

The History of Public Health in Pre-Industrial Societies

A bibliography compiled by G. Geltner and J. Coomans, University of Amsterdam

(last updated: 26 August 2018)

This is a list of secondary sources with direct bearing on the history of public health before c. 1750. It is predominantly European and Mediterranean, although we are gradually expanding the geographical coverage of studies concerning *population-level, preventative interventions in pre-modernity*. Wherever possible, we added links to works that are **freely and fully available online**, that is, they neither hide behind pay walls nor require membership or any other form of (pre)registration to be accessed. Your comments and references are always welcome and can be sent to: g.geltner@uva.nl or j.coomans@uva.nl.

A few clarifying notes, especially for those wishing to propose additional items:

1. **Primary sources** were excluded mainly because we know of relatively few original texts in print that mainly and directly attest population-level preventative theory, policy, or practice.¹ To be sure, the topic can be fruitfully explored by mining government, office-holders', and guild statutes, architectural and building manuals, narrative accounts, tax records, and of course medical and scientific texts and recipe books—all sources that have been frequently edited, printed, and even translated. But these would be too numerous to list here, as would be other directly relevant sources not yet in print and surviving in numerous archives and libraries.
2. **Conceptual boundaries:** We have steered clear of several closely-related fields, including demography, nutrition and private hygiene, commerce and food supply, charity and lay piety, and the institutional history of hospitals, alms-houses, leprosaria, prisons, mental asylums, and brothels. While the latter group of institutions certainly had preventative functions, it is rarely the focus of the existing literature; and to a lesser but still significant extent this tendency characterizes studies on Black Death, whose themes usually far exceed the scope of this list. As for medical history itself, we have left out the bulk of works on curing, caring, and even prophylactic medicine, unless they directly comment on population-level healthcare. These hard choices were in part made possible by the solid state of these fields.
3. **The chronology** adopted here is Euro-centric. It derives from the conventional dating of the Industrial Revolution's onset, which, along with rapid urbanization, generated major pressures on city dwellers. Rather than as a watershed moment, then, industrialization captures the nexus of political, medical, and technological developments widely perceived as ushering in the modern public health movement, from democratization and health citizenry, to the rise of germ theory, to organized public hygiene and inoculation campaigns.
4. We did not specify **individual contributions in edited volumes** that deal mainly or solely with pre-modern public health. In other words, if an edited volume appears below, it contains more than one essay that is directly relevant to pre-modernity. Underlying this choice is our desire not only to save space but also to encourage users to become familiar with the broader debates and contexts in which earlier examples of public health are discussed.

This list is updated annually. You may always access it through [Premodern Healthscaping](#).

¹ Two exceptions are H.M. Chew and W. Kellaway (eds.), *London Assize of Nuisance 1301-1431 - A Calendar* (London: HMSO, 1973) and N.E. Vanzan Marchini (ed.), *Le leggi di sanità della Repubblica di Venezia*, 4 vols. (Venice: CISO-Neri Pozza, 1995-2000).

- Addyman, P.V., "The Archaeology of Public Health at York, England," *World Archaeology* 21 (1989), pp. 244-63.
- Albertani, G., "Igiene e decoro: Bologna secondo il registro del 'notaio del fango' (1285)," *Storia Urbana* 116 (2007), pp. 19-36.
- Alexander, J.T., *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia: Public Health and Urban Disaster* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).
- Allen, D., "The Public Water Supply of Ipswich before the Municipal Corporation Act," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* 40 (2001), pp. 31-54 [PDF].
- Amin, M.M., *Al-Awqâf wa-l-hayât al-ijtimâ'iyya fî Misr, 648-923 H. / 1250-1517 M.* (Cairo: -Dar al Arabiyya-Nahdha al, 1980).
- Baker, P.A., H. Nijdam and K. van 't Land (eds.), *Medicine and Space: Body, Surroundings and Borders in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
- Balestracci, D., "The Regulation of Public Health in Italian Medieval Towns," in: H. Hundsbichler, G. Jaritz, and T. Kührtreiber (eds.), *Die Vielfalt der Dinge: Neue Wege zur Analyse mittelalterlicher Sachkultur* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), pp. 345-57.
- Bayless, M., *Sin and Filth in Medieval Culture: The Devil in the Latrine* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
- Bavel, B.J.P. van, and O. C. Gelderblom, "Land of Milk and Butter: The Economic Origins of Cleanliness in the Dutch Golden Age," *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 205 (2009), pp. 41-69.
- Benders, J., and D.E.H. de Boer, "Putten uit bronnen, bronnen uit putten. De sociale geschiedenis van waterput en beerput," in: E. Taverne et.al. (eds.), *Nederland Stedenland: Continuïteit en Vernieuwing* (Rotterdam: nai010, 2012), pp. 142-61.
- Bennison, A.K., and A.L. Gascoigne (eds.), *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
- Benz, E., *Fertility, Wealth, and Politics in Three Southwest German Villages 1650-1900* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).
- Bildstein, G.J., "Muhtasib and Shoter: The Shape of Cultural Diffusion," in: J. Pelaez del Rosal (ed.), *Sobre la vida y obra de Maimonides, I Congreso Internacional (Córdoba, 1985)* (Cordoba: Ediciones El Almendro, 1985), pp. 37-43.
- Bik, J.G.W.F., *Vijf eeuwen medisch leven in een Hollandse stad* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955).
- Biow, D., *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- Bocchi, F., "Regulation of the Urban Environment by the Italian Communes from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 72 (1990), pp. 63-78 [PDF].
- , "Regolamenti urbanistici, spazi pubblici, disposizioni antinquinamento e per l'igiene nelle maggiori città della Sardegna medievale," in: *La Corona d'Aragona in Italia (secc. XIII-XVIII)* (Pisa: ETS, 1995), II.1, pp. 73-124.
- Boele, A., *Leden van één lichaam: denkbeelden over armen, armenzorg en liefdadigheid in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1300-1650* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013).
- Boisseuil, D., "Espaces et pratiques du bain au Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 43 (2002), pp. 5-11 [Online here].
- Bonfield, C.A., "The *Regimen sanitatis* and its dissemination in England, c. 1348-1550" (PhD Dissertation, University of East Anglia, 2006).

- Boone, M., "Openbare diensten en initiatieven te Gent tijdens de late Middeleeuwen (14de-15de Eeuw)," in: *Handelingen 11de Internationaal Colloquium Te Spa. 1-4 Sept. 1982*. Historische Uitgave 65 (1984), pp. 71-114.
- Bowers, K.W., *Plague and Public Health in Early Modern Seville* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013).
- Bradley, M., and K.R. Stow (eds.), *Rome, Pollution, and Propriety: Dirt, Disease and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity*. British School at Rome Studies. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Brenner, E., "Leprosy and Public Health in Late Medieval Rouen," in *The Fifteenth Century XII: Society in an Age of Plague*, ed. L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 123-38.
- Breveglieri, B., "Il notaio del fango," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, new ser. 56 (2005), pp. 95-152.
- Brimblecombe, P., *The Big Smoke: A History of Air Pollution in London since Medieval Times* (London: Methuen, 1987).
- Brockington, C.F., *A Short History of Public Health*, 2nd ed. (London: Churchill, 1966).
- Bullough, V., and Campbell, C., "Female Longevity and Diet in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 55 (1980), pp. 317-25.
- Bulst, N., and R. Delort (eds.), *Maladies et société (XIIe – XVIIIe siècles)*, Actes du colloque de Bielefeld, novembre 1986 (Paris: Editions CNRS, 1989).
- Butler, L., "'Washing off the Dust': Baths and Bathing in Late Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 60 (2005), pp. 1–41 [\[PDF\]](#).
- Camphuijsen, F. and J. Coomans, "De middeleeuwse stad en zijn varkens," *Madoc* 28 (2015), pp. 140-49.
- Carabellese, F. *La peste del 1348 e le condizioni della sanità pubblica in Toscana* (Rocca S. Casciano: Licinio Cappelli, 1897).
- Carmichael, A.G., "Infection, Hidden Hunger and History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14 (1983), pp. 249-64.
- , *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- , "Plague Legislation in the Italian Renaissance," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 7 (1983), pp. 508-25.
- Carr, D.R., "Controlling the Butchers in Late Medieval English Towns," *The Historian* 70 (2008), pp. 450-61.
- Cavallo, S., "Health, Beauty, and Hygiene," in: M. Ajmar-Wollheim and F. Dennis (eds.), *At Home in Renaissance Italy* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum publications, 2006), pp. 174-87.
- , and T. Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- , and D. Gentilcore (eds.), *Spaces, Objects and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).
- Cavert, W.M., *The Smoke of London: Energy and Environment in the Early Modern City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Chalmeta Gendro, P., *El señor del zoco en España: edades media y moderna* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973).
- Chattopadhyay, A., "Some Rules for Public Health in Kautilya," *Nagarjun* 11 (1967), pp. 158–61.

- , "Hygienic Principles in the Regulations of Food Habits in the Dharma Sūtras," *Nagarjun* 11 (1968), pp. 194–99.
- , "A Note on Some Hygienic Principles in the Manu Smṛti," *Nagarjun* 12 (1969), pp. 29–31.
- Ciecznyski, N. J., "The Stench of Disease: Public Health and the Environment in Late-Medieval English Towns and Cities," *Health, Culture and Society* 4 (2013), pp. 92-104 [PDF].
- Cipolla, C.M., *Cristofano and the Plague: A Study of Public Health in the Age of Galileo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
- , *Public Health and the Medical Profession in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
- , *Faith, Reason and the Plague: A Tuscan Story of the Seventeenth Century* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1979).
- , *Fighting the Plague in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981).
- , *Miasmi ed umori: ecologia e condizioni sanitarie in Toscana nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989).
- Città e servizi sociali nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XV* (Pistoia: Centro Italiano di Studi di Storia e d'Arte Pistoia, 1990).
- Classen, A. (ed.), *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009).
- Cockayne, E., *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England, 1600-1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
- Cohn, Jr., S.K., *Cultures of Plague: Medical Thinking at the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Conrad, L., *Epidemic Disease in Formal and Popular Thought in Early Islamic Society* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992).
- , and D. Wujastyk (eds.), *Contagion: Perspectives from Pre-Modern Societies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
- Coomans, J., and G. Geltner, "On the Street and in the Bath-House: Medieval Galenism in Action?," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 43 (2013), pp. 53-82 [PDF].
- Coomans, J., "The King of Dirt: Public Health and Sanitation in Late Medieval Ghent," *Urban History* (2018), pp. 1-24 [Online here].
- Cooper, T.P., "The Mediaeval Highways, Streets, Open Ditches, and Sanitary Conditions of the City of York," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 22 (1912), pp. 270-286.
- Crawshaw, J.L. Stevens, *Plague Hospitals: Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice* (Oxford: Ashgate, 2012).
- , "The Beasts of Burial: Pizzigamorti and Public Health for the Plague in Early Modern Venice," *Social History of Medicine* 24 (2011), pp. 570-87.
- Curtis, V.A., "Dirt, Disgust and Disease: A Natural History of Hygiene," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 61 (2007), pp. 660-64 [Online here].
- De pest in de Nederlanden: medisch historische beschouwingen 650 jaar na de Zwarte Dood: vierde symposium geschiedenis der geneeskundige wetenschappen, 21 Maart 1998 te Brussel* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België, 1999).
- Debaenst, B., "Historische stront op Vlaamse grond: Een inleidende studie in de historische faecologie" (Unpublished Thesis, University of Ghent, 1999) [Online here].

- Deligne, C., "Stedelijke economie en stadsecologie: Waterbeheer in Brussel en omgeving tussen 1000 en 1700," *Leidschrift* 21 (2006), pp. 57–72 [[Online here](#)],
- Demaitre, L., "Skin and the City: Cosmetic Medicine as an Urban Concern," in: F.E. Glaze and B.K. Nance (eds.), *Between Text and Patient: The Medical Enterprise in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Florence: SISMELE 2011), pp. 97-120.
- Deneweth, H., "Public Safety, Hygiene and Disease Prevention," in: J. Boelaert and S. Goegebuer (eds.), *From Surgeons to Plague Saints: Illness in Bruges in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bruges: Hospitaalmuseum: 2011), pp. 10-13.
- Diederiks, H., J.A. Faber and S. Hart, "Urbanisering, industrialisering en milieuaantasting in Nederland in de periode van 1500 tot 1800," *AAG Bijdragen* 18 (1973), pp. 251–71.
- Duri, A.A., "Governmental Institutions," in: R.B. Serjeant (ed.), *The Islamic City* (Paris: Unesco, 1980), pp. 52-65.
- Eedle, M.G., "Street Cleansing and Refuse Collection from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries (with Special Reference to Surrey)," *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 68 (1971), pp. 161-81 [[PDF](#)].
- Écochard, M., and C. Le Coeur, *Les bains de Damas*, 2 vols. (Beirut: Institut Français de Damas, 1942-43).
- Evans, D.H., "A Good Riddance to Bad Rubbish? Scatological Musings on Rubbish Disposal and the Handling of 'Filth' in Medieval and Early Post-Medieval Towns," in: K. de Groote, D. Tys, and M. Pieters (eds.), *Exchanging Medieval Material Culture: Studies on Archaeology and History Presented to Frans Verhaeghe* (Brussels: VIOE, 2010), pp. 267-78 [[Online here](#)].
- Ewert, U.C., "Water, Public Hygiene and Fire Control in Medieval Towns: Facing Collective Goods Problems While Ensuring the Quality of Life," *Historical Social Research* 32 (2007), pp. 222–51 [[Online here](#)].
- Fay, I.H.H., "English Hygiene," in: M. Carver and K. Klapste (eds.), *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe, vol. 2: Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2011), p. 172.
- , *Health and the City: Disease, Environment and Government in Norwich, 1200-1575* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015).
- Fissell, M.G., "Introduction: Women, Health and Healing in Early Modern Europe," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82 (2008), pp. 1-17.
- Foster, B.R., "Agronomos and Muhtasib," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13 (1970), pp. 128-44.
- Frier, B.W., "Natural Fertility and Family Limitation in Roman Marriage," *Classical Philology* 89 (1994), pp. 318-33.
- Gall, G.E., S. Lautenschlager and H.C. Bagheri, "Quarantine as a Public Health Measure against an Emerging Infectious Disease: Syphilis in Zurich at the Dawn of the Modern Era (1496-1585)" *GMS Hygiene and Infection Control* 11 (2016), pp. 1-10 [[Online here](#)].
- Gamal, A. S. (ed), *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Ridwan's Treatise "On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt"*, trans. M. W. Dols (Oakland: University of California Press, 1984).
- García-Ballester, L., et al. (eds.), *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- , "Un reto para el galenismo: mejorar la salud," in idem, *Artifex Factivus Sanitatis: saberes y ejercicio profesional de la medicina en la Europa pluricultural de la baja Edad Media* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2004), pp. 533–53.

- Gari, L., "Arabic Treatises on Environmental Pollution up to the End of the Thirteenth Century," *Environment and History* 8 (2002), pp. 475-88 [[Online here](#)].
- Geltner, G., "Public Health and the Pre-Modern City: A Research Agenda," *History Compass* 10 (2012), pp. 231-45 [[PDF](#)].
- , "Healthscaping a Medieval City: The *Curia viarum* of Lucca and the Future of Public Health History," *Urban History* 40 (2013), pp. 395-415 [[PDF](#)].
- , "Finding Matter out of Place: Bologna's 'Dirt' (Fango) Officials in the History of Premodern Public Health," in *The Far-Sighted Gaze of Capital Cities. Essays in Honor of Francesca Bocchi*, ed. Rosa Smurra, Houbert Houben and Manuela Ghizzoni. (Rome: Viella, 2014), 307-21 [[PDF](#)].
- , "Public Health," in *A Companion to Medieval Bologna*, ed. Sarah Rubin Blanshei. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 103-28 [[PDF](#)].
- , *Roads to Health: Infrastructure and Urban Wellbeing in Later Medieval Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, [forthcoming]). [[Open Access, preprint version](#)]
- Gläser, M. (ed.), *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum IV: die Infrastruktur* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2004).
- Glick, T.F., "Muhtasib and Mustasaf: A Case Study of Institutional Diffusion," *Viator* 2 (1971), pp. 59-81.
- , "New Perspectives on the Hisba and its Hispanic Derivatives," *Al-Qantara* 13 (1992), pp. 475-89.
- Goudsblom, J., "Public Health and the Civilizing Process," *The Milbank Quarterly* 64 (1986), pp. 160-88.
- Greci, R., "Il controllo della città: l'ufficio dei fanghi e strade a Bologna nel XIII secolo," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 75 (1991), pp. 650-61.
- Green, M. H., "Integrative Medicine: Incorporating Medicine and Health into the Canon of Medieval European History," *History Compass* 7 (2009), pp. 1218-45.
- , and D. Lord Smail, "The Case of Floreta d'Ays (1403): Jews, Christians, and Obstetrics in later Medieval Marseilles," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), pp. 185-211.
- Greig, J., "The Investigation of a Medieval Barrel-Latrine from Worcester," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 8 (1981), pp. 265-82.
- Grell, O.P., and A. Cunningham (eds.), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 1997).
- , A. Cunningham, and J. Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- Grigsby, B.L., "Medical Misconceptions," in: S.J. Harris and B.L. Grigsby (eds.), *Misconceptions about the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 142-50.
- Groenewoudt, B., and J. Benders, "Private and Shared Water Facilities in Rural Settlements and Small Towns. Archaeological and Historical Evidence from the Netherlands from the Medieval and Post-Medieval Periods," in: J. Klápště (ed.), *Hierarchies in Rural Settlements* (Turnholt: Brepols, 2013), pp. 245-62 [[PDF](#)].
- Guérin-Beauvois, M., and J.-M. Martin (eds.), *Bains curatifs et bains hygiéniques en Italie de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age*, Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 383 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007).
- Guillerme, A.E., *The Age of Water: The Urban Environment in the North of France, A.D. 300-1800* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1988).
- Hamarnah, S., "Origin and Function of the Hisbah System in Islam and its Impact on the Health Profession," *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 48 (1964), pp. 157-73.

- Hanley, S.B. "Urban Sanitation in Preindustrial Japan," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18 (1987), pp. 1–26 [[PDF](#)].
- Harvey, H. R., "Public Health in Aztec Society," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 57 (1981), pp. 157–65 [[Online here](#)].
- Hecht, J., "From 'Be Fruitful and Multiply' to Family Planning: The Enlightenment Transition," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999), pp. 536-51.
- Heijden, M. van der, E. van Nederveen Meerkerk, and G. Vermeesch (eds.), *Serving the Urban Community: The Rise of Public Facilities in the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
- Henderson, J., "Public Health, Pollution and the Problem of Waste Disposal in Early Modern Tuscany," in: S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Le interazioni fra economia e ambiente biologico nell'Europa preindustriale. Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2010), pp. 373-82.
- Higounet-Nadal, A., "Hygiène, salubrité, pollutions au Moyen Age: L'exemple de Périgueux." *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1975), pp. 81–92 [[Online here](#)].
- Hope, V.M., and E. Marshall (eds.), *Death and Disease in the Ancient City* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- Hopkins, K., "Contraception in the Roman Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8 (1965–66), pp. 124-51.
- Horde, P. *Hospitals and Healing from Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
- Hoven van Genderen, B. van den, "De Vieze En Ongezonde Middeleeuwen?," in: R. Meens and C. van Rhijn (eds.), *Cultuurgeschiedenis van de Middeleeuwen - Beeldvorming En Perspectieven* (Zwolle: WBooks, 2015), pp. 249–65.
- Hughes, J.D., *Pan's Travail: Environmental Problems of the Ancient Greeks and Romans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- Jack, R.I., "The Fire Ordinances of Ruthin, 1364," *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society* 28 (1979), pp. 5-17.
- Jansen, M., "Water Supply and Sewage Disposal at Mohenjo-Daro," *World Archaeology* 21 (1989), pp. 177-92.
- Jarry, D., "Diététique et hygiène au XIIIe et XIVe siècle," *Languedoc Medical* 41 (1958), pp. 5-24.
- Jenner, M.S.R., "Underground, Overground: Pollution and Place in Urban History," *Journal of Urban History* 24 (1997), pp. 97-110.
- Jørgensen, D., "Cooperative Sanitation: Managing Streets and Gutters in Late Medieval England and Scandinavia," *Technology and Culture* 49 (2008), pp. 547-67 [[Online here](#)].
- , "'All Good Rule of the Cite': Sanitation and Civic Government in England, 1400-1600," *Journal of Urban History* 36 (2010), pp. 300-315 [[Online here](#)].
- , "The Medieval Sense of Smell, Stench, and Sanitation," in: U. Krampfl, R. Beck, and E. Retailaud-Bajac (eds.), *Les cinq sens de la ville du Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2013), pp. 301-13 [[Online here](#)].
- , "Running Amuck? Urban Swine Management in Late Medieval England," *Agricultural History* 87 (2013), pp. 429-51.
- Keene, D.J., "Rubbish in Medieval Towns," in: A. R. Hall and H. K. Kenward (eds.), *Environmental Archaeology in the Urban Context* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1982), pp. 26-30.
- King, H. (ed.), *Health in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2005).

- King, W., "How High is too High? The Disposal of Dung in Seventeenth-Century Prescott," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 23 (1992), pp. 443-57.
- Kinzelbach, A., "Infection, Contagion, and Public Health in Late Medieval German Imperial Towns," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 61 (2006), pp. 369-89.
- Kiple, K.F. (ed.), *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- Koloski-Ostrow, A.O., *The Archaeology of Sanitation in Roman Italy: Toilets, Sewers, and Water Systems* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
- Kosso, C., and A. Scott (eds.), *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
- Kucher, M., *The Water Supply System of Siena, Italy: The Medieval Roots of the Modern Networked City* (London/New York: Routledge, 2005).
- , "The Use of Water and Its Regulation in Medieval Siena," *Journal of Urban History* 31 (2005), pp. 504-36.
- Kwakman, C., "Slijkburgers in Utrecht," *Madoc: Tijdschrift over de Middeleeuwen* 19 (2005), pp. 167-74.
- L'initiative Publique Des Communes En Belgique: Fondements Historiques (ancien Régime) = Het Openbaar Initiatief van de Gemeenten in België :historische Grondslagen (ancien régime)*, Collection Histoire, Série in-8° 65 (Brussel: Credit Communal de Belgique, 1984).
- Labisch, A., "History of Public Health: History in Public Health Looking Back and Looking Forward," *Social History of Medicine* 11 (1998), pp. 1-13.
- Ladan, R., *Gezondheidszorg in Leiden in de late middeleeuwen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).
- Lahr, M. M., and J. E. Bowman, "Paleopathology of the Kechipawan Site: Health and Disease in a Southwestern Pueblo," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 19 (1992), pp. 639-54.
- Landuyt, M., "'Ongerief ende perykel': Milieuproblemen en het ecologisch draagvlak van een stedelijke samenleving in het Ancien Régime: Kortrijk in de 17de -18de eeuw" (Unpublished thesis, University of Ghent, 2005).
- Lecuppre-Desjardin, E., "Grote schoonmaak in de stad: De sanering, beveiliging en ruimtelijke inrichting van de stad naar aanleiding van vorstelijke feestelijkheden in de Bourgondische Nederlanden (14e-15e eeuw)," *Jaarboek voor Ecologische Geschiedenis* (2002), pp. 19-37.
- Leguay, J.-P. *La pollution au moyen age dans la royaume de France et dans les grands fiefs* (Paris: Jean-Paul Gisserot, 1999).
- Leung, A. Ki Che, "Hygiène et santé publique dans la Chine pré-moderne," in *Les hygienists. Enjeux, modèles et pratiques*, ed. Patrice Bourdelais (Paris: Belin, 2001), pp. 343-71.
- Levey, M., "Fourteenth-Century Muslim Medicine and the Hisba," *Medical History* 7 (1963), pp. 176-82.
- Litzenburger, L., "La sécurité alimentaire et sanitaire à Metz à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Histoire Urbaine* 47 (2016), pp. 131-48.
- Loewe, R., "Handwashing and the Eyesight in the *Regimen Sanitatis*," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 30 (1956), pp. 100-8.
- Maclot, P., and W. Pottier (eds.), *'n Propere tijd!?: (on)leefbaar Antwerpen thuis en op straat (1500-1800)* (Antwerp: Antwerpse Vereniging voor Bodem- en Grotonderzoek, 1988).
- Magnusson, R.J., *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, Monasteries, and Waterworks after the Roman Empire* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

- , "Medieval Urban Environmental History," *History Compass* 11 (2013), pp. 189–200.
- Martin, J.-M. (ed.), *Bains curatifs et bains hygiéniques en Italie de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007).
- Martin, A., *Deutsches Badewesen in vergangenen Tagen* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1906).
- Mazo Karras, R., "Women's Labors: Reproduction and Sex Work in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Women's History* 15 (2004), pp. 153-58.
- Mazzi, M. S., "'Per la preservatione et Bene Universale': La politica sanitaria del governo Fiorentino nel Quattrocento," in: Ninci, R. (ed.), *La Società Fiorentina Nel Basso Medioevo*. (Roma, 1995), pp. 199–219.
- McCormick, M., "Rats, Communications, and Plague: Toward an Ecological History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 34 (2003), pp. 1-25 [[Online here](#)].
- McVaugh, M.R., "Arnald of Villanova's Regimen Almarie (Regimen Castra Sequentium) and Medieval Military Medicine," *Viator* 23 (1992), pp. 201–14.
- Metzler, I., *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking about Physical Impairment during the High Middle Ages, c. 1100-1400* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Meyer, A., and J. Schulz-Grobert (eds.), *Gesund und krank im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Eudora Verlag, 2007).
- Mistry, Z., *Abortion in the Early Middle Ages, c. 500-900* (York: York Medieval Press, 2015).
- Mitchell, P., "Human Parasites in Medieval Europe: Lifestyle, Sanitation and Medical Treatment," *Advances in Parasitology* 90 (2015), pp. 389–420.
- , *Sanitation, Latrines and Intestinal Parasites in Past Populations* (London: Ashgate, 2015).
- Morrison, S.S., *Excrement in the Late Middle Ages: Sacred Filth and Chaucer's Fecopoeitics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Mottahedeh, R., and K.A. Stilt, "Public and Private as Viewed through the Work of the Muhtasib," *Social Research* 70 (2003), pp. 735-48 [[Online here](#)].
- Müller, W.P., *The Criminalization of Abortion in the West: Its Origins in Medieval Law* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).
- Muntané, J.X., "Metges jueus contractats pel govern municipal de Tàrrrega durant els segles XIV i XV," *Urtx* 26 (2012), pp. 135-47 [[Online here](#)].
- Naaktgeboren, P., "'Hoe dichter bij Dordt, hoe heerlicker het wordt': Ruimte, geur en geluid in laatmiddeleeuws Dordrecht," MA thesis Leiden University, 2015.
- Naso, I., *Medici e strutture sanitarie nella società tardo-medievale. Il Piemonte dei secoli XIV e XV* (Milan: Angeli, 1982).
- Nicoud, M., *Les régimes de santé au moyen âge: naissance et diffusion d'une écriture médicale, XIIIe-XVe siècle*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007).
- , "Médecine, prévention et santé publique en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge," in: P. Boucheron and J. Chiffolleau (eds.), *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Age: études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 483-98.
- , "L'alimentation, un risque pour la santé ? Discours médical et pratiques alimentaires au Moyen Âge." *Médiévales: Langues, Textes, Histoire* 69 (2015), pp. 149–70.
- Noonan Jr., J.T., *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

- Noordegraaf, L, and G. Valk, *De gave Gods: de pest in Holland vanaf de late middeleeuwen* (Bergen: Octavo, 1988).
- Numbers, R.L., and D.W. Amundsen (eds.), *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Tradition* (New York: Macmillan, 1986).
- Nutton, V., "The Seeds of Disease: An Explanation of Contagion and Infection from the Greeks to the Renaissance," *Medical History* 27 (1983), pp. 1-34.
- Ogawa, T. (ed.), *Public Health, Proceedings of the 5th International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West* (Tokyo: Saikon, 1981).
- Ojala, M., "Water and Urban Space in Late Medieval Stockholm," in: J. Costlow et al. (eds.), *Water in Social Imagination: From Technological Optimism to Contemporary Environmentalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 28–48.
- Olea, R.A., and G. Christakos, "Duration of Urban Mortality for the Fourteenth-Century Black Death Epidemic," *Human Biology* 77 (2005), pp. 291-303.
- Oosten, R. van, *De stad, het vuil en de beerput: een archeologisch-historische studie naar de opkomst, verbreiding en neergang van de beerput in stedelijke context* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015).
- , "The Dutch Great Stink: The End of the Cesspit Era in the Pre-Industrial Towns of Leiden and Haarlem," *European Journal of Archaeology* 19 (2016), pp. 704–27 [[Online here](#)].
- Park, K., *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Parker, R., *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).
- Petaros, A., et al. "Public Health Problems in the Medieval Statutes of Croatian Adriatic Coastal Towns: From Public Morality to Public Health," *Journal of Religion and Health* 52 (2013), pp. 531–37.
- Porter, D. (ed.), *A History of Public Health and the Modern State* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1994).
- , *Health, Civilization and the State: A History of Public Health from Ancient to Modern Times* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- Poulsen, P., *Van burenlust tot milieuhinder: het stedelijk leefmilieu 1500-1800* (Kapellen: DNB/Pelckmans 1987).
- Ranger, T., and P. Slack (eds.), *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Rawcliffe, C., "Health and Safety at Work in East Anglia," in: C. Harper-Bell (ed.), *Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2005), pp. 130-51.
- , "Sources for the Study of Public Health in the Medieval City," in: J.T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 177-95.
- , "The Concept of Health in Medieval Society," in: S. Cavaciocchi (ed.), *Le interazioni fra economia e ambiente biologico nell'Europa preindustriale, Secc. XIII-XVIII* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2010), pp. 317-34.
- , *Urban Bodies: Public Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities c. 1250-1530* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2013).

- Reklaityte, I., “‘The Smell of Rotting Corpses Infected the Air’: Notes on Sanitation, Pollution and Urban Ecology in Al-Andalus,” in *Medieval Urban Identity: Health Economy and Regulation*, ed. Flocel Sabate (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 13-23.
- Riccetti, L., “‘Per avere dell’acqua buona per bere.’ Orvieto: città e cantieri del duomo, secoli XIV-XV,” *Nuova rivista storica* 78 (1994), pp. 241-92.
- Ricci, A., *I corpi della pietà: l’assistenza a Cremona intorno al complesso di S. Maria della Pietà, XV secolo*, Annali Della Biblioteca Statale e Libreria Civica di Cremona 60 (Cremona: Biblioteca statale di Cremona, 2011).
- Riddle, J.M., *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- , *Eve’s Herbs: A History of Contraception and Abortion in the West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).
- Roca Traver, F.A., *El Mustaçaf de Castellón y el “Libre de la Mustaçaffía”* (Castellón de la Plana: Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, 1973).
- Rocchigiani, R., “Urbanistica ed igiene negli *statuti Senesi* del XIII e XIV secolo,” *Studi Senesi* 70 (1958), pp. 369–419.
- Rosen, G., *The History of Public Health* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993) [orig. publ. New York: MD Publications, 1958].
- Ruiz-Moreno, A., “Los baños públicos en los fueros municipales españoles,” *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 3 (1945), pp. 152-57 [[Online here](#)].
- Russell, A.W. (ed.), *The Town and the State Physician in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1981).
- Sabine, E.L., “Butchering in Mediaeval London,” *Speculum* 8 (1933), pp. 335-53.
- , “Latrines and Cesspools of Mediaeval London,” *Speculum* 9 (1934), pp. 303-21.
- , “City Cleaning in Mediaeval London,” *Speculum* 12 (1937), pp. 19-43.
- Sakai, S., Y. Ostura, and Y. Kawakita (eds.), *History of Hygiene: Proceedings of the 12th International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West* (Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, 1991).
- Salminen, T., “Public Road, Common Duty – Public Road, Private Space?: King Magnus Eriksson’s Law and the Understanding of Road as a Space in Late Medieval Finland and the Swedish Realm,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 35 (2010), pp. 115-34.
- Salusbury, G.T., *Street Life in Medieval England* (Oxford: Pen-in Hand, 1939).
- Sand, R., *Vers la médecine sociale* (Paris: Bailliére et fils; Liège: Editions Desoer, 1948); English edition: *The Advance to Social Medicine*, trans. R. Bradshaw (London: Staples Press, 1952).
- Scanlon, G.T., “Housing and Sanitation: Some Aspects of Medieval Islamic Public Service,” in: A. Hourani and S. M. Stern (eds.), *The Islamic City: A Colloquium* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1970), pp. 179-94.
- Schevensteen, A. F. C. van, “De Hygienische Maatregelen van Het Magistraat van Antwerpen in de 15e Eeuw.” *Geschiedenis Der Geneeskunde* 71 (1927), pp. 2479-92.
- Sevillano Colom, F., *Valencia urbana medieval a través del oficio de Mustaçaf. Estudio y edicion de textos* (Valencia: Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Historicos, 1957).
- , “De la institución del mustaçaf de Barcelona, de Mallorca y de Valencia,” *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 23 (1953), pp. 525-38 [[Online here](#)].

- Sheard, S., and H. Power (eds.), *Body and City: Histories of Urban Public Health* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
- Silva Gracias, F. D. *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa, 1510–1961* (New Delhi: Concept, 1994).
- Skelton, L. J., *Sanitation in Urban Britain, 1560–1700* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Slack, P., *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985).
- Smit, C., *Leiden met een luchtje: straten, water, groen en afval in een Hollandse stad, 1200-2000* (Leiden: Primavera, 2001).
- Sori, E., *La città e i rifiuti. Ecologia urbana dal Medioevo al primo Novecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001).
- Spada, N., “Leggi veneziane sulle industrie chimiche a tutela della salute pubblica dal secolo XIII al XVIII,” *Archivio Veneto* 8 (1930), pp. 126-56.
- Spitzers, Th. A., “Archaeological Evidence and Models on Waste-Disposal and the Infrastructure of Deventer,” In: M. Gläser (ed.), *Lübecker Kolloquium Zur Stadtarchäologie Im Hanseraum, IV: Die Infrastruktur* (Lübeck: Verlag Schmidt-Römhild, 2004), pp. 117-36.
- Stearns, J.K., *Infectious Ideas: Contagion in Medieval Islamic and Christian Thought* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).
- Steckel, R.H., “New Light on the ‘Dark Ages’,” *Social Science History* 28 (2004), pp. 211-29 [[PDF](#)].
- Stilt, K.A., “Regulating Medieval Cairo,” in: F. Daftary, E. Fernea, and A. Nanji (eds.), *Living in Historic Cairo: Past and Present in an Islamic City* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), pp. 62-70.
- , “The Muhtasib, Law and Society in Early Mamluk Cairo and Fustat (642-802/1250-1400)” (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2004).
- , “Recognizing the Individual: The Muhtasibs of Early Mamluk Cairo and Fustat,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 7 (2006), pp. 63-84 [[PDF](#)].
- Strohm, P., “Sovereignty and Sewage,” in: H. Cooper and A. Denny-Brown (eds.), *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 57-70.
- Te Brake, W.H., “Air Pollution and Fuel Crises in Pre-Industrial London, 1250-1650,” *Technology and Culture* 16 (1975), pp. 337-59.
- Theilmann, J.M., “The Regulation of Public Health in Late Medieval England,” in: J.L. Gillespie (ed.), *The Ages of Richard II* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 205-23.
- Thomas, F., “Hygiène, approvisionnement en eau et gestion hydrographique à Namur au XVème siècle,” *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur* 68 (1994), pp. 235–305.
- Thorndike, L., “Sanitation, Baths, and Street-Cleaning in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,” *Speculum* 3 (1928), pp. 92-103.
- Torres Balbás, L., “Los baños públicos en los fueros municipales españoles,” *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), pp. 443-45 [[Online here](#)].
- Trexler, R.C., “Measures against Water Pollution in Fifteenth-Century Florence,” *Viator* 5 (1974), pp. 455-67.
- Tuchen, B., *Öffentliche Badhäuser in Deutschland und der Schweiz im Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit*, (Petersberg: Imhoff, 2003).

- Vannieuwenhuyze, B., and C. Deligne, "La Spatialisation de La « Pollution » Dans Les Villes Médiévales: Réflexions À Partir de La Toponymie Urbaine et Du Cas de Bruxelles," in I. Parmentier (ed.), *La Recherche En Histoire de L'environnement: Belgique - Luxembourg - Congo- Rwanda-Burundi* (Namur: Actes PREbel, 2010), pp. 89-110.
- Varlik, N., *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Vicente Marsilla, J., and C. Ferragud. "The Great Fire of Medieval Valencia (1447)." *Urban History* 1 (2015), pp. 1–17.
- Vis, G.N.M., *Van "Vulliscuyt" tot huisvuilcentrale: Vuilnis en afval en hun verwerking in Alkmaar en omgeving van de Middeleeuwen tot Heden* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996).
- Waite, G., "Public Health in Pre-Colonial East-Central Africa," *Social Science and Medicine* 24 (1987), pp. 197–208.
- Waldron, T., "The Effects of Urbanisation on Human Health: The Evidence from Skeletal Remains," in: D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Diet and Craft in Towns: The Evidence of Animal Remains from the Roman to the Post-Medieval Periods* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), pp. 55-73.
- Walter, J., and R. Schofield (eds.), *Famine, Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- Wazer, C., "Between Public Health and Popular Medicine: Senatorial and Popular Responses to Epidemic Disease in the Roman Republic," in: W.V. Harris (ed.), *Popular Medicine in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: Explorations*. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 126–46.
- Wear, A., "Place, Health, and Disease: The Airs, Waters, Places Tradition in Early Modern England and North America," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008), pp. 443-65.
- C. Weeda, "Reviewing Conduct Books: Galenic Medicine and the "Civilising Process" in Western European Households c.1100–1300", in Christopher M. Woolgar (ed.), *The Elite Household in England, 1100-1550: Proceedings of the 2016 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2018), 167-184.
- Wheeler, J., "Stench in Sixteenth-Century Venice," in: A. Cowan and J. Steward (eds.), *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 25-38.
- Winter, C.L., "The Portsoken Presentments: An Analysis of a London Ward in the 15th Century," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 56 (2005), pp. 97–162 [[Online here](#)].
- Zupko, R.E., and R.A. Laues, *Straws in the Wind: Medieval Urban Environmental Law* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996).

Hyperlinks to digital Public Health Projects:

<https://premodernhealthscaping.hcommons.org/>