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978-0-521-10581-1 - An Historical Geography of Europe, 1500-1840

N. J. G. Pounds

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AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE  
1500–1840

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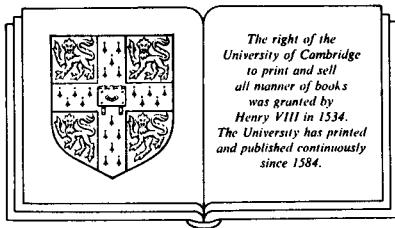
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# *An historical geography of Europe*

1500–1840

N. J. G. POUNDS



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## Abbreviations

A.A.A.G.	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i> (Washington, D.C.)
A.A.G. Bij.	<i>Afdeling Agrarische Geschiedenis Bijdragen</i> (Wageningen)
Acad. Besanç.	<i>Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Besançon</i> (Besançon)
Acad. Roy. Arch. Belge	<i>Académie Royale Archéologique de Belge</i> (Brussels)
Acta Bor.	<i>Acta Borussica</i> (Berlin)
Acta Hist. Neer.	<i>Acta Historiae Neerlandica</i> (The Hague)
Acta Pol. Hist.	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> (Warsaw)
Actes Coll. Int. Dém. Hist.	<i>Actes de la Colloque Internationale de Démographie Historique, Liège, 1965, Liège, n.d.</i>
Agr. Hist.	<i>Agricultural History</i> (Berkeley, Calif.)
Am. Hist. Assn. Ann. Rept	<i>American Historical Association, Annual Report</i> (Washington, D.C.)
Am. Hist. Rev.	<i>American Historical Review</i> (Lancaster, Pa.)
Ann. Bourg.	<i>Annales de Bourgogne</i> (Dijon)
Ann. Bret.	<i>Annales de Bretagne</i> (Rennes)
Ann. Dém. Hist.	<i>Annales de Démographie Historique</i> (Paris)
Ann. ESC	<i>Annales: Economies–Sociétés–Civilisations</i> (Paris)
Ann. Fac. Nice	<i>Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Nice</i> (Nice)
Ann. Géog.	<i>Annales de Géographie</i> (Paris)
Ann. Hist. Ec. Soc.	<i>Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale</i> (Paris)
Ann. Hist. Rév. Fr.	<i>Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française</i> (Paris)
Ann. Hist. Soc.	<i>Annales d'Histoire Sociale</i> (Paris)
A. Litt. Nantes	<i>Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Nantes</i> (Paris)
Ann. Midi	<i>Annales du Midi</i> (Toulouse)
Ann. Mines	<i>Annales des Mines</i> (Paris)
Ann. Norm.	<i>Annales de Normandie</i> (Rouen)
Ann. Siles.	<i>Annales Silesiae</i> (Wrocław)
Ann. Soc. Arch. Brux.	<i>Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles</i> (Brussels)
Antem.	<i>Antemurale</i> (Rome)
Archiv. Frank. Gesch. Kunst	<i>Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst</i> (Frankfurt-on-Main)
Balt. Scand.	<i>Baltic and Scandinavian Countries</i> (Toruń)
Basl. Zt.	<i>Basler Zeitschrift</i> (Basel)
Beitr. Öst. Eis.	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte des Österreichischen Eisenwesens</i> (Berlin)



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<i>Beitr. Wirtsch. Nürn.</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs (Nuremberg)</i>
<i>Bg. Hüt. Zt.</i>	<i>Berg- und Hüttenmannische Zeitung (Freiberg, Saxony)</i>
<i>Bibl. Arch. Hist. Inst. Fr. Arch.</i>	<i>Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul (Paris)</i>
<i>Bibl. Ec. Fr. Ath. Rome</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole-Française d'Athènes et de Rome (Paris)</i>
<i>Bibl. Ec. Htes Et.</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes (Paris)</i>
<i>Bibl. Fac. Liège</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège (Paris)</i>
<i>Bibl. Soc. Hist. Dr. Flam.</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Droit des Pays Flamands, Picards et Wallons (Lille)</i>
<i>Boh.</i>	<i>Bohemia: Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum (Munich)</i>
<i>Bull. Comm. Hist. Ec. Soc. Rév. Fr.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Comm. Hist. Ec. Soc. Rév. Fr. (Paris)</i>
<i>Bull. Comm. Roy. Hist.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire (Brussels)</i>
<i>Bull. Inst. Arch. Liège</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique de Liège (Liège)</i>
<i>Bull. Inst. Hist. Belge Rome</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome (Brussels)</i>
<i>Bull. Phil. Hist.</i>	<i>Bulletin Philologique et Historique de la Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques (Paris)</i>
<i>Bull. Soc. Ant. Pic.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie (Amiens)</i>
<i>Bull. Soc. Belge Géog.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Belge de Géographie (Brussels)</i>
<i>Bull. Soc. Sci. Dauph.</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Scientifique de Dauphiné (Grenoble)</i>
<i>Bull. Stat.</i>	<i>Bulletin Statistique (Brussels)</i>
<i>Cah. Ann.</i>	<i>Cahiers des Annales (Toulouse)</i>
<i>Cah. Ann. Norm.</i>	<i>Cahiers des Annales Normandes (Caen)</i>
<i>Cah. Brux.</i>	<i>Cahiers Bruxellois (Brussels)</i>
<i>Cah. Hist.</i>	<i>Cahiers d'Histoire (Grenoble)</i>
<i>Cah. Hist. Mond.</i>	<i>Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale (Paris)</i>
<i>Camb. Ec. Hist.</i>	<i>Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vols. I- , Cambridge, 1941-</i>
<i>Casa Veláz.</i>	<i>Casa de Velázquez (Madrid)</i>
<i>Ciba Rev.</i>	<i>Ciba Review (Basel)</i>
<i>Civ. Venez.</i>	<i>Civiltà Veneziana (Venice)</i>
<i>Coll. Ec. Réf. Soc.</i>	<i>Collection des Economistes et des Réformateurs Sociaux de la France (Paris)</i>
<i>Comm. Hist. Ec. Soc. Rév. Fr.</i>	<i>Commission d'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Révolution Française (Paris)</i>
<i>Comm. Roy. Hist.</i>	<i>Commission Royale d'Histoire (Brussels)</i>
<i>Con. Hist. Dém. Rév. Fr.</i>	<i>Contributions à l'Histoire Démographique de la Révolution Française, Comm. Hist. Ec. Soc. Rév. Fr., Mém. et Doc., 18 (1965)</i>
<i>Deutsch. Akad. Wiss.</i>	<i>Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte, 1st ser.: Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte (Berlin)</i>
<i>XVII<sup>e</sup> S.</i>	<i>XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle (Paris)</i>

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<i>Ec. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i> (London)
<i>Eng. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> (London)
E.P.H.E.	Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris)
<i>Et. Hist. (B)</i>	<i>Etudes Historiques</i> (Budapest)
<i>Expl. Entr. Hist.</i>	<i>Explorations in Entrepreneurial History</i> (Cambridge, Mass.)
<i>Forsch. D.</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Deutschen Landeskunde</i> (Stuttgart)
<i>Landesk.</i>	
<i>Forsch. Soz. Wtg.</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i> (Stuttgart)
<i>Hans. Gbl.</i>	<i>Hansische Geschichtsblätter</i> (Lübeck)
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>History</i> (London)
<i>Hist. (P)</i>	<i>Historia</i> (Prague)
<i>Hist. Quant. Ec.</i>	<i>Histoire Quantitative de l'Economie Française</i> (Paris)
<i>Fr.</i>	
<i>Hist. Stud.</i>	<i>Historische Studien</i> (Berlin)
<i>Hommage</i>	<i>Conjoncture économique: structures sociales – hommage à Ernest Labrousse</i> , Paris, 1974
<i>Labrousse</i>	
<i>Htes Et. Méd.</i>	<i>Hautes Etudes Médiévales et Modernes</i> (Geneva)
<i>Mod.</i>	
<i>Int. Conf. Ec. Hist.</i>	<i>International Conference of Economic History</i>
<i>Inst. Nat. Et. Dém.</i>	Institut National des Etudes Démographiques (Paris)
<i>Jb. Gesch. Mitt.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands</i> (Tübingen)
<i>Ostd.</i>	
<i>Jb. Ges. Loth.</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde</i> (Nancy)
<i>Gesch.</i>	
<i>Jb. Nat. Stat.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik</i> (Jena; Stuttgart)
<i>Jb. Schw. Gesch.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für Schweizerische Geschichte</i> (Zurich)
<i>Jb. Ver. Meck.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher des Vereins für Mecklenbürgische Geschichte</i>
<i>Gesch.</i>	
<i>Jn. Ec. Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of Economic History</i> (New York)
<i>Jn. Ec. Soc. Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> (Leiden)
<i>Orient</i>	
<i>Jn. Eur. Ec. Hist.</i>	<i>Journal of European Economic History</i> (Rome)
<i>Jn. Mines</i>	<i>Journal des Mines</i> (Paris)
<i>Jn. Pol. Ec.</i>	<i>Journal of Political Economy</i> (Chicago)
<i>Jn. Roy. Stat. Soc.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Statistical Society</i> (London)
<i>Kw. Hist. Kult.</i>	<i>Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialny</i> (Warsaw)
<i>Mat.</i>	
<i>Loc. Pop. Stud.</i>	<i>Local Population Studies</i> (Nottingham)
<i>Med. Hum.</i>	<i>Medievalia et Humanistica</i> (Boulder, Colo.)
<i>Mélanges F.</i>	<i>Histoire économique du monde méditerranéen, 1450–1650: mélanges en l'honneur de Fernand Braudel</i> , 2 vols., Toulouse, 1973
<i>Braudel</i>	
<i>Mém. Acad. Roy.</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Science</i> (Paris)
<i>Sci.</i>	
<i>Moy. Age</i>	<i>Le Moyen Age</i> (Paris)
<i>Nass. Ann.</i>	<i>Nassauische Annalen</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>New Camb. Mod.</i>	<i>New Cambridge Modern History</i> , 12 vols. and vol. XIV (atlas), Cambridge, 1957–70
<i>Hist.</i>	

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<i>Nouv. Et. Hist.</i>	<i>Nouvelles Etudes Historiques</i> (Budapest)
<i>P &amp; P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i> (London)
<i>Paris-Ile</i>	<i>Paris et l'Ile de France</i> (Paris)
<i>Pet. Mitt.</i>	<i>Petermanns Mitteilungen</i> (Jena)
<i>Pop.</i>	<i>Population</i> (Paris)
<i>Pop. Stud.</i>	<i>Population Studies</i> (London)
<i>Proc. Roy. Soc. Med.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine</i> (London)
<i>Pub. Fac. Lett. Clermont-Ferrand</i>	Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand (Paris)
<i>Pub. Fac. Strasbourg</i>	Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg (Paris)
<i>Pub. Univ. Dijon</i>	Publications de l'Université de Dijon (Paris)
<i>Quell. Forsch. Aggesch.</i>	<i>Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte</i> (Stuttgart)
<i>Rec. Trav. Hist. Phil.</i>	<i>Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie</i> (Louvain)
<i>Rev. Belge Phil. Hist.</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i> (Brussels)
<i>Rev. Géog. Alp.</i>	<i>Revue de Géographie Alpine</i> (Grenoble)
<i>Rev. Hist.</i>	<i>Revue Historique</i> (Paris)
<i>Rev. Hist. Ec. Soc.</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale</i> (Paris)
<i>Rev. Hist. Mod. Cont.</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine</i> (Paris)
<i>Rev. Hist. Sid.</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire de Sidérurgie</i> (Nancy)
<i>Rev. Nord</i>	<i>Revue du Nord</i> (Paris)
<i>Rhein. Vbl.</i>	<i>Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter</i> (Bonn)
<i>Rocz. Dz. Społ. Gosp.</i>	<i>Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych</i> (Poznań)
<i>Sc. Ec. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>Scandinavian Economic History Review</i> (Stockholm)
<i>Schm. Jb.</i>	<i>Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich</i> (Munich)
<i>Schr. Rhein.-Westf. Wigesch.</i>	<i>Schriften zur Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i> (Cologne)
<i>Schw. Zt. Gesch.</i>	<i>Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte</i> (Zurich)
<i>Soc. Hist. Suisse Rom.</i>	Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande (Lausanne)
<i>Stud. Dz. Gór. Hutn.</i>	<i>Studia z Dziejów Górnictwa i Hutnictwa</i> (Wrocław)
<i>Stud. Gen.</i>	<i>Studium Generale</i>
<i>Stud. Hist. (B)</i>	<i>Studia Historica</i> (Budapest)
<i>Studi Fanfani</i>	<i>Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani</i> , 6 vols., Milan, 1962
<i>Stud. Stor.</i>	<i>Studi Storici</i> (Rome)
<i>Taschb. Aargau</i>	<i>Taschenbuch der Historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau</i> (Aarau)
<i>T. Ec. S.G.</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie</i> (Rotterdam)
<i>T.K.N.A.G.</i>	<i>Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap</i> (Amsterdam)

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<i>Tr. Am. Phil. Soc.</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia)</i>
<i>Veröff. Planck</i>	<i>Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte (Göttingen)</i>
<i>V.S.W.G.</i>	<i>Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (Leipzig)</i>
<i>Westf. Geog. Stud.</i>	<i>Westfälische Geographische Studien (Münster)</i>
<i>Zt. Aggesch.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Agrargeschichte und Agrarsoziologie (Frankfurt-on-Main)</i>
<i>Zt. Berg. Hüt. Sal.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Berg-, Hütten- und Salinenwesen im Preussischen Staat (Berlin)</i>
<i>Zt. Ges. Staatsw.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft (Tübingen)</i>
<i>Zt. Harz Gesch.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde (Wernigerode)</i>

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## Preface

In 1973 the first volume of *An Historical Geography of Europe* was published. It presented a survey of the geography of the continent at five widely separated periods of time, from the fifth century B.C. to the fourteenth century A.D. It stressed what has come to be called the 'horizontal' approach, and gave little space to the evolutionary processes which occurred between the periods chosen. Such a method is open to criticism. The choice of the periods for intensive study is not automatic, and several periods of great interest and historical significance received no consideration. The choice must be arbitrary, unless regularly recurring periods are chosen – every five hundred years, for example. Such a method would have been very difficult to use, because some periods, the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., for example, would be quite impossible to document on the scale contemplated.

The author tried to use what might be called 'peak' periods in European history, the culminations of long historical processes. At one time he considered using those examined by the art critic Clive Bell in his study of *Civilisation*. The fifth century B.C. was an inevitable choice; perhaps also the Carolingian period in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, but the age of the Flavian emperors hardly marks the climax of the Roman empire. Most would regard the thirteenth rather than the fourteenth century as the culmination of medieval civilisation, and the period around 1100 was chosen because a survey seemed to be needed between the ninth century and the fourteenth.

This volume departs from the format of its predecessor. In the first place it covers a span of only three hundred years rather than the eighteen hundred of the earlier volume. Documentation is incomparably more abundant than for the period before 1500 and spatial distributions can be studied with greater precision and in greater detail. Post-Napoleonic Europe differed greatly from Reformation Europe, but change from the one to the other was very far from revolutionary. It was therefore difficult to adopt a 'horizontal' approach in this volume. Periods do not distinguish themselves with sufficient clarity, and, indeed, it is difficult to discover significant change during the period in certain areas and in some fields of human activity, such as agriculture

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and urban development. The method adopted has therefore been to present a 'horizontal' picture both for the years about 1530, when the book begins, and for the 1840s, when the impact of the Industrial Revolution was beginning to be felt in much of continental Europe. For the centuries between these terminal dates change and development in the spatial pattern has been traced topic by topic, chapter by chapter, thus combining the 'vertical' with the 'horizontal' methods. This technique was first used successfully by Professor J. O. M. Broek in his study of the Santa Clara Valley of California, and was followed by Professor H. C. Darby in *A New Historical Geography of England*.

The chief problem in studying a region as large and as complex as Europe has proved to be one of organisation. A topical treatment in the 'vertical' chapters seemed to be the most practicable and convenient. Information has therefore been organised under the heads of population, urban development, agriculture, manufacturing and trade and transport. A chapter has not been given to the history of the physical environment, as could well have been the case. Instead, in the interests of keeping the length of the book within reasonable bounds, this topic has by and large been incorporated into the chapter on agriculture.

The five chapters which emerge must look remarkably like economic history. Indeed, the author claims to write as an historian who has also studied and worked in the field of geography. The spatial distribution of economic activity in the past is itself an important fact in historical explanation. In example after example its distribution is found to be the consequence of the physical opportunities offered by the environment, or at least of man's perception of them. The writer's primary purpose has been to introduce into history the spatial dimension which has all too often been lacking from historical writing. In both this volume and its predecessor he has emphasised the distribution of population and economic activity and their relationship to the physical environment, rather than technology and economic organisation, though the latter are in fact inseparable from the former.

As in the previous volume, both Russia and the British Isles have been omitted, except for incidental references where relevant. Constraints of space would have prevented their adequate treatment, and, in any case, both have been very fully treated in other books.

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