

The final volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* covers the last century (interpreted broadly) of the traditional western Middle Ages. Often seen as a time of doubt, decline and division, the period is shown here as one of considerable innovation and development, much of which resulted from a conscious attempt by contemporaries to meet the growing demands of society and to find practical solutions to the social, religious and political problems which beset it.

The volume consists of four sections. Part I focuses on both the ideas and other considerations which guided men as they sought good government, and on the practical development of representation. Part II deals with aspects of social and economic development at a time of change and expansion. Part III discusses the importance of the life of the spirit: religion, education and the arts. Moving from the general to the particular, Part IV concerns itself with the history of the countries of Europe, emphasis being placed on the way that centralised (often monarchical) power developed, thus giving rise to the growth of the nation-states of the 'early modern' world.

The New Cambridge Medieval History

EDITORIAL BOARD

David Abulafia Rosamond McKitterick
Martin Brett Edward Powell
Simon Keynes Jonathan Shepard
Peter Linchan Peter Spufford

Volume VII *c.* 1415–*c.* 1500

THE NEW
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIÉVAL HISTORY

Volume VII c. 1415–c. 1500

EDITED BY
CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND

*Professor of Medieval History
in the University of Liverpool*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521382960

© Cambridge University Press 1998

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1998
Reprinted 2006

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

ISBN-13 978-0-521-38296-0 paperback
ISBN-10 0-521-38296-3 hardback

CONTENTS

<i>List of plates</i>	page xi
<i>List of maps</i>	xiii
<i>List of genealogical tables</i>	xiv
<i>List of contributors</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xx

PART I GOVERNMENT

1	Politics: theory and practice	3
	JEAN-PHILIPPE GENET	
2	Representation (since the thirteenth century)	29
	WIM BLOCKMANS	
3	Popes and councils	65
	ANTONY BLACK	

PART II ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

4	The European nobility	89
	PHILIPPE CONTAMINE	
5	Rural Europe	106
	CHRISTOPHER DYER	
6	Urban Europe	121
	BARRIE DOBSON	

7	Commerce and trade WENDY CHILDS	145
8	War CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND	161
9	Exploration and discovery FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO	175
PART III SPIRITUAL, CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE		
10	Religious belief and practice FRANCIS RAPP	205
11	Schools and universities JACQUES VERGER	220
12	Humanism ROBERT BLACK	243
13	Manuscripts and books MALCOLM VALE	278
14	The beginning of printing DAVID MCKITTERICK	287
15	Architecture and painting PAUL CROSSLEY	299
16	Music GARETH CURTIS	319
PART IV THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN STATES		
17	Germany and the Empire TOM SCOTT	337
18	Hus, the Hussites and Bohemia JOHN KLASSEN	367
19	France	
	(a) France at the end of the Hundred Years War (c. 1420–1461) MALCOLM VALE	392
	(b) The recovery of France, 1450–1520 BERNARD CHEVALIER	408

20	Burgundy	431
	BERTRAND SCHNERB	
21	England	
	(a) Lancastrian England	457
	EDWARD POWELL	
	(b) Yorkist and early Tudor England	477
	ROSEMARY HORROX	
22	The Celtic world	
	(a) Ireland	496
	ART COSGROVE	
	(b) Scotland: 1406–1513	514
	JENNY WORMALD	
	(c) Wales	532
	A.D. CARR	
23	Italy	
	(a) The northern Italian states	547
	MICHAEL MALLETT	
	(b) The papal states and the kingdom of Naples	571
	ALAN RYDER	
24	The Iberian peninsula	
	(a) Aragon	588
	MARIO DEL TREPPO	
	(b) Castile and Navarre	606
	ANGUS MACKAY	
	(c) Portugal	627
	ARMINDO DE SOUSA	
25	The Swiss Confederation	645
	ROGER SABLONIER	
26	The states of Scandinavia, c. 1390–c. 1536	671
	THOMAS RIIS	
27	Hungary: crown and estates	707
	JÁNOS BAK	
28	The kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania, 1370–1506	727
	ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR	
29	Russia	748
	NANCY SHIELDS KOLLMANN	

30	Byzantium: the Roman Orthodox world, 1393–1492 ANTHONY BRYER	771
31	The Latin east ANTHONY LUTTRELL	796
32	The Ottoman world ELIZABETH ZACHARIADOU	812
	Conclusion CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND	831
	<i>Appendix: genealogical tables</i>	841
	<i>Primary sources and secondary works arranged by chapter</i>	848
	<i>Index</i>	995

PLATES

Frontispiece

Federigo da Montefeltro with his son, Guidobaldo, by Joos van Wassenhove,
c. 1476, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino (photo: SCALA)

between pages 490 and 491

- 1 Nuremberg, St Lorenz, interior of the choir, showing *The Annunciation* by Veit Stoss and the sacrament house (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)
- 2 Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin of Chancellor Rolin*, c. 1435, Louvre, Paris (photo © RMN)
- 3 Jan and Hubert van Eyck, *The Adoration of the Lamb*, St Bavo's cathedral, Ghent, c. 1432 (photo © KIK/IRPA Brussels)
- 4 Rogier van der Weyden, *The Last Judgement*, Hôtel Dieu, Beaune, c. 1445 (photo J. Feuillie / © CNMHS)
- 5 Masaccio, *The Tribute Money*, Brancacci chapel, S. Maria del Carmine, c. 1427 (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 6 Gerolamo da Vicenza, *The Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*, 1488, National Gallery, London (reproduced by permission of the Trustees)
- 7 Donatello, *The Feast of Herod*, bronze relief, baptistery, Siena cathedral (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 8 Dierec Bouts, *Portrait of a Man*, 1462, National Gallery, London (reproduced by permission of the Trustees)
- 9 Pisanello, marriage medal of Lionello d'Este, 1444, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (© The Board of Trustees)
- 10 Andrea Mantegna, *The Gonzaga Court*, Camera degli sposi, Mantua palace, 1474 (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 11 Donatello, equestrian statue of Gattamelata, Padua (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 12 Michelozzo di Bartolommeo, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence, begun 1444 (photo © Fratelli Alinari)

- 13 Zano di Domenico, Jacopo del Sellaio and Biagi d'Antonio, *cassone* with a tournament scene (Courtauld Institute of Art, London – Lee Collection)
- 14 *Studiolo* of Federico da Montefeltro, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, 1476 (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 15 Antonio del Pollaiuolo, *Hercules and Antaeus*, bronze, Museo Nazionale/Bargello, Florence (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 16 Konrad Witz, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (photo © Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva)
- 17 Veit Stoss, high altar, St Mary's church, Cracow, 1477–89 (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)
- 18 Giovanni Bellini, *The Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels*, S. Giobbe altarpiece, Accademia, Venice (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 19 Circle of Piero della Francesca, *An Ideal Townscape*, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 20 Piero della Francesca, *The Baptism of Christ*, National Gallery, London (reproduced by permission of the Trustees)
- 21 Donatello, *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, bronze relief, S. Lorenzo, Florence (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 22 Andrea Mantegna, *St James on his Way to Martyrdom*, for the cycle *The Life of St James the Great*, church of the Eremitani, Padua, now destroyed (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 23 Sandro Botticelli, *Primavera*, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence (photo © Fratelli Alinari)
- 24 Gentile Bellini, *Sultan Mehmed II*, National Gallery, London (reproduced by permission of the Trustees)

MAPS

1	European towns in the late Middle Ages	<i>pages</i> 122
2	European commerce and trade	146
3	The extent of European discoveries on the west African coast	176
4	Winds and currents facilitating the discoveries	178
5	The universities of Europe in 1400 and 1500	222
6	Germany and the Empire	338
7	Bohemia	368
8	France	393
9	The Burgundian dominion	432
10	The Celtic world	497
11	Italy	548
12	The Aragonese dominion	589
13	Castile and Navarre	607
14	Portugal (and the north-west coast of Africa)	628
15	The Swiss Confederation and its neighbouring territories, c. 1500	646
16	Scandinavia and the Baltic	672
17	Hungary in the late fifteenth century	708
18	Poland and Lithuania	728
19	Russia	749
20	The Roman Orthodox and Ottoman worlds in the fifteenth century	772
21	The Latin east	797

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

1	The French succession (including the dukes of Burgundy)	<i>page</i> 842
2	The Valois house of Burgundy	843
3	The English succession	844
4	The rulers of the Iberian kingdoms	845
5	The rulers of Hungary	846
6	The rulers of Poland and Lithuania	847

CONTRIBUTORS

- CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND: Professor of Medieval History, University of Liverpool
- JÁNOS BAK: Professor of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest
- ANTONY BLACK: Professor of the History of Political Thought, University of Dundee
- ROBERT BLACK: Senior Lecturer in History, University of Leeds
- WIM BLOCKMANS: Professor of History, State University of Leiden
- ANTHONY BRYER: Senior Research Fellow, King's College, London: formerly Professor of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham
- A.D. CARR: Reader in Welsh History, University of Wales, Bangor
- BERNARD CHEVALIER: Professor Emeritus, University François-Rabelais, Tours
- WENDY CHILDS: Reader in Medieval History, University of Leeds
- PHILIPPE CONTAMINE: Professor of History, University of Paris IV
- ART COSGROVE: President, University College, Dublin
- PAUL CROSSLEY: Senior Lecturer, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London
- GARETH CURTIS: formerly Lecturer in Music, University of Manchester
- MARIO DEL TREPPO: Professor of Medieval History, University of Naples 'Federico II'
- BARRIE DOBSON: Professor of Medieval History, University of Cambridge
- CHRISTOPHER DYER: Professor of Medieval Social History, University of Birmingham
- FELIPE FERNÁNDEZ-ARMESTO: Faculty of Modern History, University of Oxford
- JEAN-PHILIPPE GENET: Maître de Conférences, University of Paris I
- ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR: Professor of Medieval History, University of Warsaw: formerly President of the Polish Academy of Sciences

- ROSEMARY HORROX: Fellow of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge
- JOHN KLASSEN: Professor of History, Trinity Western University, Langley, British Columbia
- NANCY SHIELDS KOLLMANN: Associate Professor of History, Stanford University
- ANTHONY LUTTRELL: Formerly Assistant-Director and Librarian, British School at Rome
- ANGUS MACKAY: Professor Emeritus, University of Edinburgh
- DAVID MCKITTERICK: Librarian, Trinity College, Cambridge
- MICHAEL MALLET: Professor of History, University of Warwick
- EDWARD POWELL: Formerly Fellow of Downing College, Cambridge
- FRANCIS RAPP: Professor Emeritus, University of Strasburg
- THOMAS RIIS: Professor of the History of Schleswig-Holstein, University of Kiel
- ALAN RYDER: Professor Emeritus, University of Bristol
- ROGER SABLONIER: Professor of Medieval History, University of Zurich
- BERTRAND SCHNERB: Maître de Conférences, University of Paris IV
- TOM SCOTT: Reader in History, University of Liverpool
- ARMINDO DE SOUSA: Associate Professor, University of Oporto
- MALCOLM VALE: Fellow of St John's College, Oxford
- JACQUES VERGER: Professor of History, University of Paris XIII
- JENNY WORMALD: Fellow of St Hilda's College, Oxford
- ELIZABETH ZACHARIADOU: Professor at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Rethymnon

PREFACE

MUCH has happened in the development of historical study in the two generations which have elapsed since the tardy publication, in 1936, of the final volume of the original *Cambridge Medieval History*, to which the present volume is successor. More so than was the case sixty years ago, the historian today is a member of an ever-broadening international community, a development which is itself part of the greater internationalisation of society. Increasingly, the preoccupations of the historian take him beyond the boundaries, local, provincial or national, in which he normally works. Not only has he access to an ever-increasing number of books and periodicals which bring him knowledge and ideas from communities the world over. In an age of easier travel, he has opportunities to meet fellow specialists at conferences, whose published proceedings (if he cannot attend in person) he is often able to read, thus helping him keep up with current thinking and research. Furthermore, the results of his labours are given greater value by his conscious assimilation of the specialised knowledge of other disciplines (literature, art, philosophy for example) and other methodologies (such as those of the social scientist) which have given him a broader and better understanding of the past.

Such developments have greatly extended the horizons of modern historical scholarship. These have also been reflected in the way that much history is now taught, particularly in universities. The popularity of courses encompassing more than one of the traditional academic disciplines has forced teachers and researchers to look at their subjects or periods of interest within broader frameworks than might have been the case years ago. Add to this an awakening European consciousness and a growing willingness to consider the whole spectrum of European history, in both its unity and its diversity, as a field of comparison and contrast, and we have the conditions appropriate for the study of comparative history ready at hand.

The changes of approach can quickly be seen by comparing the contents of this volume with that published in 1936. Never mind the fact that this volume is

longer than its predecessor, and that the number of countries or states given a chapter to themselves has increased. More important is the fact that the number of chapters dealing with themes on a broadly European level has doubled. This underlines how the willingness and ability of historians to consider questions of this kind and in this way has greatly increased over the years. The decision to place the sixteen 'thematic' chapters (parts I, II and III) before, rather than after, those concerned with the development of the European states, the principal theme running through the fourth and final part of this *History*, is founded on the belief that both men and politics are part of a wider world picture which encompasses ideas, political, religious, cultural and artistic, as well as economic and social change and development. Before a subject or a period can be fully appreciated, something of its aspirations and culture must be understood. It is with this in mind, rather than with any intention of downgrading the individual political history of the states of Europe, that the more usual order of presenting history ('politics first, culture second') has been reversed.

Two concluding points may be made. The final century of the traditional Middle Ages has long suffered from being seen as a period of decay and decline which, in the eyes of some, inevitably required major changes to set the world 'on course' again. Such a view, however, has not unduly deterred a whole generation of researchers who have witnessed a significant shift of interest towards the late Middle Ages, and whose work has greatly enriched our understanding of fifteenth-century society. All over Europe, research has revealed an age of important, indeed dynamic, achievements, some of which are the outcome of earlier advances, others seeing their fulfilment only in the century to come. While the short-term, narrowly focused study can be of the greatest significance, the approach represented by this volume requires a willingness to see development in more than one field in terms of the *longue durée*.

It requires, too, that while each chapter (particularly those in part IV) should be separate and free-standing, each should also be regarded as part of an attempt to present Europe as a whole, rather than as a collection of individual entities. Here the approach by comparison and contrast, properly used, may be particularly fruitful. The ability to explain similar developments, like the skill in accounting for different ones, is something which may reasonably be asked of the historian. It is also a way of seeing what is both important and interesting in the history of Europe during a century which, far from being a dead end, was to complete what had been begun earlier and set in train what would be completed later.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS volume has been long in the making. Now that it is offered to the world, its Editor wishes to thank the contributors for their labours, their patience and understanding, as well as for coming to his rescue in times of difficulty. He is happy to acknowledge the help and advice of friends and colleagues freely and generously given at various times. Not least, he thanks the General Editors for their assistance at the planning stage of the venture. Members of the production team, most notably the volume's able copy-editor, Linda Randall, and its indexer, Meg Davies, have given much practical help in transforming a bulky typescript into an attractive volume. The calm encouragement consistently offered by William Davies, of the Cambridge University Press, has been greatly valued. It is acknowledged with particular gratitude. Anne Clough, Stephanie Dennison, Dr Stephen Rowell and Rosemarie Zamonski rendered valuable service with translations of several chapters submitted in languages other than that in which they finally appear.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AB</i>	<i>Annales de Bourgogne</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Annales du Midi</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Annales de Normandie</i>
<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations</i>
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</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>BJRULM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
<i>BL</i>	<i>British Library</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EconHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EETS</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JMedH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JModH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>MA</i>	<i>Le moyen âge</i>
<i>NH</i>	<i>Northern History</i>
<i>NLWJ</i>	<i>National Library of Wales Journal</i>
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past & Present</i>

List of abbreviations

xxi

<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue historique</i>
RHS	Royal Historical Society
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
RS	Rolls Series
SATF	Société des Anciens Textes Français
SHF	Société de l'Histoire de France
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
STS	Scottish Text Society
<i>THSC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>WHR</i>	<i>Welsh History Review</i>

