

**FINAL HONOUR SCHOOL
OF MODERN HISTORY**

General History VII

(1409–1525)

Bibliography

Revised January 2000

GENERAL HISTORY 1409–1525

This bibliography is confined to works in English and French. A further body of literature on most topics included here is in German, and much more in the national language appropriate to particular sections. There are several good introductions. One is D. Waley, *Later medieval Europe*. Another, much longer and with a wealth of detailed information and extensive bibliographies, is the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vii (c.1415–c.1500), ed. C. Allmand (CMH vii here). *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield and B. Smalley, has many essays on the period which introduce themes of modern research (*ELMA* here). B. Guenée, *States and Rulers*, raises the most significant political themes. The best introduction to religious change is J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700*. A classic on cultural change is J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*: stimulating if difficult now to agree with; from a different perspective, social as well as cultural, Hale, *The civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (1450–1620) is a new classic. M.E. Aston, *The Fifteenth Century: the Prospect of Europe* is full of insights. Maps are essential for reference: the best historical atlas in the *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas*, published by the Bayerischen Schulbuch-Verlag. See vol. II, *Mittelalter* and a few maps in III, *Neuzeit*.

Some Bodley pressmarks are included where a book is difficult to order from the stack.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Knowledge of at least a few literary works, histories, travellers' accounts or documents written in the 15th century is essential for a direct appreciation of the period. The vast *Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet* (tr. C. Johnes) unforgettably evoke the world of Henry V's wars in France. The anonymous *Parisian Journal*, tr. J. Shirley is a racy diary of Paris life c.1405–49. Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*, ed. C. Samaran, and Philippe de Commines, *Memoirs* (Penguin Classics) give two contrasting perspectives on Franco-Burgundian rivalries in the later 15th century. Machiavelli's *History of Florence*, ed. and tr. F. Gilbert and Guicciardini's *History of Florence* and *History of Italy*, tr. C. Grayson and abridged by J. Hale, describing Italy before and after 1492 respectively, are the outstanding works of Renaissance historical writing. Gomes Eannes de Azurara's *Chronicle of Guinea* (tr. B. Miall as *Conquests and Discoveries of Henry the Navigator*) describe the early Portuguese raids on North Africa. *The Annals of Jan Dugosz*, tr. M. Michael and P. Smith are a rich and intelligent source on Poland and its neighbours in this period. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, tr. C.T. Briggs relates the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in contemporary Greek eyes.

Gene Brucker, ed., *The Society of Renaissance Florence* is full of material on the social and political life of the city. Documents on the General Councils of the Church are collected in C.M.D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460*; accounts of the Council of Constance in L. Loomis, *The Council of Constance*; the reform movements of the period after 1495 is documented in J.C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola*. Aeneas Silvius's *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis*, on events at the Council of Basel, are tr. D. Hay and W.K. Smith. His *Memoirs* as Pope Pius II are tr. F.A. Gragg as *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*. Vespasiano da Bisticci's brief lives of various contemporaries is tr. M. Gilmore as *Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates*. Machiavelli's *The Prince* and *The Discourses* (Penguin Classics) are highly relevant to 15th-century politics. Castiglione's *The Courtier* (Penguin Classics) is the best introduction to the Renaissance court. The *Memoirs* of Benvenuto Cellini (Penguin

Classics) gives the first direct insights into the world of Renaissance art; see also D. Chambers, ed., *Patrons and Artists in the Italian Renaissance*, a collection of contracts, for another side of the same world.

Records of travel both within and outside Europe are also highly rewarding. See (just before this period begins) Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of his Embassy to the Court of Timur* (tr. Markham, HS 1/26), and within it *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital 1465–67* (tr. M. Letts HS 2/108); *The Diary of Jörg von Ehingen*, tr. Letts; Christopher Columbus, *Journal*, tr. C. Jane; and *The Travel Journal of Antonio de Beatis, 1517–18*, tr. J.R. Hale (HS 2/150), which records his experiences in Germany, France and Italy. The *Letters* of Hernan Cortes are tr. A.R. Pagden.

The passionate religious thinking of the era has left many literary remains, of which see especially Thomas Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (Penguin Classics); Nicholas of Cusa *De docta ignorantia* (tr. J. Hopkins as *Of Learned Ignorance*); the writings of several proponents of the *Devotio moderna*, especially the *Spiritual Ascents* of Gerard of Zutphen, in *Devotio Moderna: basic writings*, tr. J. van Engen; Savonarola, *Triumph of the Cross*, tr. J. Proctor; important passages from several German and other theologians in H.O. Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation* and in G. Strauss, *Manifestations of discontent in Germany on the eve of the Reformation*; and works of Erasmus, esp. *In Praise of Folly* and *Enchiridion* in the Toronto ed. of the *Collected Works of Erasmus*. See also M. Luther, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, tr. T.G. Tappert.

There is much vernacular literature in this period, of which see the Burgundian classic *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, tr. R.H. Robbins, *The Hundred Tales*; and among other French writers, Alain Chartier, *The Poetical Works*, ed. J.C. Laidlaw; the *Poésies* of Charles of Orléans, ed. P. Champion; the *Poems* of François Villon (ed. C. Thiry; see also tr. by G. Kinnell). The comedies of Machiavelli are tr. D. Sicco and J.B. Atkinson; the *Poems* of Michelangelo by C. Ryan; Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (World's Classics) is the most admired Italian literary work of the period. Nothing significant of Spanish or German vernacular poetry has been translated; see the thin selections in the *Penguin Book of Spanish Verse* and the *Penguin Book of German Verse*; but Fernando de Rojas's play *La Celestina* has often been translated. *The Book of Dede Korkut* (Penguin Classics) is a collection of stories much admired by the early Ottoman Turks.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

The essential conditions of life in fifteenth-century Europe remain controversial; demographic trends, especially the classic theory of severe depopulation after the Black Death followed by a slow increase in numbers, are open to fundamental divergences of opinion. For orientation, and a brilliant discussion of what people ate, wore and lived in see F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 1400–1800*; for a brief analysis of the problems, J. Heers, *L'occident aux xiv et xv siècles* (Nouvelle Clio). On demography a note of caution is issued by Heers, 'Les limites des méthodes statistiques pour les recherches de démographie médiévale', *Annales de démographie historique* (1968). The calculations of J.C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* are rather speculative. On the longer-term consequences of fourteenth-century plague see D. Herlihy, 'Plague, population and social change in rural Pistoia, 1201–1430', *ECHR* (1965).

On agriculture and rural life see the *Cambridge Economic History*, i, and C. Dyer in *CMH* vii. On transhumance, the seasonal movement of stock which was central to many Mediterranean societies, see the chapter in Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, i and J. Klein, *The Mesta*. I. Blanchard, 'The continental European cattle trade, 1400–1600' *EcHR* (1986) is also helpful. Most useful works deal with particular regions: see E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Les paysans de Languedoc*; R.C. Hoffman, *Land, Liberties and Lordship in a later medieval countryside: agrarian structures and change in the Duchy of Wrocław*; P.J. Jones, 'From manor to mezzadria', on Tuscany, in *Florentine Studies*, ed. N. Rubinstein. On peasant revolts, significant though less dramatic than in the fourteenth century, see A.L. Eguai, 'Les révolts rurales dans le royaume de France' (c.1350–1500), *Le moyen âge* (1982); A. Mackay, 'Popular movements and pogroms in fifteenth-century Castile', *P&P* (1972); A. Laube, 'Precursors of the peasant war' and P. Blickle, 'The economic, social and political background of the 12 articles of the Swabian peasants of 1525', both very brief articles in *Journal of Peasant Studies* (1975–6); and R. Scribner and G. Benecke, *The German peasant war of 1525 – new viewpoints*.

The extremely various functions of towns also demand a comparative approach. For a general summary see B. Dobson in *CMH* vii and Braudel in *The Mediterranean*, above, together with David Nicholas, *The later medieval city, 1300–1500*. See also L. Martines, ed., *Violence and civil disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500*. Among a multitude of books on individual towns or groups of towns, usually over a longer timespan, which focus on their social aspects see P. Dollinger, *The German Hansa*; D. Herlihy, *Pisa in the early Renaissance*; John Edwards, *Christian Cordoba*; J.A. van Houtte, *Bruges: essai d'histoire urbaine*; G. Strauss, *Nuremberg in the sixteenth century*, and L. Gerevich, *Towns in Medieval Hungary*.

The network of commerce which united the continent had still a Mediterranean and a Flemish-Baltic nexus. See in general the *Cambridge Economic History*, ii, and W. Childs in *CMH* vii; on the debate over the supposed economic depression of the century, see the articles of R. Lopez, H. Miskimin and C. Cipolla in *EcHR* (1963 and 1964); Miskimin, *The economy of early Renaissance Europe 1300–1460* and *The economy of late Renaissance Europe 1460–1600*. See also J. Day, *The Mediaeval Market Economy*. J. Heers 'Le mode et les marchés de draps de la laine', *Annales* 26 parts 5–6 (1971) is the seminal study of consumption. On particular trading developments see E. Ashtor, *The Levant trade in the later middle ages*; W. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later middle ages*; Heers, *Gênes au XV^e siècle*; F.C. Lane, *Venice: a maritime republic, Venice and History* (his collected papers) and *Andrea Barbarigo, merchant of Venice 1418–1449*, and Dollinger, *The German Hansa*.

On commercial techniques and organization see the *Cambridge Economic History* iii. Money and banking have been at the centre of historical study: see P. Spufford, *Money and its use in medieval Europe*; R. de Roover, *Money, banking and credit in medieval Bruges* and *The rise and decline of the Medici Bank*; on monetary policy in north-western Europe, J. Munro, *Wool, Cloth and Gold*, and on a general issue J. Day, 'The great bullion famine of the fifteenth century', *P&P* (1978), and *The medieval market economy* (studies).

On the family and family structure see Heers, *Family clans in the middle ages*, the focus of which is in an earlier age, however; some of the essays in Goody, Thirsk and Thompson, *Family and Inheritance* (mainly on early modern Europe) are relevant, and see F.W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence*, and D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their families*, based on the hearth-tax of 1427.

There is no comprehensive study of the late medieval European nobility, but see the brief essay of P. Contamine in *CMH* vii. The essays in Contamine, ed., *La noblesse au moyen âge* are helpful; see also for studies of regional nobilities E. Perroy 'Social mobility among the French noblesse in the later middle ages' *P&P* (1962); P.S. Lewis, 'Decayed and non-feudalism in later medieval France' *BIHR* (1964) and repr. in his *Essays in later medieval French history*; B. Arnold, *Princes and Territories in medieval Germany* (mainly on an earlier period) and H. Zmora, *State and nobility in early modern Germany: the knightly feud in Franconia, 144–1567*; E. Fügedi, *Castles and Society in medieval Hungary, 1000–1437*; M.C. Gerbet, *Les noblesses espagnoles au moyen âge*; R. Highfield, 'The Catholic Kings and the nobility of Castile' in *ELMA*; H. Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance*; Bueno de Mesquita, 'Ludovico Sforza and his vassals' in Jacob, ed. *Italian Renaissance Studies*; and Trevor Dean, *Land and Power in late medieval Ferrara*.

On war, the primary business of the nobility, see the short chapter of C. Allmand in *CMH* vii; both the social and technical changes in its conduct were considerable. On the conventions of war see M.H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the later middle ages and Chivalry*, and M. Vale, *War and Chivalry*. There is a great deal of material in some volumes of collected studies: J.R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies*; M.E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, *The military organization of a Renaissance state: Venice, c.1400–1617*; P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison and M.H. Keen, *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne xiv–xv siècle* (in English and French); B.P. McGuire, ed., *War and Peace in the middle ages*. On Italian war see M. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters*; on French armies, Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge, 1337–1494*, in great detail; on German warfare D. Eltis, 'Towns and defence in late medieval Germany', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* (1989); on Hungarian armies, J.M. Bak and B.K. Király, *From Hunyadi to Rakocki; war and society in late medieval and early modern Hungary*; and on the Byzantine army, M.C. Bartusis, *The late Byzantine army*.

ARTS AND ARTIFACTS

There is no substitute for visits to the surviving monuments and to museums and galleries with collections of late Gothic and Renaissance art; reproductions abound and should be used, and any well-illustrated book has its uses, however bad the text. Catalogues of exhibitions are almost always scholarly and full of information. A good starting-point for the final stage of gothic art is J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*; another is E. Mâle, *Religious Art in Europe: the late Middle Ages*. See also Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France* and Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting, 1400–1500*. The patronage of the Burgundian court encouraged the emergence of a new style of Flemish art: on its origin, see the several volumes of Millard Meiss, *French art in the time of Jean de Berry*. The older works of A. Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* and J. Calmette, *The golden age of Burgundy* are still useful. On painting see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (up to about 1460), and M. Whinney, *Early Flemish Painting*; on individual artists see E. Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*; L. Campbell, *Rogier van der Weyden*; K.B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*. On miniature painting see L. Delaissé, *La miniature flamande* and *A century of Dutch manuscript illumination*.

On German art see M. Baxandall, *The limewood sculptures of southern Germany*; Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* has much of wider interest. On eastern European art see J. Bialostocki,

Art of the Renaissance in eastern Europe, and T. Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City, 1450–1800*.

On Italian art, in this its greatest era, a good starting point is M. Levey, *The early Renaissance*; see also P. Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: culture and society in Italy*, and on a constant influence O. Demus, *Byzantine art and the west*. A regional approach is taken in *Quattrocento adriatico, the fifteenth-century art of the Adriatic Rim*, ed. C. Dempsey. Some good thematic studies are Baxandall, *Painting and experience in fifteenth-century Italy* and *Giotto and the orators* (on humanist attitudes to painting); J. White, *The birth and rebirth of pictorial space*; E. Wackernagel, *The world of the Florentine artists*; A. Chastel, *L'art et l'humanisme en Florence au temps de Laurent le magnifique*; and R. Weiss, *The Renaissance discovery of classical antiquity*. On portraiture see L. Campbell, *Renaissance portraits*. On patronage, besides Chambers's collection of documents in *Patrons and artists in the Italian Renaissance*, see M. Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy*. On political aspects of art see E.S. Welch, *Art and authority in Renaissance Milan* and *Art and society in Italy, 1350–1500*; and W.L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: the style of a Renaissance despotism*. On particular artists see R. Lightbown, *Mantegna and Botticelli*; H. Hubbard, *Michelangelo*; and M. Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci*. On architecture, see L.H. Heydenreich and W. Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1400–1600*. B. Beaven, *History of Spanish Architecture* and G. Goodwin, *History of Ottoman Architecture* have much to say on this period.

The modern western musical tradition's first great age was the fifteenth century. See R. Strohm, *The rise of European music, 1380–1500* and *Music in late medieval Bruges*, and the studies in D. Fallows, *Songs and musicians in the fifteenth century*.

GOVERNMENT AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH

The church in this period as in others was not monolithic; it was an aggregate of corporate bodies, religious orders and confraternities, regulated by canon law under the uncertain control of pope and bishops, which had more or less common aspirations. The activities of councils, popes and bishops need to be seen in the light of the autonomous life of cathedral chapters and religious houses, and of the proliferating devotions of the laity. For a starting point see J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700*; see also F. Oakley, *The Western Church in the later middle ages*, and for a wealth of information, the volumes in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église*: E. Delaruelle et al., *L'église au temps du grand schisme, 1378–1449*, and R. Aubenas and R. Ricard, *L'église et la renaissance*. Biographical studies of churchmen are also useful: see B. Guenée, *Between church and state* (on Pierre d'Ailly and Thomas Basin); J. Connolly, *Jean Gerson*; Iris Origo, *The World of San Bernardino*; M. Mallett, *The Borgias*; C. Shaw, *Julius II*; R.B. Tate, *Juan Margarit i Pau*; R.H. Trame, *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo*; the studies of Greek and Italian churchmen in E. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence*; D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence*; K.P.J. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Francesco Soderini*; J. McConica, *Erasmus (Past Masters)*; E. Augustijn, *Erasmus: his life, works and influence*; A.G. Dickens and W.R.D. Jones, *Erasmus the reformer*; and on a multitude of ecclesiastical and other persons of the early sixteenth century, *Contemporaries of Erasmus in the Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto), ed. P.G. Bietenholz. On Luther there is a wealth of literature: see especially H.O. Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil* and J.M. Kittelson, *Luther the reformer*.

The papacy must be seen as a principality as well as a spiritual power. See P. Partner, *Martin V and the papal state, The lands of St Peter, Renaissance Rome* and, on the papal bureaucracy, *The pope's men*, as well as 'The budget of the Roman church in the Renaissance', in Jacob, *Italian Renaissance Studies*; M. Mallett, *The Borgias*; C. Ady, *Pius II*; and J.A.F. Thompson, *Popes and Princes 1417–1517*.

This was an era of councils, in prospect or actuality. Besides the wealth of detail in Delaruelle et al. above, see the texts and commentary in C.M.D. Crowder, *Unity Heresy and Reform* and L. Loomis, *The Council of Constance*. For the actual work of the Council of Constance, P.H. Stump, *the Reforms of the Council of Constance* is invaluable. A. Black in *Monarchy and Community* and *Council and Commune* expounds the thinking of the conciliarists and their opponents at the Council of Basel. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* describes the reunion of 1438 with the eastern churches, on which see also D. Geanakopulos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*. H. Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent, i, The struggle for the Council* has much to say on later attempts to have a council convoked. J.C. Olin in *Catholic Reform, 1495–1563* discusses the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17).

G. Le Bras's volume in Fliche et Martin, above, *Les institutions de la chrétienté médiévale*, is a basic guide to the structure of the church. Little has been written on fifteenth-century bishops and their activities: for the ideal, see O. Logan, 'The idea of the bishop and the Venetian patriciate' *JEH* (1978); for the reality, D. Hay, *The church in Italy in the fifteenth century*, and (on the state of the clergy in general), J.L. Gazzaniga, *L'église du Midi, 1444–61*. V. Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* describes the French church in relation to its secular rulers. The medieval inquisition was dormant by the fifteenth century; on its revival in Spain see H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, and on prosecution of witchcraft see R. Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials (1300–1500)*. On preaching see Origo, *The world of San Bernardino*. On religious orders see the relevant parts of W.A. Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*; V. Beltrán de Heredia, 'The beginnings of Dominican reform in Spain' in *Spain in the fifteenth Century*, ed. R. Highfield; J. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order to 1517*, and D. Nimmo, *Reform and division in the medieval Franciscan order*.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

In the fifteenth century the pathways of personal religious experience and devotion explored by the contemplative writers of the previous era were opened up to a numerous lay following. The result was a great variety of religious manifestations, some of which took a corporate form such as the mystery plays and processions of confraternities; private devotions such as the rosary or the prayers set out in books of hours proliferated too. For an overview see F. Rapp, *L'église et la vie religieuse* (Nouvelle Clío); on particular regions, J. Toussaert, *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du moyen âge*, and Bernd Moeller, 'Religious life in Germany on the eve of the Reformation' in G. Strauss ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*. On spirituality see the last few chapters of *A History of Christian Spirituality, ii, The Spirituality of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Leclercq, F. Vandenbroucke and L. Bouyer; on the Devotio Moderna, R. Post, *The Modern Devotion* (and see J. Van Engen under primary sources above), and C.T. Trinkaus, ed., *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and Renaissance religion*. Italian devotions are touched on in P.O. Kristeller, 'Lay religious traditions and Florentine Platonism' in his *Studies in Renaissance thought and letters*. On charitable confraternities see B. Pullan, *Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice* and John Henderson, *Piety and charity in late medieval Florence*. On

confession see T.F. Tentler, *Sin and confession on the eve of the Reformation* and J. Bossy, 'The social history of confession in the age of the Reformation', *TRHS* (1975).

Millennial movements recur throughout the period: see N. Cohn, *The pursuit of the millennium* and M. Reeves, *The influence of prophecy in the later middle ages*. On heresy, especially the Hussite movement see M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* and more doctrinally G. Leff, *Heresy in the later middle ages*. On the Hussites see also M. Spinka, *John Hus*, F.M. Bartoš, *The Hussite revolution, 1424–37*; H. Kaminsky, *History of the Hussite revolution*, and T.A. Fudge, *The magnificent ride: the first reformation in Hussite Bohemia*. See also on a successor movement P. Brock, *The Unity of Czech Brethren*; and on the Waldensians, E. Cameron, *The reformation of the heretics: the Waldensians of the Alps, 1480–1580*. See also J.N. Stephens, 'Heresy in medieval and Renaissance Florence', *P&P* (1972) and his debate with M. Becker in *P&P* (1974). On the supposed heretical Bosnian church see J.V.F. Fine, *The Bosnian Church* and N. Malcolm's chapter in *Bosnia: a short history*.

LEARNING AND IDEAS

In the fifteenth century universities lost their monopoly of both higher education and philosophical debate, though their numbers grew continually. On schools see P. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* and R. Black, 'Italian Renaissance education', *JHI* (1991); see also A.J. Grafton and L. Jardine, 'Humanism and the school of Guarino', *P&P* (1982). On universities, see J. Ijsewijn and J. Paquet, eds, *Universities in the late middle ages*, and J. Verger, 'The University of Paris at the end of the hundred years' war' in J. Baldwin and R.A. Goldthwaite, *Universities in politics; case studies from the late middle ages and early modern period*; M. Jones, 'Education in Brittany' in his *The creation of Brittany*; and on a debate in German universities, J.H. Overfield, *Humanism and scholasticism in late medieval Germany*. On Padua and its scientific achievement see J.H. Randall, *The school of Padua and the emergence of modern science*. On individual thinkers, F. Oakley, *The political thought of Pierre d'Ailly*; J.L. Connolly, *Jean Gerson, reformer and mystic*, an older work; D.C. Brown, *Pastor and laity in the theology of Jean Gerson*; P. Sigmund, *Nicholas of Cusa and medieval political thought*; Oberman, *The harvest of medieval theology* (on Gabriel Biel); F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*; and Q. Skinner, *Foundations of modern political thought*, i (on several political writers) are all useful.

'Humanism' – a nineteenth-century neologism – is an unhelpful term, though 'humanist', as used in the fifteenth century to mean someone skilled in classical rhetoric and learning, still means something. On this see P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, which demolishes many misconceptions. His *Studies in Renaissance thought and letters* include many seminal papers, especially on Marsilio Ficino. E. Garin, *Italian humanism* is older but still useful, and see J. Stephens, *The Italian Renaissance*, and the three large volumes of C.G. Nauert, *Humanism and the culture of Renaissance Europe*. The best approach to the humanists after reading Kristeller is to focus on individuals: see G. Holmes, *The Florentine enlightenment, 1400–1450*, on Leonardo Bruni, Poggio etc.; Garin, *Portraits from the Quattrocento* (chancellors of Florence, Poliziano and others); Kristeller, *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (including Valla, Pico della Mirandola and Pomponazzi) and L. Martines, *The social world of the Florentine humanists* (Bruni etc.). On Ficino see Robert Marcel, *Marsilio Ficino*; on a Venetian humanist, P. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*. On philosophy, besides the work of Kristeller, there is C.T. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance*; on biblical scholarship J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and*

holy writ; on historiography, a core humanist art, Eric Cochrane, *Historians and historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, E.B. Fryde, *Humanists and Renaissance historiography*, and G. Ianziti, *Humanistic historiography under the Sforzas*.

On the spread of humanist skills beyond the Alps, see A. Goodman and A. Mackay, eds, *The impact of humanism on western Europe*; E. Bernstein, *German humanism*; L. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis*; H.O. Oberman and T.A. Brady, eds, *Itinerarium italicum: the profile of the Italian Renaissance in the mirror of its European transformation* (including Ijsewijn's important paper, 'The coming of humanism to the Low Countries'); and F. Simone, *The French Renaissance*. On printing and its consequences see S. Hindman, ed., *Printing the written word: the social history of books, c.1450–1520*; E.L. Eisenstein, *The printing revolution in early modern Europe*; on the Venetian book trade, M. Lowry, *The world of Aldus Manutius*, and on that of Lyons J.B. Wadsworth, *Lyons 1473–1503: the beginnings of cosmopolitanism*.

CRUSADE AND EXPLORATION

The extensive contacts between Europe and inner Asia in the time of the Mongol empire had been diminished in the fifteenth century. For a general orientation see J.R.S. Phillips, *The medieval expansion of Europe*, and the remarks of R.W. Southern in *Western views of Islam in the middle ages*. On the crusade see A. Atiya, *The Crusade in the later middle ages*; O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna (1444)*; K. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant*, ii, *The fifteenth century* and part of iii, *The sixteenth century*, and N. Housley, *The later crusades (1272–1580)*. Efforts were concentrated instead on finding a route to Asia round Africa or across the Atlantic; on this see P. Chaunu's somewhat pretentious introduction, *L'expansion européenne du xiii^e au xve siècles*, and, much more briefly and usefully, F. Fernández-Armesto's chapter in *CMH* vii. Western geographical ideas are described by V.I.J. Flint, *The imaginative landscape of Christopher Columbus* and Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*; the latter also describes the earlier voyages and Atlantic colonies, on which see also C. Verlinden, *The beginnings of modern colonization*. On the Portuguese voyages see C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese seaborne empire* and P.E. Russell's collected studies, *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343–1490*. On Columbus see Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, and W.D. and C.R. Phillips, *The worlds of Christopher Columbus*. S.E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: the northern voyages (500–1600); the southern voyages (1492–1616)* describes the context of his American voyages.

GOVERNMENT

In this period government became a conscious art, as can be seen in the work of Machiavelli. On some political ideas see J.H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought*, and more specifically his *Lordship, kingship and empire, 1400–1525*. For reflections on the origin of the modern state, see F.K. Werner and W. Paravicini, eds., *Histoire comparée de l'administration, IV^e au XVIII^e siècles*. On the structure of courts, see R.G. Asch and A.M. Birke, eds, *Princes, patronage and the nobility*. R.C. Trexler, *Public life in Renaissance Florence* presents a different model of political participation, as ritual or theatre. B. Guenée, *States and rulers* is a comparative study of government. See also D. Hay, *Europe: the emergence of an idea*.

On administrative changes see J. Favier, 'L'histoire administrative et financière du moyen âge depuis dix ans', *BEC* (1968). Diplomacy is treated comparatively in the classic of G. Mattingly, *Renaissance diplomacy*. On representative assemblies, which were widespread if often in decline in this period, see A. Marongiu, *Medieval parliaments*; W.P. Blockmans, 'A typology of representative institutions in late medieval Europe', *JMH* (1978); P. Lewis, 'The failure of the French medieval estates' *P&P* (1962) and in his *Essays in later medieval French history*; and F.L. Carsten, *Princes and parliaments in Germany*.

FRANCE

The course of events in fifteenth-century France can be followed in M. Vale, *Charles VII* or in vast detail in G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*; P.R. Gaussin, *Louis XI*; J.S. Bridge, *A history of France from the death of Louis XI*; R.J. Knecht, *The rise and fall of Renaissance France and Francis I*; more summarily from 1460 in E. le Roy Ladurie, *The Royal French State, 1460–1610*. On the notion of France see Colette Beaune, *The birth of an ideology*. On the nature of French politics and social organization see P. Lewis, *Later medieval France: the polity* and his several essays in *Essays in later medieval French history*. The detail of government is described in F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*.

On the civil war and the English occupation see J. d'Avout, *Le querelle des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons* and P. Bonenfant, *Du meurtre de Montereau au traité de Troyes*; R.A. Newhall, *The English conquest of Normandy*; C. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*; G.L. Thompson, *Paris and its people under English rule*, and R. Jouet, *La résistance à l'occupation anglaise en Basse-Normandie; La France anglaise au moyen âge* (Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques) is a useful collection of studies; and see J. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras*. On the Valois recovery and its regime see Lewis, ed., *The recovery of France*. The several articles of A. Leguai on Louis XI's reign have reinterpreted many of its aspects: 'Emeutes et troubles d'origine fiscale pendant le règne de Louis XI', *Le moyen âge* (1967); 'Troubles et révoltes sous le règne de Louis XI' *RH* (1973); 'La conquête de la Bourgogne par Louis XI' *AB* 49 (1977); 'The relations between the towns of Burgundy and the French crown in the fifteenth century' in R. Highfield and R. Jeffs, *The crown and local communities in England and France in the fifteenth century*. On the politics of the end of the century see B. Chevalier and P. Contamine, eds, *La France de la fin du XVe siècle*, with important essays by Paravicini, Peter Lewis and others.

On the French armies see P. Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge*, and on other aspects of war C. Allmand, 'The aftermath of war in fifteenth-century France', *History* (1976) and M. Vale, *War and Chivalry*. On the fiscal regime see H.A. Miskimin, *Money and power in fifteenth-century France*. The social world of agents of government, who were beginning to form a *noblesse de robe*, is analysed by Lewis, *Later medieval France*; in one locality by B. Guenée, *Tribunaux et gens de justice dans le bailliage de Senlis (1380–1500)*, and in another by R. Fédou, *Les hommes de loi lyonnais à la fin du moyen âge*.

Lordships of every kind flourished in fifteenth-century France, each relating differently to the crown. On the notion of treason see S.H. Cuttler, *The law of treason and treason trials in later medieval France* and M.C.E. Jones 'Bons bretons et bons François': the language and meaning of treason in later medieval France', *TRHS* (1982) and in his *The creation of Brittany*.

On the semi-French lordship of the dukes of Burgundy see the section on the Low Countries below. On others, see Jones, *The creation of Brittany*; J. Kerhervé, *L'état breton aux XIVe–XVe siècles* (on finance); M. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399–1453*; Leguai, *Les ducs de Bourbon pendant la crise monarchique du XVe siècle*; and more generally P. Charbonnier, *Une autre France: la seigneurie en Basse-Auvergne du XIVe au XVIe siècle*.

Rural life in France is best approached through local studies. See esp. G. Bois, *The crisis of feudalism: economy and society in eastern Normandy, 1300–1550*. On towns, see Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIVe au XVIe siècle* and *Tours, ville royale (1356–1520)*.

On the church, see the excellent general works, largely based on French material, in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église*, XIV (1378–1449) and XV (1449–1517). V. Martin, *Les origines de gallicanisme* is the classic work on its relations with the crown; see also Ourliac's essay on the concordat of 1472 in Lewis, ed., *The recovery of France*. J.L. Gazzaniga, *L'église du midi, 1444–1461* considers the condition of the French clergy.

On French humanists, besides the essay in Goodman and Mackay, *The impact of humanism*, see F. Simone, *The French Renaissance*; A.H.T. Levi, ed., *Humanism in France* and L. Febvre, *Au coeur religieux du XVIe siècle*.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The history of the three kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre converges during the fifteenth century, even before the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469 and the annexation of Navarre in 1512. Granada, the remaining Muslim kingdom, had a quite different development before its conquest in 1492, and Portugal followed a separate path throughout. On Aragon, Castile and Navarre see J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish kingdoms, 1250–1516*, vol. ii. Castile was by far the largest; on its political development see I. Macdonald, *Don Fernando de Antequera*; N. Round, *The greatest man uncrowned: a study of the fall of Don Alvaro de Luna*, much the best book on Castile before Isabella; W.D. Phillips, *Enrique IV and the crisis of fifteenth-century Castile*; F. Fernández-Armesto, *Ferdinand and Isabella*; and P. Liss, *Isabel the Queen*. On Navarre, see B. Leroy, *Navarre au moyen âge*; on Aragon, D. Abulafia, *The western Mediterranean kingdoms, 1200–1500*, and A.J. Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous*.

Many problems are addressed by the Spanish historians whose studies are tr. R. Highfield, ed., *Spain in the fifteenth century, 1369–1500*. The financial parameters of government are set out by A. MacKay, *Money, prices and politics in fifteenth-century Castile*; its public image by MacKay, 'Ritual and propaganda in fifteenth-century Castile', *P&P* (1985). See also on the nobility Helen Nader, *The Mendoza family in the Spanish Renaissance*; M.C. Gerbet, *La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille: étude sur les structures en Estrémadure de 1454 à 1516*; Highfield, 'The Catholic kings and the nobility of Castile' in *ELMA* and 'The de la Cerda, the Pimentel and the so-called price revolution' *EHR* (1972), and MacKay, 'The lesser nobility in the kingdom of Castile', in M.C.E. Jones, ed., *Gentry and lesser nobility in later medieval Europe*; on war, E. Lourie 'A society organized for war: medieval Spain', *P&P* (1966); and on towns, J. Edwards, *Christian Cordoba*; MacKay, 'Popular movements and pogroms in fifteenth-century Castile' *P&P* (1972) and 'Faction and civil strife in late medieval Castilian towns' *BJRL* (1990); see also R. Pike, *Enterprise and adventure: the Genoese in Seville*. See also S. Haliczzer, *The comuneros*

of Castile. On the society of the Granadan frontier see the studies of J.E. López de Coca Castañer and MacKay in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, *Medieval Frontier Societies*.

A gloomy account of the Spanish economy is given by J. Vicens Vives in his *Economic History of Spain*. For the real achievement of the wool exports see a much older book, J. Klein, *The Mesta*, and W.R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the later middle ages*. On Aragonese commerce see C. Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés, 1380–1462*; and on Valencian trade J. Guiral-Hadziiossif, *Valence, port méditerranéen au XVe siècle*.

Fifteenth-century Spain, even excluding the Granadan kingdom, had large Muslim and Jewish populations in addition to Christians. Muslim communities are described in the first part of L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500*. On the Jews see Y. Baer, *A history of the Jews in Christian Spain*, and on converted Jews, B. Netanyahu, *The marranos of Spain from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century*. On the conversos see also H. Beinart, *Trujillo: a Jewish community in Extremadura on the eve of the expulsion*. Changing attitudes to non-Christian religions are summarized in Highfield, 'The fall of *convivencia* in Christian Spain', *Studies in Church History* xv (1978). There is no general survey of the church beyond the chapter in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église*, xiv part i, but see R.B. Tate, *Juan Margarit i Pau*; R.H. Trame, *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo*, on a Spanish churchman in Italy, and H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*. See also V. Beltrán de Heredia, 'The beginnings of Dominican reform in Spain' in Highfield, *Spain in the fifteenth century*. On popular religious cults, see W.A. Christian, *Apparitions in late medieval and Renaissance Spain*.

On the literary culture of Spain see, besides Nader, *The Mendoza family*, above, A.D. Deyermond, *A literary history of Spain: the middle ages*, and S. Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, on the author of the classic work *La Celestina*, written about 1499.

On fifteenth-century Portugal there is little in English. See H. Livermore, *A short history of Portugal* and the chapter on Portugal by Armindo da Sousa in *CMH* vii. On Portuguese society see A.H. Oliveira de Marques, *Daily life in Portugal in the late middle ages*.

On Granada see R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane sous les Nasrides* and L.P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain, 1250–1500*.

For literature on the great Portuguese and Spanish enterprise of exploration in Africa, Asia and the Americas, see the section on exploration and discovery, above.

ITALY

A unified account of Italian history before 1494 is impossible, and difficult in the thirty following years. For a brief guide see D. Hay and J. Law, *Italy in the Renaissance, 1380–1530.*, and B. Pullan, *A history of early Renaissance Italy*. On the neglected rural scene see some of the studies in T. Dean and C. Wickham, eds, *City and countryside in late medieval and Renaissance Italy* (studies for Philip Jones). On the church see Hay, *The church in Italy in the fifteenth century*. The focus of historical writing since Jacob Burckhardt's classic, *The civilization of Italy in the Renaissance*, has been on Florence and its transition from republican liberty to princely rule. For a more balanced perspective, it is necessary to see Florence among its neighbours in the search for stable government.

On Florence before the Medici ascendancy see G. Brucker, *The civic world of early Renaissance Florence*; Dale Kent, *The rise of the Medici*, and A. Molho, *Florentine public finance in the early Renaissance, 1400–1433*. On Medici rule before 1494, see J. Hale, *Florence and the Medici*, and two older books, C.S. Gutkind, *Cosimo de Medici* and C.M. Ady, *Lorenzo de Medici and Renaissance Florence*. N. Rubinstein, *The government of Florence under the Medici* assesses the Medicis' methods of informal control, on which see also A. Brown, *The Medici in Florence: the exercise and language of power* and Bartolomeo Scala, chancellor of Florence; see also R. Trexler, *Public life in Renaissance Florence*. On the expansion of the Florentine state see M. Becker, 'The Florentine territorial state' in N. Rubinstein ed., *Florentine Studies*; M. Mallett, 'Pisa and Florence in the fifteenth century' in the same, and *The Florentine galleys in the fifteenth century*; and J.C. Brown, *In the shadow of Florence: provincial society in Renaissance Pescia*. On the vicissitudes of Florence after 1494 see D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence*; L. Polizzotto, *The elect nation: the Savonarolan movement in Florence, 1494–1545*, and J. Stephens, *The fall of the Florentine republic*.

On the social world of Florence, besides the documents in Brucker, *The society of Renaissance Florence*, see F.W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence*; D. Herlihy and C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their families* (on the hearth-tax of 1427); R.A. Goldthwaite, *Private wealth in Renaissance Florence*; and L. Martines, *The social world of the Florentine humanists*. On its scholars and thinkers see G. Holmes, *The Florentine enlightenment, 1400–1450* and E. Garin, *Portraits from the quattrocento*. Two volumes of essays, Rubinstein, ed., *Florentine studies* and P. Denley and C. Elam, eds, *Florence and Italy* (studies for Rubinstein) add numerous insights on many of these themes.

Compared with the wealth of material on Florence, the rest of Italy is much less well served. On the northern Italian world there has been some recent work in English. See on Milan D. Bueno de Mesquita, 'Despotism in Italian politics' in *ELMA* and 'The Sforza pince and his state' in Denley and Elam eds, *Florence and Italy*; G. Lubkin, *A Renaissance court: Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*; and the much older work of C.M. Ady, *A history of Milan under the Sforza*. On Ferrara see T. Dean, *Land and power in late medieval Ferrara* (mainly on an earlier period) and W. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: the style of a Renaissance despotism*; on Bologna, Ady, *The Bentivoglio of Bologna*; on Rimini, P.J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini* and on Genoa, though primarily on its society, J. Heers, *Gênes au XVe siècle*.

There is much more work on Venice: an excellent introduction by D.S. Chambers, *The imperial age of Venice, 1380–1580*, and on its politics, R. Finlay, *Politics in Renaissance Venice* and P. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani*. Many studies in J. Hale, ed., *Renaissance Venice* are relevant for this period. See also E. Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice*, and on the republic's military power M. Mallett and J. Hale, *The military organization of a renaissance state: Venice, 1400–1617*. On its mainland territory, see J. Law, 'The Venetian mainland state in the fifteenth century', *TRHS* (1992) and 'Venice and the problem of sovereignty in the *patria del Friuli*', in Denley and Elam eds, *Florence and Italy*; and K. Grubb, *Provincial families in the Renaissance: private and public life of the Veneto*. Venetian commerce see F.C. Lane, *Venice and History, Venice: a maritime republic* and his collected *Studies in Venetian social and economic history*; on the Venetian empire in the eastern Mediterranean, F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*. On its society see D. Queller, *The Venetian patriciate* and B. Pullan, *Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice*. On its intellectual life, there is M.L. King, *Venetian humanism in an age of patrician dominance*; O. Logan, *Culture and society in Venice, 1470–1700*, and M. Lowry, *The world of Aldus Manutius*.

On central Italy and Tuscany see, on Lucca, M.E. Bratchel, *Lucca 1430–94*; on Siena, J. Hook, *Siena: a city and its history*; and on Perugia C.F. Black, ‘The Baglioni as tyrants of Perugia, 1488–1540’, *EHR* (1970). On the making of a papal state see P. Partner, *The papal state under Martin V*; ‘The “budget” of the Roman church in the Renaissance period’ in E.F. Jacob, ed. *Italian Renaissance Studies; The lands of St Peter* (for a longer perspective); *Renaissance Rome, 1500–1559* and *The pope’s men* (on the papal bureaucracy); M. Mallett, *The Borgias*; and J. Heers, *A la cour pontificale au temps des Borgia et des Médicis*.

On southern Italy there is little work not in Italian, but see A. Ryder, ‘The evolution of imperial government in Naples under Alfonso V of Aragon’ in *ELMA; The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous and Alfonso the Magnanimous*; J.H. Bentley, *Politics and culture in Renaissance Naples* and D. Abulafia, ‘The crown and the economy under Ferrante I of Naples’ in T. Dean and C. Wickham, eds., *City and countryside*, above. Abulafia, ed., *The French descent into Renaissance Italy* deals largely with central and southern Italy. On Sicilian society see S.P. Epstein, *An island for itself: economic development and social change in late medieval Sicily*; H. Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300–1450*, and his collected studies, *Politique et société en Sicile, XIIe au XVe siècles*. On Malta see A. Luttrell, ed., *Medieval Malta*.

BURGUNDY AND THE LOW COUNTRIES

The main theme of this period is the unification of the Netherlands, a group of lordships within the Holy Roman Empire with the county of Flanders subject to France, under the Valois dukes of Burgundy and their Habsburg successors. See in general W. Prevenier and W.P. Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands*, with many illustrations but also a sound text, and R. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*. Vaughan also provides biographies of the dukes with some analysis of government: *John the Fearless*, *Philip the Good*; and *Charles the Bold*. Several aspects of their regime are investigated by C.A.J. Armstrong in his collected papers, *England, France and Burgundy*, including articles on their matrimonial policy, their relations with the English regime in Paris and their attitude to the local nobility. P. Bonenfant, *Du meurtre de Montreuil au traité de Troyes* is a detailed study of the crucial events of 1419–20. See also on unifying tendencies Y. Lacaze, ‘Le rôle des traditions dans la genèse d’un sentiment national au XVe siècle’, *BEC* (1971), and G. Small, *George Chastelain and the shaping of Valois Burgundy*. The cadre of government is discussed by J. Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances au XVe siècle: les conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne*, and Prevenier, ‘Offices in town and countryside in the Low Countries’, *Acta historiae Neerlandicae* 7 (1974). On the nobility see M.T. Caron, *La noblesse dans la duché de Bourgogne 1315–1477*, and on the court, O. Cartellieri, *The court of Burgundy*, now modified by W. Paravicini, ‘The court of the dukes of Burgundy: a model for Europe?’ in R.G. Asch and R.M. Birke, *Princes, patronage and the nobility*. On the Habsburg period there is little in English; it is necessary to go back to the classic work of H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, iii (1477–1567). See also W. Blockmans, ed., *Le privilège général et les privilèges régionaux de Marie de Bourgogne pour les Pays-bas, 1477* and H. van der Wee, *The Low Countries in the early modern world* (on the provinces’ economy and social structure).

On particular provinces and cities see J.J. Murray, *Antwerp in the age of Plantin and Brueghel*; D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* and J. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg rule*. On the cloth production and financial activity of Flanders and Brabant see M.R. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre: relations économiques, 1435–67*; J.H. Munro, *Wool, cloth and gold* and

P. Spufford, *Monetary problems and policies in the Burgundian Netherlands*. H. van der Wee, *The growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy* (3 vols, see vol. ii) is useful. On Netherlandish art of this period see the section on arts and artifacts above.

GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

The literature on this period in any other language than German is rather sparse. For an introduction, the chapters in *CMH* vii on Germany by Tom Scott and on Switzerland by Roger Sablonier are good. The essays translated from German in G. Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany* can supplement them, as can the survey of J. Lörtz, *The Reformation in Germany*, i, and over a longer timespan F.R.H. du Boulay, *Germany in the later middle ages*. The difficult constitution of the Empire is best approached through H.S. Offler, 'Government in the late medieval Empire' in *ELMA*, and the introductory pages of G. Benecke, *Society and politics in Germany, 1500–1700*, which focusses on the county of Lippe (Westphalia). There are no biographies of the Emperors Sigismund and Frederick III, but see Benecke, *Maximilian I, 1459–1519, an analytical biography*. A regional and comparative approach is essential. Otto Brunner, *Land and Lordship* examines the nature of the German princely territory by reference to lordships in Austria. Tom Scott, *Freiburg and the Breisgau* and *Regional identity and economic change: the upper Rhine, 1450–1600* explains the political geography of south-western Germany in its economic context. The relevant section of Bonjour, Offler and Potter, *A short history of Switzerland* describes the cantons and leagues of the Alpine provinces of the Empire. On particular territories see H. Cohn, *The Rhine Palatinate in the fifteenth century*; L.G. Duggan, *Bishop and chapter: the governance of the bishopric of Speyer* (describing a longer period); F.L. Carsten, *The origins of Prussia*; H.S. Brather, 'Administrative reform in electoral Saxony' in Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*; and T.A. Brady, *Turning Swiss: cities and empire, 1450–1550*. On the feud, see H. Zmora, *State and nobility: the knightly feud in Franconia, 1440–1567*. On the Teutonic Order see M. Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order: an aristocratic corporation in crisis, 1410–1466*, and more generally Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (1100–1525).

On the theme of empire and territories, besides Benecke, *Society and Politics* above, the thesis of H. Angermeier's *Königtum und Landfriede* can be distilled for non-German readers in the reviews of Offler, *Erasmus* (1968) and Cohn, *EHR* (1968). See also P. Moraw, 'Cities and citizenry as factors of state formation in the Roman-German empire of the late middle ages', *Theory and Society* (1989), and Hemann Heimpel, 'Characteristics of the late middle ages in Germany' in Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*. On imperial reform see the articles of Hartung and Bader in Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*. On estates see Carsten, *Princes and parliaments in Germany* and R. Folz, 'Les assemblées des états dans les principautés allemandes', *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* 20 (1962–3). The influence of Roman law is described by Dahm and Kunkel in these articles in Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*. On customary law see F. du Boulay, 'Law enforcement in medieval Germany', *History* (1978). On agriculture, see the article by Lütge in Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*, and (over many centuries) A. Mayhew, *Rural settlement and farming in Germany*. Commercial developments are treated by P. Dollinger, *The German Hansa* and Strauss, *Nuremberg in the sixteenth century*.

Little has been written on the German church in this period; for an introduction see the chapter in du Boulay, *Germany in the later middle ages*, and the section 'la nation allemande'

in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église*, xiv (i). J.W. Stieber, *Pope Eugenius IV, the council of Basel and the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the empire* has much information on the conciliar era. On the later part of the period see the article by Bernd Moeller, 'Religious life in Germany on the eve of the Reformation' in Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany*; Strauss, *Manifestations of discontent in Germany on the eve of the Reformation*, and A.G. Dickens, *The German nation and Martin Luther*.

Work on the intellectual life of German university scholars and humanists is listed in the section on learning and ideas above.

SCANDINAVIA

There is almost nothing on the three northern kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, in this period uneasily united by the Union of Kalmar under one ruler, which is not in one of the national languages. The best short survey is that of Thomas Riis, 'The states of Scandinavia' in *CMH* vii, and more briefly the last part of Birgit and Peter Sawyer, *Medieval Scandinavia*. R.H. Schmandt, 'The Gotland campaign of the Teutonic knights, 1398–1408', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 6 part 4 (1975) though its subject precedes this period, has some relevant information. On the activities of Scandinavian merchants in rivalry to the Hansa see Dollinger, *The German Hansa* and Riis, 'La Baltique et le monde baltique au XVe siècle', *Critica storica* 25 part 4 (1988). On the final years of the Union see W. Westergaard. 'The Hansa towns and Scandinavia on the eve of Swedish independence' *JMH* 4 (1932) and 'Denmark, Russia and the Swedish revolution, 1480–1503', *Slavonic Review* 16 (1937).

On Finland there is a modern work (1978), E. Jutikkala and K. Pirinen, *Histoire de la Finlande*; see also E. Orrman, 'The progress of settlement in Finland during the late middle ages', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 29 (1981). The older work of K. Gjerset, *History of Iceland* is still the fullest on the western islands, and see on Greenland K.A. Seaver, *The frozen echo: Greenland and the exploration of North America, 1000–1500*.

POLAND-LITHUANIA, HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA

These four territories, quite separate in origin and future development, came closer together at the end of the fifteenth century under princes of the Jagellonian house; the union of Lithuania with Poland began earlier and lasted longer. See in general J.W. Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the middle ages* and S. Russocki, 'Structures politiques dans l'Europe des Jagellon', *Acta Poloniae historica* 39 (1979); and some of the studies in A. M. czak, H. Samsonowicz and P. Burke, *East central Europe in Transition*. On another broad phenomenon see J. Blum, 'The rise of serfdom in eastern Europe', *AHR* (1957) and M. Malowist, 'The problem of the inequality of economic development in the later middle ages', *EcHR* (1966). See also in general O. Halecki, *Borderlands of western civilization*.

On Poland under the Jagellonian kings see the relevant section of W. Reddaway, ed., *Cambridge History of Poland*, i, and N. Davies, *God's Playground*, i. The notes to the *Annals* of Jan Długosz (among primary sources above) have a wealth of information. The brief chapter by A. Gieysztor in *CMH* vii is also very useful, as is H. Samsonowicz, 'Polish politics and society under the Jagellonian monarchy' in J.F. Fedorowicz, ed., *A republic of nobles*. See also the last

part of Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the rise of east central Europe*. On the nobility, see J. Wiesiołski, 'The nobility in town' in A. G. Siorowski, ed., *The Polish nobility in the middle ages* (in Bodley 24431 e.80 (5)); on the church, J. K. Oczowski, *The Christian community in medieval Poland* (in Bodley 24431 e.80 (2)); on the Ruthenian orthodox population of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, Halecki, *From Florence to Brest, 1439–1596*. E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* describes the struggle with the Teutonic knights, on the ideological aspects of which see S. Belch, *Paulus Vladimiri and his doctrine* (of international law). On Copernicus and his world see M. Bogucka, *Nicholas Copernicus; the country and the times* (not in Bodley but on order).

Hungary, under imperial, national or Polish kings, was the most effective barrier to Ottoman expansion in this period. See in general the survey of J.M. Bak in *CMH* vii, and 'The Hungary of Matthias Corvinus', *Bohemia, Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum* 31 part 2 (1990). On Croatia see S. Guldescu, *History of medieval Croatia*. On the military activity on which government concentrated see J.M. Bak and B.K. Király, *From Hunyadi to Rakocki: war and society in late medieval and early modern Hungary*; F. Szakály, 'Phases of Turco-Hungarian warfare before the battle of Mohács, 1365–1526', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 fasc.1 (1979); and J. Held, 'Military reform in early fifteenth-century Hungary', *East European Quarterly* 11 (1977). A partially militarized Hungarian society is described by E. Fügedi, *Castle and society in medieval Hungary and Kings, bishops, nobles and burghers in medieval Hungary*; on urban society see L. Gerevich, ed., *Towns of medieval Hungary* and M. Rady, *Medieval Buda*. On the intellectual world of Matthias Corvinus's court see M.D. Birnbaum, *Janus Pannonius, poet and politician* and T. Klaniczay and J. Jankovics, eds., *Matthias Corvinus and humanism in central Europe*.

Bohemia, with the same sequence of imperial, national and Jagellonian rulers, impinged more directly on western European politics. Its society and political development is summarized by John Klassen in *CMH* vii. On the Hussite government of 1415–36 see H. Kaminsky, *A history of the Hussite revolution*; F.G. Heymann, *John Ziska and the Hussite Revolution*; F.M. Bartoš, *The Hussite Revolution, 1424–37*; F. Šmahel, *La révolution hussite, une anomalie historique*; and Klassen, *The nobility and the making of the Hussite revolution*. The embattled reign of the national king George of Podbrady is described by Heymann, *George of Bohemia, king of heretics* and O. Odložilík, *The Hussite king*. The work of R.R. Betts, *Essays on Czech history* is marred by its bias, but includes valuable information. On the social background see also M. Polívka, 'The Bohemian lesser nobility at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century', *Historica* 25 (1985).

THE ORTHODOX WORLD, THE BALKAN PRINCIPALITIES AND THE LATIN EAST

In this period of conquest by the Ottoman sultans, the attention of Byzantine historians has been drawn to the various modes of survival, assimilation and accommodation of the Christian inhabitants within or in close proximity to the Turkish power; modes which included conversion to Islam. On the 'Roman orthodox' emperors and the other Greek states which fell under Ottoman rule in this period, see the exceptionally clear and acute summary of A.A.M. Bryer in *CMH* vii. D.M. Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* is the most straightforward account; see also his *Church and society in the last century of Byzantium*; three of the studies in his *The Byzantine lady*; J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391–1425*; Nicol, *The immortal*

emperor; (on Constantine XI); and S. Runciman, *The fall of Constantinople*. On the other surviving Greek principalities see Nicol, *The despotate of Epirus, 1267–1479*; Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine capital of the Peloponnese*; W. Miller, *Trebizond: the last Greek empire*, and Bryer's collected studies, *The empire of Trebizond and the Pontos*. On the Caucasus see the older work of W.E.D. Allen, *History of the Georgian people* and R.G. Suny, *The making of the Georgian nation*, both of which treat this period in a much wider chronological context. On the remaining military power of the empire see M.C. Bartusis, *The late Byzantine army*. On the union with Rome see J. Gill, *The council of Florence and Personalities of the council of Florence*. The intellectual world of Constantinople is set out by Runciman, *The last Byzantine Renaissance*, and see also C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon*, on the greatest philosopher of fifteenth-century Hellenism.

On the independent but culturally orthodox lordships of the Balkans, see in general the later chapters of D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine commonwealth* and J. Fine, *The late medieval Balkans*; on Bosnia, the relevant parts of N. Malcolm, *Bosnia: a short history* and Fine, *The Bosnian church*; on Serbia, T. Durham, *Serbia: the rise and fall of a medieval empire* and the section on this period in Malcolm, *Kosovo*; and on Albania, A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* and his collected studies, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise, XIe–XVe siècles*. On the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia the best account is still N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains*; see also, on the Wallachian prince Vlad the Impaler, K. Treptow, ed., *Dracula: Essays on the life and times of Vlad Tepe*, and on the Moldavian attempt to preserve independence, the short work of S. Papacostea, *Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia, 1457–1504*. On the culture of the principalities see D. Deletant, 'Some aspects of the Byzantine tradition in the Romanian principalities', *Slavonic and East European Review* 59 (1981).

The Aegean and adjacent seas had been penetrated by western colonists long before this period; on the many 'Frankish' colonies see P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* and the papers in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, *Latins and Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean* and in M. Balard and A. Ducellier, eds, *Coloniser au moyen âge*. On Ragusa, an Adriatic city rival to Venice, see F.W. Carter, *Dubrovnik: a classic city state* and B. Kreki, *Dubrovnik, Italy and the Balkans in the late middle ages*. On the Venetians in the orient see F. Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne*; on the Knights Hospitallers at Rhodes, two volumes of collected studies by Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440* and *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, and N. Vatin, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'empire ottoman et la Méditerranée entre les deux sièges de Rhodes, 1480–1522*. On Cyprus see G. Hill, *A history of Cyprus*.

The Ottoman power emerged within the Byzantine world without much exterior intervention. On the process of transformation, which has had much recent attention, see S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval hellenism in Asia Minor*; B. Braude and B. Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*; A.A.M. Bryer and H. Lowry, eds., *Continuity and change in late Byzantine and early Ottoman society* (with many papers on specific localities); and Bryer's collected papers, *Peoples and settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus*. On orthodox survival within the empire, see Runciman, *The great church in captivity*.

RUSSIA

In the fifteenth century the princes of Muscovy established a unitary rule over the Russian lands, claiming to be the effective heirs of the Roman and orthodox emperors in Constantinople. The most detailed narrative is that of G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the dawn of the modern age*; for more compact accounts, see R.O. Crummey, *The formation of Muscovy, 1304–1613*, and even more summary, J. Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980–1584*. Many of the papers in J.H. Bate and R.A. French, eds., *Studies in Russian historical geography* give a useful orientation. See also J.L.I. Fennell, *Ivan the Great of Moscow*; G. Alef, *The origins of Muscovite autocracy: the age of Ivan III*; Alef, *Rulers and nobles in fifteenth-century Muscovy*; N.S. Kollmann, *Kinship and politics: the making of the Muscovite political system, 1345–1547*; D.H. Kaiser, *The growth of the law in medieval Russia*, and on the projection of power, J. Keep, *Soldiers of the Tsar: army and society in Russia, 1462–1874* and R.M. Croskey, *Muscovite diplomatic practice in the reign of Ivan III*. On the Tatar power, the ‘Golden Horde’ of which Muscovy had been a vassal see C.J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde*; and on other political communities, M. Birnbaum, *Lord Novgorod the great* and L. Langer, ‘The *Posadnichestvo* of Pskov: some aspects of urban administration in medieval Russia’, *Slavic Review* (1984).

On rural Russia see R.E.F. Smith, *Peasant farming in Muscovy*; and on the fur trade, the prime source of wealth, J. Martin, *Treasure in the land of darkness: the fur trade and its significance for medieval Russia*.

On the orthodox church and the Byzantine contribution to Russian civilization see Fennell, *A history of the Russian church to 1448*, and D. Obolensky, ‘Byzantium and Russia in the late middle ages’ in *ELMA*. See also G.P. Fedotov, *The Russian religious mind*, ii, *The thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries*; N. Andreyev, ‘Literature in the Muscovite period’ in R. Auty and D. Obolensky, eds., *An introduction to Russian language and literature*, and Birnbaum, ‘Lord Novgorod the great: its place in medieval culture’, *Viator* (1977).

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD

On the origins and character of Ottoman power the classic work of P. Wittek, *The rise of the Ottoman Empire* (1938) is still valuable. The best modern summaries are those of H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: the classical age, 1300–1600* and C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481*. In more detail see especially F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his time*; C. Kadafar, *Between two worlds: the construction of the Ottoman state* (on the earliest stages of the empire), and on Turkish tribal society, R.P. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in medieval Anatolia*. On the empire’s financial and military structure see N. Beldiceanu, *Le timar dans l’empire Ottoman (1300–1500)* and S. Christensen, ‘European-Ottoman military acculturation in the late middle ages’ in B.P. McGuire, ed., *War and peace in the middle ages*. On Turkish power projected abroad see P. Coles, *The Ottoman impact on Europe*; S.N. Fisher, *The foreign relations of Turkey, 1480–1512* and Shai Har-el, *Struggle for domination in the Middle East: the Ottoman-Mamluk war, 1485–91*. On Ottoman towns see Beldiceanu, *Recherches sur la ville ottomane au XVe siècle*, and on other aspects of the Ottoman Balkans his collected studies, *Le monde ottoman des Balkans, 1402–1566*. The material base of Ottoman power is discussed in H. Inalcik and D. Quataert, eds., *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1914* (see vol i).

A more traditionally Muslim world lay beyond the Taurus mountains. See in general J.C. Garçin et al., *États sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, Xe-XVe siècles*, and on the still formidable Mameluke power in Egypt, F. Petry, *Twilight of majesty* (on the period

1468–1516) and *Protectors or Praetorians? The last Mamluk sultans and Egypt's waning as a great power*. See also his *The civilian elite of Cairo in the later middle ages*. On Persia see the *Cambridge History of Iran*, vi, *The Timurid and Safavid periods*, and on the confederacy of Uzun Hasan on the Ottoman border, which briefly extended over Mesopotamia and Persia, J.E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: clan, confederation, empire*. On North Africa see R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafside*, and on Morocco A.C. Hess, *Forgotten frontier: a history of the sixteenth century Ibero-African frontier*.

An instructive contrast to the civilization of Europe is described by T. Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270–1527*.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AB</i>	<i>Annales de Bourgogne</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
<i>CMH</i> vii	<i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vii, ed. C. Allmand
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELMA</i>	<i>Europe in the late middle ages</i> , ed. J. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield and B. Smalley
<i>HS</i> 1/ or /2	<i>Hakluyt Society</i> , series 1 or series 2
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>RH</i>	<i>Révue Historique</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

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