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ECO 2210Y:

Topics in the Economic and Social History of Later Medieval and Renaissance Europe, 1250 - 1600

Topics nos. 1 - 3 : Medieval Demography and the Late-Medieval Demographic Crises, ca. 1280-1500: European Population Changes Before and After the Black Death

- (1) **Medieval European Demography and the Family: The Origins and Evolution of the European Marriage Pattern.**
- (2) **Medieval European Demography and the Economy: Did Late-Medieval Population Growth Produce a Malthusian Crisis?**
- (3) **Medieval European Demography and Disease: The Great Famine, the Black Death, Later Plagues, and Economic *Conjuncture* in Late-Medieval European Society.**

For each section, the readings are listed in the chronological order of original publication. Items of exceptional importance -- including those denounced by later historians -- are indicated by an asterisk (*).

READINGS:

A. 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. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversely, eds. Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography (London, 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 (1966).
- ** 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, ed. Carlo Cipolla (London, 1972), pp. 25-70.
29. Frederick Cartwright, Disease and History (New York, 1972).
30. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Times of Feast, Times of Famine: The History of Climate Since the Year 1000 (London, 1972).
31. David Loschky, 'Economic Change, Mortality, and Malthusian Theory,' Population Studies, 30 (1975), 439-52.
32. 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.
- * 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 demographie historique (1979), 59 - 99.

35. J.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 Études, Études en Sciences Sociales, 1987).
40. David Loschky and Maw Lin Lee, 'Malthusian Population Oscillations,' Economic Journal, 97 (1987), 727-39.
41. David Arnold, Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988).
42. Richard Smith, "Human Resources," in Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds., The Countryside of Medieval England (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 188-212.
- * 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. Catherine Geissler and Derek Oddy, eds., Food, Diet, and Economic Change: Past and Present (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).
48. 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.
49. 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.
50. David Loschky and Ben D. Childers, 'Early English Mortality,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 24:1 (Summer 1993), 85 - 97.
- ** 51. 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.
52. David Kertzer and Peter Laslett, Aging in the Past: Demography, Society and Old Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
53. Mark Bailey, 'Demographic Decline in Late-Medieval England: Some Thoughts on Recent Research,' The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 49:1 (February 1996), 1-19.
54. Kathy L. Pearson, 'Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet,' Speculum, 72:1 (January 1997), 1-32.
55. Massimo Livi-Bacci, A Concise History of World Population, trans. by Carl Ipsen, 2nd edn. (London: Blackwell, 1997. [1st edn: Italian, 1989; English trans., 1992])
56. Michel Morineau, 'Malthus: There and Back, From the Period Preceding the Black Death to the Industrial Revolution,' The Journal of European Economic History, 27:1 (Spring 1998), 137-202.
57. Gerhard Andermann, Heinrich Hockmann, and Günther Schmitt, 'Historical Changes in Land-Labour Relationships in Western Europe,' The Journal of European Economic History, 27:2 (Fall 1998), 245-83.
58. Sheldon Watts, Epidemics and History: Disease, Power, and Imperialism (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

B. The 'European Marriage Pattern?': Family Structures, Marriages, and Medieval Fertility

- * 1. J. Krause, 'The Medieval Household: Large or Small?' Economic History Review, 2nd ser.

- 9 (1956-57), 420-32.
2. Philip Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, trans. Robert Baldick (London, 1962).
 - ** 3. John Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective,' in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversely, eds., Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography (London, 1965), pp. 101-46.
 4. John Noonan, Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966; 2nd revised edn, 1986).
 5. Jean-Louis Flandrin, 'Contraception, marriage et relations amoureuses dans l'occident chrétien,' Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 24 (1969), 1370-90.
 6. Peter Laslett, 'Mean Household Size in England Since the Sixteenth Century,' in Peter Laslett and R. Wall, eds., Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
 7. R.B. Outhwaite, 'Age at Marriage in England from the Late Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century,' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 23 (1973).
 8. E. A. Wrigley, 'Reflections on the History of the Family,' Daedalus, 106 (1977), 71 - 85.
 9. Richard M. Smith, 'Some Reflections on the Evidence for the Origins of the 'European Marriage Pattern' in England,' in C. Harris, ed., The Sociology of the Family: New Directions for Britain (Keele, 1979), pp. 74-112.
 10. Zvi Razi, Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270 - 1400 (Cambridge, 1980).
 11. Peter Laslett, 'Comparing Illegitimacy over Time and Between Cultures,' in Peter Laslett, Karla Osterveen, and Richard M. Smith, eds., Bastardy and its Comparative History (London, 1980).
 12. Richard M. Smith, 'Fertility, Economy, and Household Formation in England Over Three Centuries,' Population and Development Review, 7 (1981), 595 - 622.
 13. Richard M. Smith, 'The People of Tuscany and Their Families in the Fifteenth Century: Medieval or Mediterranean?' Journal of Family History, Spring 1981, pp. 107-28.
 14. Judith Bennett, 'Medieval Peasant Marriage: An Examination of Marriage Licence Fines in the *Liber Gersumarum*,' in J. A. Raftis, ed., Pathways to Medieval Peasants (Toronto: PIMS, 1981), pp. 193-246.
 - * 15. P.P.A. Biller, 'Birth Control in the West in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,' Past and Present, no. 94 (Feb. 1982), 3-26.

- * 16. Richard M. Smith, 'Hypothèses sur la nuptialité en Angleterre aux XIIIe - XIVe siècles,' Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 38 (1983), 107-36.
17. Jack Goody, The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe (Cambridge University Press, 1983).
18. David Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment,' Journal of Family History, 2 (1983), 116-30.
- * 19. John Hajnal, 'Two Kinds of Pre-Industrial Household Formation Systems,' in Richard Wall, Jean Robin, and Peter Laslett, eds., Family Forms in Historic Europe, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (London, 1983), pp. 65-104.
20. Judith Bennett, 'Spouses, Siblings and Surnames: Reconstructing Families from Medieval Court Rolls,' Journal of British Studies, 23 (1983), 26-46.
21. Judith Bennett, 'The Tie That Binds: Peasant Marriages and Families in Late-Medieval England,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 15 (1984), 111-29.
22. David Weir, 'Rather Never than Late: Celibacy and Age at Marriage,' Journal of Family History, 9:4 (Winter 1984), 340-54. Chiefly for the subsequent period; but important for this era.
23. Chris Wilson, 'Natural Fertility in Pre-Industrial England, 1600 - 1799,' Population Studies, 38 (1984), 225-40.
24. Roger S. Schofield, 'English Marriage Patterns Revisited,' Journal of Family History, 10:1 (Spring 1985), 2-20. Response to Weir, with important implications for earlier eras.
25. David Herlihy, Medieval Households (Cambridge, Mass. 1985), chapters 4, 5, and 6 (pp. 79 - 156), for the later Middle Ages (on marriages, parenthood, childhood, etc.).
26. David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427 (New Haven and London, 1985), chapters 3 - 11: especially chapter 5, 'Men and Women,' pp. 131-58; chapter 7, 'Marriage,' pp. 202-31; chapter 8, 'Births,' pp. 232-56; chapter 9, 'Death,' pp. 257-79; chapter 10, 'The Hearth,' pp. 280-336.
27. David Nicholas, The Domestic Life of a Medieval City: Women, Children, and the Family in Fourteenth-Century Ghent (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1985), chapters 1, 3, 6-8.
28. H.E. Hallam, 'Age at First Marriage and Age at Death in the Lincolnshire Fenland, 1252-1478,' Population Studies, 39 (1985), 55-69.
29. Josiah Cox Russell, Late Ancient and Medieval Population Control (Philadelphia, 1985). Another controversial book by Russell.
30. Alan Macfarlane, Marriage and Love in England, 1300 - 1840 (Oxford, 1986).

31. Barbara Hanawalt, The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England (Oxford University Press, 1986).
32. Richard M. Smith, 'Marriage Processes in the English Past: Some Continuities,' in L. Bonfield, K. Wrightson, and R.M. Smith, eds., The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure (Oxford, 1986), pp. 43-99.
33. Frances and Joseph Gies, Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages (New York, 1987).
34. Ellen Clark, 'The Decision to Marry in Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century Norfolk,' Mediaeval Studies, 49 (1987), 496-511.
35. Judith M. Bennett, Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock Before the Plague (Oxford, 1987).
36. P. Galloway, 'Basic patterns in Annual Variations in Fertility, Nuptiality, Mortality, and Prices in Pre-Industrial Europe,' Population Studies, 42 (1988), 275-304.
37. Walter Prevenier, ed., Marriage and Social Mobility in the Late Middle Ages/ Mariage et mobilité sociale au bas moyen âge, Studia Historica Gandensia no. 274 (Ghent, 1989).
38. David Herlihy, Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).
39. Michael Sheehan and Jacqueline Murray, Domestic Society in Medieval Europe: A Select Bibliography (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990).
40. John M. Riddle, 'Oral Contraceptives and Early-Term Abortifacients during Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages,' Past & Present, no. 132 (August 1991), 3-32.
41. Jean-Louis Flandrin, Sex in the Western World: The Development of Attitudes and Behavior (Philadelphia: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991).
42. C. Wilson and R. Woods, 'Fertility in England: A Long-Term Perspective,' Population Studies, 45 (1991), 399 - 415.
43. S.J. Payling, 'Social Mobility, Demographic Change, and Landed Society in Late-Medieval England,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 45 (February 1992), 51-73.
44. J. Dufournet, A. Joris, and P. Toubert, eds., Femmes, mariages, lignages, XII^e - XIV^e siècles: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby, Bibliothèque du moyen âge, vol. 1 (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1992).
45. John M. Riddle, Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).
46. P.J.P. Goldberg, Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300-1520 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Evidence

on the European Marriage Pattern.

47. Zvi Razi, 'The Myth of the Immutable English Family,' Past & Present, no. 140 (August 1993), pp. 3 - 44.
48. Barbara A. Hanawalt, Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
49. Merry E. Wiesner, Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe, New Approaches to European History 1 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
50. E. A. Wrigley, 'Mortality and the European Marriage Pattern System,' in Catherine Geissler and Derek Oddy, eds., Food, Diet, and Economic Change, Past and Present (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), pp. 35-49.
51. 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.
52. Merry E. Wiesner, 'Family, Household, and Community,' 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. 51-78.
53. Anthony Molho, Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994).
54. David Herlihy, 'Biology and History: The Triumph of Monogamy,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 25:4 (Spring 1995), 571-83.
55. S.H. Rigby, English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
56. David Nicholas, 'Child and Adolescent Labour in the Late Medieval City: A Flemish Model in Regional Perspective,' English Historical Review, 110 (November 1995), 1103-1131.
57. Jennifer Ward, ed., Women of the English Nobility and Gentry, 1066-1500 (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).
58. Henrietta Leyser, Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450 - 1500 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
59. Richard Adair, Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early Modern England (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996). Although this study concerns the following period (and will appear in the bibliography on early-modern demography), its methodology is useful for this medieval topic.

60. John M. Riddle, 'Contraception and Early Abortion in the Middle Ages,' in Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage, eds., Handbook of Medieval Sexuality (New York, 1996), 263-
61. Katherine L. French, ' 'To Free Them from Binding': Women in the Late Medieval English Parish,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 27:3 (Winter 1997), 387-412.
62. Rebecca Jean Emigh, 'Land Tenure, Household Structure, and Age at Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 27:4 (Spring 1997), 613-36.
63. Trevor Dean, 'Marriage and Mutilation: Vendetta in Late Medieval Italy,' Past & Present, no. 157 (November 1997), 3-36.
- * 64. Etienne Van de Walle, 'Flowers and Fruits: Two Thousand Years of Menstrual Regulation,' Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 28:2 (Autumn 1997), 183-203. A criticism of the Riddle thesis on fertility controls in ancient and medieval societies.
65. Martha C. Howell, The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place, and Gender in the Cities of the Low Countries, 1300 - 1500 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
66. Maristella Botticini, 'A Loveless Economy? Intergenerational Altruism and the Marriage Market in a Tuscan Town, 1415 -1436,' Journal of Economic History, 59:1 (March 1999): 104-21.

C. Demographic Crises in the Late Middle Ages: Famines and Plagues: General Features

- * 1. Henry Lucas, 'The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, and 1317,' Speculum, 5 (1930), reprinted in E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Vol. II (London, 1962), pp. 49-72.
- * 2. 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.
- * 3. 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.
- ** 4. Michael Postan, 'Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages,' Economic History Review, 2nd ser. 2 (1950), 130-67; and:
Michael Postan, 'The Economic Foundations of Medieval Society,' Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie, 161 (1951);

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- Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 186 - 213 (the former, with the revised title of 'Some Agrarian Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages'), and the latter on 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. Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables Compared with Builders' Wage-rates,' Economica, 23:92 (November 1956), reprinted in their A Perspective of Wages and Prices (London and New York: Methuen, 1981), pp. 13-59 (with additional statistical appendices not in the original). Important for providing statistical evidence on real wages during the supposed era of demographic 'crisis'.
 8. Hans Van Werveke, 'La famine de l'an 1316 en Flandre et dans les régions voisines,' Revue du Nord, 41 (1959), reprinted in his Miscellanea Medievalia (Ghent, 1968), pp. 3-11.
 9. Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West, trans. Cynthia Postan (London, 1962), Book IV: pp. 289-360.
 - * 10. 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.
 - * 11. 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.
 - * 12. 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.
 - * 13. 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.
 - * 14. 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.
 15. E. D. Jones, 'Going Round in Circles: Some New Evidence for Population in the Later Middle Ages,' Journal of Medieval History, 15 (1989), 329-45.
 16. L. R. Poos, 'The Historical Demography of Renaissance Europe: Recent Research and Current Issues,' Renaissance Quarterly, 42 (1989), 749-811.
 - * 17. 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.

- ** 18. 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.
19. 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.
20. 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.
21. Robert Worth Frank, Jr., 'The "Hungry Gap", Crop Failure, and Famine: The Fourteenth-Century Agricultural Crisis and *Piers Plowman*,' in Del Sweeney, Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 227-43.
22. William C. Jordan, The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
23. 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.
24. Kathy L. Pearson, 'Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet,' Speculum, 72:1 (January 1997), 1-32.
25. 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.
26. Mark Bailey, 'Peasant Welfare in England, 1290 - 1348,' The Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 51:2 (May 1998), 223-51.

D. Bubonic Plagues and Disease in Late-Medieval Europe

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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. 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?
3. What relationships were there, in the 14th and 15th centuries, between/among: famine, warfare, and disease?
4. 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?
5. What other factors determined high death rates in late-medieval Europe, in rural and urban areas?
6. 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?
7. 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?
8. 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?
9. What were the general economic and social consequences of population decline in late medieval Europe?
10. Discuss the relationships between living standards and population levels, demographic change.
11. Did demographic decline produce economic decline, or stagnation; or did it foster change and new economic growth?