

Les règles des métiers ne se limitent pas, entre les XIII^e et XVIII^e siècles, aux seuls règlements intérieurs des corporations – qui ont trop longtemps constitué l'objet unique de l'attention des chercheurs. Dans le cadre d'un projet sur « les formes de réglementation des métiers dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne », ce volume, issu d'une troisième rencontre internationale, s'est concentré sur les objets et les contenus des textes réglementaires encadrant les activités professionnelles. Il s'est agi de les considérer dans leur diversité et de dépasser la lettre même de ces coutumes, règles éparpillées ou statuts, pour s'interroger sur les intentions des rédacteurs. C'est, en effet, par l'analyse des contenus que les auteurs cherchent à saisir les finalités effectives de la réglementation pour mieux appréhender, au-delà des buts revendiqués dans les préambules de certains textes, les visées sous-jacentes ou implicites de ces normes. La première partie montre la variété des objectifs des réglementations, tandis que la seconde est consacrée plus précisément aux métiers de bouche et la troisième aux métiers du cuir et des métaux.

Philippe Bernardi est directeur de recherche au CNRS (LaMOP). Médiéviste, il est spécialiste du monde de la construction.

Caroline Bourlet est ingénieur de recherche (h) au CNRS (IRHT).

Maxime L'Héritier est maître de conférences en histoire médiévale à l'Université Paris 8, spécialiste des domaines de la construction et de la métallurgie.

Corine Maitte est professeure d'histoire moderne, spécialiste d'histoire du travail, particulièrement en Italie.

Judicaël Petrowiste, maître de conférences en histoire médiévale à l'Université Paris-Cité, consacre ses recherches à l'économie d'échanges et aux pratiques de consommation des populations.



9 791281 349124

25,00

Dans les règles du métier

*Objets et contenus des réglementations de métier
au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*

Édité par
Philippe Bernardi, Caroline Bourlet, Maxime L'Héritier, Corine Maitte, Judicaël Petrowiste



Édité par
Philippe Bernardi, Caroline Bourlet,
Maxime L'Héritier, Corine Maitte, Judicaël Petrowiste

NDPress

Economic History Frameworks

Collana diretta da Roberto Rossi, Gaetano Sabatini

Comitato scientifico: Lili-Annè Aldman, Francesco Dandolo, Giuseppe De Luca, Massimo Fornasari, Luca Mocarrelli, Jean-Philippe Priotti, Alex Sánchez Suárez

Economic History Frameworks si propone di accogliere contributi scientifici attinenti a tutti i campi della Storia Economica, senza alcuna limitazione di ambito geografico o temporale. La collana intende essere un forum privilegiato per la discussione di idee da parte di studiosi provenienti da tutto il mondo, incoraggiando temi di ricerca innovativi, diffondendo la conoscenza di storiografie meno note che non hanno avuto il sostegno e la diffusione di studi consolidati e promuovendo ulteriori interrelazioni tra le nuove generazioni di storici.

La Collana non privilegia particolari campi di studio, metodologie o approcci, proponendosi, piuttosto, come un punto d'incontro tra esperienze differenti.

Economic History

Frameworks

DANS LES RÈGLES DU MÉTIER.
OBJETS ET CONTENUS DES
RÉGLEMENTATIONS DE MÉTIER AU
MOYEN ÂGE ET À L'ÉPOQUE MODERNE

Edited By

Philippe Bernardi, Caroline Bourlet, Maxime L'Héritier,
Corine Maitte et Judicaël Petrowiste



Economic History Frameworks

Direzione: Roberto Rossi - Gaetano Sabatini

Comitato scientifico:

Lili-Annè Aldman (University of Gothenburg), Francesco Dandolo (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II'), Giuseppe De Luca (Università degli Studi di Milano), Massimo Fornasari (Università degli Studi di Bologna), Luca Mocarelli (Università di Milano Bicocca), Jean-Philippe Priotti (Université Lille Nord de France), Alex Sánchez Suárez (Universidad de Barcelona)

N. 8 Settembre 2023

Dans les règles du métier. Objets et contenus des réglementations de métier au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne

Edited by Philippe Bernardi, Caroline Bourlet, Maxime L'Héritier, Corine Maitte et Judicaël Petrowiste

© Copyright 2023 New Digital Frontiers srl
Via Serradifalco 78
90145 Palermo
www.newdigitalfrontiers.com

ISBN (a stampa): 979-12-81349-12-4

ISBN (online): 979-12-81349-13-1

Le opere pubblicate sono sottoposte a processo di peer-review a doppio cieco

Remerciements

Nous remercions le laboratoire Analyse Comparée des Pouvoirs (EA 3350) de l'université de Paris-Est Marne-la-Vallée (Univ Gustave Eiffel), ainsi que ses personnels, pour son accueil et son soutien. Ces rencontres ont aussi été rendues possibles par l'aide du Laboratoire de Médiévisique Occidentale de Paris (LaMOP, UMR 8589), de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (UPR 841), du laboratoire Identités, Cultures, Territoires (EA 337), de l'Université Paris Cité et de l'Université du Minho-Lab2Pt, à qui nous exprimons toute notre reconnaissance.

Comité scientifique de l'ensemble des rencontres du projet
« Les formes de la réglementation des métiers » :

Philippe Bernardi (CNRS-LaMOP)
Caroline Bourlet (CNRS-IRHT)
Robert Carvais (CNRS-CTAD)
Maxime L'Héritier (Paris 8-ArScAn)
Corine Maitte (Univ Gustave Eiffel-ACP)
Mathieu Marraud (EHESS-CRH)
Judicaël Petrowiste (Université de Paris Cité-ICT-Les Europes dans le monde)
Catherine Rideau-Kikuchi (Université de Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines-DYPAC)
François Rivière (Université d'Évry-Val d'Essonne-LaMOP-IDHES)
Jean-Louis Roch (Université de Rouen Normandie-GRHIS)
Arnaldo Sousa Melo (Universidade do Minho-Lab2Pt)

Leatherworkers Under Rule in Portugal, 12th-16th Centuries*

JOANA SEQUEIRA (Lab2PT, Universidade do Minho, Braga)

This chapter presents a comparative approach on the evolution of the objects and contents of leatherwork regulations in Portugal between the 12th and 16th centuries, in the main cities of the kingdom, Porto, Coimbra, Lisbon and Évora, with a particular focus on the first professional statutes.

Leather industry was one the major activities in European medieval towns and employed many people, which explains the early appearance of leather work guilds¹. Portugal was not an exception. Research on Portuguese medieval urban history showed that leatherworkers, namely shoemakers, were among the most numerous craftsmen in towns, and it was not by chance that the first Portuguese guild was created by leather craftsmen.

In the city of Porto – one of the largest of the kingdom – a survey based on property registers from the second half of the 15th century (1450-1497), identified the names of 30 different shoemakers among 406 workers, a number only surpassed by that of blacksmiths (50)². An identical survey was conducted in Guimarães, another important city in the North of the country. Of the 179 workers identified between 1425 and 1451, 41 (23%) operated in the leather sector³. In Alenquer,

* This work was funded by the Portuguese government through FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia in the framework of the project MedCrafts – “Crafts regulation in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages: 14th - 15th centuries”, Ref.ª PTDC/HAR-HIS/31427/2017. Joana Sequeira is Assistant Researcher, with a contract financed by FCT at Lab2PT, University of Minho (2020.02528.CEECIND).

¹ Swanson 1989, 53.

² Franco, Melo and Amaral 2002, 225-226.

³ 22 shoemakers, two tanners, one harness maker, one currier and one saddler (Rodrigues 2020, 488).

an average-sized town from the Centre region, in the 15th century, one quarter of the identified 104 artisans were shoemakers⁴. In Évora, one of the most important cities in the kingdom (South region), the thorough survey conducted by Ângela Beirante identified 1793 craftsmen between 1260 and 1500. The number of shoemakers (136) was second only to that of tailors (142), but about 200 other leather workers were identified, namely tanners, curriers, saddle makers, bottle makers, parchment makers, and scabbard makers⁵.

Although leatherworkers tend to be viewed as a group, it was far from being homogenous, since this industrial sector was made up of many different skilled artisans, sometimes with opposed interests. This relates directly to the operational chain of leather, which comprises multiple interlinked phases. It started with slaughtering and skinning the animals (cows, sheep, goats and others), meaning butchers must be taken into account when considering the whole leather sector. The skins were then treated by a tanner, a process that took several months and involved different infrastructures and materials. Once tanned, leather could be treated by a currier for strength and flexibility. It was only after these stages were completed that the leather was ready to be employed in the production of various objects of daily life at the hands of shoemakers, saddlers, harness makers, bottle makers and glovers, among others⁶.

To avoid conflict, tanning should be kept separate from shoemaking, but, in fact, in medieval times they were frequently joint. Naturally, this caused conflicts between different artisans and, as Heather Swanson states, “the extensive legislation and regulation relating to the organization of the leather industry is in itself evidence of the constant battle between cordwainers and tanners for control of the supply of tanned leather”⁷. As will be shown below, this kind of conflict can equally be seen in leatherworkers’ regulations in Portugal.

Important studies were undertaken regarding regulations and professional statutes of this sector of activity in Portugal, although

⁴ Ferro 1996, 156-58.

⁵ Beirante 1995, 500-502.

⁶ Córdoba de la Llave 1990, 145-217.

⁷ Swanson 1989, 54-55.

restricted to particular cities or compilations of rules⁸. From an international perspective, guilds statutes have received particular attention in recent years, namely with the wide research on European guilds conducted by Sheilagh Ogilvie⁹. This trend, developing since the last decade of the 20th century, finally helped 'release' normative professional documents. For a long time, they had been associated to an apologetic type of historiography promoted by fascist European political regimes¹⁰. Also recently, a group of historians started to explore the social construction of professional regulations, not only in their corporative aspect, but beyond. The goal is to analyse the multiple forms they could take as an approach to the complexity of the world of labour¹¹. This chapter aims to contribute to the debate by analysing all types of leatherwork regulations in Portugal. The use of a comparative approach, geographically and chronologically, will shed light on the differences in the substance of the regulations from city to city, and before and after the publication of professional statutes. Considering the scope of this book, leather crafts regulations will be analysed in their social-historical context, with the goal of identifying the contents and objects of regulation. Particular attention will be paid to the following questions: does the type of regulation have an influence on the content of rules? How do the different actors influence the contents of rules?

1. Regulations Before and Beyond the Professional Statutes

The appearance of craft guilds in Portugal had a late awakening, especially when compared to some other European regions, namely England or France. In fact, the first Portuguese guild statute appeared in 1489¹². Notwithstanding, as already mentioned, more recent works

⁸ Melo 2009, vol. 1, 296, 302-356, vol. 2, 87-95; Melo 2021a; Pereira 2009 and 2012; Feio 2017, 111-117, 137-166; Martins 2019.

⁹ Ogilvie 2019.

¹⁰ Jéhanno 2015, 9-10.

¹¹ Rivière 2020, XI-XIII.

¹² Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 324-331.

and projects have demonstrated that professional statutes not only appeared at different times in European regions, but also were not the only way through which labour was regulated¹³.

Municipal authorities played an important role in regulating economic activities, before and after the existence of professional statutes. Crafts related to the supply of essential daily items were subjected in particular to regulation by the city council which was responsible for warranting good quality and quantity of supply in urban areas¹⁴. The aspects subject to regulation included weights and measures, wages and prices, among others. This model of integrated regulation of both production and trade stems from the Islamic tradition of the Iberian Peninsula. During the Muslim occupation, the figure of the *muthasib* was responsible for the market, also controlling the craft workers. With the help of representatives of the crafts, the *muthasib* supervised the quality of the products (to avoid fraud), the uses of weights and measures and sometimes they also controlled prices and mediated conflicts between artisans¹⁵. After the Christian conquest, this municipal office and officer survived in cities and towns of Iberia and that was visible in the late medieval languages: *almotacé* in Portuguese, *almotacén* in Castilian or *mostassaf* in Catalan¹⁶.

Therefore, the first regulations of crafts were issued by municipal authorities. The earliest in Portugal dates back to 1145 and is related to Coimbra (Central region)¹⁷, with the kingdom of Portugal having guaranteed its independence a mere two years earlier. This particular city had remained under Islamic occupation for a long period (until 1064) and had reached a level of sophisticated urban development. The regulations from 1145 clearly demonstrate its high economic level and the municipal capacity of creating internal rules with an officer responsible for supervising its application: the *almotacé*¹⁸. This compilation from the 12th century essentially comprises market rules, mainly linked to the production and selling of foodstuffs (wine,

¹³ Melo 2009, vol. 1, 124-132; Rivière 2020, XII-XIII.

¹⁴ Melo 2018b, 339-340.

¹⁵ García-Sanjuán 1997, 220, 229-233.

¹⁶ Pinto 2016, 290-291 and Pinto 2021; Victor 2020, 135-138.

¹⁷ Municipal laws, Coimbra, 1145, published in Coelho 2013, 125-128.

¹⁸ Coelho 2013, 35.

cereal, meat), but besides the alimentary sector two other crafts were the object of regulation: shoemaking and blacksmithing. The fact that these two activities are included in the city's regulations is evidence in itself of their importance in the urban economy. The complete set of laws was established by the large assembly of the city, composed by the so-called *homens-bons* (the 'good men'), under the authorisation of King Afonso Henriques (r. 1143-1185), as stated on the preamble of the juridical text. The objects of these laws are in line with the idea of *common good* that municipalities were expected to defend, which meant protecting both producers and consumers.

Despite the existence of this early document from the 12th century, we can only find more crafts' regulations issued by municipal authorities in Portugal from the 14th century onwards. This can be explained not only by the relatively late urban development of most Portuguese cities and towns but also by the fact that much of the municipal archives suffered from deterioration across centuries, which results in a significant lack of documents from the Middle Ages¹⁹. Nevertheless, some rich compilations of municipal laws remained for the city of Évora (one from the 14th and another from the 15th century), the city of Lisbon (mainly from the 15th-16th centuries) and Coimbra (12th and 16th centuries). As for Porto, regulations can be found mainly in the minutes of the city council meetings that are preserved from the late 14th century onwards²⁰.

The general laws of the kingdom established that the definition of prices and salaries of crafts was an attribution of city councils and the legal documents specified some of those trades: blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers²¹. But the fact that the municipal authorities were the formal authors of most of the regulations does not necessarily mean that craftsmen were excluded from the decision-making process, as the historian Arnaldo Sousa Melo has been demonstrating in his research. Although the scenarios could differ from trade to trade and from city to city, the craft's representatives were often consulted during the elaboration of the rules and could also be responsible

¹⁹ Ribeiro 1798, 1-58.

²⁰ References will be quoted when specific examples are presented.

²¹ Royal Ordinance, 14th century (c. 1339-1357), published in Rodrigues 1971, 279-80; Royal Ordinance, 15th century, published in Costa and Nunes 1998, 182.

for inspecting its application, occupying specific positions for that purpose²². Other agents could also participate to a varying degree in the elaboration of the regulations, namely the king or seigneurial authorities. In fact, my recent study on the regulations of textile crafts in Portugal demonstrated that the king and/or royal officers often pressured the municipal authorities to regulate craft activities, reminding them that it was their duty²³.

As will be demonstrated, until the appearance of guilds, the regulation of craft activities was an attribution of certain institutions, mostly the municipalities, but even after the publication of guilds statutes, some specific regulations, of particular contents such as prices or urban planning questions, remained under the municipal authority and the statutes themselves were elaborated or negotiated within the city council institutions.

2. The Earliest Professional Statutes of Leatherworkers in Portugal

As mentioned above, the earliest Portuguese professional statute dates from 1489. It addressed the leatherworkers from Lisbon and was devised during a regular meeting that the craftsmen had in their hospital (*Hospital de S. Vicente*)²⁴. Seven different leather crafts present and sign up to the statute, by the following order, as stated in the document: *borzeagueiros* (boot makers), shoemakers, *soqueiros* (clog makers), *chapineiros* (producers of chopines, cork sole shoes), tanners, curriers and bottle makers. This matches the classical model of a confraternity/hospital evolving to a guild, but furthermore it reveals an apparent – still intriguing – internal cohesion between workers from two different phases of the production chain. In the document, they claim that it was a habitude for them to discuss some issues related to their work during the hospital meetings. So, before the elaboration of these written rules, it is known that this oral tradition existed resulting in consuetudinary rules. But at this time,

²² Melo 2013, 150.

²³ Sequeira 2020, 866.

²⁴ Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 324-331.

they felt they needed to take a step forward and write down those rules. The motive was clear: in order to impose fines upon offenders, they needed validation and authorisation from the institutions of firstly the city council and then the king. After carefully elaborating seven rules (they simply called them *apontamentos*, that is, notes), the document was sent to the city council, and it was validated in a municipal meeting of September 1489. After that, a representative of the leatherworkers asked King João II (r. 1481-1495) to confirm those rules and respective penalties, which happened in March 1490. The intended penalties were all monetary.

Whilst the seven crafts appear as a whole, the group was clearly dominated by footwear producers, and amongst those the *borzeagueiros*. Among the four judges that they elected, three of them were *borzeagueiros* and the other a clog maker: these choices clearly do not reflect the diversity of the crafts represented. Finally, the document is said to be signed by “all or most of”²⁵ the workers, which suggests that the agreement was appreciated by some but perhaps less so by others. The statute from 1489 was still in force in the first decades of the 16th century, being confirmed and slightly adapted by successive monarchs: by Manuel I (r. 1495-1521) in 1497, and by João III (r. 1521-1557) in 1532.

The second most ancient professional statute related to leather workers dates from 1512 and addresses the shoemakers of the city of Porto (« *Regimento dosvedores dos Çapateiros desta cidade* »)²⁶. It appears in a minute of a city council meeting and integrates what appears to be a global municipal initiative of elaborating statutes for different urban crafts. In that same year, tailors, pewterers and rope makers also received statutes²⁷. Although the title suggests that only shoemakers were subject to the regime, in fact two of the eight written rules concern other crafts, namely tanners and curriers. The penalties provided for were mostly monetary, but some also implied the loss of product or expulsion from the craft (this, only in case of reoffence).

²⁵ My translation.

²⁶ Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto, *Câmara Municipal do Porto*, A-PUB/9, fls. 43-45.

²⁷ Ferreira 1997, 147.

The process by which the statute was elaborated is not described, but it seems plausible that the craftsmen had the possibility of negotiation, since the document was validated only upon their approval. The city's shoemakers were called, by *pregão* (proclamation), to take part at the city council meeting. Eleven appeared, signed the document²⁸ and communicated the results of the election of the fiscal positions²⁹ that had taken place during their confraternity meeting « as it used to be »³⁰. So, as seen in Lisbon, there was a direct relation between this confraternal institution and crafts. This confraternity had existed in Porto since at least 1307 (*Confraria dos Sapateiros/ Hospital dos Palmeiros*)³¹ and, according to its statute from 1592, had included both shoemakers and tanners³², but only the first were called to approve the 1512 document: they also took all the four fiscal positions – three were shoemakers and the other was a clog maker. Again, as seen in Lisbon's case, footwear producers appear to be controlling the sector, subjecting other leather craftsmen to their will. In fact, according to research carried out by Arnaldo Sousa Melo, it seems that since the 14th-15th centuries in the cities of Évora, Porto and Guimarães, shoemakers and merchants appear to be the entrepreneurs of the leather making processes, buying the raw materials, renting spaces and structures, and hiring tanners for specific tasks³³.

The last statutes analysed here all date from 1572 and were issued in Lisbon upon a global reformation of professional statutes³⁴. The evolution of the juridical mentality that took place at the time, and the willingness to put an end to the confusion of the multiple municipal rules, encouraged the city council of Lisbon to hire a prestigious jurist – Duarte Nunes de Leão (1530-1608) – to organise the municipal rules,

²⁸ Since, in this case, we have the original document, we can analyse their signatures: five can sign their own name, while the others use crosses or symbols.

²⁹ The fiscal positions were those of *vedores* and *examinadores*, the first responsible for inspecting the rule's compliance and the second responsible for the organisation and evaluation of the exams to access the job.

³⁰ My translation.

³¹ Melo 2008, 11.

³² Oliveira 2001, 30.

³³ Melo 2021a.

³⁴ Statutes of craftsmen, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926.

specifically those related to the crafts³⁵. This huge reformation had the objective of creating statutes in cases where they did not exist, and to compile, organize and reform those extant, some of which were considered outdated and in need of updating³⁶. The global process of creating and reforming statutes for every professional sector at this time should be seen “as an expression of the royal centralisation process”, through which “the municipal authorities – this is, the urban elites – and the king reinforced their dominance over craftsmen”³⁷.

Regarding the leather sector, the statutes of 1572 represent a total innovation in relation to the previous known document of 1489. While in the 15th century decree, several different leather crafts appear as a group under the same rules, in this reformation each craft received its own statute, resulting in a total of ten different documents: shoemakers, tanners, curriers, *correeiros* (harness makers) and *adargueiros* (leather shield makers), saddlers, bottle makers, glovers, scabbard makers, *peliteiros* (furriers), *guadamecileiros* (producers of *guadamecis*, this is, decorated leathers) and book makers. The great achievement of Duarte Nunes de Leão was the standardisation of the regimens, by using rigorous juridical writing and creating a form common to all, with organised topics: election of the fiscal positions, description of the exam, access to the job, access to raw materials, quality control and penalties for offenders³⁸. Penalties ranged from fines to loss of product, physical punishment, or jail. The number of rules and the level of detail increased significantly with regard to the previous regimens and these statutes remained in force until 1755 (with some updates), frequently serving as a model for other cities of the kingdom³⁹.

3. Evolution on the Contents of Leatherwork Regulations

Prices were probably the most constant object of leatherwork regulation during these centuries. In fact, the controlling of prices was

³⁵ Caetano 1943, XVI-XIX.

³⁶ According to a city council document published in Correia 1926, XVII-XVIII.

³⁷ Melo 2009, vol. 1, 407-408 (my translation).

³⁸ Caetano 1943, XXI; Correia 1926, XV.

³⁹ Caetano 1943, XXI.

quite common during medieval times on goods considered essential, namely foodstuff⁴⁰. The Christian ideal of *just price*, which combines both the interests of producers and consumers, was frequently invoked when tables of prices were set⁴¹. The establishment of prices was a municipal legal attribution, as seen, and the earliest known example in Portugal dates back to the first years of the kingdom: the already mentioned municipal laws of Coimbra from 1145. Prices were set for more than ten types of shoes and soles, ranging from three to twenty *dinheiros*⁴². The whole set of these laws from 1145 was established by the municipal assembly, as shown, but it is unknown if the shoemakers participated in the decision process.

Although the control of prices was a municipal duty, mainly due to the intrinsic facility of supervision at a local level, there were some attempts of imposing rules across certain regions. That was the intention of King Afonso III (r. 1238-1253) with the *Lei de Almotaçaria* from 1253, an extensive law with tables of prices and salaries, created in a period of *carestia* (scarcity) with the main purpose of preventing monetary devaluation and which should be applicable to the region of Entre-Douro-e-Minho (corresponding to the current Northwest of Portugal)⁴³. Prices were set for many different products, namely livestock, imported and nationally produced fabrics, shoes, saddles, tack and also tanned leathers, fresh skins and furs. The list is illustrative of the wide variety of leathers consumed in Portugal at the time: rabbit, otter, mink, deer, goat, cow, sheep, fox and cat, among others⁴⁴. However, this kind of regional law did not seem very successful, mainly due to the difficulties in implementation in such a vast area⁴⁵.

From the 14th century onwards, municipal tables of prices become more frequent – or, at least, more testimonies have survived. The most detailed come from the city of Évora (Southern region), dating from

⁴⁰ Stunault 2018, 216-21.

⁴¹ Wood 2004, 132-158; Herlitz 1960, 71-76; Melo 2009, vol. 1, 381-82.

⁴² Municipal laws, Coimbra, 1145, published in Coelho 2013, 125-128.

⁴³ Viana 2013, 45-46. Royal law from 1253 published in Herculano 1858-1868, vol.1, 191-196.

⁴⁴ The full list of skins and leathers with the respective prices can be found in Viana 2013, 66-67.

⁴⁵ Melo 2009, vol.1, 316. Cf. Viana 2013, 56-57.

1375-95. More than 40 professional activities are regulated within this huge compilation of urban laws, with prices and salaries likewise being set⁴⁶. Among those are found shoemakers, saddlers, tanners and respective products. More interesting than the established prices is the description of the process through which they were calculated⁴⁷. The city council called different representatives of the shoemakers of the city, both Christians and Moors, and also two butchers to discuss the prices for different kinds of skins and the how much to pay for each phase of tanning, including salaries for the tanners, the materials, and the renting of structures and equipment. The mental process of calculating is fully described in the document, almost as a direct speech. Finally, after calculating the costs of production, they were able to determine the selling prices of shoes.

The compilation clearly suggests that there was a division of labour between Christian and Moorish shoemakers: the first were responsible for cordovan, goat and sheep leather shoes and the latter for cow, deer (*Cervidae*) and fallow deer (*Damadama*) leather shoes. The decisions on the goat leather shoes didn't seem to be very consensual, since short after some shoemakers claimed that they didn't want to produce shoes with this kind of leather, alleging that the gains were too low. In response, the city council established that each shoemaker should always have three finished pairs of cordovan and goat leather shoes in their workshops⁴⁸.

The discussion and negotiation of prices with the representatives of the Moors was also a very hard one. Initially, the municipal officers and three representatives of the Moorish shoemakers agreed on a detailed list of prices of bovine leathers, shoes and different services and tasks related to the tanning process. In a subsequent meeting, however, some royal officers and members of the municipal assembly contested the prices previously established, accusing the Moorish shoemakers of being "negligent" ("e foram a ello negridentes") and

⁴⁶ Municipal laws, Évora, 14th century, published in Sesifredo, Farrica and Meira 2012.

⁴⁷ Prices tables for leatherworkers, Évora, 14th century, published in Sesifredo, Farrica and Meira 2012, 64-75.

⁴⁸ Municipal law, Évora, 14th century, published in Sesifredo, Farrica and Meira 2012, 67; Feio 2021, 51.

proposed new prices for some shoes and services⁴⁹, obviously at inferior rates to those set. Next, the Moorish shoemakers were called upon once again, and the parties met halfway: some of the initial prices were kept and some others were reduced – an interesting testimony of the comings and goings of negotiation processes. The prices for fallow deer leathers and shoes were also hard to negotiate. Only the fiscal officer (*vedor*) of the shoemakers appeared, while the other Moorish shoemakers refused to attend the meeting. With merely the *vedor's* opinion, costs and prices were calculated and presented. The decision was contested once again, but this time by the Moorish shoemakers: they claimed that the price of fallow deer shoes was too low and proposed new, higher ones. The final decision was unilateral: the royal judge (*juiz por el-rei*) and the council men agreed on increasing the prices by one *soldo*, thus meeting halfway with the pretensions of shoemakers. In this case, another authority (a royal officer) came on stage, showing that in case of conflict, the ultimate word would be that of the king.

A royal officer (*corregedor*) was also the intervenient in establishing prices for shoemakers in the town of Loulé (South region, Algarve), in 1402. For that purpose, the *corregedor* consulted the municipal officers, some members of the municipal assembly (*homens bons*) and the Moor and Jewish shoemakers. The table of prices is said to have been established by the presence of these shoemakers but by the authority of the *corregedor*. Prices were set for soles and deer, sheep and cordovan shoes⁵⁰. Although the details of the discussion are not provided in the city council meeting minute, it is interesting to note that shoemakers were specifically convened for the meeting and consulted during the elaboration of the price list. This probably happened due to the intervention of the royal officer, because more than eighty years after, the king accused this specific town of not having the habitude of consulting craftsmen when prices and wage tables were discussed⁵¹.

⁴⁹ The services could consist of applying soles.

⁵⁰ City council meeting minute, Loulé, 1st July 1402, published in Duarte and Machado 1999, 95-99.

⁵¹ Melo 2013, 155.

In 1401, a new council man from the municipality of Porto imposed a price table for shoes during a meeting at which some shoemakers were present, alleging that there was a previous municipal law determining such, authorised by D. Afonso⁵², son of King João I (r. 1385-1433)⁵³. In the same meeting, the shoemakers protested, claiming that they could not agree to such a thing because they were not present when that law was passed. They also argued that the costs of raw materials were higher than the prices established for shoes: even so, what is interesting in the discussion is that they were aware that their opinion and approval was necessary to validate the law. Therefore, they immediately appealed to D. Afonso and his officer. We do not know what the answer was, but all the shoemakers of the city were then called to a city council meeting in order to establish an agreement on the prices of shoes⁵⁴. What happened next is intriguing. Only one of the shoemakers spoke, presenting not a set of prices, but a whole price for eight pairs of shoes in foreign coin⁵⁵. This attitude was interpreted by Arnaldo Sousa Melo as an “evasive and ironic intervention”⁵⁶. A creative way of contestation, it could be added. It is not known if any real price tables had been established at the time, but eventually, in May 1413, the city council designated price tables for eight professional activities, after being pressured by the *corregedor* (royal officer)⁵⁷. Prices were set for ten types of shoes, and the whole set of tables was approved some months later, in a large assembly in which two workers of each craft participated, signing the document⁵⁸.

Around 1480, another attempt at imposing price tables for leather and iron goods in a specific region took place. For that purpose, the city council of Évora was contacted in 1477, to provide a table of prices to serve as a model to be applied to the whole region of the Entre-

⁵² Count of Barcelos and then Duke of Braganza (1377-1461).

⁵³ City council meeting minute, Porto, 2nd July 1401, published in Ferreira 1980, 13-15.

⁵⁴ City council meeting minute, Porto, 16th July 1401, published in Ferreira 1980, 28-29.

⁵⁵ City council meeting minute, Porto, 23rd July 1401, published in Ferreira 1980, 30.

⁵⁶ Melo 2009, vol.1, 324, note 148 (my translation).

⁵⁷ City council meeting minutes, Porto, 1412 and 24th May 1413, published in Cruz 1943, LXXXIV-LXXXVII.

⁵⁸ Melo 2009, vol.1, 334-336.

Tejo-e-Odiana (in the South of Portugal, corresponding to the current Alentejo). Prices were set for fresh leathers and tanned hides, shoes and a wide list of items produced by *correeiros* (harness makers)⁵⁹. The king's request specifically mentioned the need to establish prices with the advice of the craft workers. What is interesting to note is that the structure is very similar to that of 1375-95: the calculating process is fully described, providing details of the costs of raw materials, wages, and profits. The fact that Évora was selected as a model and the repetition of the previous form clearly suggests that setting prices and negotiating them with craftsmen were a common procedure in the city.

It did not, however, happen the same way in all towns and cities of the kingdom. Due to this discrepancy, in 1487 King João II sent letters to all municipalities, establishing their obligation to annually set tables of prices for different professional activities (the list is extensive) and to consult two or three representatives of each craft for that purpose⁶⁰. Even so, the king's direct intervention could still take place: in 1498, the city council of Lisbon received a compilation of laws from the king, determining the prices for foodstuffs and different types of shoes⁶¹. During the 16th century, tables of shoes prices became even more common: evidence can be found not only from these cities, but also from others such as Guimarães (North region), for example⁶².

The professional statutes did not address the issue of determining prices, not only as that was a municipal duty, but also because it was subject to more regular updates. The imposition of prices by the municipal authorities continued to cause conflicts during the 16th century. This occurred in Porto in 1538 when the city council imposed new prices for certain crafts including shoemakers. Some craftsmen protested by closing their workshops and refusing to sell their products. After the menace of prison, the craftsmen apparently calmed down and, in the following year, they collaborated with the

⁵⁹ Price tables for leatherwork (c.1480), published in Serra 1793, 512-15, 518-24, 527-32.

⁶⁰ Melo 2013, 155.

⁶¹ Price table for shoes, Lisbon, 1498, published in Rodrigues 1974, 222-223.

⁶² Fernandes and Oliveira 2004, 150-152.

municipal authorities on the definition of prices and wages⁶³. Some years later, the king again ordered the establishment of prices for several goods in the city, mentioning the need of consultation with the craftsmen to make those decisions. This list from 1545 is probably the most extensive regarding prices of leather products: it comprises more than 70 types of shoes, 60 types of harness objects and belts and around ten types of products made by saddlers⁶⁴. It constitutes an interesting testimony on the evolution of fashion and the great specialisation of craftwork.

The exigence of an exam to access a job did not exist in Portugal before the constitution of craft guilds, with the only exception being the carpenters of the royal shipyards of Lisbon⁶⁵. During the reunion of the *Cortes* (Parliament) in 1481-82, members of the bourgeoisie clearly manifested their discomfort with the growing presence of craftsmen in the governance of cities and towns and they requested the imposition of an exam to access a craft⁶⁶. They alleged that many craftsmen were ignorant, but the king denied their request by stating that everyone should have the freedom of choosing and practising any craft they wished⁶⁷. This was a quite unexpected response, since that was a practice in many other European places at the time. In fact, when the leatherworkers of Lisbon presented their statute in 1489, they included the obligation of the exam by arguing precisely that it was common in “all other foreign cities and towns”⁶⁸. This passage is also demonstrative of the knowledge that Lisbon leatherworkers had about foreign regulations, thus proving the circulation of models of rules in Europe at the time.

In the first professional statutes (Lisbon, 1489 and Porto, 1512), the components of the exams were not described, laying the definition to the will of both examiners and examinees⁶⁹. This apparent flexibility

⁶³ Cruz 1943, XCIV.

⁶⁴ Cruz 1943, XCV-CXXV.

⁶⁵ Melo 2009, vol. 1, 263.

⁶⁶ Sousa 1993, 416-417.

⁶⁷ Parliament reunion minute, 1481-82, published in Santarém 1828, 215-216.

⁶⁸ Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 327 (my translation).

⁶⁹ Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 324-331; Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto, *Câmara Municipal do Porto*, A-PUB/9, fls. 43-45.

on the exam's contents would not last for a long time, however. In the statutes reformed under initiative of Duarte Nunes de Leão, in 1572, all components of the exam were fully described, by defining the specific types of products that the candidate should make. Each craft had its own exam and there were also specific exams for different specialities within the same craft⁷⁰.

Division of labour was also an important issue within leatherworking, not only among different crafts, but also among different creeds. As already mentioned, the municipal laws of Évora from the end of the 14th century reflected the division of labour between Christians and Moors with concerns to the types of leathers they worked with⁷¹. The legislation itself did not regulate this issue: it apparently only reflects what could be a tacit or oral agreement. However, the first professional statute from Lisbon (1489) included a specific regulation on this theme, specifying that Christians should work only with white and coloured sheep leather, leaving the black only for Jews and Moors⁷². This clearly stands as a problem of concurrence, however, as in the sixteenth century, these rules were not applicable since Jews and Moors had been expelled from the reign from 1496.

The intrinsic characteristics of the leatherwork production process motivates some problems on the division of labour, that is, on determining who can make what, with the middle phase of the process – tanning – probably being the most disputed. As seen in the examples from Évora and Lisbon, shoemakers seemed to be in control. There were, however, other craftsmen interested in the business of tanning. That was the case with the butchers from Porto, who were accused, in 1390, of being involved in tanning, disrespecting city practices⁷³. The city council specifically called four representatives of tanners to give their testimony on these customs. In the following year, a new complaint was presented by both merchants and shoemakers against

⁷⁰ For instance, in the statute of shoemakers, six different exams are described (Correia 1926, 76-81).

⁷¹ Prices tables for leatherworkers, Évora, 14th century, published in Sesifredo, Farrica and Meira 2012, 64-75.

⁷² Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 325.

⁷³ City council meeting minute, Porto, 8th July 1390, published in Basto 1937, 29-30.

butchers involved in tanning and the city council took the decision of prosecuting the butchers, insisting on a municipal law that forbade them to tan⁷⁴. Once again, shoemakers appear to have a dominant voice within the leather sector.

In the professional statutes of Lisbon from 1572, an interdiction was established for glovers. They were not allowed to work with furs, since that was an exclusivity of *peliteiros* (furriers)⁷⁵. Divisions could also be set between different sectors of activities, namely between textile and leather workers. That was what happened in Porto, in 1588, when the *sirgueiros*⁷⁶ were forbidden from selling belts and bandoliers, which was an exclusivity of *correeiros* (harness makers)⁷⁷.

The access to raw materials in equal conditions within the leather sector was a constant preoccupation from very early on. The 12th century municipal laws of Coimbra (1145) established that tanned hides at the market should be made available only to shoemakers, both Christians and Jews, who were actively producing leather items. Concurrently, shoemakers were forbidden to buy hides and resell them to merchants outside the city⁷⁸. Both rules were thought to warrant the supply of raw materials to all the shoemakers in the city and to limit the possibilities of trading and speculating on tanned hides. Four centuries later, similar laws were still in force in the city: no one could sell leathers outside the municipality and no tanner could buy tanned hides outside the city for resale⁷⁹.

Although supply obligation was not very common within the leather sector as it was in the alimentary one, some evidence can be found in municipal laws. One example was already mentioned: after refusing to produce cordovan and goat leather shoes, shoemakers from Évora, by the end of the 14th century, were obliged to permanently display three pairs of shoes in their workshop made

⁷⁴ City council meeting minute, Porto, 9th March 1391, published in Basto 1937, 59.

⁷⁵ Statute of the *Peliteiros* (furriers), Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 99-100.

⁷⁶ A *sirgueiro* was an artisan specialised in making articles with silk, namely burses and strings.

⁷⁷ Cruz 1943, 162.

⁷⁸ Municipal laws, Coimbra, 1145, published in Coelho 2013, 125-128.

⁷⁹ Municipal laws, Coimbra, c. 1514-23, published in Carvalho 1938, 130-37.

of those materials⁸⁰. In Loulé, in the 1st July 1402, the *corregedor* (royal officer) enforced a law to oblige shoemakers to participate in the town weekly fair (every Monday) and to bring four pairs of shoes and also soles with them. In that same day, the *corregedor* established that every shoemaker was obliged to serve and to repair shoes of all Loulé's inhabitants; selling shoes or leathers outside the town was also forbidden⁸¹. These testimonies provide interesting evidence on how common was standardised production and ready-to-wear items.

In Lisbon, by the middle of the 16th century, a set of laws was published to impose the obligation of sharing raw materials between all leatherworkers and to prohibit operations of resale of tanned hides. Tanning infrastructures were also subject to regular inspection by the craft's judges in order to control the level of production and avoid illegal sales⁸². The already mentioned attempts at controlling prices for leathers were also a way of warranting equal access conditions to raw materials. In fact, across times, authorities found different solutions to solve the problem of access to raw materials: supervised redistribution, obligation of sharing, prohibition of selling outside the city, forbiddance of resale, limitation of quantities and control of prices.

Professional statutes were also insistent on these matters. For instance, in the 1489 Lisbon statute, tanners were obliged to share any salted leather or tanning substances they bought with other tanners from the city. Also, some craftsmen outside the city were allowed to take their share of these raw materials, under the same conditions as the local inhabitants⁸³. In the reformed statutes from 1572, all the individual statutes included one or more rules concerning the distribution of raw materials. The craft's judges and councilmen were responsible for an equal distribution of the materials among craftsmen. Tanners were forbidden from making wholesales with merchants and selling outside the city. They were also subject to

⁸⁰ Municipal law, Évora, 14th century, published in Sesifredo, Farrica and Meira 2012, 67.

⁸¹ City council meeting minute, 1st July 1402, Loulé, published in Duarte and Machado 1999, 95, 98.

⁸² Municipal laws, Lisbon, 16th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 333-337.

⁸³ Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 324-331.

strict selling conditions: obliged to sell to everyone, to set prices on visible boards and to trade until 4 p.m. during winter and until 6 p.m. in summertime. The obligation of sharing was applicable also to the case of raw materials bought outside the city⁸⁴. Shoemakers could not buy any leathers directly from the stable or the customs house without previously informing the craft's judges, so that they could assure equal redistribution⁸⁵. Besides the obligation of sharing, limitations could also be imposed to the quantities one could buy in anticipation. For instance, bottle makers were allowed to buy up to 100 animals for themselves, but if they bought more they had to share them with all other craftsmen⁸⁶.

All these rules are clear attempts to avoid speculation by keeping the supply within the production chain and strongly limiting the intervention of intermediaries, should they be merchants or the craftsmen themselves. This kind of rules seems to increase within the professional statutes, but this period is also one of mass exportations of Portuguese fresh leathers towards the Mediterranean⁸⁷. Therefore, the consequent shortage of raw materials could provide an explanation to the expansion of such strict measures.

The control of quality and measures was important to defend consumer interests, avoiding fraud. In the case of leatherwork, that control could address the tanning substances and process itself. In the municipal laws of Évora from the 14th century, tanners were forbidden from using certain harmful substances in tanning⁸⁸. The same occurred in Lisbon in 1484, when certain shoemakers and other inhabitants complained about tanners who used a harmful substance for tanning leathers⁸⁹. That complaint also addressed those who sold wet hides. In 1480 Lisbon municipal law⁹⁰ and in the professional

⁸⁴ Statute of tanners, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 81-86.

⁸⁵ Statute of shoemakers, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 80-81.

⁸⁶ Statute of bottle makers, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 102-103.

⁸⁷ Berti 1994; Tognetti 1999; Carlomagno 2001, 323-339; Cardoso 2020; Sequeira, 2018; Guidi-Bruscoli 2014, 87-88; Hinojosa Montalvo 1987, 760, 770.

⁸⁸ Price tables for leatherwork, Évora, 14th century, published in Sesifredo, Farrica and Meira 2012, 74.

⁸⁹ Municipal law, Lisbon, 1484, published in Rodrigues 1974, 160.

⁹⁰ Municipal law, Lisbon, 1480, published in Rodrigues 1974, 135.

statutes from 1512 (Porto)⁹¹ and 1572 (Lisbon)⁹², the selling of wet hides was strongly forbidden because that was defrauding the buyer. Similar rules existed in Córdoba and Seville at the time⁹³.

The mixing of different leathers in a finished article, falsification, or the use of bad quality hides was also considered fraudulent, and regulations specifically forbade such⁹⁴. The Lisbon municipal laws from the 15th century prohibited shoemakers from mixing sheep hides with cordovan: shoes should be made in only one of these two materials in all parts⁹⁵. In the following century, municipal laws continue to describe situations in which sheep leather and cordovan were sold together with no differentiation. The same laws registered the sale of mixed leathers in bad condition – this is, with parasites – condemning its sellers to 20 days in jail⁹⁶. In the shoemaker's statute from 1572, multiple rules established the exact types of leathers that shoemakers could and could not use for each section of the shoe and the kind of yarn they should use for sewing⁹⁷. Furthermore, the selling of used and old shoes was strictly regulated⁹⁸.

Regulations on measures were not very common in the leather sector, although one exception can be found. In 1480, a municipal law from Lisbon determined that all soles should be produced and sold according to the specific city's measure⁹⁹. This could also be seen as an important sign of standardisation of production.

The best and universal way of controlling the quality of the products was the imposition of an exam to access the craft, which appeared within the first professional statute, as already mentioned. Craftsmen could only produce the objects for which they had been previously approved, and they could only sell the products made

⁹¹ Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto, *Câmara Municipal do Porto*, A-PUB/9, fls. 43-45.

⁹² Statute of tanners, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 81.

⁹³ Córdoba de la Llave 1990, 170.

⁹⁴ Swanson 1989, 55.

⁹⁵ Municipal law, Lisbon, 15th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 69.

⁹⁶ Municipal laws, Lisbon, 16th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 335-339.

⁹⁷ Statute of shoemakers, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 78-79.

⁹⁸ Municipal laws, Lisbon, 16th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 337-338; Statute of shoemakers, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 81.

⁹⁹ Municipal law, Lisbon, 1480, published in Rodrigues 1974, 135.

by themselves. In the statutes from 1572, crafts' judges were also responsible for a regular inspection of the products of some artisans. Harness makers and leather shield makers had to show the products they would sell at fairs, and the shields only received the mark from the city after inspection and approval by the judges. Those who did not follow the rule would be condemned to 15 days in jail and a fine¹⁰⁰. In the saddler's statute, examiners would inspect the products shown in tents and those not matching the standards would be taken and sent to Guinea, in Africa¹⁰¹.

In fact, the statutes from 1572 seem to constitute a genuine step forward on the control of quality, by imposing numerous strict rules. One of those rules is the prohibition, applicable to shoemakers, of making any type of innovation without the previous authorisation from the city council¹⁰². According to the research of Sheilagh Ogilvie, European guilds were resistant to innovations in numerous sectors of activities, thus resulting in an obstacle to economic growth¹⁰³. However, in this specific case from the shoemaker's statute of 1572, innovation wasn't totally forbidden, but subject to previous approval. This prohibition can be explained by the simple fact that innovations demanded an update of the regulations and by previously knowing and authorising them, authorities could prevent the statutes to become obsolete.

As observed in a previous study, defining the conditions of apprenticeship does not seem to be a preoccupation for the authorities – it was an issue for the internal environment of crafts to be concerned with¹⁰⁴. No apprenticeship contracts survive for the Middle Ages in Portugal and, even in the 16th century, they were not very common, since most were simply oral and based on consuetudinary rules¹⁰⁵. However, as already mentioned, this was an important matter for craftsmen and it is not by chance that the document written by

¹⁰⁰ Statute of *correeiros* (harness makers) and *adargueiros* (leather shield makers), Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 91.

¹⁰¹ Statute of saddlers, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 93.

¹⁰² Statute of shoemakers, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 79-80.

¹⁰³ Ogilvie 2019, 438-510.

¹⁰⁴ Sequeira 2020, 864.

¹⁰⁵ Machado 2010, 342.

craftsmen themselves – the statute of the leatherworkers of Lisbon from 1489 – is precisely the one with the most rules on this issue. Among the seven rules constituting this statute, two addressed the issue of apprenticeship, clearly demonstrating the importance of the subject¹⁰⁶. One established that masters could not pay money to their apprentices but only give them clothes. It also determined the number of years of apprenticeship: four years for boys between 10 and 12 years and three for boys older than 12 years. The other rule established that the master could only ask an apprentice to sew the shoes if he paid him on a daily basis, forbidding them from hiring apprentices for that purpose on a monthly basis. This served not only to control quality, but mainly to prevent masters from accepting apprentices to work just on those elementary tasks without teaching them all the other skills required to become a master in the specific craft. In the statutes of 1572, written by a jurist, the only rule referring to apprenticeship is one that forbade a master from taking an apprentice that was working with another master during the contracted apprenticeship period¹⁰⁷. This reflected a problem of concurrence between masters.

Regulations on the placement of industrial activities could take one of two forms: prohibition or obligation, with some responding to urbanistic policies – namely sanitary conditions – with others acting as a better way for supervising the activity and/or serving the consumers¹⁰⁸.

This second trend is explicit in the impositions upon sole makers (tanners) found in the municipal rules of Lisbon from the 16th century. The retail sale of soles could only take place in the Ribeira zone (riverside area) in pre-determined market stalls or in fairs¹⁰⁹. As such, the consumer had easy access to products and could compare prices – the supervision of quality and the verification of compliance with the city's measure were also facilitated. The main reason, however, was to avoid speculation as retail merchants usually bought soles from tanners and then resold them to consumers for much higher prices¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁶ Statute of leatherworkers, Lisbon, 1489, published in Rodrigues 1974, 324-331.

¹⁰⁷ Statutes of craftsmen, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 10.

¹⁰⁸ Sequeira 2020, 858.

¹⁰⁹ Municipal laws, Lisbon, 16th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 334.

¹¹⁰ Municipal laws, Lisbon, 16th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 340.

That is also why the later statutes from 1572 established schedules for tanners on the market, as previously mentioned.

The organisation of crafts into specific streets was not dominant in Portugal, but when it existed it normally resulted from an imposition by the city council¹¹¹. A municipal law from Lisbon, dated around the 15th century, specifically forbade the activity of shoemakers and scabbard makers in Rua Nova ('New Street') and, at the same time, it incentivised the presence of workshops from tailors, shearers, or doublet makers¹¹². This street had beautiful buildings and a very cosmopolitan air, where alien merchants and travellers circulated, and for these reasons, the city council was particularly engaged in keeping it clean and attractive for foreigners¹¹³. Consequently, noisy and malodourous activities were not welcome there. To the same logic, the city council also forbade leather drying inside the city's walls¹¹⁴— quite a common rule in other European cities¹¹⁵.

Among all the industrial activities of a medieval city or town, tanning was one of the most noxious and caused pollution, namely in watercourses, rendering the water unfit for human consumption¹¹⁶. This is why the municipal council of Évora strictly prohibited the use of pits and fountains for washing leathers from the beginning of the 15th century¹¹⁷. Tanning activities were one of the major polluting factors of the water consumed by the friars of the Monastery of São Domingos, in the city of Porto, which was supplied through a long water pipe crossing the city. Several documents, dated between 1342 and 1429, described the long-lasting problems and the many attempts to solve them. The multiple edicts issued by the kings determined that those activities should not take place in the proximity of the water pipe, or that they should be subject to certain physical conditions to avoid the spill of polluting substances¹¹⁸.

¹¹¹ Melo 2009, vol. 1, 413.

¹¹² Municipal law, Lisbon, 15th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 68.

¹¹³ Sequeira 2020, 859.

¹¹⁴ Municipal law, Lisbon, 15th century, published in Rodrigues 1974, 142.

¹¹⁵ Leguay 2012, 38, 56-58.

¹¹⁶ Leguay 2012, 27, 56-58.

¹¹⁷ Regiment of the city of Évora, c. 1415, published in Vilar 2018, 50.

¹¹⁸ Melo 2007b, 136-145.

In 1444, the Monastery of Santa Clara, from the city of Coimbra, sued three shoemakers that had washed their leathers in a water stream that crossed the Monastery's domain. The *almotacé* from the municipality gave one week to the shoemakers to clean the water stream to avoid a fine and forbade any shoemaker from washing leathers in that water stream without the previous authorisation of the Monastery from then on¹¹⁹.

Due to the use of high tannins, the places where leathers were tanned should not be used for other things, namely for alimentary purposes. It was not by chance that the tanner's statute from 1572 clearly forbade the washing of lupins in the same places where leathers were tanned¹²⁰. Washing clothes in the same water where leathers were washed was also not appropriate and, in 1517, the councilmen of Braga determined that shoemakers could not wash their leathers in the fountains where some women washed their clothes. Two years later, after getting the support of the archbishop, shoemakers were authorised to wash their clothes in those fountains, although with certain conditions: they had to build a tank, they could neither use lime nor let the leathers soak¹²¹. This is an interesting testimony on how craftsmen sagaciously managed to benefit from the tensions between different institutions that ruled the city.

Conclusion

Leatherworkers were strongly present in medieval Portuguese towns and played an important role in the kingdom's urban economy. They represent probably the earliest and most regulated of crafts: they were envisaged in the 1145 municipal laws of Coimbra, and they were responsible for creating the first Portuguese professional statute in 1489.

Returning to the questions presented in the introduction, it can be concluded that the type of regulation and its authors influence the

¹¹⁹ Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), *Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, liv. 2, fl. 129v. Many thanks to Pedro Pinto for pointing out and sending me this document.

¹²⁰ Statute of tanners, Lisbon, 1572, published in Correia 1926, 86.

¹²¹ Lencart 2020.

contents of rules. Subjects like controlling prices, activity placement and sanitary conditions are more common in municipal laws than in the professional statutes. In these laws, the 'voice' of the consumers is always traceable. Questions regarding quality control are transversal to all types of rules but become more detailed and stricter within the later professional statutes – which, it should be remembered – were written by a jurist hired by the city council of Lisbon. Internal questions, namely those related to apprenticeship rather seem to be a preoccupation of the craftsmen and not so much of the external authorities. The analysis of the process of elaboration of regulations, namely of controlling prices and the first professional statutes (1489 and 1512) suggest that leatherworkers actively participated in the decision-making processes and often assumed divergent attitudes towards the authorities, which was particularly visible in Évora and Porto, but also in Lisbon. Although that was not the scope of this study, the survey revealed that, among leatherworkers, shoemakers had the most active voice and seemed to control and take the leadership among other leatherworkers, namely tanners, in all the cities analysed.

In comparison to other sectors of activity, the leather sector presents some specificities regarding the contents of regulations. Leather work was the constant object of price control, probably more than any other artisanal sector, besides the world of foodstuffs. Moreover, the access to raw materials was a central object of regulation, becoming almost obsessive in Lisbon in the 16th century. This can be explained by the intrinsic nature of the production chain and the consequent need to eliminate intermediaries between the different phases of production, but also due to the economic context of massive exports of Portuguese leathers during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Regulations of leatherwork increase in number and become more diverse in the type of contents during the 15th century. But, if in the 15th and early 16th centuries, the participation of leatherworkers was quite visible, their voice starts to fade away from the middle of the 16th century onwards. As other studies have been suggesting, the standardisation of professional rules and their growing control by the king and the municipal elites led to a limitation on craftsmen's intervention¹²². The

¹²² Melo 2007a and 2009, vol. 1, 405-408.

Joana Sequeira

very complete and well organised statutes from 1572, reformed by the jurist Duarte Nunes de Leão –which would last for the centuries to follow–created rigid hierarchies within the crafts, and enforced more detailed and strict rules, complemented by harder sanctions, therefore contributing to a progressive loss of autonomy for artisans.

Bibliographie

- Abad, Reynald. 2002. *Le grand marché. L'approvisionnement alimentaire de Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris : Fayard.
- Actas de Vereacao de Loulé. Séculos XIV-XV*. 1999-2000. Loulé : Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé.
- Adelung. 1807. *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*. Wien : Pichler.
- Agrimi, Jole, et Crisciani, Chiara. 1994. *Les « Consilia » médicaux*. Turnhout : Brepols.
- Amend-Traut, Anja, Bongartz, Josef, Denzler, Alexander, Franke, Ellen, und Stodolkowitz, Sefan. 2020. « Gerichtsvielfalt und Gerichtslandschaften: Annäherungen und Perspektiven ». In *Unter der Linde und vor dem Kaiser, Neue Perspektiven auf Gerichtsvielfalt und Gerichtslandschaften im Heiligen Römischen Reich*, herausgegeben von Anja Amend-Traut, Josef Bongartz, Alexander Denzler, Ellen Franke, Stefan Andreas Stodolkowitz. Köln: Böhlau. 9-37.
- Anheim, Étienne, Chastang, Pierre et Theis, Valérie. 2021. « Les statuts communaux en perspective ». In *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales dans les sociétés de l'Italie communale et du Midi de la France (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, édité par Didier Lett. Rome : École française de Rome. 295-322.

Bibliographie

- Anonyme, 1914. « Des Münzmeisters Matthias Mohrs Gold- und Silberausmünzungen in Hamburg 1608 ff. ». *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 12-34: 125-128.
- Anonyme. 1720. *Akten des Heiligen Römisch. Reichs gehaltenen Reichstäge, Abschiede und Satzungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Schönwetters. seel. Wittibe.
- Arízaga Bolumburu, Beatriz, y Solórzano Telechea, Jesús Ángel. 2009. *Alimentar la ciudad en la Edad Media*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos.
- Arnoux, Mathieu et Bottin, Jacques. 2001. « Autour de Rouen et Paris : modalités d'intégration d'un espace drapier (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles) ». *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* no. 48 : 162-191.
- Arnoux, Mathieu. 1993. *Mineurs, férons et maîtres de forge : études sur la production du fer en Normandie au Moyen Âge, XI^e – XV^e siècles* Paris : CTHS.
- Asenjo González, María. 2001. « Las ordenanzas antiguas de Toledo, siglos XIV y XV ». In « *Faire bans, edictz et statutz* » : *légiférer dans la ville médiévale*, édité par Jean-Marie Cauchies et Éric Bousmar. Bruxelles : Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis. 85-115.
- Audouin-Rouzeau, Frédérique et Beyrie, Sylvie, éd. 2002. *Le travail du cuir de la Préhistoire à nos jours. Actes des XXII^e rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes*. Antibes : APDCA.
- Baker, John H. 2003. *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*. t. VI, 1483-1558. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Banegas López, Ramón Agustín. 2012. *Europa carnívora: comprar y comer carne en el mundo urbano bajo medieval*. Somonte-Cenero : EdicionesTrea.
- Banegas López, Ramón Agustín. 2013-2014. « Travail et techniques des bouchers et des poissonniers dans la Catalogne rurale (XIV^e et XV^e siècle) ». In *Savoirs des campagnes. Catalogne, Languedoc, Provence, XII^e-XVIII^e siècles*, édité par Catherine Verna et Pere Benito. *Études roussillonaises* no. 26 : 145-152.

- Baptiste, Nicolas. 2016. « Des artisans spécialistes : l'art des armuriers ». In *Armatus corpus. Princes & chevaliers (1330-1530) 600 ans du Duché de Savoie*. Gollion : Infolio. 199-209.
- Barbieri, Franco. 1968. *La basilica palladiana*. Vicenza: Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura « Andrea Palladio ».
- Barbot, Michela, Carvais, Robert, Chateau-Dutier, Emmanuel et Nègre, Valérie. 2021. « Maintaining/repairing Paris through expertise (1690–1790) ». In *History of Construction Cultures*, edited by João Mateus Mascarenhas and Paula Pires. Leiden: CRC Press Balkema. 166-175.
- Bargelli, Claudio. 2001. « Alle origini di una vocazione alimentare : beccai e lardaroli nel mercato delle carni a Parma in età moderna ». *Storia Economica* 4 (1) : 77-147.
- Bargelli, Claudio. 2013. *Dal necessario al superfluo. Le arti alimentari parmensi tra medioevo ed età moderna*. Milano: Angeli.
- Barnet, Peter and Dandridge, Pete, éd. 2006. *Lions, Dragons & other Beasts : Aquamanilia of the Middle Ages, Vessels for Church and Table*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Barret, Sébastien et Grévin, Benoît. 2014. *Regalis excellentia. Les préambules des actes des rois de France au XIV^e siècle (1300-1380)*. Paris : École des Chartes.
- Barron, Caroline M. 2004. *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Basso, Enrico. 2011. « Circolazione e commercio dei prodotti caseari nel Mediterraneo (secoli XIII-XV) ». In *La civiltà del latte. Fonti, simboli e prodotti dal Tardoantico al Novecento*, a cura di Gabriele Archetti e Angelo Baronio. Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana. 79-101.
- Basto, Artur de Magalhães, ed. 1937. *"Vereações", anos de 1390-1395*. Porto : Gabinete de História da Cidade.
- Battilotti, Donata. 1980. *Vicenza al tempo di Andrea Palladio attraverso i libri dell'estimo del 1563-1564*. Vicenza: Accademia Olimpica.

Bibliographie

- Bauce, Federico. 2008. « Mercanti di formaggio a Brescia nei secoli XV e XVI. Primi spunti per uno studio ». *Civiltà Bresciana* 17 (1-2) : 41-60.
- Bauce, Federico. 2011. « Corporazioni e mondo del lavoro. Il caso dei formaggiai bresciani nel Cinquecento ». In *La civiltà del latte. Fonti, simboli e prodotti dal Tardoantico al Novecento*, a cura di Gabriele Archetti e Angelo Baronio. Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana. 651-668.
- Beck, Patrice, Bernardi, Philippe et Feller, Laurent, éd. 2014. *Rémunérer le travail au Moyen Âge : pour une histoire sociale du salariat*. Paris : Picard.
- Beck, Theodore R. 1974. *The Cutting Edge: Early History of the Surgeons of London*. London: Lund Humphries.
- Beggio, Giovanni. 1968. « Le antiche misure veronesi rapportate al sistema metrico decimale ». *Vita Veronese* 21 (9-10) : 352-360.
- Beirante, Ângela. 1995. *Évora na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Bérard, Émilie, Pécheyran, Christophe, Dillmann, Philippe, Leroy, Stéphanie, Vega, Enrique, Williams, Alan, Verna, Catherine, Toureille, Valérie. 2020. « Ancient Armour Provenance by LA-ICP-MS Analysis of Microscopic Slag Inclusions ». *Journal of Analytical Atomic Spectrometry* 35: 2582–2593.
- Bérard, Émilie. 2019. « L'armure du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle en Europe : une approche matérielle. Production, nature et circulation du métal ». Thèse de doctorat, Université de Cergy-Pontoise.
- Bernard, Marion. 2015. « L'organisation du travail des armuriers parisiens, entre réglementation et réalité(s) de terrain (XIII^e-XV^e siècle) ». In *Travailler à Paris (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, édité par Christine Jéhanno et Boris Bove. *Médiévales* 69 (2) : 49-70.
- Bernardi, Philippe et Leroy, Nicolas. 2018. « Des statuts urbains aux statuts de métier : l'exemple de la fusterie d'Avignon au milieu du XIII^e siècle ». In *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales II. Statuts communaux et circulations documentaires dans les sociétés*

- méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, édité par Didier Lett. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne. 95-113.
- Bernardi, Philippe, Maitte, Corine et Rivière, François. 2020. *Dans les règles du métier. Les acteurs des normes professionnelles au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*. Palerme : New Digital Press.
- Bernardi, Philippe. 1995. *Métiers du bâtiment et techniques de construction à Aix-en-Provence à la fin de l'époque gothique (1400-1550)*. Aix-en-Provence : Publications de l'Université de Provence.
- Bernardi, Philippe. 2009. *Maître, valet et apprenti au Moyen Âge. Essai sur une production bien ordonnée*. Toulouse : Presses universitaires du Mirail.
- Bernardi, Philippe. 2011. *Bâtir au Moyen Âge*. Paris : CNRS Éditions.
- Bernardi, Philippe et Verna, Catherine. 2001. « Travail et Moyen Âge : un renouveau historiographique ». *Cahiers d'histoire* no. 83 : 27-46.
- Berti, Marcello. 1994. « Le aziende Da Colle: una finestra sulle relazioni commerciali tra la Toscana ed il Portogallo a metà del quattrocento ». In *Toscana e Portogallo: miscellanea storica nel 650° anniversario dello Studio Generale di Pisa*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS. 57-106.
- Bertrand, Paul. 2015. *Les écritures ordinaires. Sociologie d'un temps de révolution documentaire (entre royaume de France et empire, 1250-1350)*. Paris : Éditions de la Sorbonne.
- Bezzina, Denise. 2013. « Organizzazione corporativa e artigiani nell'Italia medievale ». *Reti medievali rivista* no. 14 : 351-374.
- Bezzina, Denise. 2015. *Artigiani a Genova nei secoli XII-XIII*. Florence : Firenze University Press.
- Bidouze, Frédéric, éd. 2011. « Parlements et parlementaires de France au XVIII^e siècle ». *Parlement[s]. Revue d'histoire politique* 15 (1).

Bibliographie

- Bien, David. 1988. « Les offices, les corps et le crédit d'État : l'utilisation des privilèges sous l'Ancien Régime ». *Annales E.S.C.* 43 (2) : 379-404.
- Blair, Claude, Blair, John, and Brownsword, Roger. 1986. « An Oxford Brasiers' Dispute of the 1390s : Evidence for Brass-Making in Medieval England ». *The Antiquaries Journal* 66 (1) : 82-90. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003581500084493>.
- Blando, Antonino. 2003. *Istituzioni e mercato nella Sicilia del grano*. Palermo: Puntografica.
- Böhne, Clemens von. 1961. « Werkstofftechnische Fragen Bei Deutschen Plattnerarbeiten ». *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für historische Waffen und Kostümkunde* Vol. 3, no. 1 : 47-53.
- Bohstedt, John. 2010. *The Politics of Provisions: Food Riots, Moral Economy, and Market Transition in England, c. 1550-1850*. Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate.
- Bois, Guy. 2000. *La grande dépression médiévale, XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Le précédent d'une crise systémique*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- Boissonnade, Prosper. 1921. *Le travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au Moyen Âge (V^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : Félix Alcan.
- Bolognesi, Dante. 1992. « "Li mali et pessimi costumi delli beccari" . Il mercato della carne a Ravenna in età moderna ». *Romagna Arte e Storia* 12 (3/36) : 5-38.
- Bonenfant-Feytmans, Anne-Marie. 1950. « La corporation des orfèvres de Bruxelles au Moyen Âge ». *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 115 : 85-171.
- Bonin, Pierre, Cosandey, Fanny, Haddad, Élie et Rousselet-Pimont, Anne, éd., 2016. *À la croisée des temps. Approches d'histoire politique, juridique et sociale*. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Bonnafous, Marcelle. 1927. « Toulouse et Louis XI ». *Annales du Midi* 39 (155) : 113-167.

- Boone, Marc. 1994. « Les métiers dans les villes flamandes au bas Moyen Âge (XIV^e-XVI^e siècles) : images normatives, réalités socio-politiques et économiques ». In *Les métiers au Moyen Âge. Aspects économiques et sociaux*, édité par Pascale Lambrechts et Jean-Pierre Sosson. Louvain-la-Neuve : Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales. 1-21.
- Bordes, François. 2018. « Les cartulaires urbains de Toulouse (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles) ». In *Les cartulaires méridionaux*, édité par Daniel Le Blévec. Paris : Publications de l'École nationale des chartes. 217-38.
- Borgnet, Jules, éd. 1862. *Cartulaire de la commune de Bouvignes*. 2 vol. Namur : Wesmael-Legros.
- Bormans, Stanislas, éd. 1876. *Cartulaire de la commune de Namur : Tome 3 Période bourguignonne 1429-1555*. Namur : Wesmael-Charlier.
- Bormans, Stanislas, éd. 1880. *Cartulaire de la commune de Dinant : tome I 1060-1449*. Namur : Wesmael-Charlier.
- Bormans, Stanislas, éd. 1881. *Cartulaire de la commune de Dinant : tome II 1450-1482*. Namur : Wesmael-Charlier.
- Bourgarit, David, and Thomas, Nicolas. 2012. « Late Medieval Copper Alloying Practices: A View from a Parisian Workshop of the 14th Century AD ». *Journal of Archaeological Science* 39 (10) : 3052-3270.
- Bourgeois, Albert. 1976. « Les potiers d'étain Béthunois avec un aperçu sur la vaisselle à la fin du XVII^e et au début du XVIII^e siècle ». *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société académique des antiquaires de la Morinie* XXII (428/429) : 449-88.
- Bourlet, Caroline, Carvais, Robert, Sousa Melo, Arnaldo et Petrowiste, Judicaël, dir. À paraître. *Formes et typologie des réglementations des métiers dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*. Palerme : New Digital Press.
- Bourlet, Caroline et Thomas, Nicolas. 2016. « Les articles de Paris sous l'œil de l'expert : Le problème des alliages à base de cuivre

Bibliographie

- et d'étain au Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XIV^e s.) ». In *Expertise et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge. II. Savoirs, écritures, pratiques*, édité par Laurent Feller et Ana Rodríguez. Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 156. Madrid : Casa de Velázquez. 359-384.
- Bourlet, Caroline et Thomas, Nicolas. 2018. « Les métiers du cuivre à Paris vers 1300 : Topographie et étude sociale ». In *Cuivre, bronzes et laitons médiévaux : Histoire, archéologie et archéométrie des productions en laiton, bronze et autres alliages à base de cuivre dans l'Europe médiévale (12^e-16^e siècles). Medieval copper, bronze and brass : History, archaeology and archaeometry of the production of brass, bronze and other copper alloy objects in medieval Europe (12th-16th centuries)*, [Actes du colloque de Dinant et Namur, 15-17 mai 2014. Proceedings of the symposium of Dinant and Namur, 15-17 May 2014], édité par Nicolas Thomas et Pete Dandridge. Études et documents, Archéologie 39. Namur : Agence wallonne du Patrimoine. 105-113
- Bourlet, Caroline. 2015. « Le Livre des métiers dit d'Étienne Boileau et la lente mise en place d'une législation écrite du travail à Paris (fin XIII^e-début XIV^e siècle) ». In *Travailler à Paris (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, édité par Christine Jéhanno et Boris Bove. *Médiévales* no. 69 : 19-47.
- Bousmar, Éric. 2001. « 'Si se garde cascun de méfaire'. La législation communale de Mons (Hainaut) dans son contexte régional (XII^e-début XVI^e siècle). Sources, objets et acteurs ». In « *Faire bans, edictz et statuz* » : *légiférer dans la ville médiévale. Sources, objets et acteurs de l'activité législative communale en Occident, ca. 1200-1550*, sous la direction de Jean-Marie Cauchies et Éric Bousmar. Bruxelles : Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis. 153-181.
- Bovolato, Luca. 1998. *L'arte dei luganegheri a Venezia tra Seicento e Settecento*. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti.
- Brandt, Robert. 2008. « Die Grenzen des Sagbaren und des Machbaren. Anmerkungen zur Rechtsgeschichte des Frankfurter "Zunfthandwerks" während der Frühen Neuzeit ». In *Die Reichsstadt Frankfurt als Rechts- und Gerichtslandschaft im*

- Römisch-Deutschen Reich*, herausgegeben von Anja Amend, Anette Baumann, Stephan Wendehorst : Steffen Wunderlich. München: Oldenburg. 247-264.
- Braudel, Fernand. 1979. *Civilisation matérielle, Économie et Capitalisme, XV^e-XVIII^esiècle*, 3 vol. Paris : Armand Colin.
- Braunstein, Philippe. 1998. « Pour une histoire économique et sociale des techniques ». *Des sciences et des techniques : un débat. Cahiers des Annales* no. 45 : 209-217.
- Braunstein, Philippe. 2001. « L'acier de Brescia à la fin du XIV^e Siècle : l'apport d'une correspondance d'affaires ». In *La sidérurgie alpine en Italie (XII^e - XVII^e Siècle)*, éd. par Philippe Braunstein. Rome : École française de Rome. 455-479.
- Bréquigny, Louis-Georges de. 1790. *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, vol. 14. Paris : Imprimerie royale.
- Briffaut, Pierre. 1978. *Les étainiers du Haut Escaut : Cambrai, Valenciennes, Tournai*. France : Imprimerie centrale de l'Artois.
- Brouwer Ancher, Aloysius Johannes Maria. 1895. *De Gilden*. La Haye : Loman en Funke.
- Buchner, Thomas. 2003. *Möglichkeiten von Zunft. Wiener und Amsterdamer Zünfte im Vergleich (17.-18. Jahrhundert)*. Wien: Deuticke.
- Buttin, Charles. 1901. « Notes sur les armures à l'épreuve ». *Revue Savoisiennne* 2-3 : 26-38.
- Cabral, Mariana. 2021. *O abastecimento alimentar na cidade de Braga na segunda metade do século XV e inícios do século XVI*. Braga : Universidade do Minho. (dissertação de mestrado em História).
- Cachemarée, Aleaume, éd. 1861. *Registre criminel du Châtelet de Paris : du 6 septembre 1389 au 18 mai 1392*. 2 vol. Paris : Lahure.
- Caetano, Marcello. 1943. « A antiga organização dos mesteres da cidade de Lisboa ». In *As corporações dos ofícios mecânicos. Subsídios para a sua história*, vol. 1, publicado por Franz-Paul Langhans. Lisbon : Imprensa Nacional. XI-LXXV.

Bibliographie

- Calabi, Donatella. 1987. « Città e spazi di mercato nella Repubblica veneta. In laguna: un'isola, i luoghi, le fabbriche ». *Eidos*, nuova serie 1 (1): 76-87.
- Calleri, Nicola. 1991. « I capitoli dell'arte dei formaggiai ». *La Berio* 31 (1-2-3) : 3-160.
- Calleri, Nicola. 1996. *L'arte dei formaggiai a Genova tra Quattro e Cinquecento*. Genova : Università di Genova, Dipartimento di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea.
- Campanini, Antonella et Rinaldi, Rossella, éd. 2008. *Artigiani a Bologna. Identità, regole, lavoro (secc. XIII-XIV)*. Bologne : CLUEB.
- Cantelaube, Jean. 2005. *La forge à la catalane dans les Pyrénées ariégeoises, une industrie à la montagne (XVII^e - XIX^e Siècle)*. Toulouse : CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail.
- Caracausi, Andrea, Davies, Matthew, et Mocarelli, Luca, éd. 2018. *Between Regulation and Freedom : Work and Manufactures in European Cities, 14th-18th centuries*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Caracausi, Andrea. 2017. « Information Asymmetries and Craft Guilds in Pre-Modern Markets. Evidence from Italian Proto-Industry ». *Economic History Review* 70: 397-422.
- Cardon, Dominique. 1999. *La draperie au Moyen Âge. Naissance d'une grande industrie*. Paris : CNRS Éditions.
- Cardoso, Ana Clarinda. 2020. « Redes comerciais entre Itália e a Península Ibérica: fretes marítimos da Companhia Nerone-Salviati, 1454-1461 ». *Ler História* no. 77 : 9-33.
- Carlomagno, Antonio. 2001. « Il banco Salviati di Pisa: commercio e finanza di una compagnia fiorentina tra il 1438 e il 1489 », vol. 1. PhD diss., University of Pisa.
- Carstensen, Carl August. 1913. *Die Gründung und anfängliche Entwicklung von Friedrichstadt an der Eider*. Plön: Kaven.

- Carvais, Robert. 1995. « La force du droit. Contribution à la définition de l'entrepreneur du bâtiment ». *Histoire, économie et société*, 14 (2) : 163-189.
- Carvais, Robert. 1998. « La classification des actes du fonds judiciaire de la Chambre des Bâtiments. Une application à l'époque moderne de la hiérarchie post-révolutionnaire des pouvoirs ». *Histoire et Archives*. n°4 : 31-130.
- Carvais, Robert. 2001. « La Chambre royale des Bâtiments. Juridiction professionnelle et droit de la construction à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime ». Thèse de doctorat d'État en droit. Université de Panthéon-Assas (Paris-II).
- Carvais, Robert. 2004. « Servir la justice, l'art et la technique : le rôle des plans, dessins et croquis devant la Chambre royale des Bâtiments ». In *Sociétés & Représentations* sous la direction de Frédéric Chauvaud et Solange Vernois, CREDHESS, n° 18. 89-95.
- Carvais, Robert. 2005a. « Les statuts des métiers de la construction et l'économie de l'industrie du bâtiment : premiers résultats d'une enquête en cours dans la France moderne ». In (dir.), *L'Edilizia prima della Rivoluzione industriale secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della « Trentaseiesima Settimana di Studi »*, édité par Simona Cavaciocchi. Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica « F. Datini ». Prato: Le Monnier. 137-165.
- Carvais, Robert. 2005b. « L'ancien droit de l'urbanisme et ses composantes constructive et architecturale, socle d'un nouvel *ars urbanus* aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. Jalons pour une histoire totale du droit de l'urbanisme ». *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines*, n°12 : 17-54.
- Carvais, Robert. 2008. « Le règlement de Jean Beausire (1694). Droit et réduction en art de la maçonnerie ». In *Réduire en art. La technologie de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, sous la direction d'Hélène Vérin et de Pascal Dubourg-Glatigny. Paris : Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme. 336-362.

Bibliographie

- Carvais, Robert. 2011. « La Chambre des Bâtiments, juridiction de police ». In *Les sciences camérales : activités pratiques et histoire des dispositifs publics*, sous la direction de Pascale Laborier, Frédéric Audren, Paolo Napoli, Jakob Vogel. Paris : PUF-CURAPP. 330-382.
- Carvais, Robert. 2013a. « Règles de l'art et normes techniques. Une mise au point historique » In *História da construção. Arquiteturas e técnicas construtoras*, publicado por Arnaldo Sousa Melo and Maria do Carmo Ribeiro. Braga: CITCEM – LaMOP. 287-305.
- Carvais, Robert. 2013b. « La coutume de Paris, épitomé du droit français sous l'Ancien Régime ? L'exemple des servitudes ». In *Les histoires de Paris (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, édité par Thierry Belleguic and Laurent Turcot. Paris : Editions Hermann, t. 1. 333-358.
- Carvais, Robert. 2020. « Pourquoi les architectes ont-ils adopté uniquement le droit coutumier comme cadre régulateur de leur profession à l'époque moderne ? ». *Noesis* 34 : 267-287.
- Carvais, Robert. 2021. « The social status of Parisian building contractors in the 18th century. A hierarchical and ambitious professional 'body': between nobility and destitution ». In *The History of Building Trades and Professionalism. Proceedings of the Eight Conference of the Construction History Society*, edited by James W P Campbell *etal.* Cambridge: Construction History Society. 269-285.
- Carvais, Robert. A paraître a. « Les voies de la réglementation d'un métier et de ses réformes. Les statuts des maçons parisiens du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle ». In *Dans les règles du métier. Formes et typologie des réglementations des métiers*, édité par Caroline Bourlet, Robert Carvais, Arnaldo Sousa Melo et Judicaël Petrowiste. Palermo: New Digital Press.
- Carvais, Robert. A paraître b. « Des traités de droit chez les architectes ». In *Antoine Desgodets, entre théorie et pratique : Des*

- fondements antiques aux savoirs de l'architecte moderne*, édité par Robert Carvais. Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte.
- Carvais, Robert, Marraud, Mathieu, Sousa Melo, Arnaldo, Rideau-Kikuchi, Catherine et Rivière, François, dir. À paraître. *Inscription spatiale de la réglementation des métiers (Moyen Âge et époque moderne)*. Palerme : New Digital Press.
- Carvalho, J. B, ed. 1938. *Livro I da Correea: legislação quinhentista do município de Coimbra*. Coimbra : Biblioteca Municipal de Coimbra.
- Cassagnes-Brouquet, Sophie. 2010. « Le métier de parcheminier à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge », In *Le livre dans la région toulousaine et ailleurs... Au Moyen Âge*, édité par Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet et Michelle Fournié. Toulouse : Méridiennes. 13-31.
- Castagnetti, Andrea. 1972. « I possessi del monastero di S. Zeno di Verona a Bardolino ». *Studi Medievali*, terza serie 13 (1) : 95-159.
- Cauchies, Jean-Marie, et Bousmar, Éric. 2001. *Faire bans, edictz et statutz » : légiférer dans la ville médiévale*. Bruxelles : Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis.
- Cazzola, Franco. 2020. *Amministrare la fame. Politica annonaria a Ferrara tra Ducato estense e Legazione pontificia (1570-1640)*. Ferrara: Deputazione Provinciale Ferrarese di Storia Patria.
- Champagne, Alain. 2007. *L'artisanat rural du Haut-Poitou à la fin du Moyen Âge (milieu XIV^e-fin XVI^e siècle)*. Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Chastang, Pierre. 2013a. *La ville, le gouvernement et l'écrit à Montpellier (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Chastang, Pierre. 2013b. « Pouvoir urbain et expertise à Montpellier au début du XIV^e siècle ». In *Expertise et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge, I. Le besoin d'expertise*, édité par Claude Denjean et Laurent Feller. Madrid : Casa de Velázquez. 89-105.
- Chilese, Valeria. 2012. *I mestieri e la città. Le corporazioni veronesi tra XV e XVIII secolo*. Milano: Angeli.

Bibliographie

- Chilese, Valeria. 2017. « “Una delle più antiche arti di questa città” ». La corporazione dei *formaggeri* a Verona in età moderna ». *Studi Veronesi. Miscellanea di Studi sul Territorio Veronese* 2: 125-172.
- Chittolini, Giorgio. 1979. *La formazione dello Stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado. Secoli XIV e XV*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Chojnacki, Stanley. 1997. « La formazione della nobiltà dopo la Serrata ». In *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*. Vol. III: *La formazione dello stato patrizio*, a cura di Girolamo Arnaldi, Giorgio Cracco e Alberto Tenenti. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata da Giovanni Treccani. 641-725.
- Ciriaco, Salvatore. 1975. *Olio ed ebrei nella Repubblica veneta del Settecento*. Venezia: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie.
- Clasen, Carl-Wilhelm. 1962. *Stader Silber. Das Goldschmiedeamt zu Stade*. Stade: Stader Geschichts- und Heimatsverein.
- Clauzel, Denis, Clauzel-Delannoy, Isabelle, Coulon, Laurent, Haquette, Bertrand, et alii. 2001. « L'activité législative dans les villes du nord de la France à la fin du Moyen Âge ». In « *Faire bans, edictz et statutz* » : *légiférer dans la ville médiévale*, édité par Jean-Marie Cauchies et Éric Bousmar. Bruxelles : Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis. 295-329.
- Clauzel, Denis et Calonne, Sylvain. 1990. « Artisanat rural et marché urbain : la draperie à Lille et dans ses campagnes à la fin du Moyen Âge ». *Revue du Nord* no. 287 : 531-573
- Clemente, Alida, e Russo, Saverio, a cura di. 2019. *La polizia de' grani. Mercati, regole e crisi di sussistenza nelle economie di Antico Regime*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- Clerici, Luca. 2015. « L'approvisionnement du marché urbain : conflits et négociations (Vicence, XVI^e siècle) ». In *Il commercio al minuto. Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale. Secc. XIII-XVIII / Retail trade: Supply and demand in the formal and informal economy from the 13th to the 18th century*, a cura della

- Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica « F. Datini ». Firenze : Firenze University Press. 39-68.
- Clerici, Luca. 2017. « Le prix du bien commun. Taxation des prix et approvisionnement urbain (Vicence, XVI^e-XVII^e siècle) ». In *I prezzi delle cose nell'età preindustriale / The prices of things in pre-industrial times*, a cura della Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica « F. Datini ». Firenze: Firenze University Press. 293-332.
- Clerici, Luca, ed. 2021. *Italian victualling systems in the Early Modern Age, 16th to 18th century*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Coelho, Maria Helena da Cruz. 2013. *O Município de Coimbra. Momentos fundacionais*. Coimbra : Câmara Municipal de Coimbra and Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Collard, Franck. 2006. « Les risques d'un métier ou quand l'apothicairerie devient débit de poisons (France, XIII^e-XVI^e siècles) ». In *Pharmacopoles et apothicaires. Les « pharmaciens » de l'Antiquité au Grand Siècle*, édité par Franck Collard et Evelyne Samama. Paris : L'Harmattan. 135-150.
- Collodo, Silvana. 1999 [1990]. « Il sistema annonario delle città venete: da pubblica utilità a servizio sociale (secoli XIII-XVI) ». Nuova edizione. In Ead., *Società e istituzioni in area veneta. Itinerari di ricerca (secoli XII-XV)*. Fiesole: Nardini. 47-67.
- Colson, Justin and Ralley, Robert. 2015. « Medical practice, urban politics and patronage: the London "Commonalty" of physicians and surgeons of the 1420s ». *English Historical Review* 130 : 1102-1131.
- Coornaert, Émile. 1941. *Les corporations en France avant 1789*. Paris : Gallimard.
- Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. 1990. *La industria medieval de Córdoba*. Córdoba : Caja Provincial de Ahorros de Córdoba.
- Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. 2017. *Los oficios medievales. Tecnología, producción, trabajo*. Madrid : Síntesis.

Bibliographie

- Correia, Vergílio, ed. 1926. *Livro dos Regimentos dos Officiaes mecanicos da mui nobre e sempre leal cidade de Lisboa (1572)*. Coimbra : Imprensa da Universidade.
- Corritore, Renzo Paolo, a cura di. 2012. « Annona e strutture urbane a Ragusa, Venezia, Genova, Lione, Valencia, Milano ». *Storia Urbana* 36 (1/134).
- Corritore, Renzo Paolo. 2000. *La naturale « abbondanza » del Mantovano. Produzione, mercato e consumi granari a Mantova in età moderna*. Pavia: Università di Pavia.
- Cosman, Madeleine Pelner. 1973. « Medieval medical malpractice: the dicta and the dockets ». *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 49 (1) : 22-47.
- Costa, Mário Júlio de Almeida and Nunes, Eduardo Borges, eds. 1998. *Ordenações Afonsinas*, vol.1, 2nd ed. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Costantini, Fabrizio. 2016. « *In tutto differente dalle altre città* ». *Mercato e contrabbando dei grani a Bergamo in età veneta*. Bergamo: Centro Studi e Ricerche Archivio Bergamasco.
- Crisiani, Chiara. 2004. « Éthique des *consilia* et de la consultation : à propos de la cohésion morale de la profession médicale (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles) ». *Médiévales* 46 : 23-44.
- Croq, Laurence. 2009. « Les chemins de la mercerie, le renouvellement de la marchandise parisienne (années 1660-1770) ». In *Mobilité et transmission dans les sociétés de l'Europe moderne*, édité par Anna Bellavitis, Laurence Croq et Monica Martinat. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 87-122.
- Croq, Laurence. 2011. « Régulation corporative, régulation économique du recrutement des communautés, l'exemple de la mercerie parisienne de 1680 à 1776 ». In *Regulierte Märkte : Zünfte und Kartelle – Marchés régulés : corporations et cartels*, édité par Margrit Müller, Heinrich R. Schmidt et Laurent Tissot. Zürich: Chronos. 55-71.

- Crouzet-Pavan, Élisabeth. 1982. « Murano à la fin du Moyen Âge : spécificité ou intégration dans l'espace vénitien ? ». *Revue historique* 543 : 45-92.
- Crowston, Clare Haru. 2005. « L'apprentissage hors des corporations. Les formations professionnelles alternatives à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime ». *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales* no. 60 : 409-441.
- Cruz, António. 1943. *Os Mesteres do Pôrto: subsídios para a história das antigas corporações dos ofícios mecânicos*, vol. 1. Porto: Sub-Secretariado de Estado das Corporações e Previdência Social.
- Cullen, Louis M. 2002 [1998]. *Le Commerce des eaux-de-vie sous l'Ancien Régime, une spécialisation régionale charentaise*. Saintes : Le Croît Vif.
- Davies, Matthew. 2008. « Lobbying parliament: the London companies in the fifteenth century ». *Parliamentary History* 23 : 136-148.
- Davies, Matthew. 2012. « Crown, City and Guild in Late Medieval London ». In *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene*, edited by Matthew Davies et James A. Galloway. London: University of London Institute of Historical Research. 241-261.
- Davis, James. 2012. *Medieval market morality: Life, law and ethics in the English marketplace, 1200-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Smet, Joseph. 1930. « Les Keures inédites du plus ancien livre de keures d'Ypres ». *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 94 (1) : 389-481. <https://doi.org/10.3406/bcrh.1930.1806>.
- Dehoux, Esther, Galland, Caroline et Vincent, Catherine. Eds. 2021. *Des usages de la grâce. Pratiques des indulgences du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*. Villeneuve d'Ascq : Presses universitaires du Septentrion.
- Delamare, Nicolas. 1729. *Traité de police*. Amsterdam : dépens de la Compagnie. t. IV.

Bibliographie

- Demont, Vincent et Wegener Sleeswijk, Anne. 2018. « Milieux du courtage à Amsterdam et à Hambourg. Fin XVII^e-début XVIII^e siècle ». In *Le pouvoir des courtiers. Univers marchand et acteurs du courtage en Europe (XIV^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, édité par Vincent Demont, Matthieu Scherman, Anne Wegener Sleeswijk. Paris : Éditions rue d'Ulm. 177-197.
- Descamps, Benoît. 2013. « 'Sera veu et extimé par les jurez et gens en ce cognoissans'. Procédures de contrôle dans la boucherie parisienne à la fin du Moyen Âge ». In *Expertise et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge, I. Le besoin d'expertise*, édité par Claude Denjean et Laurent Feller. Madrid : Casa de Velázquez. 53-62.
- Descamps, Benoît. 2017. « Pourquoi faire corps et communauté ? Une réflexion sur l'organisation professionnelle d'un métier de l'alimentation : la boucherie parisienne à la fin du Moyen Âge ». *Rives méditerranéennes* no. 55 : 95-108.
- Desrayaud, Alain. 1994. « Étude exploratoire sur l'effectivité des lois et la souveraineté du roi en droit privé (France XIII^e-XVIII^e siècles). *Cuadernos de historia del derecho*. no 1 : 139-192.
- Desrosiers, Sophie, éd. 1999. *Soieries médiévales. Techniques et cultures* no. 34.
- Dievoet, Guido Van. 1986. *Les Coutumiers, les styles, les formulaires et les "artes notariae"*. Turnhout : Brepols.
- Dillmann, Philippe et L'Héritier, Maxime. 2007. « Slag inclusion analyses for studying ferrous alloys employed in french medieval buildings : supply of materials and diffusion of smelting processes ». *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34 (11) : 1810-1823
- Dillmann, Philippe, Pérez, Liliane et Verna, Catherine. 2011. « Les aciers avant Bessemer ». In *L'acier en Europe avant Bessemer*, édité par Philippe Dillmann, Liliane Pérez et Catherine Verna. Toulouse : CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. 6-56.
- Disser, Alexandre, Dillmann, Philippe, Bourgain, Catherine, L'Héritier, Maxime, Vega, Enrique, Bauvais, Sylvain et Leroy, Marc.

2014. « Iron reinforcements in Beauvais and Metz cathedrals: from bloomery or finery? The use of logistic regression for differentiating smelting processes ». *Journal of Archaeological Science* 42: 315–33.
- Donnet, Fernand. 1904. « Les batteurs de cuivre anversois ». In *Congrès de Dinant XVII^e session, organisé par la Société archéologique de Namur, 9-13 août 1903 : Compte rendu*, édité par Édouard de Pierpont. Namur : Westmael-Charlier. 2: 883-897
- Doom, Vincent. 2003. « Une communauté de métier au bas Moyen Âge : l'exemple des bouchers amiénois ». In *Le peuple des villes dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (fin du Moyen Âge-1945)*, édité par Philippe Guignet. Lille : Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion. II, 117-146.
- Doorslaer, Georges van. 1910. « L'ancienne industrie du cuivre à Malines. I. Organisation corporative et développement industriel ». *Bulletin du Cercle archéologique littéraire et artistique de Malines* 20 : 53-113.
- Du Bourg, Antoine. 1883. « Les corporations ouvrières de la ville de Toulouse, du XIII^e au XV^e siècle ». *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 13 : 154-253.
- Duarte, Luís Miguel and Machado, José Pedro, eds. 1999/2000. *Actas de Vereação de Loulé, séculos XIV-XVI*. Loulé : Arquivo Histórico Municipal.
- Dubbe, Berend. 2005. « Een Kamper ordonnantie uit 1477 betreffende de tinnegieterij ». *De Tinkoerier. Mededelingenblad Nederlandse TinVereniging* 13 (2) : 22-23.
- Dungworth, David and Matthew, Nicholas. 2004. « Caldarium ? An antimony bronze used for medieval and post-medieval cast domestic vessels ». *Historical Metallurgy* 38 (1) : 24-34.
- Durbec, Joseph-Antoine. 1955-1956. « La grande boucherie de Paris : notes historiques d'après des archives privées, XII^e-XVII^e siècle ». *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* : 65-125.

Bibliographie

- Durieux, Achille. 1888. « Histoire de Martin et Martine ». *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai* XLIII (1887) : 1-78.
- Ehrenberg, Richard. 1891. *Altona unter Schauenburgischer Herrschaft*. Altona : Harder, IV : « Gewerbefreiheit und Zunftzwang in Ottensen und Altona 1543 bis 1640 ».
- Epstein, Stephan R. 1998 « Craftguilds, Apprenticeship, and Technological Change in Preindustrial Europe ». *The Journal of Economic History* 58 (3) : 684-713.
- Epstein, Stephan R. 2008. « Craftguilds in the pre-modern economy: a discussion ». *The Economic History Review* 61 (1) : 155-174.
- Epstein, Stephen R. and Prak, Marteen, éd. 2008. *Guilds, Innovation and the European Economy, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Espinas, Georges et Pirenne, Henri. 1906-1924. *Recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandre*. Bruxelles : Académie royale de Belgique.
- Espinas, Georges. 1909. *Essai sur la technique de l'industrie textile à Douai aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles (1229-1403)*. Paris : Société nationale des Antiquaires de France.
- Espinas, Georges. 1923. *La draperie dans la Flandre française au Moyen Âge*. Paris : Picard.
- Espinas, Georges. 1930. « Groupe économique, groupe religieux : les tisserands de Valenciennes au XIV^e siècle ». *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* no. 2 : 48-63.
- Espinas, Georges. 1932. *L'organisation corporative des métiers de la draperie à Valenciennes dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e siècle (1362-1403)*. Louvain : Secrétariat de la Société scientifique.
- Espinas, Georges. 1945. « Métiers, associations et confréries : l'exemple des nappiers de Toulouse ». *Annales d'histoire sociale* 8 (2) : 75-94.
- Esposito, Anna. 2011. « Le strutture associative romane del primo Rinascimento: dalle confraternite alle «sodalitates»

- umanistische ». *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 123 (1) : 33-38.
- Fabre, Camille. 2021. *Commerce et marchandisation du bois à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris : Classiques Garnier.
- Fagniez, Gustave, éd. 1900. *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie et du commerce en France*. 2 vol. Paris : Picard.
- Farelo, Mário Sérgio da Silva. 2008. *A Oligarquia Camararia de Lisboa (1325-1433)*. Lisboa : Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, NOVA Universidade de Lisboa. (tese de doutoramento).
- Faugeron, Fabien. 2014. *Nourrir la ville. Ravitaillement, marchés et métiers de l'alimentation à Venise dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge*. Rome : École Française de Rome.
- Fazio, Ida. 2005. « *Sterilissima di frumenti* ». *L'annona della città di Messina in età moderna (XV-XIX secolo)*. Caltanissetta: Lussografica.
- Feio, Rodolfo. 2017. « Por prol e bom regimento. A cidade e o trabalho nas posturas antigas de Évora ». Master diss., Faculty of Arts, University of Coimbra.
- Feio, Rodolfo. 2021. « Regulamentação dos mesteres em Évora nos séculos XIV e XV: análise a partir do *Livro das Posturas Antigas* ». *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies* no. 49 : 46-57.
- Fernandes, Isabel Maria and Oliveira, António José. 2004. « Ofícios e mesteres vimaranenses nos séculos XV e XVI ». *Revista de Guimarães* no. 113/114 : 43-209.
- Ferragud, Carmel. 2015. « Wounds, amputations, and expert procedures in the city of Valencia in the early-fifteenth century ». In *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture*, edited by Larissa Tracy and Kelly Robert DeVries. Leyde: Brill. 233-251.
- Ferreira, Cristina Isabel de Oliveira Gomes. 1997. « A Vereação da cidade do Porto (1512/1514) ». Master diss., Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto.
- Ferreira, J. Pinto, ed. 1980. "*Vereações*", anos de 1401-1449. Porto : Gabinete de História da Cidade.

Bibliographie

- Ferrières, Madeleine. 2002. *Histoire des peurs alimentaires du Moyen Âge à l'aube du XX^e siècle*. Paris : Seuil.
- Ferrières, Madeleine. 2005. « Le cochon, la lèpre et l'homme ». In *Les animaux malades en Europe occidentale, VI^e-XIX^e siècle*, Flaran 25, sous la direction de Mireille Mousnier. Toulouse : Presses universitaires du Mirail. 87-102.
- Ferro, João Pedro. 1996. *Alenquer medieval (séculos XII-XV) : subsídios para o seu estudo*. Cascais : Patrimonia Historica.
- Finger, Luce. 2016. *Réglementations et gestion urbaine à Toulouse : la production et la proclamation d'ordonnances et d'annonces consulaires et royales (1520-1537)*. Mémoire de master inédit : Université Paris-Diderot.
- Flandrin, Jean-Louis et Montanari, Massimo. 1996. *Histoire de l'alimentation*. Paris : Fayard.
- Fontaine, Laurence. 2008. *L'économie morale. Pauvreté, crédit et confiance dans l'Europe préindustrielle*. Paris : Gallimard.
- Formeville, Henri de. 1840. *Essai sur l'état des corporations industrielles au Moyen Âge*. Le Mans : C. Richelet.
- Franco, Isabel, Melo, Arnaldo and Amaral, Luís. 2002. « Artesãos e actividades artesanais no Porto nos finais da Idade Média, através dos Livros de Vereações e do Cofre dos Bens do Concelho ». In *Qualificações, Memórias e Identidades do Trabalho*, publicado por Inês Amorim. Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional. 191-228.
- François, Etienne. 1978. « Des républiques marchandes aux capitales politiques : remarques sur la hiérarchie urbaine du Saint-Empire à l'époque moderne ». *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* no. 25 : 4. 587-603.
- Gandilhon, René. 1941. *Politique économique de Louis XI*. Paris : Presses universitaires de France.
- Garcia, Jean-Pierre et Ferrand, Guilhem. 2018. « La référence au lieu dans les inventaires mobiliers de la ville de Dijon (1390 – 1588) ». *Crescentis : Revue internationale d'histoire de la vigne et du vin* 1. <https://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/crescentis/index.php?id=224>.

- García-Sanjuán, Alejandro. 1997. « La organización de los oficios en Al-Andalus a través de los manuales de hisba ». *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* no. 24 : 201-234.
- Garnier, Florent. 2017. « *Statuere et in melius reformare*. Écrire la norme pour les métiers à Toulouse (milieu XIII^e siècle-milieu XIV^e siècle) ». In *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales I. La confection des statuts dans les sociétés méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, édité par Didier Lett. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne. 131-152.
- Garrigues, Laurent. 1998. « Les professions médicales à Paris au début du XV^e siècle. Praticiens en procès au Parlement ». *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 156 (2) : 317-367.
- Garrioch, David. 2013. « Les confréries religieuses, espace d'autonomie laïque à Paris au xviii^e siècle ». In *La religion vécue. Les laïcs dans l'Europe moderne*. Édité par Laurence Croq et David Garrioch. Rennes : PUR. 143-163.
- Garrioch, David. 2018. « Confréries de métier et corporations à Paris (XVII^e –XVIII^e siècles) ». *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 65 (1) : 95-117.
- Genicot, Luc. 1959. « Nouveaux documents relatifs à la Guerre dite de la vache de Ciney ». *Namurcum* 33 (4) : 49-60.
- Germain, Lionel. 2022a. *Les livres d'ordonnances consulaires de Najac et de Villeneuve en Rouergue (première moitié du XIV^e siècle)*. Toulouse : Presses universitaires du Midi.
- Germain, Lionel. 2022b. *La fabrique sociale du gouvernement : pragmatique et symbolique des écrits urbains dans le Rouergue médiéval (milieu du XII^e-milieu du XIV^e siècle)*. Thèse de doctorat inédite : Université Paris-Saclay.
- Giraudet, Christophe. 2010. « Les bouchers dans les petites villes à la fin du Moyen Âge : l'exemple du Nivernais ». *Annales de Bourgogne* no. 82 : 115-146.
- Girault, N. 2003. « Étude de l'armement défensif métallique à partir des fouilles archéologiques en France du nord du

Bibliographie

- XIII^e au XVI^e siècles ». Mémoire de master, Université Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Goetstouwers, Jean-Baptiste. 1908. *Les métiers de Namur sous l'Ancien Régime : Contribution à l'histoire sociale*. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie 20. Louvain, Paris : Bureaux du recueil, Fontemoing.
- Gonçalves, Iria. 1996. « Defesa do consumidor na cidade medieval: os produtos alimentares (Lisboa – séculos XIV-XV) », In *Um olhar sobre a cidade medieval*. Cascais : Patrimónia. 97-116.
- Gouron, André et Odile Terrin. 1975. *Bibliographie des coutumes de France : éditions antérieures à la Révolution*. Genève : Droz.
- Gouron, André. 1958. *La réglementation des métiers en Languedoc au Moyen Âge*. Genève-Paris : Droz-Minard.
- Gouron, André. 1980. « La *potestas statuendi* dans le droit coutumier montpelliérain du treizième siècle ». In *Diritto comune e diritti locali nella storia dell'Europa*. Milano: Giuffrè. 97-118.
- Graillot, Henri. 1918. « III. Contributions à l'histoire de l'art méridional ». *Annales du Midi* 30 (117) : 429-442.
- Greci, Roberto. 1988. *Corporazioni e mondo del lavoro nell'Italia padana medievale*. Bologna, CLUEB.
- Greci, Roberto. 2011. « Il commercio di generi alimentari. Norme corporative e potere pubblico ». In *La civiltà del latte. Fonti, simboli e prodotti dal Tardoantico al Novecento*, a cura di Gabriele Archetti e Angelo Baronio. Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana. 541-563.
- Grenier, Jean-Yves. 1995. « Consommation et marché au XVIII^e siècle », *Histoire & Mesure* X (4/4) : 371-380.
- Grenier, Jean-Yves. 2015. « Une économie de l'identification. Juste prix et ordre des marchandises dans l'Ancien Régime ». In *La qualité des produits en France, XVIII^e – XX^e siècle*, édité par Alessandro Stanziani. Paris : Belin. 25-53.
- Grévin, Benoît. 2020 « Boncompagno vengé ou l'infiltration des statuts communaux italiens par la rhétorique (XIII^e-début

- XV^e siècle) ». In *Les statuts communaux vus de l'extérieur dans les sociétés méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle). Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales – IV*, dirigé par Didier Lett. Paris : Éditions de la Sorbonne/Centro europeo di ricerche medievali. 225-257.
- Grinberg, Martine. 2006. *Écrire les coutumes : les droits seigneuriaux en France, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris : Presses universitaires de France.
- Grossi, Paolo. 1995. *L'ordine giuridico medievale*. Roma/Bari: Laterza.
- Grubb, James S. 1988. *Firstborn of Venice: Vicenza in the early Renaissance state*. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Guidi-Bruscoli, Francesco. 2014. *Bartolomeo Marchionni, "Homem de Grossa Fazenda" (ca. 1450-1530). Un mercante fiorentino a Lisbona e l'impero portoghese*. Florence : Leo S. Olschki.
- Gullino, Giuseppe. 1996. « L'évolution constitutionnelle ». In *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*. Vol. IV: *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, a cura di Alberto Tenenti e Ugo Tucci. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata da Giovanni Treccani. 345-378.
- Guy, John R. 1982. « The episcopal licensing of physicians, surgeons and midwives ». *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 56 (4) : 528-542.
- Guyot, 1784-1878. *Répertoire universel et raisonné de jurisprudence civile, criminelle, canonique et bénéficiale*. Paris : Visse. 17 vol.
- Guyotjeannin, Olivier. 1995. « Vivre libre dans une seigneurie juste. Note sur les préambules des chartes de franchises ». In *Campagnes médiévales : l'homme et son espace. Études offertes à Robert Fossier*, édité par Élisabeth Mornet. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne. 375-385.
- Guyotjeannin, Olivier. 1998. « Le roi de France en ses préambules (XI^e-début du XIV^e siècle) ». *Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* no. 111 : 21-44.

Bibliographie

- Guyotjeannin, Olivier. 2007. « Les préambules des chartes de franchises françaises au Moyen Âge ». In *Pour une anthropologie du prélèvement seigneurial dans les campagnes médiévales (XI^e-XIV^e siècles)*. Les mots, les temps, les lieux, édité par Monique Bourin et Pascual Martínez Sopena. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne. 175-195.
- Hamel, Sébastien. 2001. « Le processus de création des règlements commerciaux à Saint-Quentin aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles ». In « *Faire bans, edictz et statutz* » : *légiférer dans la ville médiévale*, édité par Jean-Marie Cauchies et Éric Bousmar. Bruxelles : Publications des Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis. 397-409.
- Hauser, Henri. 1920. *Travailleurs et marchands dans l'ancienne France*. Paris : Alcan.
- Hébert, Michel. 1997. « *Voce preconia* : note sur les criées publiques en Provence à la fin du Moyen Âge ». In *Milieus naturels, espaces sociaux. Études offertes à Robert Delort*, édité par Élisabeth Mornet et Franco Morenzoni. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne. 689-701.
- Heitmann, Bernhard. 1986. « Hamburger Silber. Die Meister und ihre Arbeiten vom späten 16. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert ». In *Die Goldschmiede Hamburgs*, herausgegeben von Ernst Schliemann, Bernhard Heitmann, Renate Scholz, I. Hamburg: Schliemann & Cie. 19-43.
- Herculano, Alexandre, ed. 1858-1868. *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica. Leges et consuetudines*, vol. 1. Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.
- Herlitz, Lars. 1960. «Medieval just price». *Scandinavian Economic History Review* no. 8/1 : 71-76.
- Hilaire-Pérez, Liliane. 2013. *La pièce et le geste : artisans, marchands et savoirs techniques à Londres*. Paris : Albin Michel.
- Hinojosa Montalvo, José. 1987. «Intercambios comerciales entre Portugal y Valencia a fines del siglo XV: el "Dret Portugués"».

- In *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*, vol. 2. Porto : Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica. 759-779.
- Houllemare, Marie. 2007. « La norme dans les plaidoyers d'avocats parisiens du XVI^e siècle ». In *Normes juridiques et pratiques judiciaires du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine*, édité par Benoît Garnot. Dijon : Éditions universitaires de Dijon. 83-91.
- Irmscher, Günter. 2005. *Das Kölner Goldschmiedehandwerk 1550-1800. Eine Sozial- und Werksgeschichte*. Regensburg: Schnell-Steiner.
- Irsigler, Franz. 1970. « Divites und pauperes in der Vita Meinwerici. Untersuchungen zur wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Differenzierung der Bevölkerung Westfalens im Hochmittelalter ». *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 57 (4) : 449-499.
- Jacquart, Danielle. 1998. *La médecine médiévale dans le cadre parisien*. Paris : Fayard.
- Jacquart, Danielle. 2004. « Le difficile pronostic de mort (XIV^e-XV^e siècles) ». *Médiévales* 46 : 11-21.
- Jacquart, Danielle. 2012. « De la faillibilité de l'art médical aux erreurs du praticien au début du XIV^e siècle : une imperceptible marge ». In *Errors and Mistakes. A Cultural History of Fallibility*, edited by Mariacarla Gadebusch Bondio and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. Firenze : SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo. 129-146.
- Jéhanno, Christine et Bove, Boris, éd. 2015. *Travailler à Paris (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*. *Médiévales* no. 69.
- Jéhanno, Christine. 2015. « Le travail au Moyen Âge, à Paris et ailleurs : retour sur l'histoire d'un modèle ». In *Travailler à Paris (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, édité par Christine Jéhanno et Boris Bove. *Médiévales* no. 69 : 5-18.
- Jullien, Eva and Pauly Michel, ed. 2016. *Craftsmen and Guilds in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Bibliographie

- Kaplan, Steven Laurence. 2015. *The stakes of regulation: Perspectives on Bread, politics and political economy forty years later*. London / New York: Anthem Press.
- Keyser, Erich. 1939. *Deutsches Städtebuch. Handbuch städtischer Geschichte*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Köhn, Gerhard. 1974. *Die Bevölkerung der Residenz, Festung und Exulantenstadt Glückstadt von der Gründung 1616 bis zum Endausbau 1652*. Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Kowaleski, Marianne. 1995. *Local Markets and Regional trade in Medieval Exeter*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Kraner, Jakob, Lazar, Tomaš, Zorc, Borut, Fajfar, Peter and Knap, Matjaž. 2019. « Archaeometallurgical Characterization of a 16th Century Suit of Armour made by Valentin Siebenbürger ». *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 39 : 49–56.
- L'artisan au village dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne. Actes des 19^{es} Journées internationales d'histoire de l'abbaye de Flaran*. 2000. Toulouse : Presses universitaires du Mirail.
- L'edilizia prima della rivoluzione industriale, secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della trentaseiesima Settimana di studi*. 2005. Firenze : Le Monnier.
- L'Héritier, Maxime, Dillmann, Philippe. 2009. « Récupération et emploi du fer pour la construction des monuments de la période gothique ». In *Il reimpiego in architettura. Recupero, trasformazione, uso*, édité par Jean-François Bernard, Philippe Bernardi, Daniela Esposito, Philippe Dillmann, Laura Foulquier et Rossana Mancini. Rome : Ecole Française de Rome. 157–176.
- L'Héritier, Maxime, Guillot, Ivan et Dillmann, Philippe. 2019. « Microstructural Characterization and Mechanical Properties of Iron Reinforcements in Buildings from the Medieval and Modern Periods in France ». *International Journal of Architectural Heritage* 13 (3) (January) : 507-519.
- La Grange, Amaury de et Cloquet Louis. 1887. *Études sur l'art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville*. Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai 20. Tournai : Casterman.

- La Grange, Amaury de, et Cloquet, Louis. 1888. *Études sur l'art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville. Deuxième partie.* Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai 21. Tournai : Casterman.
- Lambrechts, Pascale et Sosson, Jean-Pierre, éd. 1994. *Les métiers au Moyen Âge. Aspects économiques et sociaux.* Louvain-la-Neuve : Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales.
- Lambrechts, Pascale. 1994. « L'historiographie des métiers dans les principautés des anciens Pays-Bas : acquis et perspectives de recherches ». In *Les métiers au Moyen Âge. Aspects économiques et sociaux*, édité par Pascale Lambrechts et Jean-Pierre Sosson. Louvain-la-Neuve : Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales. 143-155.
- Lardin, Philippe. 2001. *Les chantiers du bâtiment en Normandie orientale (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle).* Villeneuve-d'Ascq : Presses universitaires du Septentrion.
- Lardin, Philippe. 2007. « Le temps de travail sur les chantiers du bâtiment normand à la fin du Moyen Âge ». In *Temps social, temps vécu. Actes du 129^e Congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques*, édité par Claude Mazauric. Paris : Éditions du CTHS. 149-163.
- Larenaudie, Marie-Josèphe. 1986. « Les famines en Languedoc aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles ». *Annales du Midi* 64 (17) : 27-39.
- Laurière, Eusèbe de, Secousse, Denis-François, de Villevault, Louis-Guillaume, de Bréquigny, Louis-Georges, de Pastoret, Claude Emmanuel et Pardessus, Jean-Marie. éd. 1723-1849. *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race.* 21 vols. Paris : Imprimerie royale.
- Le Gonidec, Arnaud. 2022. « Le fort portant le faible : un adage de l'ancien droit fiscal saisi par la doctrine (1549-1600) ». Thèse en histoire du droit, soutenue à l'Université de Toulouse I.

Bibliographie

- Le Mao, Caroline et Meyzie, Philippe, dir. 2015. *L'approvisionnement des villes portuaires en Europe du XVI^e siècle à nos jours*. Paris : Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne.
- Leclant, Jean. 1951. « Le café et les cafés à Paris (1644-1693) ». *Annales E.S.C.* 6 (1) : 1-14.
- Lecuppre-Desjardin, Élodie et Van Bruaene, Anne-Laure, éd. 2010a. *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.)*. Turnhout : Brepols.
- Lecuppre-Desjardin, Élodie, et Van Bruaene, Anne-Laure. 2010b. « Introduction. Du bien commun à l'idée de bien commun ». In *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.)*, édité par Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin et Anne-Laure Van Bruaene. Turnhout : Brepols. 1-9.
- Leguay, Jean-Pierre. 1994. « Les métiers de l'artisanat dans les villes du duché de Bretagne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles ». In *Les métiers au Moyen Âge. Aspects économiques et sociaux*, édité par Pascale Lambrechts et Jean-Pierre Sosson. Louvain-la-Neuve : Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales. 157-204.
- Leguay, Jean-Pierre. 2012. *La pollution au Moyen Âge*, Paris : Éditions Jean-Paul Gisserot – numérique.
- Lencart, Joana. 2020. « Lavar roupa e couros na mesma água?! ». In *Os papéis dos artesãos*, publicado por Arnaldo Melo, Joana Sequeira and Paulo Cunha. Braga: MedCrafts. <https://medcrafts2021.wixsite.com/medcrafts/post/os-pap%C3%A9is-dos-artes%C3%A3os-lavar-roupa-e-couros-na-mesma-%C3%A1gua>
- Leroy, Nicolas. 2008. *Une ville et son droit. Avignon du début du XII^e siècle à 1251*. Paris : De Boccard.
- Leroy, Stéphanie, Hendrickson, Mitch, Bauvais, Sylvain, Vega, Enrique, Blanchet, Théo, Disser, Alexandre and Delque-Kolic, Emmanuelle. 2017. « The Ties That Bind: Archaeometallurgical Typology of Architectural Crampons as a Method for Reconstructing the Iron Economy of Angkor, Cambodia (Tenth

- to Thirteenth C.) ». *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 10 : 2137–2157.
- Leroy, Yann. 2011. « La notion d'effectivité du droit ». *Droit et société*, 2011 79 (3) : 715-732.
- Les industries rurales dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne. Actes des 33^{es} Journées internationales d'histoire de l'abbaye de Flaran*. 2013. Toulouse : Presses universitaires du Mirail.
- Lespinasse, René de, et Bonnardot, François, éd. 1879. *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris : XIII^e siècle. Le livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau*. Histoire générale de Paris. Paris : Imprimerie nationale.
- Lespinasse, René de, et Bonnardot, François. 1879. *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris. XIII^e siècle. Le livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau*. Paris : Imprimerie nationale.
- Lespinasse, René de. 1886-1897. *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris. XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle*. Paris : Imprimerie nationale.
- Lespinasse, René de. éd. 1892. *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris : II. XIV^e-XVIII^e siècle, orfèvrerie, sculpture, mercerie, ouvriers en métaux, bâtiment et ameublement*. Histoire générale de Paris. Paris : Imprimerie nationale.
- Lett, Didier, éd. 2014. *Codicologie et langage de la norme dans les statuts de la Méditerranée occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge* no. 126-2.
- Lett, Didier, éd. 2017. *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales I. La confection des statuts dans les sociétés méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Lett, Didier, éd. 2018. *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales II. Statuts communaux et circulations documentaires dans les sociétés méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Lett, Didier, éd. 2019. *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales III. Les statuts communaux vus de l'intérieur dans les sociétés*

Bibliographie

- méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Lett, Didier, éd. 2020. *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales IV. Les statuts communaux vus de l'extérieur dans les sociétés méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne / Centro europeo di ricerca medievale.
- Lett, Didier, éd. 2021. *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales dans les sociétés de l'Italie communale et du Midi de la France (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Rome : École française de Rome.
- Leuwers, Hélène. 2018. « Jehan Leclerc et les chirurgiens jurés de Paris : une rivalité professionnelle à l'Hôtel-Dieu (1498-1500) ». *Histoire, médecine et santé* 13 : 69-90.
- Levasseur, Émile. 1899. « Sources pour l'histoire des corps de métiers et de l'industrie à Toulouse ». *Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section des sciences économiques et sociales* no. 13 : 174-185.
- Leveux-Teixeira, Corine. 2012. « Fabrique et réception de la norme. Brèves remarques sur l'effectivité en droit médiéval ». In *La fabrique de la norme. Lieux et modes de production des normes au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*, édité par Véronique Beaulande-Barraud, Julie Claustre et Elsa Marmursztejn. Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes. 17-30.
- Leydi, Silvio. 2003. « Les armuriers milanais dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle ». In *Parures triomphales : le Maniérisme dans l'art de l'armure italienne*. Milan et Genève : 5 continents et Musées d'art et d'histoire de la ville de Genève. 25-46.
- Limouzin-Lamothe, René. 1932. *La commune de Toulouse et les sources de son histoire (1120-1249). Étude historique et critique suivie de l'édition du cartulaire du Consulat*. Toulouse : Privat.
- Livro das Posturas Antigas da Cidade de Evora. Posturas Municipais portuguesas (séculos XIV-XVIII)*. 2012. Publicado por M. Filomena Barros e Mário Viana. Ponta Delgada e Évora : CEGF e CIDEHUS.

- Livro das Posturas Antigas*. 1974. Lisboa : Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.
- Livro de Leis e Posturas*. 1971. Publicado por Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silva e Maria Teresa Campos Rodrigues. Lisboa : Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Lunel, Alexandre. 2008. *La maison médicale du roi : XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles. Le pouvoir royal et les professions de santé (médecins, chirurgiens, apothicaires)*. Seyssel : Champ Vallon.
- Machado, Maria de Fátima. 2010. « Os órfãos e os enjeitados da cidade e do termo do Porto (1500-1580) ». PhD diss., Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto.
- Mackenney, Richard. 1987. *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250– c. 1650*. Totowa: Barnes and Noble.
- Maitte, Corine. 2009. *Les chemins de verre. Les migrations des verriers d'Altare et de Venise, XVI-XIX^e siècles*. Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Margairaz, Dominique. 2005. « Enjeux et pratiques des classifications du commerce en France. Les trois figures de différenciation gros / détail, 1673-1844 ». In *Retailers and consumers changes in Early Modern Europe, England, France, Italy and the Low Countries*, édité par Bruno Blondé, Eugénie Briot, Natacha Coquery et Laura Van Aert. Tours : Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais. 213-234.
- Marin, Brigitte, et Virlouvét, Catherine, dir. 2008. « Entrepôts et trafics annonaires en Méditerranée ». *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 120 (2).
- Marques, António Henrique R. de Oliveira. 2010 [1963]. « O Trabalho ». In *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Aspectos de vida quotidiana*, 6a edição. Lisboa : A Esfera dos Livros.
- Marraud, Mathieu et Rivière, François, éd. 2022. *La formation professionnelle au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne : diversité et enjeux. L'atelier du Centre de recherches historiques* no. 24.

Bibliographie

- Marraud, Mathieu. 2010. « Permanences et déplacements corporatifs dans la ville. Le corps de l'épicerie parisienne aux XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles ». *Histoire & Mesure* no. 25 : 3-46.
- Marraud, Mathieu. 2012. « Crédit marchand, fiscalité royale. Les corporations parisiennes face à l'État, 1690-1720 ». In *Crédit public, crédit privé et institutions intermédiaires. Monarchie française, monarchie hispanique, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*, édité par Vincent Meyzie. Limoges : PULIM. 155-199.
- Marraud, Mathieu. 2018. « La confrérie dans le métier. Spirituel et temporel corporatifs à Paris au XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles ». *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 65 (1) : 118-143.
- Marraud, Mathieu. 2019. « Corporatisme, métiers et économie d'exclusion à Paris, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle ». *Revue historique*. no 2 : 283-313.
- Marraud, Mathieu. 2021. *Le Pouvoir marchand. Corps et corporatisme à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*. Ceyzérieu : Champ Vallon.
- Marraud, Mathieu. 2022. « Conflits d'englobement : ordonner les produits et les gestes entre métiers à Paris, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles ». *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine* 69 (1) : 140-166.
- Marraud, Mathieu. à paraître. « Règle et privilège en action : la jurisprudence au service des métiers marchands parisiens ». In *Formes et typologie des réglementations des métiers*, édité par Caroline Bourlet, Robert Carvais, Arnaldo Sousa Melo et Judicaël Petrowiste. Palermo: New Digital Frontiers.
- Martinat, Monica. 2004. *Le juste marché. Le système annonaire romain aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*. Rome : École Française de Rome.
- Martineau, Jean. 1960. *Les halles de Paris des origines à 1789, évolution matérielle, juridique et économique*. Paris : Montchrestien.
- Martini, Angelo. 1883. *Manuale di metrologia, ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli*. Torino: Loescher.
- Martins, João Henrique Costa Furtado. 2019. « Artífices do Couro e da Madeira na Época Moderna: Trabalho, Sociabilidades e

- Cultura Material ». PhD diss., Faculty of Arts, University of Lisbon.
- Mattozzi, Ivo. 1980. « Crisi, stagnazione e mutamento nello stato Veneziano sei-settecentesco: il caso del commercio e della produzione olearia ». *Studi Veneziani*, nuova serie 4 : 199-276.
- McVaugh, Michael R. 2006. *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages*. Firenze : SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- McVaugh, Michael R. 1993. *Medicine before the Plague. Practitioners and their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McVaugh, Michael R. 2000. « Surgical education in the Middle Ages ». *Dynamis* 20 : 283-304.
- Megliorati, Antonio. 1703. *Novissima corrispondenza delli pesi, e misure di Venezia con li pesi, et misure delle città, e terre, che negoziano con essa*. Venezia: Pietro d'Orlandi.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2007a. « Les métiers en ville au Portugal (XIII^e-XV^e siècles) ». In *Tra economia e politica. Le coporazioni nell'Europa medievale*. Pistoia: Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'Arte.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2007b. « O Convento de S. Domingos e os curtumes. Abastecimento de água, poluição e paisagem no Porto nos séculos XIV e XV ». In *Paisagens rurais e urbanas: fontes, metodologias, problemáticas*, vol. 3, publicado por Iria Gonçalves. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2008. « Apontamentos para a história da Confraria dos Sapateiros e Hospital dos Palmeiros nos séculos XIV a XVI ». In *Palmeiros e Sapateiros. A Confraria de S. Crispim e S. Crispiniano do Porto (séculos XIV-XVI)*, publicado por Arnaldo Sousa Melo, Henrique Dias, Maria João Oliveira e Silva. Porto: Fio da Palavra. 11-40.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2009. « Trabalho e produção em Portugal na Idade Média: o Porto, c. 1320-c. 1415 », 2 vols. Braga e Paris:

Bibliographie

- Universidade do Minho e EHESS (tese de doutoramento). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1822/9896>.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2012. « Les modalités d'organisation et d'association des métiers au Portugal aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles ». In *Uomini, Paesaggi, Storie. Studi di Storia Medievale per Giovanni Cherubini* a cura di Duccio Balestracci e all. Siena : Salvietti & Barabuffi editori. Vol. I, 289-299.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2013. « Os mesterais e o poder concelhio nas cidades medievais portuguesas (séculos XIV e XV) ». *Edad Media, Revista de Historia* no. 14 : 149-170.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2018a. « Entre trabalho ordenado e trabalho livre: regulamentação e organização dos mesteres em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV ». In *Trabajar en la Ciudad Medieval Europea*, publicado por Jesus Angel Solorzano Telechea y Arnaldo Sousa Melo. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos. 23-37.
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2021a. « A produção de couros em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV. Um modelo de organização na Idade Média ». *eHumanista* 49 : 84-95. [eHumanista Volume 49 | eHumanista - UC Santa Barbara \(ucsb.edu\)](https://www.ehumanista.org/volume-49)
- Melo, Arnaldo Sousa. 2021b. « Os ofícios mecânicos e o governo da cidade: a regulamentação dos mesteres nas cidades tardo-medievais portuguesas ». In *Governar a cidade na Europa medieval | The governance of Medieval European towns*, publicado por Amélia A. Andrade e Gonçalo M. Silva. Lisboa e Castelo de Vide: IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais / Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide. 273-285.
- Melo, Arnaldo. 2018b. « Os espaços dos mesteres nas cidades medievais e nas suas periferias: Tipologia e metodologia de análise ». In *Espaços e poderes na Europa urbana medieval*, publicado por Amélia Aguiar Andrade, et al. Lisboa e Castelo de Vide : IEM – Instituto de Estudos Medievais / Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide. 337-357.

- Menant, François. 1988. « La métallurgie lombarde au Moyen Âge ». Dans *Hommes et travail du métal dans les villes médiévales*, édité par Paul Benoit et Denis Cailleaux. Paris : Association pour l'édition et la diffusion des études historiques. 127-161.
- Meyer-Brunswick, Uwe. 1990. *Palaisähnliche Hamburger Bürgerhäuser des 17. Jahrhunderts und ihre Geschichte*. Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte.
- Michaud, Hélène. 1957. « Les actes intitulés règlements sous l'Ancien Régime ». *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 115 : 156-167.
- Michel, Sabrina. 2020. « La jurisprudence de la cour souveraine de Flandre en matière de responsabilité médicale (1668-1715) ». In *Gouvernance, justice et santé*, édité par Luisa Brunori, Farid Lekéal et Alain Wijffels. Lille : Centre d'histoire judiciaire. 71-85.
- Milliot, Vincent. 2011. *Un policier des Lumières*. Seyssel : Champ Vallon.
- Minard, Philippe. 1996. « Les savants et l'expertise manufacturière au XVIII^e siècle ». In *Histoire et mémoire de l'Académie des sciences. Guide de recherches*, édité par Eric Brian et Christine Demeulenaere-Douyère. Paris : Techniques et documentation. 311-318.
- Minard, Philippe. 1998. *La fortune du colbertisme. État et industrie dans la France des lumières*. Paris : Fayard.
- Minard, Philippe. 2004. « Les corporations en France au XVIII^e siècle : métiers et institutions ». In *La France, malade du corporatisme ? (XVIII^e-XX^e siècle)*, édité par Steven L. Kaplan et Philippe Minard. Paris : Belin. 39-51.
- Montenach, Anne. 2000. « La boutique au cœur du commerce alimentaire à Lyon au XVII^e siècle : entre économie légale et marchés parallèles ». In *La boutique et la ville. Commerces, commerçants, espaces et clientèles, XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, édité par Natacha Coquery. Tours : Université François Rabelais, Centre d'Histoire de la Ville Moderne et Contemporaine. 31-44.

Bibliographie

- Montenach, Anne. 2009. *Espaces et pratiques du commerce alimentaire à Lyon au XVII^e siècle. L'économie du quotidien*. Grenoble : Presses Universitaires de Grenoble.
- Montenach, Anne. 2011. « Formal and Informal Economy in an Urban Context : The Case of Food Trade in seventeenth-century Lyons ». In *Shadow economies and irregular work in urban Europe, 16th to early 20th centuries*, edited by Thomas Buchner and Philip R. Hoffmann-Rehnitz. Wien/Berlin: Lit. 91-106.
- Monticolo, Giovanni, e Besta, Enrico, a cura di. 1896-1914. *I capitolari delle Arti Veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e poi alla Giustizia Vecchia, dalle origini al MCCCXXX*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano.
- Morel, Edmond. 1909. *Les étainiers d'Arras*. Arras : Rohard-Courtin.
- Morineau, Michel. 1984. *Incroyables gazettes et fabuleux métaux : les retours des trésors américains d'après les gazettes hollandaises (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*. New York, Paris : University of Cambridge, Maison des sciences de l'homme.
- Morsel, Joseph. 2007. « À la recherche des préambules de chartes de franchises dans l'Empire ». In *Pour une anthropologie du prélèvement seigneurial dans les campagnes médiévales (XI^e-XIV^e siècles). Les mots, les temps, les lieux*, édité par Monique Bourin et Pascual Martínez Sopena. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne. 275-309.
- Moulinier, Laurence. 2010. « "Un flacon en point de mire". La science des urines, un enjeu culturel dans la société médiévale (XIII^e-XV^e siècles) ». *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 65 (1) : 11-37.
- Mouthon, Fabrice. 1993. « Les blés du Bordelais : l'économie céréalière dans les diocèses de Bordeaux et de Bazas (vers 1300-vers 1550) ». Thèse de doctorat, Université Bordeaux Montaigne.
- Mueller, Reinhold Christopher. 1997. *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*. Vol. II: *The Venetian Money Market: Banks, Panics, and the Public Debt, 1200–1500*. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Mulholland, Mary Ambrose. 1941. *Early Gild Records of Toulouse*. New York: Columbia University press.
- Mulholland, Mary Ambrose. 1955. « Statutes on Clothmaking, Toulouse, 1227 ». In *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought, presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Ewans*. New York: Columbia University Press. 167-180.
- Muller, Samuel. 1883. *De Middeleeuwsche rechtsbronnen der Stad Utrecht*. Vol. 1. Oude vaderlandsche rechtsbronnen. La Haye: Nijhoff.
- Munck, Bert de. 2007. « La qualité du corporatisme. Stratégies économiques et symboliques des corporations anversoises, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles ». *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54 : 116-144.
- Muylaert, Silke. 2012. « De Brugse goud- en zilversmeden in de late middeleeuwen: Een prosopografische studie ». Mémoire de master, universiteit Gent.
- Nada Patrone, Anna Maria. 1981. *Il cibo del ricco ed il cibo del povero. Contributo alla storia qualitativa dell'alimentazione. L'area pedemontana negli ultimi secoli del Medio Evo*. Torino: Centro Studi Piemontesi.
- Naegle, Gisela. 2010. « Armes à double tranchant ? Bien commun et chose publique dans les villes françaises au Moyen Âge ». In *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.)*, édité par Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin et Anne-Laure Van Bruaene. Turnhout : Brepols. 55-70.
- Najemy, John M. 1982. *Corporatism and consensus in Florentine electoral politics, 1280-1400*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Napoli, Paolo. 1995. « Police : la conception d'un modèle juridico-politique sous l'Ancien Régime ». *Droits* 21 : 151-160.
- Naso, Irma. 1996. « Una risorsa dell'allevamento. Aspetti tecnici e culturali della lavorazione del latte nel Quattrocento ». In *Greggi, mandrie e pastori nelle Alpi occidentali (secoli XII-XX)*, a cura di

Bibliographie

- Rinaldo Comba, Annalisa Dal Verme e Irma Naso. Cuneo/Rocca de' Baldi : Società per gli Studi Storici, Archeologici ed Artistici della Provincia di Cuneo/Centro Studi Storico-Etnografici « Augusto Doro »/Museo Etnografico Alta Val Tanaro. 125-148.
- Navarro Espinach, Germán. 2003. « El desarrollo industrial de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media ». *Aragón en la Edad Media* no. 17 : 179-212.
- Nicaise, Édouard, éd. 1893. *Chirurgie de Maître Henri de Mondeville, chirurgien de Philippe le Bel, roi de France, composée de 1306 à 1320*. Paris : F. Alcan.
- Nicoud, Marilyn. 2004. « La médecine à Milan à la fin du Moyen Âge : les composantes d'un milieu "professionnel" ». In *Mires, physiciens, barbiers et charlatans. Les marges de la médecine de l'Antiquité au XVI^e siècle*, édité par Franck Collard et Évelyne Samama. Langres : Dominique Guéniot. 101-131.
- Nicoud, Marilyn. 2009. « Pratiquer la médecine dans l'Italie de la fin du Moyen Âge : enquête sur les statuts communaux et les statuts de métier ». In *Pratique et pensée médicales à la Renaissance*, édité par Jacqueline Vons. Paris : De Boccard. 9-23.
- Nicoud, Marilyn. 2014. *Le prince et les médecins. Pensée et pratiques médicales à Milan (1402-1476)*. Rome : École française de Rome.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2007. « 'Whatever is, is right'? Economic institutions in pre-industrial Europe ». *The Economic History Review* 60 (4) : 649-684.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2008. « Rehabilitating the guilds: a reply ». *The Economic History Review* 61 (1) : 175-182.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2011. *Institutions and European Trade : Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2019. *The European Guilds. An Economic Analysis*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Oliveira, Maria Helena Mendes da Rocha. 2001. «A Confraria de S. Crispim e S. Crispiniano e o seu Hospital na Idade Média».

- Master diss., Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Porto.
- Olivier-Martin, François. 1938. *L'organisation corporative de la France d'Ancien Régime*. Paris : Sirey.
- Ordenacoes Afonsinas. 1984. Livro I, Lisboa.
- Ordenações del-Rei Dom Duarte. 1988. Publicado por Martim de Albuquerque e Eduardo Borges Nunes. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- Pagart D'Hermansart, Emile Jules Gaspard. 1881. « Les Anciennes communautés d'arts et métiers à Saint-Omer. Annexe : pièces justificatives ». *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie* XVII : 5-426.
- Pagès, Gaspard, Dillmann, Philippe, Fluzin, Philippe et Long, Luc. 2011. « A study of the roman iron bars of Saintes-Maries-de-La-Mer (Bouches-du-Rhône, France). A proposal for a comprehensive metallographic approach ». *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (6) : 1234-1252.
- Palmer, Robert C. 1993. *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381: a Transformation of Governance and Law*. Chapel Hill - London: University of north Carolina press.
- Parziale, Lavinia. 2009. *Nutrire la città. Produzione e commercio alimentare a Milano tra Cinque e Seicento*. Milano: Angeli.
- Paschel, Philippe. 2006. « Les allégations de normes dans les actes du Parlement médiéval : les coutumes et autres sources (fin XIV^e siècle) ». In *Dire le droit : normes, juges, jurisconsultes*, édité par Barbara Anagnostou-Canas. Paris : Éd. Panthéon-Assas. 171-190.
- Pastoret, Emmanuel de. 1840. *Ordonnances des rois de la troisième race*. Tome XX. Paris : Imprimerie royale.
- Payen, Philippe. 2004. « Activité réglementaire et garantie judiciaire dans le ressort du Parlement de Paris au XVIII^e siècle ». In *Le Pouvoir réglementaire*, édité par Alain J. Lemaitre et Odile Kammerer. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 207-221

Bibliographie

- Pelling, Margaret. 1986. « Appearance and reality: barber-surgeons, the body and disease », In *London, 1500-1700. The Making of the Metropolis*, édité par A. L. Beier et Roger Finlay. London: Longman. 82-112.
- Pelus-Kaplan, Marie-Louise. 2002. « Une bourgeoisie “seconde” dans une ville hanséatique : les artisans lübeckois aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles ». In *Le peuple des villes dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (fin du Moyen Âge-1945)*, édité par Philippe Guignet, I. Lille : Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion. 147-166.
- Pereira, Franklin. 2009. *Ofícios do couro na Lisboa medieval*. Lisboa: Prefácio.
- Pereira, Franklin. 2012. « Jews, Moors and Christians in the leather trade: the Ordinances of Tanners and Shoemakers in Lisbon, 1489 » *Archeological Leather Group Newsletter* no. 36 : 3-6.
- Pereira, Victor do Monte Gabriel. 1885-1891 (ed. fac-similada 1998). *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*. Évora: Typographia da Casa Pia.
- Petrowiste, Judicaël. 2007. « Naissance et essor d'un espace d'échanges au Moyen Âge : le réseau des bourgs marchands du Midi toulousain (XI^e-milieu du XIV^e siècle) ». Thèse de doctorat, Université Toulouse le Mirail.
- Petrowiste, Judicaël. 2012. « Pèlerinages et essor commercial dans les pays occitans médiévaux (XI^e-XIII^e siècle) ». In *Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea, 1000-1800*, a cura di Francesco Ammanati. Firenze: Firenze University Press. 729-742.
- Petrowiste, Judicaël. 2015. « Définir et sanctionner le commerce informel dans une petite ville de la fin du Moyen Âge : Saint-Jean-d'Angély aux XIV^e-XV^e siècles ». In *Il commercio al minuto. Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale. Secc. XIII-XVIII / Retail trade: Supply and demand in the formal and informal economy from the 13th to the 18th century*, a cura della Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica « F. Datini ». Firenze: Firenze University Press. 131-151.

- Petrowiste, Judicaël. 2018. « Statuts de la cité, statuts du bourg. Circulation documentaire et rivalités locales à Rodez au début du XIV^e siècle ». In *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales II. Statuts communaux et circulations documentaires dans les sociétés méditerranéennes de l'Occident (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, édité par Didier Lett. Paris : CERM-Publications de la Sorbonne.135-169.
- Pfaffenbichler, Matthias. 1992. *Armourers*. London: British Museum Press.
- Pfaffenbichler, Matthias. 2002. « L'industrie de l'armement en Allemagne (XV^e-XVI^e siècles) ». In *L'homme armé en Europe XIV^e-XVI^e siècle*, édité par Philippe Contamine et Jean-Pierre Reverseau. *Cahiers d'études et de recherche du Musée de l'armée n°3. Musée de l'Armée* : 265–278.
- Pinto, Sandra M. G. 2016. « A instituição da almotaçaria, o controlo da atividade construtiva e as singularidades de Lisboa em finais da Idade Média ». In *Lisboa Medieval: Gentes, Espaços e Poderes*, edited by João Luís Inglês Fontes, Luís Filipe Oliveira, Catarina Tente, Mário Farelo and Mário Gomes Martins. Lisboa: IEM. 287-312.
- Pinto, Sandra M. G. 2021. « Islamic Legacy in Medieval Iberian Societies: Building Rules ». In *Artistic and Cultural Dialogues in the Late Medieval Mediterranean. Mediterranean Perspectives*, edited by María Marcos Cobaleda. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. 163–188.
- Pirenne, Henri. 1933. « Le mouvement économique et social au Moyen Âge du XI^e au milieu du XV^e siècle ». In *Histoire générale*, t. VIII, *La civilisation occidentale au Moyen Âge, du XI^e au milieu du XV^e siècle*, dirigé par Gustave Glotz. Paris : Presses universitaires de France. 7-189.
- Pomata, Gianna. 1998. *Contracting a Cure: Patients, Healers, and the Law in Early Modern Bologna*. London: Johns Hopkins University press.
- Power, D'Arcy, and South, John Flint. 1886. *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery in England*. London : Cassell& Co.

Bibliographie

- Prak, Maarten, Lis, Catharina, Lucassen, Jan, et Soly, Hugo, éd. 2006. *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries. Work, Power and Representation*. Aldershot: Routledge.
- Prodi, Paolo. 2009. *Settimo non rubare. Furto e mercato nella storia dell'Occidente*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Pullan, Brian Sebastian. 1971. *Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice: The social institutions of a catholic state, to 1620*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Raithby, John, éd. 1817. *The Statutes of the Realm*. t. III. London: Record Commission.
- Reincke, Heinrich. 1951. « Hamburgs Bevölkerung ». In *Forschungen und Skizzen zur Hamburgischen Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Heinrich Reincke. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe. 167-200.
- Reitzenstein, Alexander Frhr. von. 1959. « Die Ordnung der Nürnberger Plattner ». *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für historische Waffen und Kostümkunde*: 54-85.
- Reitzenstein, Alexander Frhr. von. 1960. « Die Ordnung der Augsburgs Plattner ». *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für historische Waffen und Kostümkunde*: 96-100.
- Reitzenstein, Alexander Frhr. Von. 1967. « Die Nürnberger Plattner ». *Beiträge Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs* 2 : 700-725.
- Reitzenstein, Alexander Frhr. Von. 1969. « Die Landshuter Plattner, ihre Ordnung und ihre Meister ». *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für historische Waffen und Kostümkunde*: 20-32.
- Renaudet, Adrien. 2015. *Le Liber ordinationum. Le consulat, l'écrit et le crieur public à Castres au XIV^e siècle*. Mémoire de master inédit : Université Paris-Diderot.
- Reverseau, Jean-Pierre. 1996. *Les armes et la vie*. Paris : Musée de l'Armée.
- Ribeiro, João Pedro. 1798. *Observação I. Sobre o estado actual dos Cartorios do Reino, e necessidade de acautelarem pelos meios opportunos a sua total ruina*. In *Observações historicas e criticas para servirem de memorias ao systema da diplomatica portugueza*. Lisboa: Typografia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa. 1-58.

- Richardson, Gary. 2004. « Guilds, laws and markets for manufactured merchandise in late medieval England ». *Explorations in Economic History* no. 41 : 1-25.
- Richey, Michael. 1755. *Idioticon Hamburgense*. Hamburg: König.
- Rigaudière, Albert. 2003. « Les ordonnances de police en France à la fin du Moyen Âge ». In *Penser et construire l'État dans la France du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France. 285-341.
- Rigaudière, Albert. 2003. *Penser et construire l'État dans la France du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris : Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France.
- Rigaudière, Albert. 2021. « Les statuts au défi de la pratique dans la France du bas Moyen Âge ». In *Statuts, écritures et pratiques sociales dans les sociétés de l'Italie communale et du Midi de la France (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, édité par Didier Lett. Rome : École française de Rome. 217-293.
- Righi, Laura. 2020. « À la tête des Arts : administrateurs et entrepreneurs face à la gestion des métiers du cuir à Bologne entre XIII^e et XV^e siècle ». In *Dans les règles du métier. Les acteurs des normes professionnelles au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*, édité par Philippe Bernardi, Corine Maitte et François Rivière. Palerme : New Digital Frontiers. 113-127.
- Riley, Henry Thomas. 1868. *Memorials of London and London Life, in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries: Being a Series of Extracts, Local, Social, and Political, from the Early Archives of the City of London, A.D. 1276-1419*. London: Longmans.
- Rivière, François. 2008. « Guildes, monopoles et oligopoles dans la Normandie de la fin du Moyen Âge : la réglementation des métiers est-elle hostile à la concurrence ? ». *Entreprises et Histoire* 52 (3) : 36-45.
- Rivière, François. 2019. « L'institutionnalisation de l'apprentissage à Rouen (XIV^e-XV^e siècles). *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Moyen Âge* no. 131 : 207-219.

Bibliographie

- Rivière, François. 2020. « Introduction. Les acteurs : une pierre apportée au chantier sur la réglementation des métiers ». In *Dans les règles du métier. Les acteurs des normes professionnelles au Moyen Âge et à l'Époque Moderne*, édité par Philippe Bernardi, Corine Maitte, François Rivière. Palerme : New Digital Frontiers. XI-XXXIV.
- Robcis, Dominique. 1998. *Armes, armures et armuriers sous le principat de Jean sans Peur, 1404-1419, d'après les documents comptables*. Paris : Association pour l'édition et la diffusion des études historiques.
- Roberti, Melchiorre. 1902. *Le corporazioni padovane d'arti e mestieri. Studio storico-giuridico con documenti e statuti inediti*. Venezia: Reale Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti.
- Roch, Jean-Louis. 1998. « Entre draperie rurale et draperie urbaine ? La draperie foraine de Rouen à la fin du Moyen Âge ». *Annales de Normandie* no. 47 : 211-230.
- Roch, Jean-Louis. 2000. « Villes et bourgs drapiers en Haute Normandie à la fin du Moyen Âge ». In *La ville médiévale en deçà et au-delà de ses murs. Mélanges Jean-Pierre Leguay*, édité par Philippe Lardin et Jean-Louis Roch. Rouen : Publications de l'Université de Rouen. 85-101.
- Roch, Jean-Louis. 2013. *Un autre monde du travail. La draperie en Normandie au Moyen Âge*. Rouen : Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre.
- Roch, Jean-Louis. 2020. « Les inconnus des réglementations des métiers : des vinages aux bonnes gens et aux prudhommes (XIII^e-XV^e siècle) ». In *Dans les règles du métier. Les acteurs des normes professionnelles au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne*, édité par Philippe Bernardi, Corine Maitte et François Rivière. Palerme : New Digital Frontiers. 57-70.
- Rodrigues, André Moutinho. 2020. « Os mercadores e os mesteres na paisagem urbana do século XV: o contributo da documentação notarial vimaranense ». In *Abastecer a cidade na*

- Europa Medieval*, publicado por Amélia Aguiar Andrade and Gonçalo Melo da Silva. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais / Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide. 483-495.
- Rodrigues, Maria Teresa Campos, ed. 1971. *Livro das leis e posturas*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Direito, Universidade de Lisboa.
- Rodrigues, Maria Teresa Campos, ed. 1974. *Livro das Posturas Antigas*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.
- Romano, Dennis. 1996. « L'assistenza e la beneficenza ». In *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*. Vol. V: *Il Rinascimento. Società ed economia*, a cura di Alberto Tenenti e Ugo Tucci. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata da Giovanni Treccani. 355-406.
- Romestan, Guy. 1974. « La gabelle des draps en Languedoc (1318-1333) ». In *Hommage à André Dupont. Études médiévales languedociennes*. Montpellier : Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon. 197-237.
- Roschach, Ernest. 1874. « Simple note sur quelques artistes qui ont travaillé à Toulouse du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle ». *Mémoires de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* 11 : 1-14.
- Rüdiger, Otto. 1874. *Die ältesten Hamburgischen Zunftrollen und Bruderschaften*. Hamburg: Grafe.
- Rüdiger, Otto. 1892. « Böhnhasen und Handwerksgesellen ». In *Hamburg vor 200 Jahren*, herausgegeben von Theodor Schrader. Hamburg: Gräfe & Sillem. 219-259.
- Saint-Bonnet, François. 2010. « Louis XIV, les parlements et la souveraineté ». In *Les Parlements de Louis XIV. Opposition, coopération, autonomisation?*, édité par Gauthier Aubert et Olivier Chaline. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 173-183.
- Saint-Julien, A. de, et Bienaymé, Gustave. 1886. *Les Droits d'entrée et d'octroi à Paris depuis le XII^e siècle*. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale.
- Salamagne, Alain. 2001. *Construire au Moyen Âge. Les chantiers de fortification de Douai*. Villeneuve-d'Ascq : Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

Bibliographie

- Salmon, Pierre-Augustin. 1788. *Art du potier d'étain. Première et seconde parties*. Paris : Moutard.
- Santarém, Visconde de, ed. 1828. *Alguns documentos para servirem de provas à parte 2^a das Memórias para a História e Theoria das Cortes Geraes que em Portugal se celebrarão pelos tres estados do reino*. Lisboa: Impressão Régia.
- Saussus, Lise. 2017. « La métallurgie du cuivre dans les villes médiévales des Flandres et des environs (XIII^e-XV^e siècles) : hommes, ateliers, techniques et produits. L'exemple de Douai ». Thèse de doctorat, université catholique de Louvain.
- Scherman, Matthieu. 2007. « La *scorzaria* de Trévisse au XV^e siècle : territoire et stratégies entrepreneuriales des tanneurs ». In *Voisinages, coexistences, appropriations. Groupes sociaux et territoires urbains (Moyen Âge-XVI^e siècle)*, édité par Chloé Deligne, Claire Billen et Marc Boone. Turnhout : Brepols. 53-76.
- Saussus, Lise. 2019. *Travailler le cuivre à Douai au XIII^e siècle : histoire et archéologie d'un atelier de proximité*. *Archaeologia Duacensis/Collection d'archéologie Joseph Mertens*, 31/17. Douai, Louvain-la-Neuve : Association Arkeos/Centre de recherches d'archéologie nationale UCLouvain.
- Saussus, Lise, Eric Goemaere, Nicolas Thomas, Thierry Leduc, Thomas Goovaerts, et Michel Fourny. 2022. « Practices, Recipes and Supply of a Late Medieval Brass Foundry: The Refractory Ceramics and the Metals of an Early 15th Century AD Metallurgical Workshop in Brussels ». *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 42, 103358 : en ligne. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2022.103358>.
- Saussus, Lise, Nicolas Thomas, et David Bourgarit. 2023. « Exactly how free? Constrained choices and product ranges of medieval copper-alloy objects found between the Meuse and Loire rivers (9th–16th centuries CE) ». *Heritage Science* 11, 75 : en ligne. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-023-00915-6>.

- Scherman, Matthieu. 2013. *Familles et travail à Tréviso à la fin du Moyen Âge (1434-1509)*. Rome : École française de Rome.
- Schliemann, Ernst, Heitmann, Bernhard und Scholz, Renate. 1986. *Die Goldschmiede Hamburgs*. Hamburg: Schliemann & Cie.
- Schneider, Konrad. 1985. « Untersuchungen zur Edelmetallverhüttung und Probierkunst in Hamburg ». *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* no. 71: 1-44.
- Schürer, Ralf. 1985. « "Aller Goldschmidt Ordnung auf Puess". Die Nürnberger Goldschmiede und ihre Ordnung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert ». In *Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst 1500-1700*. München: Klinkhardt & Biermann. 71-85.
- Seignalet-Mauhourat, François. 2006. « La valeur juridique des préambules des ordonnances royales ». *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* no. 84 : 229-258.
- Sequeira, Joana. 2018. « Comprar, organizar e expedir: mercadores pisanos no negócio internacional dos couros portugueses e galegos no século XV ». *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies* no. 38 : 131-145.
- Sequeira, Joana. 2020. « A regulamentação dos ofícios têxteis no mundo urbano em Portugal, séculos XIV-XV ». *Mirabilia Journal* no. 31/2 : 835-872.
- Serdon, Valérie. 2005. *Armes du diable : arcs et arbalètes au Moyen Âge*. Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Serneels, Vincent. 2011. « A propos de la qualité des fers produits par la méthode directe de réduction ». In *L'acier en Europe avant Bessemer*, édité par Philippe Dillmann, Liliane Pérez et Catherine Verna. Toulouse : CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail. 73-93.
- Serra, José Corrêa da, ed. 1793. *Collecção de livros inéditos de Historia Portugueza dos reinados de D. João I, D. Duarte, D. Afonso V, e D. João II*, tomo III. Lisboa: Oficina da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa.

Bibliographie

- Sesifredo, Ana, Farrica, Fátima, and Meira, Miguel, eds. 2012. « Livro das posturas antigas de Évora ». In *Posturas municipais portuguesas (séculos XIV-XVIII)*, publicado por Maria Filomena Barros and Mário Viana Ponta Delgada : Centro de Estudos Gaspar Frutuoso/ Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades. 27-116.
- Shatzmiller, Joseph. 1992. « Femmes médecins au Moyen Âge. Témoignages sur leurs pratiques (1250-1350) ». In *Histoire et société, mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*. t. I. *Le couple, l'ami et le prochain*, édité par Charles-Marie de La Roncière. Aix-en-Provence : Publications de l'Université de Provence. 167-175.
- Shatzmiller, Joseph. 1996. « Soigner le corps souffrant : pratiques médicales au tournant du XIV^e siècle ». In *Georges Duby : l'écriture de l'Histoire*, édité par Claudie Duhamel-Amado et Guy Lobrichon. Bruxelles : De Boeck université. 285-292.
- Shaw, James E. 2002. « Retail, monopoly, and privilege: The dissolution of the fishmongers' guild of Venice, 1599 ». *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (4) : 396-427.
- Sieveking, Heinrich. 1934. « Die Hamburger Bank ». In *History of the principal public banks*, edited by Johannes Gerhard van Dillen. The Hague: Nijhoff. 125-160.
- Simeoni, Luigi, a cura di. 1914. *Gli antichi statuti delle arti veronesi secondo la revisione scaligera del 1319, con una notizia sull'origine delle corporazioni a Verona*. Venezia: R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria.
- Simon-Muscheid, Katharina. 1994. « Les documents normatifs et les 'vécus' d'après les inventaires. Le cas de Bâle et de la région du Haut-Rhin ». In *Les métiers au Moyen Âge. Aspects économiques et sociaux*, édité par Pascale Lambrechts et Jean-Pierre Sosson. Louvain-la-Neuve : Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales. 317-334.

- Siraisi, Nancy G. 1990. *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago press.
- Skalityz-Wagner, Margret. 1983. « Frankenthaler Goldschmiede des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts ». *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* no. 81: 273-322.
- Smith, David K. 2011. « Le discours économique du Bureau du Commerce ». In *Le cercle de Vincent de Gournay. Savoirs économiques et pratiques administratives en France au milieu du XVIIIe siècle*, édité par Loïc Charles, Frédéric Lefebvre et Christine Théré. Paris : Ined. 31-61.
- Soil de Moriamé, Eugène. 1905. « Le métier des fondeurs de laiton et des batteurs de cuivre, ou caudreliers, à Tournai ». *Annales de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 10 : 186-232.
- Soil de Moriamé, Eugène. 1912. « Les anciennes industries d'art tournaisiennes à l'exposition de 1911 ». *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Tournai* 15 : xxxi-391.
- Sosson, Jean-Pierre. 1990. « Les métiers : norme et réalité. L'exemple des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles ». In *Le travail au Moyen Âge. Une approche interdisciplinaire. Actes du colloque international de Louvain-La-Neuve, 21-23 mai 1987*, édité par Jacqueline Hamesse et Colette Muraille-Samaran. Publications de l'Institut d'études Médiévales 10. Louvain-La-Neuve : Institut d'études médiévales. 339-348.
- Sousa, Armindo de. 2003. « Os mesteirais ». In *História de Portugal*, vol. 2. *A Monarquia Feudal*, publicado por José Mattoso and Armindo de Sousa. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores. 412-423.
- Stabel, Peter. 2004. « Guilds in late medieval Flanders: myths and realities of guild-life in export oriente denvironment ». *Journal of Medieval History* no. 30 : 187-212.
- Stabel, Peter. 2007. « Organisation corporative et production d'œuvres d'art à Bruges à la fin du Moyen Âge et au début des Temps modernes ». *Le Moyen Âge* no. 113 : 91-134.

Bibliographie

- Stanziani, Alessandro. 2015. « Comment mesurer l'efficacité des institutions ? ». *Histoire & Mesure* 30 (1) : 3-24.
- Stettiner, Richard. 1916. *Das Kleinodienbuch des Jakob Mores in der Hamburgischen Staatsbibliothek*. Hamburg: Meissner.
- Stewart, J.-W., Charles, J.A., Wallach, Eric-R. 2000. « Iron-Phosphorus-Carbon System Part 1 - Metallography of Low Carbon Iron-Phosphorus Alloys ». *Materials Science and Technology* 16 : 275-282.
- Stewart, J.-W., Charles, J.A., Wallach, Eric-R. 2000. « Iron-Phosphorus-Carbon System Part 2 - Metallography of Low Carbon Iron-Phosphorus Alloys ». *Materials Science and Technology* 16 : 283-290.
- Stewart, J.-W., Charles, J.A., Wallach, Eric-R. 2000. « Iron-Phosphorus-Carbon System Part 3 - Metallography of Low Carbon Iron-Phosphorus Alloys ». *Materials Science and Technology* 16 : 291-303.
- Stierling, Herbert. 1955. *Goldschmiedezeichen von Altona bis Tondern*. Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Stouff, Louis. 1970. *Ravitaillement et alimentation en Provence aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*. Aix-en-Provence : Mouton et Compagnie.
- Stunault, Clémentine. 2018. « L'intervention des autorités urbaines dans la protection du consommateur à Toulouse ». In *Faire son marché au Moyen Âge. Méditerranée occidentale, XIII^e-XVI^e siècle*, édité par Judicaël Petrowiste et Mario Lafuente Gómez. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 209-225.
- Swanson, Heather. 1988. « The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns ». *Past and Present* no. 121 : 29-48.
- Swanson, Heather. 1989. *Medieval artisans: an urban class in late medieval England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Tabella perpetua delle ore che si osservano in Vicenza, principiando da mezzanotte, ridotte alle ore europee o di Francia, e del ragguaglio delle ore francesi colle italiane*. 1797. Vicenza: Stamperia Rossi (BCB, Gonz. 294.3).

- Terjanian, Pierre. 1995. « 'Poliopolis' La fabrication des armures à Strasbourg du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle ». Mémoire de DEA, Université de Metz.
- Thierry, Augustin. 1850. *Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du Tiers État. Première série, Chartes, coutumes, actes municipaux, statuts des corporations d'arts et métiers des villes et communes de France. Région du Nord*. 4 vol. Paris : Firmin Didot.
- Thomas, Nicolas et Bourgarit, David. 2014. « Les techniques de production des batteurs et fondeurs mosans au Moyen Âge (XII^e-XVI^e siècles) ». In *L'or des dinandiers : Fondeurs et batteurs mosans au Moyen Âge [Catalogue de l'exposition présentée à la Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan du 28 mars au 16 novembre 2014]*, édité par Nicolas Thomas, Inès Leroy et Jean Plumier. Cahiers de la Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan 7. Bouvignes : Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan. 43-63.
- Thomas, Nicolas, Leroy, Inès et Plumier, Jean, éd. 2014. *L'or des dinandiers : Fondeurs et batteurs mosans au Moyen Âge [Catalogue de l'exposition présentée à la Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan du 28 mars au 16 novembre 2014]*. Cahiers de la Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan 7. Bouvignes : Maison du patrimoine médiéval mosan.
- Thomas, Nicolas. 2009. « Les ateliers urbains de travail du cuivre et de ses alliages au bas Moyen Âge : archéologie et histoire d'un site parisien du XIV^e siècle dans la Villeneuve du Temple (1325-1350) ». Thèse de doctorat, université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Thompson, Edward Palmer. 1988. « L'économie morale de la foule dans l'Angleterre du XVIII^e siècle ». In *La guerre du blé au XVIII^e siècle*, édité par Florence Gauthier et Guy-Robert Ikni (dir.) (1^{ère} éd. anglaise, 1971). Paris : Les éditions de la passion. 31-92.
- Timbert, Arnaud, dir. 2009. *L'homme et la matière. L'emploi du plomb et du fer dans l'architecture gothique*. Paris : Picard.

Bibliographie

- Todeschini, Giacomo. 2005. « La riflessione etica sulle attività economiche ». In *Economie urbane ed etica economica nell'Italia medievale*, a cura di Roberto Greci. Roma/Bari: Laterza. 151-228.
- Tognetti, Sergio. 1999. «Aspetti del commercio internazionale del cuoio nel XV secolo: il mercato pisano nella documentazione del banco Cambini ». In *Il cuoio e le pelli in Toscana: produzione e mercato nel tardo Medioevo e nell'Età Moderna*, edited by Sergio Gensini. Pisa: Pacini, 17-50.
- Torre, Angelo. 1995. *Il consumo di devozioni. Religione e comunità nelle campagne dell'Ancien Régime*. Venezia : Marsilio.
- Tra economia e politica : le corporazioni nell'Europa medievale. Atti del XX Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Pistoia, 13-16 maggio 2005)*. 2007. Pistoia : Centro italiano di studi di storia e d'arte.
- Travail et commerce du cuir au Moyen Âge*. 2021. *La vie en Champagne* no. 107.
- Trivellato, Francesco. 2000. *Fondamenta dei vetrai. Lavoro, tecnologia e mercato a Venezia tra Sei e Settecento*. Roma: Donzelli.
- Tucoc-Chala, Pierre. 1957. « La charte des boucheries d'Orthez (2 novembre 1270) ». *Annales du Midi* no. 69 : 323-332.
- Ungern-Sternberg, Arved von, und Stein, Fabian. 1986. « Das Amt der Goldschmiede in Hamburg ». In *Die Goldschmiede Hamburgs*, herausgegeben von Ernst Schliemann, Bernhard Heitmann und Renate Scholz, I. Hamburg: Schliemann & Cie. 45-76.
- Van Dillen, J. G. von. 1926. « Amsterdam, marché mondial des métaux précieux au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle ». *Revue historique* no. 152 : 194-201.
- Vandevivere, Ignace. 1996. « Fondateurs de laitons et batteurs de cuivre ». In *Valenciennes aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles : Art et histoire*, édité par Ludovic Nys et Alain Salamagne. Valenciennes : Presses universitaires de Valenciennes. 237-238.
- Varanini, Gian Maria. 1983. « L'olivicultura e l'olio gardesano nel medioevo. (Aspetti della produzione e della

- commercializzazione ». In *Un lago, una civiltà: il Garda*, a cura di Giorgio Borelli. Verona: Banca Popolare di Verona. T. I, 115-158.
- Varanini, Gian Maria. 1991. « Una montagna per la città. Alpeggio e allevamento nei Lessini veronesi nel medioevo (secoli IX-XV) ». In *Gli alti pascoli dei Lessini veronesi. Storia, natura, cultura*, a cura di Pietro Berni, Ugo Sauro e Gian Maria Varanini. Vago di Lavagno: La Grafica. 13-106.
- Vereações Anos de 1390-1395.s/d. O mais antigo dos Livros de Vereações do Município do Pôrto existentes no seu Arquivo* (Com Comentário e notas de A. Magalhães Basto), 2^a ed. Porto: Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Vermard, Laurent, et Thomas, Nicolas. 2018. « Des ateliers de dinandiers à Verdun du 13^e au 15^e siècle ». In *Cuivre, bronzes et laitons médiévaux : Histoire, archéologie et archéométrie des productions en laiton, bronze et autres alliages à base de cuivre dans l'Europe médiévale (12^e-16^e siècles). Medieval copper, bronze and brass: History, archaeology and archaeometry of the production of brass, bronze and other copper alloy objects in medieval Europe (12th-16th centuries)*, [Actes du colloque de Dinant et Namur, 15-17 mai 2014. Proceedings of the symposium of Dinant and Namur, 15-17 May 2014], édité par Nicolas Thomas et Pete Dandridge. Études et documents, Archéologie 39. Namur : Agence wallonne du Patrimoine. 123-128.
- Verna, Catherine. 2001. *Le temps des moulins : fer, technique et société dans les Pyrénées centrales, XIII^e-XVI^e Siècles*. Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Verna, Catherine. 2017. *L'industrie au village. Essai de micro-histoire (Arles-sur-Tech, XIV^e et XV^e siècle)*. Paris : Les Belles Lettres.
- Vertecchi, Giulia. 2009. *Il « masser ai formenti in Terra Nova ». Il ruolo delle scorte granarie a Venezia nel XVIII secolo*. Roma: Università degli Studi Roma Tre.
- Viana, Mário. 2013. «A lei de almotaçaria e a política económica de Afonso III». In *Abordagens à História rural continental e insular*

Bibliographie

- portuguesa, séculos XIII-XVIII*, publicado por Rute Dias Gregório. Ponta Delgada : CHAM. 45-71.
- Victor, Sandrine. 2008. *La construction et les métiers de la construction à Gérone au XV^e siècle*. Toulouse : Méridiennes.
- Victor, Sandrine. 2020. « Acteurs et mise en pratique de la norme dans le secteur de la construction : interactions entre Métier et autorités municipales en Catalogne au bas Moyen Âge ». In *Dans les règles du métier. Les acteurs des normes professionnelles au Moyen Âge et à l'Époque Moderne*, édité par Philippe Bernardi, Corine Maitte, François Rivière. Palerme : New Digital Frontiers. 129-140.
- Vidal, Marie. 2006. « Riches et pauvres dans le Évangiles ». *Pardès* 40-41 : 251-263.
- Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos, ed. 2018. *Os Regimentos de Évora e de Arraiolos do século XV*. Évora : CIDEHUS.
- Vilevault, M. de, éd. 1769. *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*. 11. Paris : Imprimerie royale.
- Voigt, Johann Friedrich. 1896/97. « Zur Geschichte des Handwerks in Hamburg im 17. Jahrhundert ». *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 18, 10/11 : 501-505.
- Vries, Jan de. 2019. *The price of bread: Regulating the market in the Dutch Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Waag, Albert. 1908. *Bedeutungsentwicklung unseres Wortschatzes. Ein Blick in das Seelenleben der Wörter*. Lahr : Moritz Schauenburg.
- Weidenfeld, Katia. 2000. « L'incertitude du droit devant les juridictions parisiennes au XV^e siècle ». *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 7 : 67-91.
- Wickersheimer, Ernest, éd. 1915. *Commentaires de la Faculté de médecine de l'Université de Paris (1395-1516)*. Paris : Imprimerie nationale.
- Wickersheimer, Ernest. 1909. « Les secrets et les conseils de maître Guillaume Boucher et de ses confrères. Contribution à l'histoire

- de la médecine à Paris vers 1400 ». *Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médecine* 7 : 199-305.
- Williams, Alan. 2003. *The Knight and the Blast Furnace : a History of the Metallurgy of Armour in Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*. London: Brill.
- Winzen, Kristina. 2002. *Handwerk-Städte-Reich. Die Städtische Kurie des immerwährenden Reichstags und die Anfänge der Reichshandwerksordnung*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Wolff, Philippe, et Mauro, Philippe. 1960. *Histoire générale du travail, II. L'âge de l'artisanat (V^e-XVIII^e siècle)*. Paris : Nouvelle librairie de France.
- Wolff, Philippe. 1953. « Les bouchers de Toulouse du XII^e au XV^e siècle ». *Annales du Midi* 65 (23) : 375-393.
- Wolff, Philippe. 1954. *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse, vers 1350-vers 1450*. Paris : Plon.
- Wolff, Philippe. 1958. *Histoire de Toulouse*. Toulouse : Privat.
- Wolff, Philippe. 1978. « Les bouchers de Toulouse du XII^e au XV^e siècle ». In *Regards sur le Midi médiéval*, Toulouse : Privat. 107-124.
- Wolff, Philippe. 1986. *Automne du Moyen Âge ou printemps des temps nouveaux ? L'économie européenne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*. Paris : Aubier.
- Wood, Diana. 2002. *Medieval Economic Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wymans, Gabriel. 1963. « Les orfèvres de Mons et leurs premiers statuts de métier (1258-1415) ». *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 129 : 187-226.
- Young, Sidney. 1890. *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of Londres*. London: East & Blades.

Table des matières

Introduction. Les objets et contenus des réglementations de métier au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne : jalons pour une enquête JUDICAËL PETROWISTE	VII
--	-----

Première partie. Variété des objectifs des réglementations

Introduction MATTHIEU SCHERMAN	37
-----------------------------------	----

Les statuts de métiers à Toulouse au Moyen Âge : d'une réglementation des produits à une réglementation des producteurs ? CAMILLE FABRE	43
--	----

Les objets de réglementation au Portugal aux XIVe et XVe siècles : comparaison entre différents métiers ou groupes de métiers. ARNALDO MELO	57
--	----

La réglementation des métiers de santé à Paris et à Londres (1360-1560) : encadrer et contrôler le droit d'exercer HÉLÈNE LEUWERS	73
--	----

De quoi traitent les règlements des maçons et comment en contrôle-t-on l'application ? (Paris – XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle) ROBERT CARVAIS	89
--	----

Seconde partie. Réglementer les métiers de bouche

Introduction	121
FABIEN FAUGERON	

Réglementer pour protéger : les normes d'encadrement des professions de bouche toulousaines (mi XIIe - début XVIe siècle)	127
CLÉMENTINE STUNAUULT	

Bottegai, rivenditori di piazza e venditori diretti: complessità e devoluzione delle norme in uno spazio commerciale affollato (Vicenza, XV-XVI secolo)	143
LUCA CLERICI	

Indécision des produits et institution du métier. Le conflit des eaux-de-vie à Paris, 1620-1776	175
MATHIEU MARRAUD	

Troisième partie. Réglementer les métiers du cuir et des métaux

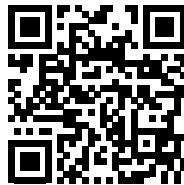
Introduction	207
NICOLAS LYON-CAEN	

Leatherworkers under rule in Portugal, 12th- 16th centuries	213
JOANA SEQUEIRA	

Idéal réglementaire et dynamiques de différenciation au sein des corporations d'orfèvres	239
VINCENT DEMONT	

Application de la réglementation pour la fabrication des armures : une lecture matérielle	253
ÉMILIE BERARD, CATHERINE VERNA, PHILIPPE DILLMANN, ENRIQUE VEGA, VALÉRIE TOUREILLE	
Règlements et pratiques d'ateliers chez les travailleurs des métaux non ferreux de la Flandre au Royaume de France du XIIIe au XVIe siècle	279
LISE SAUSSUS, NICOLAS THOMAS	
Bibliographie	297

Visita il nostro catalogo:



Finito di stampare nel mese di
Ottobre 2023
Presso la ditta Photograph s.r.l - Palermo
Editing e typesetting: Valentina Tusa -
Paragraphics Società Cooperativa per conto di NDF
Progetto grafico copertina: Luminita Petac