute or Ordinance, for the Summer and Winter Seasons, in pence sterling, 1290 - 1495

Summer Season: Easter to Michaelmas (29 September), ‘without meat and drink’

Winter Season: Michaelmas to Easter, ‘without meat and drink’

Year	LONDON Summer	LONDON Winter	NATIONAL Summer	NATIONAL Winter
c.1290	5d ^a 4d ^b	3d ^a 4d ^b		
1349-51	6d	5d	3d 4d ^c	c
1360			4d ^d	[not stated]
1362	6d	5d		
1372	6d	5d		
1378	6d	5d		
1382	6d	5d		
1444			5½d ^e	4½d ^e
1495			6d ^f 7d ^g	5d ^f 7d ^g

- a. 1290: 2d daily in the summer with food in drink; 1d daily in the winter with food and drink
b. 1290: 4d daily or 1.5d with food and drink, from Michaelmas (29 September) to Martinmas (12 November), and from Candlemas (Purificatio: 2 February) to Easter
c. 1350-51: 25 Ed III stat. 2 c. 3: rates of 4d for master free-masons; 3d for other master masons and carpenters; for all, from Michaelmas ‘less according to the rate and discretion of the justices’.
d. For the chief master masons and carpenters; but 3d or 2d for the others ‘according as they be worth’
e. 1444-45: 23 Henry VI c. 12: 4d daily with food and drink in the summer and 3d daily with food and drink in the winter.
f. 1495: 11 Henry VII c. 22: 4d daily with food and drink.
g. 7d daily, summer and winter, for those master masons and master carpenters having charge of six or more men; and 5d daily with food and drink.

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