Medieval Europe: Crisis and Renewal

Part I

Professor Teofilo F. Ruiz

THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

Teofilo F. Ruiz

Brooklyn College and the City University
of New York Graduate Center

Teofilo F. Ruiz teaches history at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York (CUNY) and history and Spanish medieval literature at CUNY's Graduate Center. He has also taught as a visiting professor at the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Princeton University, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and in six NEH summer seminars throughout the United States and abroad. He has lectured frequently in the United States, Spain, Italy, France, England, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina.

Professor Ruiz received a Ph.D. in History from Princeton and has been the recipient of fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and the American Council of Learned Societies. In 1994 he was selected by the Carnegie Foundation as one of four Outstanding Teachers of the Year in the United States. He has published five books and more than thirty articles in national and international scholarly journals, plus more than one hundred reviews and smaller articles. His latest book, *Crisis and Continuity: Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994) was awarded the *Premio del Rey* for 1994-1995 by the American Historical Association as the best book in pre-1580 Spanish history.

Table of Contents
Medieval Europe: Crisis and Renewal

Medieval Europe: Crisis and Renewal

Scope:

This course examines the crises of late medieval society (widespread famines in 1315-17, wars, plagues, popular rebellions) and the manner in which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, men and women responded to these crises by formulating new concepts of love, art, religion, and political organization.

The emphasis throughout is not on a sustained political narrative. My aim, rather, is to explore the structures of late medieval society and show how the society, economy, and culture were transformed and refashioned by the upheavals besetting Europe at the onset of modernity. Thus, in tracing the response to economic, political, and social crises, we will also chart the transition from the medieval to the modern world.

Lecture One
Introduction to Medieval Europe

Scope: The objective of this introductory lecture is to familiarize students with how historians are able to reconstruct the past, what type of sources they use, and from what perspective or perspectives they examine the extant literary, iconographic, and historical evidence. This first lecture will also set the geographical, linguistic, archival, and historiographical contexts for the course, and it will seek to reconstruct how medieval men and women imagined their society. It also discusses how medieval men and women saw and represented themselves on the eve of the great crises of late medieval society.

Outline

I. Introduction: Towards a Definition of Crisis

A. "Whig history" is based on the idea of progress. It assumes that history has an end-point or *telos*. This conception of progress was absent in late medieval Europe. History was seen then not as linear but as dialectic—it moved backward and forward.

B. These lectures will focus not on the political history of western Europe between 1300 and 1500, but on popular history and high culture.

1. Our approach will be that of "the new social history," which views history "from below" and focuses on social structures and social change by means of broad economic, social, and cultural movements, rather than by the actions of great men.

2. We will also focus on the rise of new values, attitudes, and conceptions in the late Middle Ages; new ideas about marriage and sexuality; and the rise of persecution.

C. This series is in three parts.

1. By way of introduction, lectures 1-4 examine the situation of Europe in 1300.

2. Lectures 5-8 examine the principal political, social, and structural crises of the fourteenth century.

3. Lectures 9-16 examine how people in the Middle Ages responded to these crises: the solutions that were proposed and the new institutions that were founded to respond to these crises.

D. Times of crises are also periods of great change. Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries experienced extreme change. These lectures will focus on long-term, structural changes in late medieval Europe.

II. Background: Europe at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century

A. Real national boundaries began to take shape during the late thirteenth century. The following were the five key geographical entities of late medieval Europe.

1. There were five hegemonic powers in northern Italy by 1300: the Kingdom of Naples, Papal States, Florence, Milan, and Venice.

2. France in 1300 included Normandy (since 1216) and most of the south, but not Gascony, Brittany, and Flanders.

3. Flanders was a great textile center.

4. The kingdom of England extended to York but was concentrated in the south. Wales and Ireland were problematic for the Crown; Scotland regained its freedom in 1314.

5. The Iberian peninsula featured five separate political units: Portugal, the kingdom of Navarre, the kingdom of Castile, the kingdom of Granada, and the crown of Aragon.

B. A relationship between power and land began to appear during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. Kings began to be seen as reigning over a territory, not a people.

2. Peasants began to think of land as real property rather than jurisdiction. By 1300 the concept of "the nation" had begun to emerge. The nation was identified with a particular territory and idealized in the figure of the king.

C. Demographic research is problematic for historians of late medieval Europe.

1. We have few good historical sources for the demography of this period. Most people were illiterate and thus did not leave written records.

2. How many people lived in late medieval Europe?

a. France—the largest and richest country in Western Europe—had perhaps 13.4 million people in the early fourteenth century. By 1794 its population had risen only to 17.6 million.

b. Italy had perhaps 8 million people in the late thirteenth century.

3. Europe's population rose from 1000 until the late 1200s, then stagnated due to plague, famine, and war.

4. There were more men than women between 1250 and 1348. By the late fifteenth century, the number of women exceeded that of men.

5. Most families had between 5 and 8 children, although at least half died by age 5.

6. Life-expectancy data for the English royal family suggests that life expectancy fell during the late thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth century.

III. Unlike modern society, which is characterized by social mobility, the Middle Ages were characterized by divinely-ordained hierarchical order. Medieval society consisted of three orders or estates: those who worked, those who prayed, and those who fought.

A. Those who worked constituted 90-95 percent of the population. Nearly all were peasants, but they varied widely in the amount of property they owned.

B. Likewise, the clergy varied dramatically from rich to poor.

C. Those who fought were the knights (the concept of nobility was invented in twelfth century.

D. The monarch combined these orders into a unified whole.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ch. 1 and 2

Suggested Reading:

Duby, *The Three Orders*

Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe, with supporting examples, the geographical division of western Europe around 1300 (as it pertains to territories defined by "natural features") and the consequences of the shift from feudal jurisdictions to the beginnings of national boundaries.

2. Discuss and evaluate how medieval society was organized. Explain, with examples, how medieval men and women imagined the structure of their society.

Lecture Two
Rural Society

Scope: The second lecture will examine the life of the peasants (the group most affected by the impending crises) and their role in European medieval society. In addition, we will study the transformation of rural structures in the late Middle Ages and the impact of these transformations on medieval society as a whole.

Outline

I. The Social, Political, and Economic Structure of Western Europe in 1300: The Peasantry

A. The peasantry's life cycle centered upon the agricultural calendar.

1. The year began on any of several religious festivals, depending upon the locality. The Church calendar had been superimposed upon a much older agricultural calendar.

2. Population levels increased between 1000 and 1285, increasing pressure on the land and contributing to persistent hunger.

a. Infanticide and parricide were common, even in prosperous times.

b. Women married soon after they began to menstruate.

c. Those who passed age 35 were considered to be in their declining years.

3. Villages varied dramatically in size. Landholdings were fragmented rather than divided into discreet farmsteads.

4. The peasant diet consisted mainly of coarse black bread. The nobility consumed less-nutritious white bread.

5. Every peasant had a lord to whom he owed payments and duties.

a. By 1300, serfdom had largely died out in western Europe. Peasants still worked lands belonging to their lord, but they were no longer legally bound to the soil.

b. Most villages were divided among several lords, most of whom were non-resident.

6. Cultivated land extended around the village.

a. The heavy and fertile topsoil of northern Europe was worked with heavy iron-tipped plows, which cut long furrows.

b. In the south, where the soil was thin, the old Roman plow was used.

c. The three-field system of crop rotation was adopted in the north. Crops included wheat, barley, rye, and oats.

d. In the south, oxen rather than horses were used, and a biannual system of rotation between two fields was used. Cropland in the south became depleted due to lack of fertilizer.

7. All village residents had the right to graze their animals upon the commons—lands administered by the municipal council. By 1300, the lords were increasingly trying to assert their control over the village commons.

B. Although rural life was brutish and violent, peasants enjoyed a sort of rough equality in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By the late thirteenth century, however, social and economic distinctions within the peasantry had begun to emerge.

1. A new understanding of property emerged, as peasants began to consolidate and fence off their landholdings.

2. As a result, some peasants become richer than others. Peasants who accumulated large amounts of land could hire the landless as rural workers, contributing to the rapid emergence of a rural proletariat.

3. This new concept of property is also shown in new concerns regarding rights of way and wills.

4. Those who were displaced from the village and lost their rights to the commons became a marginalized element within rural society.

II. Lordship and Peasantry in Western Europe

A. Walter Brenner argued that emergence of a class structure within the village community provided the agrarian counterpart to the rise of capitalism. This thesis has attracted much criticism.

B. Village communities began to break down after 1300 as parts of the commons were privatized and as the rise of class distinctions within the village community impelled people to move to the cities.
   1. A kulak class arose that bought out and employed other peasants as day laborers as a way to expand their own fortunes.
   2. Most peasants become proletarianized, while a few become bourgeois.
   3. After 1250, urban bourgeois began to acquire rural property surrounding the cities. They injected a new spirit of acquisition into the countryside.

III. Peasant life was harsh, even in prosperous times. After 1300, peasants were increasingly depicted by those on top in subhuman terms, and many began to think of themselves as subhuman and brutish. "Peasant" became a pejorative term.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ch. 3

Jordan, *The Great Famine,* chs. 1 and 2

Supplementary Reading:

Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, Bks III and IV

Aston and Philpin, eds. *The Brenner Debate*

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe and evaluate the economic organization of village life in most of western medieval Europe and its place in the economic structure of the medieval West.

2. Discuss the nature of the peasant family structure and describe the patterns of their daily lives.

Lecture Three
Urban Society

Scope: The third lecture will focus on city life, the character of the bourgeoisie, popular culture and relations of the city with the countryside and of the bourgeoisie with other orders of society.

Outline

I. The Social, Political, and Economic Structure of Western Europe in 1300: The Bourgeoisie

- **A.** Towns emerged in western Europe only in the eleventh century.
  - **1.** Towns served as administrative centers for bishops.
  - **2.** They arose around castles to serve as a defensive refuge.
  - **3.** Their rise was in part a product of the revival of trade in the eleventh century, as merchants settled within town walls.
  - **4.** Towns in the twelfth century resisted domination by feudal lords. Many became communes and achieved independence, or at least autonomy, from feudal ties between lord and vassals.
  - **5.** Serfs who lived more than one year in a town automatically became free, giving rise to the slogan: "Town air makes men free."
  - **6.** Towns came to serve as "corporate lords" for the surrounding countryside.
- **B.** Cities occupied an increasingly important place in social and economic life during the high Middle Ages.
  - **1.** There were few large cities in western Europe in 1300. Most large cities were concentrated in Flanders and Italy.
  - **2.** Many towns arose as merchant centers with commercial ties to the surrounding countryside.
  - **3.** Town residents had a rough equality during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By 1300 this equality had begun to disappear, and most towns became dominated by narrow patrician elites.

II. The bourgeoisie had ambivalent relations with other groups in medieval society.

- **A.** As the sworn enemy of the nobility; the bourgeois patricians championed royal power and sought the crown's support in maintaining and expanding their trade. The bourgeoisie both disdained and aped the nobility.
- **B.** As with the nobility, the bourgeoisie had an ambivalent relationship with the workers.
  - **1.** Many bourgeois exploited their workers and used the resulting profits to buy land, patents of nobility, or marry into noble families.
  - **2.** Many merchants eventually acquired outlying lands and became lords of villages and acquired noble status.

III. The medieval "system of values" underwent several key changes.

- **A.** By 1300 the concept of time had come to be perceived in new ways. The historian Jacques le Goff distinguishes between "God's time" and "merchants' time." **1.** The medieval world's concept of time was set by nature and measured by the canonical hours.
  - **2.** In the towns, clocks and bell towers began to measure "merchant's time." Time became measured in terms of money.
- **B.** Charity and welfare also came to be understood in new ways. **1.** By 1300, the law began to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor.
  - **2.** Many rich men gave alms for self-interested reasons—to promote their own eternal salvation. Legal wills become instruments in the bargaining for salvation; the wealthy donated property to the Church in return for spiritual considerations.
  - **3.** The rich increasingly distributed their donations among numerous churches and monasteries and issued specific instructions for the use of their donations. The donor's beneficiaries became obliged to pray for the donor's eternal salvation.
  - **4.** The concept of purgatory was invented during the late twelfth century as a means of giving the newly wealthy access to salvation.

5. The poor became viewed in pejorative rather than privileged terms; their poverty was taken as a sign of their spiritual disfavor in God's eyes.

C. The universities became locomotives of a nascent "discovery of man" and of a new tendency for human beings to seek their own salvation rather than that of the collectivity.

D. As charity became more formalized and ritualized, it began to evolve into welfare.
1. Charitable donations were increasingly provided only to the "deserving poor."
2. Municipal authorities become more responsible for providing material assistance to the poor, not from spiritual motives but as a means of exercising power. Municipal officials gained power over the poor by regulating their lives and providing for their subsistence.
3. This development signalled a new tendency to distinguish between those who would be included in society and those who would be excluded from it.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ch. 4.

Supplementary Reading:

Rörig, *The Medieval Town*, chs. 6-9

Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe the nature of urban life around 1300 and discuss the different social groups found in late medieval towns.
2. Discuss and evaluate the character of the relations between different social groups in medieval towns around 1300.

Lecture Four
Church, State and Learning

Scope: This lecture will examine the spiritual life of western Christendom and the problems which plagued the Church in early fourteenth century. As in the previous three lectures, we will look at each order of society in the broad context of the age and of its relation to the king and other political rulers. This ends the long, but necessary introduction.

Outline

I. The Social, Political, and Economic Structure of Western Europe in 1300: The Church.

- **A.** Between 1100 and 1300, monarchs in France, England, and Castile sought to establish their authority not upon ecclesiastical approval but upon their own construction of a new political reality. By 1300, the Church had come into direct conflict with these secular rulers and had lost its monopoly over public life in Europe.
- **B.** Two key events and one development marked the transition from the papal hegemony of the High Middle Ages to the waning of the "medieval spring."
  - **1.** The first of these was the "Sicilian Vespers" of 1282, a revolt against the Anjou (French) dynasty in Sicily, which had been established there with Church support in order to weaken the Hohenstaufen position in Italy. The Sicilian crown was offered to the king of Aragon, who accepted it despite the pope's vehement opposition. "Reason of state" trumped papal wishes.
  - **2.** The second important papal defeat came at Anagni in 1303.
    - **a.** In 1296, Pope Boniface VIII issued the bull "Clericos Laicos" forbidding the kings of France and England to tax the Church. King Philip IV of France responded by forbidding the export of bullion from his domains to Rome. The pope capitulated, granting the kings the right to tax the church for emergency defense purposes, as determined by the kings themselves.
    - **b.** A second conflict arose between Boniface and Philip in 1302, when the pope appointed a new bishop in southern France whom the king opposed. When Philip arrested the bishop, Boniface moved to excommunicate the king and his ministers. While preparing the bull of excommunication, the pope was arrested at the Italian town of Anagni by the forces of Philip and his own Italian enemies.
    - **c.** A new French pope was elected in 1305 and transferred the papal court to Avignon, where it remained until the 1370s.
    - **d.** Most of Europe reacted with indifference to the pope's humiliation at Anagni, which suggested that the papacy had lost much of the prestige it had enjoyed just a century earlier. Most observers thought Boniface had gotten what he deserved.
  - **3.** The rise of new mendicant orders coincided with the spread of heretical movements and the establishment of the Inquisition.
    - **a.** The Inquisition represented a new response "from below" to the problem of heresy, and it reflected a growing intolerance of those who thought differently.
    - **b.** It also represented a new willingness of Church and state to act together on relatively equal terms to suppress those deemed to be heterodox.

II. The State and the Rise of the Nation

- **A.** Centralized monarchical rule emerged most notably in France, England, and Castile.
  - **1.** Kings expanded thier power by claiming feudal rights that had fallen into disuse and by establishing professional armies and an extensive royal bureaucracy.
  - **2.** A new concept of kingship emerged that emphasized the king's role as supreme legislator and judge as well as his role as God's steward.
  - **3.** The king began to acquire a public or corporate persona distinct from his personal identity as an individual (see Ernest Canterowitz, *The King's Two Bodies*). The king as a corporate entity came to define the identity of the kingdom over which he reigned.

B. France and England on the one hand, and Castile on the other, illustrate two conflicting ways in which monarchs created a "mythology of power" to legitimize their rule.

1. French and English monarchs adopted the model of "sacred kingship," in which royal authority was conferred by God upon the king.

a. The French kings symbolized this special status by their anointment with holy oil. When anointed, the king acquired a new, sacred persona.

b. The kings of France and England claimed thaumaturgical power—the ability of the royal touch to cure disease.

2. The Castilian kings adopted a non-sacral form of kingship according to which power came not from God but from below—from acclamation by the people. This model of kingship dispensed with the Church's role in conferring secular power.

III. By 1300 the centrality of the Church and of religious concerns also began to wane in the intellectual sphere.

A. The newly recovered Greek learning—particularly the works of Aristotle—were slowly integrated into Christian philosophy during the thirteenth century, especially through the work of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. The recovery of Aristotle gave medieval thinkers access to an integrated philosophical system that examined all questions.

B. In seeking to integrate Aristotelian concepts into Christian philosophy and theology, the Parisian Schoolmen unwittingly marked the end of the Middle Ages.

1. The medieval attitude to learning had been predicated upon the integration of belief and knowledge. Twelfth-century philosophy was essentially Platonist.

2. Aristotle offered a new way of looking at the world and the state. He held that man is by nature a political animal and that the state is a natural association that is valid and good in itself, quite apart from God and religion. It helps men to achieve their natural purpose as human beings.

3. Influenced by these ideas, Aquinas stressed the naturalness and goodness of the state, apart from any religious purpose that it might serve. This conception of the state was quite new in the thirteenth century.

C. As indicated by the "theory of the double truth," late medieval thinkers had begun to postulate a world in which religion had lost its centrality. This intellectual development marked the end of the "Medieval Spring."

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, chs. 4-6.

Supplementary Reading:

Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*, chs. 2 and 4

Leff, *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe and evaluate the conflicts between the Church and the rising feudal monarchies at the onset of the fourteenth century.

2. Discuss, with supporting examples, the nature of medieval kingship around 1300. Explain how medieval kings extended their rule and gained the allegiance of their subjects.

Lecture Five
Hunger

Scope: This lecture will provide students with an understanding of the great famines of 1315-17 and their impact on European society in succeeding decades. The consequences of widespread hunger were: rising violence, crimes against property, a general weakening of the population, high mortality rates, and the inability of medieval government and institutions to deal with the crisis. We will also examine the documentary references to cannibalism in western medieval Europe and attempt to place them within the context of the times. In addition, this lecture will also provide an introduction to the Hundred Years War.

Outline

I. The Famines of 1315-21

A. Did the famines of the fourteenth century result from Malthusian pressure or structural crisis?

1. Proponents of the Malthusian thesis hold that population growth in western Europe had begun to outstrip resources by the late thirteenth century, leading to famine and war.

2. In Castile and other parts of western Europe, however, the crisis resulted not from surplus population but from population transfers that left some areas without enough workers to cultivate the land.

B. Prolonged periods of grave hunger in which many people died from malnourishment were common in late medieval Europe. The great famines mark the peaks of these lengthy periods of hunger.

C. The Great Famine of 1315 and 1317 affected northern Europe from Russia to Ireland.

1. Beginning in 1315, northern Europe experienced persistent rain and very cold summers, which depressed food production.

2. Because religious rites failed to alter the bad weather, the famine served to undermine belief in the efficacy of prayer and religious good works.

3. The famines led to a sharp increase in crime, especially against property.

4. Many chroniclers reported cannibalism—anthropophagia. Cannibalism is an integral part of Western consciousness and ritual behavior. Accusations of cannibalism or sodomy were most often used to define others as different or even inhuman.

5. Famine took a tremendous toll on society's resources, especially its livestock.

6. The elderly and young had the highest mortality rates, while the survivors were left physically weakened by malnourishment and disease.

7. Southern Europe did not experience famine. Castile, for instance, exported grain at very favorable prices to England and other northern European countries.

II. The Hundred Years War

A. The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) was the first Europe-wide war.

1. Although it was fought mainly in France, it involved other countries besides France and England.

2. This long conflict transformed the forms of warfare and military technology.

B. The war had its origins in the gradual transformation of both England and France from feudal to national states.

1. The Angevin kings of England ruled all of western France *from* the king of France, even though as kings *of England* they were not vassals of the French king.

2. By 1337, English kings ruled only Gascony in northern France—an area of great commercial importance to England.

C. The crisis was precipitated by the looming extinction of the Capetian line of French kings during the early fourteenth century.

1. The French king Philip IV died in 1314. None of his three sons, each of whom succeeded him as king, produced surviving male issue. Philip's daughter Isabella had married Edward II, who became king of England in 1307.

2. Philip's last son and successor as king, Charles IV, died in 1328. The best claimant to the French crown now became Philip IV's grandson—the future Edward III of England, the son of Philip's

daughter Isabella and Edward II. According to French tradition as codified in the Salic Law, however, the succession could not pass through the female line.

3. The French nobility disregarded Edward III's claim to the French throne, electing instead Philip VI of Valois, who inaugurated a new dynastic line.
4. In 1329, Edward III made a vague homage to Philip VI, and two years later he officially accepted Philip VI as French king.
5. Philip began to agitate for the return of Gascony, and he encouraged Gascon nobles to appeal to himself rather than to Edward III as their final authority.
6. Following Edward III's refusal in 1337 to accept the right of the Gascon nobles to appeal directly to Philip VI, the French king confiscated Gascony in accordance with feudal law. Edward responded by claiming the throne of France.

Essential Reading:

Jordan, *The Great Famine*

Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*, chs. 1 and 2

Supplementary Reading:

Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life*

Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*, ch. 1.

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss and evaluate the climatic and economic changes which led to the great famines of 1315-17.
2. Describe, with supporting examples, the consequences of widespread famine, and evaluate its short as well as long term impact on medieval society.

Lecture Six
War

Scope: In this lecture, students will learn about the Hundred Years War. Rather than providing a narrative of the war (which can be found in the textbooks listed below), this lecture will examine the manner in which this long drawn-out conflict affected the social, economic, political, and cultural structures of late medieval Europe. We will focus on: the impact of long bows and of the new military technology on society; the role of war in social change; the rise of knightly orders; and the contradictions between the savagery of war and chivalrous ideals.

Outline

I. The Hundred Years War: Its Social, Political and Economic Impact on European Society

- **A.** The early stages of the war between 1337 and 1345 had few events of lasting importance.
  - **1.** Brittany was the main issue at stake in the Battle of Crecy (1340).
  - **2.** Little happened following the Battle of Poitiers.
- **B.** The strength of France began to wane following the death of Charles V in 1380.
  - **1.** Charles V's successor was the insane Charles VI, during whose reign power devolved to the feudal nobility, who divided France into small appanajes.
  - **2.** The Lancastrian invasion of France began in 1415, marked by Henry V's great victory at Agincourt.
  - **3.** France began to strengthen its position between 1429 and 1453.
- **C.** Over time, the war evolved from a feudal into a dynastic conflict.
  - **1.** Having no feudal right to resist his liege lord, Edward III transformed the war into a dynastic conflict by claiming a dynastic right to the French throne that superseded the Valois claim.
  - **2.** The war also evolved from a matter of suzerainty (a relationship between two private free men in which one is suzerain to the other) into one of sovereignty. English kings claimed sovereignty over both France and England. Simultaneously, theorists such as Marsilio of Padua were developing a new conception of sovereignty.
- **D.** In 1338 Edward III was received by the Flemish burghers at Brabant as king of France.
  - **1.** Flanders was in theory under suzerainty of the French king, but the English needed access to the Flemish textile factories.
  - **2.** This early stage of the war was characterized by skirmishes rather than pitched battles. Neither side had a standing army or could conduct lengthy campaigns.
- **E.** It is hard to separate national from personal objectives in the Hundred Years War.
  - **1.** The war separated England and France as national entities, but it was seen by the English kings and nobility largely as a private enterprise to recover their rightful possessions in France.
  - **2.** Thus the war can be seen as a conflict among nations and as one among personal objectives. Over time, however, the focus of the war became more national than personal.
  - **3.** In 1340 two claimants contested the lordship of Brittany, one of France's most backward areas. When the French king supported one of the claimants, the other gave homage to the English king. Edward III landed in Normandy in 1340 to support his new vassal's claim.

II. New weapons and military technology influenced the eventual outcome of the war.

- **A.** Initially, France was militarily far stronger than England.
  - **1.** In 1345 a superior French army met a smaller English force at Crécy.
  - **2.** The French cavalry charged uphill, meeting Welsh peasants armed with six-foot longbows. This new weapon ushered in a new style of fighting that led to English victories at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.
- **B.** This new style of fighting marked an end to the age of chivalry. Knights could no longer prevail against bowmen on the battlefield.
- **C.** Although crossbows were awkward and hard to use, they had even longer range than the longbow.
- **D.** Siege technology also advanced.
  - **1.** Guns and artillery were used as early as 1375.

2. The Battle of Castillon (1435) was the first western battle in which artillery decided the outcome.
3. New military technology gave the lower classes new access to power, prestige, and booty through the use of arms.
4. Kings used their power over taxation to create standing armies, which could be used to protect the king's authority and assert his control over the population.

III. The English in France

A. Crécy (1345) represented a crushing defeat for France. The French king Philip IV died shortly after Crécy. His successor, the ineffectual John the Good, appeased the English, who had taken both Gascony and Calais.

B. At Poitiers in 1356, a superior French force was routed by an inferior English force.
1. King John was captured and brought to England as prisoner. To secure his own release, John paid a ransom of 4 million ecus and granted the English king sovereignty over one-third of France.
2. Meanwhile, the Paris bourgeoisie rose in rebellion against the young prince Charles VI, and in 1358 the rural *Jacquerie* rebellion occurred as the great nobles tried to appropriate lands from the royal domain.
3. To guarantee the 4 million ecu ransom following John the Good's release from England, several members of the French royal family agreed to go to England as hostages. When these hostages later fled, John felt honor-bound to return to England, where he later died and was buried with great ceremony.

C. Although France had regained its dominance by 1380, it declined again thereafter.
1. John's successor, Charles V, recovered much of the land that John had ceded to England.
2. In England, Edward III was succeeded by Richard II, who was a minor (the Black Prince having preceded Edward III to the grave).
3. Under the rule of Charles VI, the French nobles became rulers of appanages of territory, and France became fragmented into quasi-independent units.
4. In England, Henry IV usurped the throne from Richard II. The Lancastrian invasions of France began in 1415 and reached their high point with the Battle of Agincourt in 1420.
5. In the Treaty of Troyes (1420), Charles VI recognized Henry V as heir to his throne. Meanwhile, the dauphin established his capital at Bourges, styling himself the King of Bourges.

D. A peasant girl—Jeanne d'Arc—claimed to hear voices commanding her to restore the kingdom of France.
1. She appealed to the royal court at Bourges for military forces, which she used to defeat the siege of Orleans.
2. Jeanne d'Arc was later captured by the Burgundians and forced under torture to recant. Her man's clothes were taken from her, and she was put to the stake.
3. Jeanne d'Arc represented the growth of a national conscience that would lead to France's resurrection.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* ch. 6

Allmand, *The Hundred Years War*

Supplementary Reading:

Perroy, *The Hundred Years War*

Keen, *Chivalry*

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss and evaluate the impact of the war on social structures and on the economies of France and England.
2. Describe the character of chivalric culture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, its origins and later manifestations.

Lecture Seven
The Black Death

Scope: This lecture provides a brief outline of the coming of the Plague into western Europe in 1348. It emphasizes the impact of pestilence on the psychological make-up of Europeans in the mid-fourteenth century. In addition, students will grasp the present historiographical debate on whether the Plague was a watershed in late medieval history or not. Other topics to be considered include the development of the Church after the Plague; the violence against Jews and lepers, which followed the spread of the Plague; and the reaction of the authorities and individuals to its onslaught.

Outline

I. Pestilence: The Coming of the Black Death to Europe

- **A.** The Black Plague has been the subject of long-standing debates among historians.
  - **1.** Did the Black Plague represent a crucial turning point in European history? Was it a cause of the crisis of the late Middle Ages? Was it one manifestation of a larger structural crisis?
  - **2.** Professor Ruiz views the plague as one event in a larger structural crisis.
  - **3.** Unlike the modern world, which views death as the ultimate obscenity, medieval society was familiar with and accepted death.
- **B.** The Black Death: Origins and Etiology
  - **1.** The plague bacillus was carried into Europe from the Far East by fleas, which were in turn carried by brown rats.
  - **2.** The plague had two main variants—bubonic and pneumonic, of which the latter was invariably fatal. Contemporaries did not perceive the relationship among fleas, rats, and the plague itself.
- **C.** Most people reacted with bewilderment to the Plague.
  - **1.** Boccaccio describes the societal response to the Plague in his introduction to the *Decameron*.
  - **2.** The Plague severely harmed society's moral fabric. It prompted some families to dissolve and relatives to abandon each other. However, it also occasioned great deeds of valor and loyalty.
  - **3.** Governments, the Church, and medicine all proved useless in arresting the disease.
  - **4.** Those who showed charity toward the ill tended to contract the illness themselves and die, while those who were selfish and fled often survived.
  - **5.** Relics and other special religious devotions were ineffective in stemming the Plague, which contributed further to social dissolution.
  - **6.** Mortality rates were disproportionately high among the poor and other groups, such as the Jews, that lived crowded together in the cities.
- **D.** The Plague had a dramatic social and economic impact.
  - **1.** It opened up good lands and emptied monasteries, contributing to subsequent pluralism in the holding of religious office. Because many who subsequently entered the Church as clerics were unsuited and were drawn mainly by the potential incomes, the Plague fostered anticlericalism.
  - **2.** Customs revenues and rents fell dramatically as a consequence of the Plague.
  - **3.** The Plague also contributed to the abandonment of many villages and the consolidation of smaller villages into larger towns.
  - **4.** Many people responded to Plague not with asceticism but with immoral excesses.

II. The Plague evoked various social and cultural responses.

- **A.** It encouraged the rise of apocalyptic movements, notably the Flagellants, whom the Church authorities tried to suppress. Often the Flagellants carried the plague with them as they moved from town to town.
- **B.** The Plague released existing social prejudices, notably against Jews and lepers. Certain elements of medieval society began to persecute others as scapegoats for the various disasters besetting their world.
  - **1.** Medieval society was deeply infected with anti-Semitism. Many kings and lords tried to protect the Jews, because they were an economically important part of the population. Attacking the Jews became an indirect way of attacking the Crown.

2. Lepers were seen as morally reprehensible and were exterminated throughout Europe.
3. The Plague marked an important stage in the ongoing process of distinguishing those who "belonged" in late medieval society from those who did not. A communal identity emerged from which certain despised peoples were excluded.

C. The Plague encouraged more intense and morbid religious devotions and forms of spirituality.
1. Death was more vividly representations in works of visual art and music—e.g., the *Dies Irae* and *La Danse Macabre*.
2. Religious devotions emphasized the suffering of Christ and the Virgin.
3. People would place skulls by their bedside as a *memento mori*—a reminder of the ephemeral nature of life.
4. Funeral art after 1350 portrayed death more realistically, and Masses for the Dead proliferated.

III. Politics and Economy after the Black Death

A. The Plague helped to produce a serious labor shortage after 1350.
1. Political rulers throughout Europe enacted "statutes of laborers" to bind the peasantry to the land. Many of these efforts failed.
2. Serfdom was strengthened in eastern Europe as a means to tie the population to the land and ensure an adequate supply of labor.
3. The Plague had depleted much of urban population. Following the Plague, new people—the *novi*—took up residence in the cities.

B. The experience of the Plague also encouraged some people to pursue a new kind of spiritual life; e.g., some non-clerics began to lead quasi-monastic lives apart from the Church. Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* exhorted Christians to imitate Christ not by joining the clergy but by imitating Jesus in their daily lives.

C. The Plague continued to revisit Europe periodically until the seventeenth century.

Essential Reading:

Ziegler, *The Black Death*

Supplementary Reading:

Boccaccio, *Decameron*, introduction

Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss and evaluate the impact of the Black Death on the population of Europe and on the economic and social structures of the late medieval world.
2. Describe, with supporting examples, how the Plague affected the mentality and spirituality of late medieval Europe.

Lecture Eight
Popular Rebellions

Scope: This lecture will discuss peasant and urban uprisings in western Europe. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed a period of increased violence, as those on top sought to maintain the level of their income at a time of economic and social dislocation. Those below or, more often, those caught in the middle, responded in an equally violent manner. We will focus on three short case studies: the *Jacquerie* in France (1356), the *Ciompi* in Florence (1378), and the Peasant Uprising in England in 1381, as examples of a far more generalized unrest in late medieval Europe.

Outline

I. Popular Revolts in Late Medieval Europe

- **A.** Were these events revolutions or just rebellions?
  - **1.** Until the fourteenth century, peasant rebellions were mostly localized and sporadic outbursts. Thereafter, Europe experienced occasional widespread and almost national uprisings against the social order.
  - **2.** Were these uprisings genuine revolutions in the Marxian sense?
  - **3.** These revolts did have a class aspect, and the rebels were aware of growing social and economic distinctions between themselves and "those on top."
- **B.** A precipitous decline in feudal rents was an important cause of the late medieval crisis.
  - **1.** The rents extracted by lords from the peasantry were fixed by custom and thus could not be raised arbitrarily. Rising inflation after 1285 eroded the value of these rents.
  - **2.** As a result, both landlords and the Church were increasingly squeezed economically. In places, the nobility used violence to extract money from the peasantry and burghers. To raise revenue, monarchs often debased the coinage, which brought further inflation.
- **C.** The Fraticelli attacked property, wealth, and oppression.

II. Peasant Uprisings: The Cry of the Countryside

- **A.** One of most important peasant rebellions was the *Jacquerie* of 1356-1358 in France.
  - **1.** These risings followed the French defeat at Poitiers and the capture of the king. Étienne Marcel—a bourgeois leader in Paris—seized control of the city. He and his ally Charles the Bad (king of Navarre) tried to impose reforms giving the bourgeoisie more control over Parisian affairs.
  - **2.** Following the dissolution of the French army, the mercenaries pillaged the countryside in the Isle de France, sparking the spontaneous peasant uprising known as the *Jacquerie*.
  - **3.** Our sources, which were hostile to the rebellion, depict the peasant rebels as subhuman.
  - **4.** Following the outbreak of rebellion, the nobility formed a new army and exterminated as many peasants as possible.
- **B.** English peasants rose in rebellion in 1381.
  - **1.** Desperate for income to fund the war with France, parliament enacted in 1377 an onerous new tax from which they alone were exempt. The tax sparked a spontaneous peasant revolt in Sussex in May 1381, led in part by Wat Tyler.
  - **2.** Many of the leaders of this revolt against onerous taxation did not come from the ranks of the impoverished.
    - **a.** Most of the identifiable leaders were of the middling sort and held positions of social and economic importance in their villages.
    - **b.** Perhaps the uprisings were less rebellions of the impoverished than they were rebellions of those whose rising expectations were not being satisfied.
  - **3.** The rebels' capture of the Rochester castle in early June 1381 underscored their growing power. On June 10 the rebels seized Canterbury and looted the bishop's palace.
  - **4.** The priest John Ball emerged as rebels' leader and articulated their objections to artificial social distinctions: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then a gentleman?"
  - **5.** On June 11-12 a force of 50,000 peasants entered London.

a. On June 14 the boy-king Richard II accepted the rebel leaders' demands that he abolish serfdom, reduce land rents, grant amnesty to all rebels, and ensure freedom to work for all Englishmen.
b. The next day, the rebel leaders made a new series of demands. Following a scuffle in which Wat Tyler was killed, the rebellion dissolved.
c. Many of the rebel leaders were later hunted down and killed.

C. Catalonia experienced the rising of the *remenças* between 1462 and 1485.
1. A *remença* was a fee that serfs had to pay to secure their freedom.
2. The peasant rebels allied with the king against the nobility, whereas in England and France the king and nobility had allied against the peasantry.
3. In 1486 the peasants were granted the ability to purchase their freedom.

III. Urban Revolutions: Bourgeois and Proletarian

A. In the midst of the Black Plague, Cola di Rienzi (1313-1354) led a rebellion in Rome seeking the restoration of republicanism.
1. On Pentecost 1347, Cola was elected tribune of Rome by the assembled populace.
2. On August 15, 1347 at a festival of fraternity in Rome, Cola was crowned as master of the world.
3. Within several months, Cola was expelled from Rome. He later returned and was executed.

B. Like Cola's rebellion, the Ciompi rebellion in Florence in 1378 ended in complete failure.
1. The Ciompi were proletarians—the wool-carters of Florence, known as the "blue nails."
2. Encouraged by Silvestro de Medici and other demagogues who sought to use popular pressure as a means to win political power in Florence for themselves, in 1378 the wool workers began to demand their own guild.
3. On May 1, 1378, the Ciompi seized the Signoria and issued a list of rather modest demands. They were later counterattacked and hunted down.

IV. Those "on top" ultimately triumphed over the rebels.

A. The lords subsequently modified rents in order to protect their own economic interests.

B. A "discourse of difference" emerged between those on top and those below.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, chs. 3 and 4

Supplementary Reading:

Mollat and Wolff, *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages*

Mullet, *Popular Culture and Popular Protest*

Froissart, *Chronicles*

Fourquin, *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion*

Hilton and Aston, *The English Rising of 1381*

For documentary evidence of the English peasant uprising of 1381, see Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe and evaluate the series of revolutions, revolts, and uprisings that were so common throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.
2. Discuss and evaluate, with supporting examples, the popular rebellions in late medieval Europe. Explain the nature of these uprisings and how urban revolts differed from rural ones.

Timeline

c. 1240-1302 Cimabue, painter in Florence
c. 1260-1327 Meister Eckhart, mystic
1265-1321 Dante Alighieri, writer
1272-1307 Edward I, king of England
c. 1275 Jean de Meun completes *The Romance of the Rose*.
c. 1275-1343 Marsiglio de Padua, political theorist
1279-1325 Diniz, king of Portugal
1285-1314 Philip IV the Fair, king of France
1291-1327 James II, king of Aragon and Sicily
1294-1303 Boniface VIII, pope
1295-1312 Ferdinand IV, king of Castile-Leon
c. 1295-1349 William of Ockham, philosopher
1300 First papal jubilee
1305-1378 Removal of the Papacy to Avignon (the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church)
1303 Attack on Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni
1303-1304 Benedict XI, pope
1304-1374 Francesco Petrarch, writer and humanist
1305-1314 Clement V, pope at Avignon
c. 1305-1345 Lorenzetti, painter in Siena
1307-1327 Edward II, king of England
1312-1350 Alfonso XI, king of Castile-Leon
1313-1375 Giovanni Boccaccio, writer
1313-1314 Scottish War
1314 Battle of Bannockburn. Scottish independence won.
1314-1316 Louis X, king of France
1315-1317 Famine in most of northern Europe
1316-1334 John XXII, pope at Avignon
1316-1322 Philip V, king of France
1320 Revolt of the *Pastoureaux*
c. 1321 Dante (1265-1321) completes the *Divine Comedy*.
1322-1328 Charles IV, king of France, last Capetian king
1323-1328 Peasant rebellion in Flanders
1324 Marsiglio de Padua writes The Defender of Peace
1325-1357 Afonso IV, king of Portugal
1327-1377 Edward III, king of England
1327-1336 Alfonso IV, king of Aragon
1328-1350 Philip VI, first Valois king of France
1331-1406 Coluccio Salutati, humanist
c. 1332 Birth of William Langland (author of *Piers Ploughman*)
1334-1342 Benedict XII, pope at Avignon
1336 Death of the painter Giotto
1336-1387 Peter IV, king of Aragon

1337 Start of Hundred Years' War between England and France
c. 1340-1400 Geoffrey Chaucer
1342-1352 Clement VI, pope at Avignon
1346 English victory at Crécy
1347 Calais taken by the English
1347 Revolution in Rome. Cola di Rienzi
1348-1350 The Black Death (Bubonic Plague) sweeps Europe
1350-1369 Peter I the Cruel, king of Castile-Leon
1350-1364 John II the Good, king of France
1352-1362 Innocent VI, pope at Avignon
1353 Boccaccio completes the *Decameron*
1354 Ottoman Turks in Europe
1356 Battle of Poitiers
1357-1367 Peter I, king of Portugal
1358 Peasant rising in France: the *Jacquerie*
1360 Peace of Brétigny (between England and France)
1362-1370 Urban V, pope at Avignon
1364-1380 Charles V, king of France
1367 Urban V tries to return the papacy to Rome
1367-1383 Ferdinand I, king of Portugal
1369-1379 Henry II, king of Castile-Leon (Trastámara)
1370-1378 Gregory XI, pope at Avignon
1377-1399 Richard II, king of England
1377-1446 Brunelleschi, architect
1378-1402 Gian Galeazzo (Visconti), ruler of Milan
1378-1389 Urban VI, pope
1378-1394 Clement VII, pope
1378 Great Schism begins
1378 The *Ciompi* revolt in Florence
1379-1390 John I, king of Castile-Leon
1380-1422 Charles VI, king of France
1380-1381 Peasants' Revolt in England
1384 Death of Wyclif
1385-1433 John I (Avis), king of Portugal
c. 1386-1466 Donatello, sculptor
1387-1395 John I, king of Aragon
1389-1404 Boniface IX, pope
1390-1440 Jan Van Eyck, painter
1390-1406 Henry III, king of Castile-Leon
1391 Anti-Jewish pogroms in Spain
1391 Large number of Jewish conversions in Spain
1394-1423 Benedict XIII, pope
1394-1460 Prince Henry the Navigator
1395-1410 Martin I, king of Aragon

1399-1413 Henry IV (Lancaster), king of England
c. 1400-1455 Fra Angelico, painter
c. 1401-1428 Masaccio, painter
1404-1406 Innocent VII, pope
1405-1471 L.B. Alberti, architect and humanist
1406-1454 John II, king of Castile-Leon
1406-1415 Gregory XII, pope
1409-1410 Alexander V, pope
1410-1415 John XXIII, anti-pope
1412-1416 Ferdinand I (Trastámara), king of Aragon and Sicily
1413 The Cabochian revolt (Paris)
1413-1422 Henry V, king of England (and France)
1414-1417 Council of Constance; end of the Great Schism
1415 Battle of Agincourt
1416-1458 Alfonse V, king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples
1417-1431 Martin V, pope
1422-1509 *The Paston Letters*
1422-1461 Charles VII, king of France (*le roi de Bourges*)
1422-1461 Henry VI, king of England
1431-1447 Eugenius IV, pope
1431 Death of Jeanne d'Arc
1431 Birth of François Villon, poet
1433 Gil Eannes reach Cape Bojador (west coast of Africa)
1433-1438 Duarte I, king of Portugal
1438-1481 Alfonso V, king of Portugal
1444-1510 Botticelli, painter
1447-1455 Nicholas V, pope
1452-1519 Leonardo da Vinci
1453 Fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks
1454-1474 Henry III, king of Castile-Leon
1456 Gutenberg's printing of the *Mazarin Bible*
1455-1458 Calixtus III, pope
1455-1485 War of the Roses (England)
1458-1479 John II, king of Aragon and Sicily
1458-1464 Pius II, pope and humanist
1461-1483 Edward IV (York), king of England
1461-1483 Louis XI, the Spider king, king of France
1464-1471 Paul II, pope
1469-1527 Niccolo Machiavelli, writer
1469 Marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand (Spain)
1471-1484 Sixtus IV, pope
1474-1504 Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile-Leon
1475-1564 Michelangelo
1476 Caxton's printing press (Westminster)

c. 1476	Death of Sir John Fortescue, author and jurist
1478-1492	Lorenzo the Magnificent (Medici), ruler of Florence
1479-1516	Ferdinand II the Catholic, king of Aragon
1481-1495	John II, king of Portugal
1483-1485	Richard III, king of England
1483-1498	Charles VIII, king of France
1484	Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*, printed by Caxton
1484-1492	Innocent VIII, pope
1485-1509	Henry VII (Tudor), king of England
1488	Bartolomeu Dias rounds the Cape of Good Hope
1492	Expulsion of the Jews from Spain
1492-1493	Columbus' first voyage to the New World
1492-1503	Alexander VI, pope (Borgia)
1494	French invasion of Italy
1497-1499	Vasco da Gama's voyage to India
1498-1515	Louis XII, king of France

Bibliography

I. Essential Reading:

Allmand, Christopher. *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300-c.1450*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy.* New York: Harper, 1958.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales.* New York: Penguin Books, 1984.

Dante. *The Divine Comedy, vol. I. Inferno.* New York: Penguin Books, 1984.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath.* New York: Penguin Books, 1992.

Hay, Denys. *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.* London: Longman, 1980.

Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. New York: Anchor Books, 1954.

Jordan, William C. *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Malory, Thomas. *Le Morte D'Arthur.* New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

Ziegler, Philip. *The Black Death.* New York: Harper, 1971.

II. Supplementary Reading:

Aston, T.H. and Philpin, C.H.E., eds. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development on Pre-Industrial Europe.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Decameron.* New York: Penguin, 1972.

Brucker, Gene. *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Burke, Peter. *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Cipolla, Carlo M. *Guns, Sails, and Empires: Technological Innovations and the Early Phases of European Expansion.* New York, Harper, 1965.

de Commynes, Phillippe. *Mémoires.* New York: Penguin Books, many printings.

Dobson, R.B., ed. *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381.* London: MacMillan, 1970.

Duby, Georges. *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France.* New York: Pantheon, 1983.

Duby, Georges. *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West.* Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1976.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. *Before Columbus. Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Freedman, Paul. "Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia," *Past and Present*, 121 (1988): 3-29.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1979.

Fourquin, Guy. *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion in the Middle Ages.* New York: North Holland, 1978.

Freedman, Paul H. *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Froissart, *The Chronicles.* New York: Penguin Books, 1978.

Geremek, Bronislaw. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Gies, Frances and Joseph. *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages.* New York: Harper, 1987.

Hanawalt, Barbara, and Reyerson K., eds. *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994.

Hilton, R.H. and T.H. Aston. *The English Rising of 1381.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Holmes, George. *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt, 1320-1450.* New York: Harper, 1975.

Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Leff, Gordon. *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* New York: John Wiley, 1968.

Maddern, Philippa C. *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422-1442.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Martines, Lauro, ed. *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500.* Los Angeles, 1972.

Mollat, Michel. *The Poor in the Middle Ages.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Mollat, Michel and Wolff, Phillippe. *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages.* Winchester, MA: Allen and Unwin, 1973.

Moore, R.I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Mullett, Michael. *Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Newman, Francis X., ed. *Social Unrest in the Late Middle Ages.* Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986.

Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Perroy, Edouard. *The Hundred Years War.* New York: Capricorn Books, 1965.

Phillips, William D., and Carla Rahn. *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Rörig, Fritz. *The Medieval Town.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Ruggiero, Guido. *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980.

Ruiz, Teofilo F. *Crisis and Continuity: Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

***** Please Note: Additional Strongly Suggested Readings are listed under individual lectures.

Medieval Europe: Crisis and Renewal

Part II

Professor Teofilo F. Ruiz

THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

Teofilo F. Ruiz

Brooklyn College and the City University
of New York Graduate Center

Teofilo F. Ruiz teaches history at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York (CUNY) and history and Spanish medieval literature at CUNY's Graduate Center. He has also taught as a visiting professor at the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Princeton University, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris, and in six NEH summer seminars throughout the United States and abroad. He has lectured frequently in the United States, Spain, Italy, France, England, Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina.

Professor Ruiz received a Ph.D. in History from Princeton and has been the recipient of fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and the American Council of Learned Societies. In 1994 he was selected by the Carnegie Foundation as one of four Outstanding Teachers of the Year in the United States. He has published five books and more than thirty articles in national and international scholarly journals, plus more than one hundred reviews and smaller articles. His latest book, *Crisis and Continuity: Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994) was awarded the *Premio del Rey* for 1994-1995 by the American Historical Association as the best book in pre-1580 Spanish history.

Table of Contents
Medieval Europe: Crisis and Renewal, Part II

Medieval Europe: Crisis and Renewal

Scope:

This course examines the crises of late medieval society (widespread famines in 1315-17, wars, plagues, popular rebellions) and the manner in which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, men and women responded to these crises by formulating new concepts of love, art, religion, and political organization.

The emphasis throughout is not on a sustained political narrative. My aim, rather, is to explore the structures of late medieval society and show how the society, economy, and culture were transformed and refashioned by the upheavals besetting Europe at the onset of modernity. Thus, in tracing the response to economic, political, and social crises, we will also chart the transition from the medieval to the modern world.

Lecture Nine
Politics

Scope: This lecture will introduce students to the new political concepts that were formulated in the late Middle Ages. Centralized monarchies, the harbingers of modernity, emerged at the end of the fifteenth century in Castile, France, and England. Professor Ruiz explains how, in the midst of the many different crises affecting medieval society, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century thinkers and rulers developed concepts of sovereignty. In this period we witness the first steps towards the genesis of the nation state.

Outline

I. Politics, Ideas and the Nation

A. The thought of Aristotle and Aquinas encouraged a new focus on the naturalness of the state.

1. Aristotle taught that man is by nature a political animal. Under his influence, the state became seen as a natural institution—it is a manifestation of man's *telos*.

2. Aquinas taught that grace perfects nature and that the state is perfected by God's grace.

3. The link between God and the state was severed by the fourteenth century, as new theorists separated politics from religion.

B. John of Paris was the likely author of two tractates entitled "An Argument Between a Knight and Clerk" and "On Royal and Papal Power," in which he underscored the emerging secular and nation-based conception of power.

1. John held that real power in most European kingdoms rested with secular monarchs.

2. He distinguished between the power conferred by ideas and the power conferred by force.

3. John viewed the world of temporal power as autonomous from that of spiritual power, although he saw God as the ultimate source of both spiritual and temporal power.

C. The definitive break between temporal and spiritual power came with Marsilio of Padua.

1. In *Defensor Pacis* (1324), Marsilio identified the Church as the main cause of breaches of the peace.

2. Marsilio distinguished sharply between faith and reason, holding that anything that cannot be explained rationally must be discounted.

3. Anticipating Machiavelli, he held that the state or nation requires no theological justification; it is an end unto itself. It is a congregation of citizens that are equal among themselves and ruled by a law that emerges from themselves.

4. The Church and churchmen have jurisdiction only over spiritual matters.

D. The Perugian lawyer Bartolus (d. 1352) first enumerated the notion of sovereignty—a free people recognizes no superior. *Quod omnes tangit*: What touches all must be decided by all.

II. Taxation and the making of the state

A. The emergence of the modern state was marked especially by expansion of the king's power of taxation.

1. During the early and high Middle Ages, kings created a quasi-sacred persona for themselves.

2. The notion of *patria* emerged during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. *Pro Patria Mori*: I am willing to die for my kingdom.

B. Over time, kings imposed a system of regular and permanent taxation, and thus they became less reliant for their income upon fixed feudal dues payable by their vassals.

1. Kings needed emergency revenues to raise armies and finance wars. Initially these revenues were regarded as special gifts from the contributors, but over time they became permanent.

2. Acting on behalf of the king, the provincial assembly would collect the required tax, keeping a share for itself.

C. Bureaucrats and tax collectors expanded the boundaries of royal power throughout the kingdom.

1. The French king Charles V (d. 1380) established a regular tax system, but before he died he commuted all the taxes and asked his successor to return the proceeds to the taxpayers.

2. The movement toward regular taxation and a unified, powerful nation-state was not inexorable or unilinear.

III. These developments had a profound impact on the Church.

A. Especially under the Avignon popes, the Church provided the model of a modern, centralized state.

B. The Church collected huge revenues through Peter's Pence and the imposition of taxes—annates—on newly appointed bishops and abbots.

C. The Church became an absolute monarchy headed by the pope.

1. Proponents of the conciliar movement held that sovereignty within the Church lay ultimately with Church councils, which could name and depose popes.

2. By the mid-fifteenth century, however, the papacy had recovered the upper hand.

IV. The Italian Answer

A. The Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt described the Italian city-state as "a work of art," fashioned by individual rulers and beyond the sphere of religion. Conflicts among and within city-states loomed large in Dante's poetry.

B. Many Italian city-states were ruled by "new men"—tyrants who legitimized their power not through divine election or other religious factors but by surrounding themselves with dependents and by patronizing the arts.

1. The state became omnipotent within its territorial boundaries

2. The Renaissance marked the dawn of a new world in which the realities of power were all-important and in which the ultimate end—the survival of the state and its ruler—justified any means.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ch. 5-8

Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Part I.

Suggested Reading:

Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*, ch. 4, 6, and 7

Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society*

Ruggiero, *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss and evaluate the development of ideas about sovereignty and political theory in late medieval Europe and their influence on the evolution of the state.

2. Discuss and evaluate the manner in which the Tudor kings of England were able to consolidate their rule and modernize the state.

Lecture Ten
Castile in the Late Fifteenth Century

Scope: In this lecture, students will be able to see how the ideas and practice of government, discussed in general terms in the previous lecture, were put to service in the kingdom of Castile (one of the kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula) in the late fifteenth century. By utilizing age-old medieval institutions, the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, were able to forge a centralized monarchy. After this lesson, students will know how monarchs organized the nation-state and became masters of its political, economic, and cultural resources.

Outline

I. This lecture examines a case study: Castile in the late fifteenth century.

- **A.** Castile is divided into the kingdom of Navarre, the Crown of Aragon (consisting of the county of Catalonia, the kingdom of Aragon, the kingdom of Valencia, and also lands in the Balerics, Sicily, and Naples); Portugal; and the kingdom of Castile.
- **B.** The fifteenth century was marked, especially in France, by what some historians call "bastard feudalism," in which the high nobility tried to alienate as much as possible of the royal domain.
  - **1.** Anarchic conditions prevailed throughout the major countries of Europe.
  - **2.** In England, France, and Castile, royal houses struggled against the nobility to establish their authority and construct a centralized monarchy.
  - **3.** Civil wars were fought continuously as nobles challenged the reigning monarchs and sought to seize the throne.
- **C.** The kings of Castile sought new sources of revenue that would emancipate them from dependence upon the *cortes* for funds.
  - **1.** Royal revenues in Castile came mainly from taxes on the transhumance. The Mesta—the union of sheepherders—paid large taxes on their flocks as they travelled north and south across the Iberian peninsula.
  - **2.** Unlike their French and English counterparts, the Castilian kings did not have to ask their parliaments to consent to new taxes.
  - **3.** The kings of Castile (and, to a lesser extent, Aragon) controlled the Church and could appropriate part of its income. The Church played no role in legitimizing the power of the Castilian kings.

II. Order returned to Castile during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

- **A.** Isabella and Ferdinand restored order to Castile following the reign of King Henry IV, who was under the nobility's control.
  - **1.** Isabella was Henry's older sister and not his legitimate heir. The king's first marriage had failed without consummation, and his second marriage was fraudulent; the real father of his heir—the infanta Juana—was the courtier Beltran de la Cuerva. Legitimate or not, Juana was recognized as heiress to the throne.
  - **2.** Nevertheless, Isabella came to the throne in 1474 with bourgeois support. She fought a civil war against the aristocracy, which supported Juana.
  - **3.** Isabella married her cousin Ferdinand, who became king of the Crown of Aragon in 1479. The kingdoms of Castile and Aragon remained legally separate but were linked by the two monarchs in a personal union.
- **B.** The monarchs centralized their authority in Castile but not in Aragon.
  - **1.** Their mechanism for restoring order in Castile was the *Santa Hermandad*, which had jurisdiction over various crimes and summarily executed those found guilty.
  - **2.** The kings also used the *Santa Hermandad* as a tool against the nobility. In Galicia it sacked the castles of nobles, executed nobles, and forced many to return the wealth they had previously expropriated from the Crown.
  - **3.** The king replaced leading nobles as commanders of the great military orders.
  - **4.** An implicit deal was struck whereby the Crown guaranteed the social and economic status of the nobility, and in return the nobility acknowledged the authority of the nascent state.

5. The Catholic kings also implemented bureaucratic reforms and created a system of councils with jurisdiction over all aspects of Castilian life.

III. Jews, *Conversos*, Muslims and Christians

A. Jews had inhabited Iberia from early Christian times.
1. Jews were not segregated in Castile until the fifteenth century.
2. As the Muslim presence declined in Iberia, many Jews moved into Christian society.
3. The character of Jewish life depended on the locality in which the Jews lived.

B. Pogroms against Jews took place in 1390-91, during the minority of King Henry III.
1. To attack Jews, who "belonged" to the king, was to attack the structures of royal power.
2. Many Jews were given the choice of conversion or death.
3. Between the 1390s and the 1420s, many Jews converted to Christianity; they were known as *conversos*. Those at the bottom of society resented *conversos* who had achieved social and economic prominence in the towns. Most assaults on *conversos* came "from below."

C. Anti-*converso* sentiment gave rise to the Inquisition, which served as an instrument of royal power.
1. Concerned to preserve their autonomy, town residents often resisted the introduction of the Inquisition into their territories.
2. The Inquisition had jurisdiction only over Christians; its target were the *conversos*, who had long been Christian.

D. There are two schools of thought on the Inquistion.
1. The "lachrymose school" holds that most *conversos* were secret Jews and were targeted for that reason by the Inquisition.
2. Another view sees most of the *conversos* as truly Christian and the Inquisition as motivated by racial hatred.
3. In Toledo, most *conversos* targeted by the Inquisition were artisans and small merchants rather than rich nobles.
4. Some hold that the *conversos* lacked a fixed religious identity; they were between both faiths.
5. In 1492, the Catholic monarchs recovered Granada and expelled the Jews from the kingdom. The rulers sought to create a unified and religiously homogeneous society. The idea of *convivencia*—that different peoples can coexist together—had disappeared by 1492.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ch. 6

Supplementary Reading:

Ruiz, *Crisis and Continuity*

Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude*

John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1970), chs. 1-3.

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss and evaluate the prevailing political, economic and social conditions of Castile in the fifteenth century on the eve of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.
2. The rule of Ferdinand and Isabella brought to an end a period of magnate anarchy and general violence. How did the Catholic Monarchs accomplish this? What was the nature of their administrative, economic and social reforms? Discuss in detail.

Lecture Eleven
Culture and Mentality I

Scope: In this and the next lecture, we will examine the birth of Renaissance culture in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century and its spread to other areas of western Europe. Beginning with Dante, we will become familiar with the basic elements of Renaissance humanism and art and examine as well the manner in which humanism challenged and transformed medieval culture.

Outline

I. When do the Middle Ages end and the Renaissance begin?

- **A.** Burckhardt saw the Renaissance as completely distinct from the Middle Ages.
- **B.** Others scholars have argued that the two are closely linked.
- **C.** Still others have seen the Renaissance as a scholarly reconstruction rather than a distinct historical period. All three of these views are correct in certain ways.

II. Dante**A.** Dante (1265-1321) bridges the medieval and Renaissance worlds.

1. His *Divine Comedy* is a *summa* of all great medieval learning.
2. In his choice of language and topics, however, Dante is a founder of the Renaissance.

B. *The Inferno* reflects the pain Dante experienced as a result of his exile from Florence.

1. When the story begins, Dante is 35 years old; he is in the middle of the road of his life. He is lost in a dark wood and accosted by wild beasts, representing lust and pride.
2. Dante wrote *The Divine Comedy* in Italian, a language which he effectively invented.
3. In the woods, Dante meets Virgil, who has been sent by Beatrice to guide Dante to paradise.
4. *The Divine Comedy* is many things at once: a courtly poem about love; a commentary on fourteenth-century Italian politics; an encyclopedia of late medieval knowledge; and a parable about the movement from reason (symbolized by Virgil) to revelation and faith (symbolized by Beatrice).

C. The geography of *The Inferno.*

1. Virtuous pagans occupy the first circle.
2. Limbo is inhabited by the lukewarm, who have refused to choose.
3. The second circle includes those guilty of incontinence, i.e., lust. The lovers Paolo and Francesca are pushed about by the wind.
4. In the deepest circle of hell are those guilty of the most heinous treason: Judas, Brutus, Cassius, and Satan himself.

IV. Petrarch (1304-1374) invented the Renaissance.

- **A.** Petrarch was the first to distinguish his world from the medieval world that preceded him. In his view, the "Renaissance" was characterized by the effort to give rebirth to classical culture after one thousand years of darkness, characterized by scholastic theology and barbaric Gothic architecture.
- **B.** In 1367, Petrarch composed an essay entitled "On My Own and Other People's Ignorance," in which he attacked scholastic theology and advocated a new humanistic learning.
  1. Leonardo Bruni advocated humanistic studies focusing not on scholastic debates but on how men *ought* to live.
  2. The humanists imitated classical models, collected classical manuscripts, and wrote in the Latin language and in the style of ancient Roman writers.
  3. In the medieval world, classical figures had been subsumed into Christianity. Petrarch, by contrast, sought to understand the classical past on its own terms.

V. Renaissance Italian artists liberated art from symbolism and allegory; and they sought to depict rational order and symmetry.

A. They used new techniques, including *chiaroscuro* and linear perspective, which appeared in Florence in 1420.

B. The subjects of paintings were increasingly secular during the Renaissance.

C. Italian Renaissance art reflected the humanist preoccupation with imitating classical models and depicting the human form as it actually is.

VI. The New Humanism

A. The humanists regarded themselves as living in a new age, not merely in a reborn past.

1. They sought to surpass the classical past, not merely to recapture it.

2. Free-standing statues were sculpted for the first time since the classical period. Palladio designed his great country houses in the Veneto in the classical style, emphasizing harmony, balance, and proportion.

B. Many Renaissance humanists were interested in philology and sought to restore ancient texts.

1. The most important philologist was Lorenzo Valla, secretary to the pope and to the king of Naples.

2. Using linguistic analysis, Valla discovered that the fourth-century Donation of Constantine was in fact an eighth-century forgery.

C. Another important Renaissance humanist was Pico della Mirandola.

1. *The Oration on the Dignity of Man* was the introduction to a series of 900 theses which Pico intended to publish.

2. In the *Oration*, Pico cited numerous ancient sources to underscore man's uniqueness. Man is the keystone of all creation; only he among the creatures can ascend to the angels or descend to the beasts.

VII. The Renaissance began to wane by the late fifteenth century, although it did not officially end, by one reckoning, until 1527 with the sack of Rome by Charles I.

A. Savonarola ruled Florence between 1495 and 1498. He urged his subjects to reject humanism and return to a simpler Christianity.

B. He called for all Renaissance art to be burned in a "bonfire of vanities."

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ch. 13.

Dante, *Inferno*

Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Parts II, III & IV.

Supplementary Reading:

Holmes, *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt*, ch. 8;

Burke, *The Italian Renaissance*

Boccaccio, *Decameron*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss and evaluate the meaning of the term Renaissance. Identify the main characteristics and contributions of the "Renaissance" in Italy.

2. How does Dante's *Inferno* reflect the mental world of the late Middle Ages? What aspects make it an early example of pre-Renaissance literature?

Lecture Twelve
Culture and Mentality II

Scope: In this lecture, we continue exploring the development of new artistic models, aesthetic sensibilities, and the rise of a new spirit. We will become familiar with three important developments: 1) the spread and impact of Renaissance ideas on the rest of western Europe; 2) the manner in which "old" forms, i.e., medieval culture, survived and prospered in other parts of Europe as Renaissance learning spread outward from Italy; 3) the process of secularization by which the learned elites throughout western Europe, without ceasing to be religious, became increasingly committed to secular attitudes in art, education, politics and the economy.

Outline

I. Art and Literature

A. The Renaissance spread from Italy throughout the rest of Europe.

1. The culture of Flanders, Spain, England, and France, was very different from that of Renaissance Italy. Johann Huizinga describes this distinctive Renaissance culture of northern Europe in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.

2. The culture of northern Europe stressed violence, extreme religiosity, and mortality.

3. The deep spirituality of northern European culture is exemplified in Erasmus, the Brethren of the Common Life, and Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ.*

B. Courtly culture revived during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

1. Twelfth-century courtly literary models were revived, but they were also transformed by the social and economic circumstances of the fourteenth century.

2. In *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Thomas Malory rewrote the Arthurian stories to include pejorative (rather than idealized) representations of women.

II. The secularization of European society began during the fourteenth century.

A. Politics and the state became increasingly secular.

1. Although the state remained freighted with religious symbolism and authority, the purpose of the state became utterly secular—its own survival.

2. Niccolo Machiavelli argued in *The Prince* that statecraft is divorced from morality. The use of any necessary means is justified to ensure the state's integrity and sovereignty.

B. The arts became more secularized. Painters increasingly chose secular subjects, especially those having pagan or classical connotations.

C. Economic life also became more secular.

1. A proto-capitalist economy emerged during the fifteenth century, and the idea that wealth was inherently sinful was increasingly rejected.

2. Trade fostered the emergence of a world economy.

3. In Spain, many early capitalists fell afoul of the Inquisition; the Church saw its interests threatened by new economic attitudes linked to capitalism.

D. The world of learning, finally, was secularized.

1. The number of universities increased, as did the secular reading public.

2. In Florence a university chair and academy were established for the teaching of Greek.

3. During the 1450s, the Platonic corpus became available to western Europe and was translated by Marsilio Ficino and his collaborators.

4. Renaissance learning also had an esoteric side, as indicated by increased interest in astrology, alchemy, and magic. Science, religion, and magic all overlapped in Renaissance learning; later on, their separation signalled the emergence of modernity.

5. Finally, the invention of printing during the fifteenth century transformed learning.

a. It vastly expanded both the production of books and the reading public.

b. Reading became a private rather than a public event, as it had been during the Middle Ages.

c. Printing made books available at modest cost, allowing the formation of great private libraries.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, chs. 12-13
Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* Parts IV & VI
Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*
Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur*

Supplementary Reading:

Mullet, *Popular Culture and Popular Protest*
Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*
Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe the impact of the Italian Renaissance in northern Europe.
2. Discuss the differences and similarities between the Italian Renaissance and the northern Renaissance.

Lecture Thirteen
Love, Sexuality, Marriage, and Misogyny I

Scope: In this lecture and in the next one, we will study Boccaccio's *Decameron* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as statements on love, the body, and sexuality. After a brief introduction to medieval attitudes towards love and the influence of courtly love on medieval culture and society, we will discuss the manner in which medieval courtly ideals and concepts of love, sexuality, the body, marriage, and virginity were transformed by the crises of the late Middle Ages.

Outline

I. Love, Marriage, Family, and Misogyny in Late Medieval Europe

- **A.** The courtly tradition was an important element of the *mentalité* of the medieval social elite.
  - **1.** The courtly ideal and the construction of the nobility as a social class date from the twelfth century.
    - **a.** The ideal of courtly love was developed in the royal courts, especially that of Eleanor of Aquitaine.
    - **b.** Service of and obedience to one's lady became the hallmark of twelfth-century elite culture, as exemplified by Chretien de Troyes and the Knight of the Court.
  - **2.** In the early thirteenth century, the Church condemned the cult of courtly love as heretical and tried to supplant it with the cult of the Virgin.
  - **3.** The courtly tradition was reinvented during the fourteenth century, as exemplified by Dante's idealization of Beatrice.
- **B.** The Position of the Church on Love, Sexuality, and Marriage
  - **1.** The Church held that the life of celibacy was superior to married life.
    - **a.** During the twelfth century the Church sanctified marriage as a sacrament, seeking thereby to control sexuality and ensure that it was used only for procreation.
    - **b.** The Church was deeply convinced of the sinfulness of the flesh, and it viewed the body with fear and loathing as a prison of the soul. (The subsequent view of body by Renaissance artists was very different.)
  - **2.** By the fourteenth century, new attitudes had emerged regarding marriage, women, sexuality, and the body.
    - **a.** During the Middle Ages, people typically married for pragmatic reasons rather than for love. Love was assumed to exist only outside of marriage.
    - **b.** The Church used mysticism to sublimate sexuality. The great mystics used erotic language to describe the spiritual union of the soul with God.

II. In *The Decameron,* Boccaccio portrays love and sexuality in very naturalistic terms.

- **A.** He emphasizes themes that had previously been repressed. He recognizes the goodness of irrational, sensual love.
- **B.** Boccaccio's account of a young man's first visit to Florence underscores his own view of sexuality as natural, inevitable, and irresistible.

III. The World of Chaucer

- **A.** Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* recounts stories told by pilgrims representing all groups within English society (except the poor). The stories illuminate male-female relations during the late Middle Ages.
- **B.** The Knight's Tale subverts traditional notions of chivalry and honor.
  - **1.** The woman Emily has no say over which of two knights she will be given to; she is depicted as the passive recipient of the love of both knights.
  - **2.** The story reflects the cruelty of life; we desire some things so much that we trade honor and life for them.
- **C.** The Miller's Tale provides a joyous alternative to the horror of the Knight's Tale.
  - **1.** An aged carpenter marries a delectable young woman, Alison.

2. The tale celebrates sexuality as a gift of God that should be seized and enjoyed.
3. The tales of the Knight and the Miller represent a response to the Church's efforts to control sexuality through marriage.

D. The Wife of Bath's Tale is told by a women who transgresses social conventions.
1. She has been married five times; she nags and is brash and lustful; she defends polygamy and sexual assertiveness.
2. Her tale involves the trial of a knight accused of rape. He is judged by a court of women, who allow him one year to discover the thing that women want most.
3. In return for the knight's promise of marriage, an old and ugly woman informs him that women desire mastery over men. The woman offers herself to him as either a young but unfaithful wife, or an ugly and old but faithful wife. The knight refuses to choose, giving mastery to his wife-to-be. He is rewarded with a wife who is both young and faithful.

E. The Franklin's Tale is also about marriage.
1. Rejecting his own prerogative as husband, Averagus has given his wife, Dorigen, freedom of action. Because he loves her, he refuses to assert mastery over her.
2. Dorigen is so saddened by Averagus' departure on business that, in a moment of despair, she offers herself to her suitor Aurelius if he fulfills an impossible task. He does so with the aid of a magician.
3. Averagus advises Dorigen to keep her word to Aurelius, but the latter releases her from her oath.

Essential Reading:

Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* (specifically: the Introduction, The Knight's Tale, The Miller's Tale, the Wife of Bath's Tale, The Franklin's Tale)

Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, chs. 8-10

Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur*.

Supplementary Reading:

James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986)

Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages*, chs. 4 & 5

Duby, *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest*

Questions to Consider:

1. Summarize the medieval attitudes towards love and sexuality in the period before 1300.
2. Discuss Boccaccio's doctrines on the naturalness of desire and its impact on western attitudes towards love.

Lecture Fourteen
Love, Sexuality, Marriage, and Misogyny II

Scope: In this lecture, we will continue to examine the manner in which concepts of love, marriage, sexuality, and the body changed. At the same time, we will concentrate on how, at the end of the fifteenth century, European society turned against specific groups in its midst. In a previous lecture, we saw this at work in the creation of the Spanish Inquisition. Here, we will explore the emergence of the witch craze and the manner in which women, or some women in particular, were represented as allies of the devil.

Outline

I. Western Attitudes Toward Women

- **A.** The Middle Ages were characterized by intense misogyny.
  - **1.** This misogyny had contributed by 1500 to the emergence of the witch craze in Europe.
  - **2.** The witch craze was built upon fourteenth- and fifteenth-century attitudes of "persecuting societies" in which certain social minorities were defined as "other" and were occasionally persecuted or even executed.
  - **3.** This misogyny also had roots in classical Greece.
- **B.** The Book of Genesis provided two accounts of the creation of mankind.
  - **1.** According to the first (older) account, God created man both male and female; i.e., men and women were created simultaneously.
  - **2.** The second (and newer) account is the story of Adam and Eve, which provided the basis for misogyny.
- **C.** The late Middle Ages witnessed a misogynistic reaction to the twelfth-century ideal of courtly love.

II. Inventing Otherness, Revisited

- **A.** R. I. Moore and Carlo Ginzburg have studied the origins of "persecuting societies."
  - **1.** Ginzburg dates the emergence of the persecuting mentality to the 1320s, when lepers and Jews were accused of well-poisoning.
  - **2.** Lepers had been excluded ceremonially from Christian society.
  - **3.** Jews were expelled from France, persecuted, and in some cases killed.
- **B.** In *Communities of Violence,* David Nirenberg asserts the need to recognize the specific ritualized context of each separate act of persecution.
  - **1.** In this view, one sort of persecution (e.g., of lepers) does not lead automatically to later incidents of persecution (e.g., the witch craze).
  - **2.** Violence is in some respects a system of social *inclusion.*

III. The Origins of the Witch Craze

- **A.** Social, economic, and political conditions were changing rapidly in late medieval Europe.
- **B.** These changes fostered an unarticulated fear of the world and of the future.
  - **1.** That fear is channelled and articulated by the nascent state and by the mendicant orders of the Church.
  - **2.** Persecution of Jews, lepers, and other "outsiders" represented an effort to explain social problems in terms of the malevolent actions of specific social groups.
- **C.** The latent misogyny of late medieval society found expression in the witch craze, which in turn was a manifestation of men's sexual fear of women.
- **D.** Late medieval conceptions of the Devil were closely tied to the emerging witch craze.
  - **1.** Throughout the Middle Ages, the Church had rejected the possibility of organized Devil-worship.
  - **2.** The Devil is depicted in the Bible as a tempter and deceiver. Women are more easily deceived by him than men.
- **E.** The rise of humanism and artistic achievement during the fifteenth century was accompanied by persecution of women accused of witchcraft.

1. The woodcuts of Albrecht Durer depicted the Devil as having Jewish physical features.
2. The pope charged two Dominican monks with investigating reports of witchcraft in southern Germany. Their report—the *Malleus Malificarum*—was circulated throughout Europe and served as a manual for persecuting witches. The *Malleus* explained why women are more prone to diabolic temptations than men; what witches can do to men; and how they should be examined in order to establish their guilt or innocence.
3. Most historians now agree that "witches" did not really exist in late medieval and early modern Europe.
   - **a.** Only by 1500 or so did the relatively more urban "plains civilization" begin to penetrate mountain communities, which had retained ancient folk beliefs.
   - **b.** According to Carlo Ginzburg, much that was later understood as witchcraft was really residual beliefs from ancient agrarian cults.
   - **c.** The Inquisitors of the fifteenth century interpreted these practices as witchcraft.
4. Research on witchcraft in Essex, England, suggests that virtually all accused witches were women; that accusers were divided evenly between women and men; that most accusers knew the accused and were often related to them by marriage; and that many accused witches were midwives.

IV. The evil works of accused witches took several enduring forms.

- **A.** One manifestation was child murder, especially by midwives.
- **B.** Another was cannibalism, a typical charge made by "civilized" populations against the "uncivilized."
- **C.** Witches were also accused of engaging in noctural sexual orgies.
- **D.** The vast majority of people in Europe accepted the reality of witchcraft and cooperated in the extermination of witches.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,* ch. 12

Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*

Supplementary Reading:

Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Longman, 1987)

Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, *The Malleus Maleficarum* (New York: Dover, 1971).

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss the Classical and Biblical contexts of attitudes towards women in western medieval society.
2. Describe how attitudes towards women changed in the twelfth century.

Lecture Fifteen
The Blending of High and Popular Culture

Scope: In this lecture, we will examine how festivals, royal entries, and carnival were used for hegemonic purposes. This is a complex topic, for which we will discuss descriptive material on jousts, festivals, and *pas d'armes* (the passage of arms). At the same time, we will consider how elements of high and popular culture mixed in these public festivals for the benefit of those who ruled.

Outline

I. Chivalry
- **A.** The military ethos of fifteenth-century society was transformed by the new learning.
  - **1.** Henceforth the knight would not only fight but also read the great romances and integrate their lessons into his daily life.
  - **2.** There emerged a new understanding of nobility, exemplified by Baldassare Castiglione's description of the ideal courtier as someone who can both use arms and discuss poetry.
- **B.** Castilian society was pervaded by a military ethos. In his "Ode to the Death of My Father," Jorge Manrique discussed the role of heroic deeds in establishing one's merit before God and preserving one's memory.

II. Royal Entries
- **A.** Medieval kings expressed their power by means of royal entries—ritualized processions marking a king's first entry into a town.
- **B.** For example, a princess from Navarre made a princely entry into the small town of Briviesca.
  - **1.** She was met by the town's knights and nobles outside the town gates, in a liminal space established by custom.
  - **2.** After fierce ceremonial jousts between two groups of knights, the princess was taken to an open meadow where she observed a hunt.
  - **3.** A banquet followed, with seating according to social rank.
  - **4.** Following the feast, the princess was brought into the town, where craftsmen had established *tableaux vivantes*.

III. Festivals and Power
- **A.** Royal court life was organized around calendrical and noncalendrical festivals.
- **B.** These festivals were discourses of hegemony and power relationships.
  - **1.** For example, a politically-freighted festival was held in Valladolid, Spain, in May 1428. The constable of Castille (Alvaro de Luna) organized the festival as a means of demonstrating the power of King John II, who was in the hands of his enemies, the *infantes* of Aragon.
  - **2.** One of the Aragonese *infantes* constructed a mock castle in Valladolid, where he established a *pas d'armes* and a "wheel of fortune."
  - **3.** The Castilian king and the Aragonese *infantes* came to the various feasts dressed in symbolic colors. Through the use of these colors, the festivals linked high and popular culture and conveyed certain political messages to the masses.
  - **4.** A great festival held at Jaén featured battles of eggs, chickens, and pumpkins as a popular parallel to jousts and tournaments.

IV. Carnival
- **A.** Carnival represented a subversion—a turning upside-down—of society.
  - **1.** Mikhail Bakhtin argued in *Rabelais and His World* that carnival allows the people "below" to subvert the established order and mock the structures of power.
  - **2.** Carnival often turned into rebellion by the lower people against the established order.

B. However, carnivals were also managed and guided by the elite so that they deflected social criticisms against the elite and reinforced the existing power structure.

V. Books of Chivalry and Knights-Errant

A. Books of chivalry were extremely popular in medieval and early modern Europe. These books combined fiction and reality.

B. These works prompted people to perform excessive deeds that exaggerated the twelfth-century courtly tradition.

C. They also encouraged knights to establish *pas d'armes* in honor of their ladies. In 1430, for instance, Suero de Quiñones established a *pas d'armes* along the road to Compostela.

D. *El Victorial* depicted knights involved in the liberation of the Canary Islands as angels who served God by living exemplary lives. Idealized knight-errantry represented a means of self-fashioning, and the creation of a discourse of difference.

VI Etiquette and Manners

A. Manners and etiquette also provided a means of self-fashioning. By means of etiquette rules, the nobility began to create a discourse of difference between itself and those below.

B. According to Norbert Elias, this discourse of difference underlay the construction of the modern state by allowing the classification of distinct categories of people within the nation.

1. Traditional popular culture became separated from polite society.

2. Certain marginal social groups (women, Jews, lepers, the peasantry) were increasingly depicted as inferior, savage, and outside of cultured society.

3. The emerging tendency of those on top to define themselves in contrast to those on the bottom marked the emergence of the middle class and the onset of modernity.

Essential Reading:

Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, chs. 4-6

Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy,* Parts V & VI.

Supplementary Reading:

Hanawalt and Reyerson, *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*

Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984)

Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Publications, 1982.

Questions to Consider:

1. Describe the military ethos associated with the life of the aristocracy and the development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of a chivalrous culture.

2. Explain the role of royal entries and festivals in late medieval life and discuss their political meaning and purpose.

Lecture Sixteen
The Beginnings of Modernity

Scope: This final lecture summarizes some of the material discussed in previous lectures. It also peeks into the future and reflects on how the fall of Constantinople, the subsequent reception of Greek Classical knowledge in the West, the disruption of trade routes in the East, and the voyages of discovery led to a dramatic transformation of European lives. It also discusses how the coming of what we, inappropriately, call the early modern world was deeply rooted in the transformations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Outline

I. The Birth of a New Age

A. One avenue of modernity was the entry of ancient Greek learning into Italy.

B. Constantinople finally fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

1. This event had important cultural implications, as Greek scholars fled to western Europe.

2. The Fall of Constantinople also had important economic implications. The silk and spice trades became more expensive, leading European traders to try to circumvent the Muslim monopoly in north Africa and the Near East and to tap the wealth of the Far East directly.

C. The expansion of western Europe also resulted from military, economic, and religious rivalry between Christendom and Islam. The fables of John of Mandeville and Marco Polo's *Book of Millions* had helped to popularize the myth that a Christian kingdom led by Prester John existed on other side of the Muslim world.

II. New Technological Developments

A. Knowledge of geography and astronomy was advancing in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe.

1. Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* (1410) illustrated a literary knowledge of world geography.

2. New charts of the Mediterranean were drawn to assist in navigation.

3. Trans-Atlantic mariners used the pole star to determine their latitude on the open sea.

4. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the astrolabe was used to calculate latitude on the basis of the sun's position at midday.

B. Shipbuilding in the Atlantic

1. Henry the Navigator established a school of cartography at Cape St Vincent.

2. The Portuguese took Ceuta in 1415 and then moved steadily down the west African coast.

3. In 1487 Bartolome Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. From the 1480s on, the Portuguese began to shift their mercantile interest from Africa to Asia.

4. The Spanish court supported Columbus' enterprise in the hope of breaching the Portuguese monopoly on transit around the coast of Africa.

5. To facilitate sailing on the high seas, the Portuguese combined lateen sails with square-rig sails to form the *caravela redonda*.

6. The Portuguese also discovered the uses of broadside cannon fire.

III. Encounter of Old and New Worlds

A. In an effort to beat the Portuguese to India, Ferdinand and Isabella sponsored Columbus' voyage in 1492.

1. Instead, Columbus discovered Hispaniola.

2. During his second voyage, his followers had a violent encounter with the Carib Indians, whom the Spaniards demonized and killed.

B. In 1498 Vasco da Gama reached the Malabar coast in India. Using broadside fire, he gained control of the lucrative Indian spice trade.

C. The geographic expansion of Europe resulted in the decline of Mediterranean civilization and the rise in importance of Atlantic Europe.

D. The discovery of the New World had a huge impact on the culture of the West.

1. The discoveries forced the Europeans to reevaluate the veracity of the classical sources and to see the New World in a new way.
2. The heliocentric universe of Copernicus undermined received scientific orthodoxies.

E. By the 1540s, Europe was being flooded with silver from the Americas, which transformed the European economy. Most of the silver was used to fund religious wars in northern Europe.

F. Slavery became linked to the achievement of economies of scale in the exportation of sugar.

IV. Summation

A. Europe in 1300 was static and theocentric. Society was shaped by hierarchical orders based on inheritance.

B. With the crises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, men and women from all classes tried to formulate new ways of viewing their world.

C. Despite these crises, European society remade itself, due primarily to the resilience and persistence of the people at the bottom of the social scale, rather than the actions of the elite.

Essential Reading:

Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, chs. 14-15

Supplementary Reading:

Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus*

Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*

Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989)

Questions to Consider:

1. Discuss the economic impact of the fall of Constantinople on European society.
2. Describe and evaluate, with supporting examples, the role of Platonism and Neoplatonism in the culture of late fifteenth-century Europe.

Timeline

c. 1240-1302 Cimabue, painter in Florence
c. 1260-1327 Meister Eckhart, mystic
1265-1321 Dante Alighieri, writer
1272-1307 Edward I, king of England
c. 1275 Jean de Meun completes *The Romance of the Rose*
c. 1275-1343 Marsiglio de Padua, political theorist
1279-1325 Diniz, king of Portugal
1285-1314 Philip IV the Fair, king of France
1291-1327 James II, king of Aragon and Sicily
1294-1303 Boniface VIII, pope
1295-1312 Ferdinand IV, king of Castile-Leon
c. 1295-1349 William of Ockham, philosopher
1300 First papal jubilee
1305-1378 Removal of the Papacy to Avignon (the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church)
1303 Attack on Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni
1303-1304 Benedict XI, pope
1304-1374 Francesco Petrarch, writer and humanist
1305-1314 Clement V, pope at Avignon
c. 1305-1345 Lorenzetti, painter in Siena
1307-1327 Edward II, king of England
1312-1350 Alfonso XI, king of Castile-Leon
1313-1375 Giovanni Boccaccio, writer
1313-1314 Scottish War
1314 Battle of Bannockburn. Scottish independence won.
1314-1316 Louis X, king of France
1315-1317 Famine in most of northern Europe
1316-1334 John XXII, pope at Avignon
1316-1322 Philip V, king of France
1320 Revolt of the *Pastoureaux*
c. 1321 Dante (1265-1321) completes the Divine Comedy.
1322-1328 Charles IV, king of France, last Capetian king
1323-1328 Peasant rebellion in Flanders
1324 Marsiglio de Padua writes The Defender of Peace
1325-1357 Afonso IV, king of Portugal
1327-1377 Edward III, king of England
1327-1336 Alfonso IV, king of Aragon
1328-1350 Philip VI, first Valois king of France
1331-1406 Coluccio Salutati, humanist
c. 1332 Birth of William Langland (author of Piers Ploughman)
1334-1342 Benedict XII, pope at Avignon
1336 Death of the painter Giotto
1336-1387 Peter IV, king of Aragon

1337 Start of Hundred Years' War between England and France
c. 1340-1400 Geoffrey Chaucer
1342-1352 Clement VI, pope at Avignon
1346 English victory at Crécy
1347 Calais taken by the English
1347 Revolution in Rome. Cola di Rienzi
1348-1350 The Black Death (Bubonic Plague) sweeps Europe
1350-1369 Peter I the Cruel, king of Castile-Leon
1350-1364 John II the Good, king of France
1352-1362 Innocent VI, pope at Avignon
1353 Boccaccio completes the Decameron
1354 Ottoman Turks in Europe
1356 Battle of Poitiers
1357-1367 Peter I, king of Portugal
1358 Peasant rising in France: the *Jacquerie*
1360 Peace of Brétigny (between England and France)
1362-1370 Urban V, pope at Avignon
1364-1380 Charles V, king of France
1367 Urban V tries to return the papacy to Rome
1367-1383 Ferdinand I, king of Portugal
1369-1379 Henry II, king of Castile-Leon (Trastámara)
1370-1378 Gregory XI, pope at Avignon
1377-1399 Richard II, king of England
1377-1446 Brunelleschi, architect
1378-1402 Gian Galeazzo (Visconti), ruler of Milan
1378-1389 Urban VI, pope
1378-1394 Clement VII, pope
1378 Great Schism begins
1378 The *Ciompi* revolt in Florence
1379-1390 John I, king of Castile-Leon
1380-1422 Charles VI, king of France
1380-1381 Peasants' Revolt in England
1384 Death of Wyclif
1385-1433 John I (Avis), king of Portugal
c. 1386-1466 Donatello, sculptor
1387-1395 John I, king of Aragon
1389-1404 Boniface IX, pope
1390-1440 Jan Van Eyck, painter
1390-1406 Henry III, king of Castile-Leon
1391 Anti-Jewish pogroms in Spain
1391 Large number of Jewish conversions in Spain
1394-1423 Benedict XIII, pope
1394-1460 Prince Henry the Navigator
1395-1410 Martin I, king of Aragon

1399-1413 Henry IV (Lancaster), king of England
c. 1400-1455 Fra Angelico, painter
c. 1401-1428 Masaccio, painter
1404-1406 Innocent VII, pope
1405-1471 L.B. Alberti, architect and humanist
1406-1454 John II, king of Castile-Leon
1406-1415 Gregory XII, pope
1409-1410 Alexander V, pope
1410-1415 John XXIII, anti-pope
1412-1416 Ferdinand I (Trastámara), king of Aragon and Sicily
1413 he Cabochian revolt (Paris)
1413-1422 Henry V, king of England (and France)
1414-1417 Council of Constance; end of the Great Schism
1415 Battle of Agincourt
1416-1458 Alfonse V, king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples
1417-1431 Martin V, pope
1422-1509 *The Paston Letters*
1422-1461 Charles VII, king of France (*le roi de Bourges*)
1422-1461 Henry VI, king of England
1431-1447 Eugenius IV, pope
1431 Death of Jeanne d'Arc
1431 irth of François Villon, poet
1433 Gil Eannes reach Cape Bojador (west coast of Africa)
1433-1438 Duarte I, king of Portugal
1438-1481 Alfonso V, king of Portugal
1444-1510 Botticelli, painter
1447-1455 Nicholas V, pope
1452-1519 Leonardo da Vinci
1453 Fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks
1454-1474 Henry III, king of Castile-Leon
1456 Gutenberg's printing of the Mazarin Bible
1455-1458 Calixtus III, pope
1455-1485 War of the Roses (England)
1458-1479 John II, king of Aragon and Sicily
1458-1464 Pius II, pope and humanist
1461-1483 Edward IV (York), king of England
1461-1483 Louis XI, the Spider king, king of France
1464-1471 Paul II, pope
1469-1527 Niccolo Machiavelli, writer
1469 Marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand (Spain)
1471-1484 Sixtus IV, pope
1474-1504 Isabella the Catholic, queen of Castile-Leon
1475-1564 Michelangelo
1476 Caxton's printing press (Westminster)

c. 1476	Death of Sir John Fortescue, author and jurist
1478-1492	Lorenzo the Magnificent (Medici), ruler of Florence
1479-1516	Ferdinand II the Catholic, king of Aragon
1481-1495	John II, king of Portugal
1483-1485	Richard III, king of England
1483-1498	Charles VIII, king of France
1484	Thomas Malory's Le Morte D'Arthur, printed by Caxton
1484-1492	Innocent VIII, pope
1485-1509	Henry VII (Tudor), king of England
1488	Bartolomeu Dias rounds the Cape of Good Hope
1492	Expulsion of the Jews from Spain
1492-1493	Columbus' first voyage to the New World
1492-1503	Alexander VI, pope (Borgia)
1494	French invasion of Italy
1497-1499	Vasco da Gama's voyage to India
1498-1515	Louis XII, king of France

Bibliography

I. Essential Reading:

Allmand, Christopher. *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300-c.1450*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy.* New York: Harper, 1958.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales.* New York: Penguin Books, 1984.

Dante. *The Divine Comedy, vol. I. Inferno.* New York: Penguin Books, 1984.

Ginzburg, Carlo. *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath.* New York: Penguin Books, 1992.

Hay, Denys. *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.* London: Longman, 1980.

Huizinga, Johan. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. New York: Anchor Books, 1954.

Jordan, William C. *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Malory, Thomas. *Le Morte D'Arthur.* New York: Penguin Books, 1990.

Ziegler, Philip. *The Black Death.* New York: Harper, 1971.

II. Supplementary Reading:

Aston, T.H. and Philpin, C.H.E., eds. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development on Pre-Industrial Europe.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Decameron.* New York: Penguin, 1972.

Brucker, Gene. *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Burke, Peter. *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Cipolla, Carlo M. *Guns, Sails, and Empires: Technological Innovations and the Early Phases of European Expansion.* New York, Harper, 1965.

de Commynes, Phillippe. *Mémoires.* New York: Penguin Books, many printings.

Dobson, R.B., ed. *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381.* London: MacMillan, 1970.

Duby, Georges. *The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France.* New York: Pantheon, 1983.

Duby, Georges. *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West.* Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1976.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. *Before Columbus. Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Freedman, Paul. "Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia," *Past and Present*, 121 (1988): 3-29.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1979.

Fourquin, Guy. *The Anatomy of Popular Rebellion in the Middle Ages.* New York: North Holland, 1978.

Freedman, Paul H. *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Froissart, *The Chronicles.* New York: Penguin Books, 1978.

Geremek, Bronislaw. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Gies, Frances and Joseph. *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages.* New York: Harper, 1987.

Hanawalt, Barbara, and Reyerson K., eds. *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994.

Hilton, R.H. and T.H. Aston. *The English Rising of 1381.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Holmes, George. *Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt, 1320-1450.* New York: Harper, 1975.

Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Leff, Gordon. *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* New York: John Wiley, 1968.

Maddern, Philippa C. *Violence and Social Order: East Anglia, 1422-1442.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Martines, Lauro, ed. *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200-1500.* Los Angeles, 1972.

Mollat, Michel. *The Poor in the Middle Ages.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Mollat, Michel and Wolff, Phillippe. *The Popular Revolutions of the Late Middle Ages.* Winchester, MA: Allen and Unwin, 1973.

Moore, R.I. *The Formation of a Persecuting Society.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Mullett, Michael. *Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe.* London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Newman, Francis X., ed. *Social Unrest in the Late Middle Ages.* Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1986.

Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Perroy, Edouard. *The Hundred Years War.* New York: Capricorn Books, 1965.

Phillips, William D., and Carla Rahn. *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Rörig, Fritz. *The Medieval Town.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Ruggiero, Guido. *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1980.

Ruiz, Teofilo F. *Crisis and Continuity: Land and Town in Late Medieval Castile.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

***** Please Note: Additional Strongly Suggested Readings are listed under individual lectures.