

## Online Appendix

### Window of Opportunity: War and the Origins of Parliament

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## Appendix A: Additional Tables and Figure

Table A.1: Replace Unit Fixed Effects with Fixed Effects by Region

<i>Dependent variable</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)
	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>		
Conflict participation	0.055*** (0.013)	0.053*** (0.017)	0.054*** (0.017)
Trade potential			0.010 (0.007)
Region FE	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y
Polity trends	N	Y	Y
Years included		Post-Commune	
# Observations	8,725	8,725	8,725
# Polities	37	37	37
R-squared (within)	0.131	0.138	0.139

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

Table A.2: Include Polity-Year Observations prior to Communal Revolution

<i>Dependent variable</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)
	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>		
Conflict participation	0.047*** (0.014)	0.046*** (0.016)	0.048*** (0.016)
Trade potential			-0.039** (0.017)
Polity FE	Y	Y	Y
Polity trends	N	Y	Y
Years included		All	
# Observations	12,550	12,550	12,550
# Polities	37	37	37
R-squared (within)	0.132	0.140	0.140

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

Table A.3: Alternative Parliamentary Birth Years

Polity	Parliamentary Birth Year (Benchmark)	Parliamentary Birth Year (Alternative)	Source (Alternative)
Aragon	1348	1247	Payne 1973: 82
Castile	1250	1212	Payne 1973: 82
Catalonia	1228	1214	Payne 1973: 82
Navarre	1355	1300	Payne 1973: 82
Piedmont	1328	1375	Marongiu 1968: 196
Sicily	1283	1232	Marongiu 1968: 112
Sweden	1523	1435	Hadenius 1998: 31
Wurttemberg	1457	1520	Grube 1957

Table A.4: Alternative Parliamentary Birth Years: Results

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
<i>Dependent variable</i>				<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>					
Conflict participation	0.055*** (0.016)	0.054*** (0.016)	0.055*** (0.016)	0.054*** (0.016)	0.056*** (0.016)	0.051*** (0.017)	0.056*** (0.015)	0.056*** (0.016)	
Alternative birth year	Aragon	Castile	Catalonia	Navarre	Piedmont	Sicily	Sweden	Wurttemberg	
Polity FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
Years included				Post-Commune					
# Observations	8,624	8,687	8,711	8,670	8,772	8,674	8,637	8,788	
# Politics	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	37	
R-squared (within)	0.134	0.134	0.134	0.131	0.133	0.132	0.140	0.133	

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

Table A.5: Alternative Conflict Participation Years

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>					
Conflict participation	0.013* (0.007)	0.016** (0.007)	0.037*** (0.014)	0.047*** (0.014)	0.058*** (0.020)	0.060** (0.024)
Alternative <i>p</i>	5	10	15	20	30	35
Polity FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Years included	Post-Commune					
# Observations	8,845	8,815	8,785	8,755	8,695	8,665
# Polities	37	37	37	37	37	37
R-squared (within)	0.132	0.132	0.133	0.134	0.133	0.133

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.10$

Table A.6: Alternative Conflict Participation Variable

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<i>Dependent variable</i>	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>						
Conflict participation	0.026** (0.011)	0.029* (0.014)	0.046* (0.024)	0.054** (0.024)	0.060** (0.027)	0.061* (0.032)	0.060 (0.037)
<i>p</i>	5	10	15	20	25	30	35
Polity FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
# Observations	8,845	8,815	8,785	8,755	8,725	8,695	8,665
# Polities	37	37	37	37	37	37	37
R-squared (within)	0.132	0.132	0.132	0.132	0.132	0.132	0.132

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.10$

Table A.7: Data Averages

<i>Dependent variable</i>	(1)	(2)
	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>	
Conflict participation	0.154 (0.105)	0.503** (0.203)
Data granularity	10-yr avg	20-yr avg
Polity FE	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y
Years included		Post-Commune
# Observations	903	462
# Polities	37	37
R-squared (within)	0.191	0.270

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-decade in column 1, polity-bi-decade (i.e. 20 years) in column 2, and polity-tri-decade (i.e. 30 years) in column 3. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*  $p < 0.10$

Table A.8: Parliamentary Birth Years: City-States

Polity	Parliamentary Birth (Year)
Cologne	1259
Florence	1284
Genoa	1099
Lucca	1160
Milan	Never
Siena	1176
Venice	1172

*Notes:* For construction methods and source materials, see text and Appendices B and C.

Table A.9: Include City-States

<i>Dependent variable</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)
		<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>	
Conflict participation	0.045** (0.017)	0.054*** (0.017)	0.054*** (0.018)
Trade potential			0.012 (0.031)
Polity FE	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y
Polity trends	N	Y	Y
Years included		Post-Commune	
# Observations	10,081	10,081	10,081
# Polities	44	44	44
R-squared (within)	0.096	0.110	0.110

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

Table A.10: Alternative Conflict Data

<i>Dependent variable</i>	(1)	(2)
	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>	
Conflict participation (Kokkonen-Sundell data)	0.010* (0.005)	
Conflict participation (plus Brecke data)		0.010* (0.005)
Polity FE	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y
Years included		All
# Observations	4,593	4,593
# Polities	18	18
R-squared (within)	0.183	0.183

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10

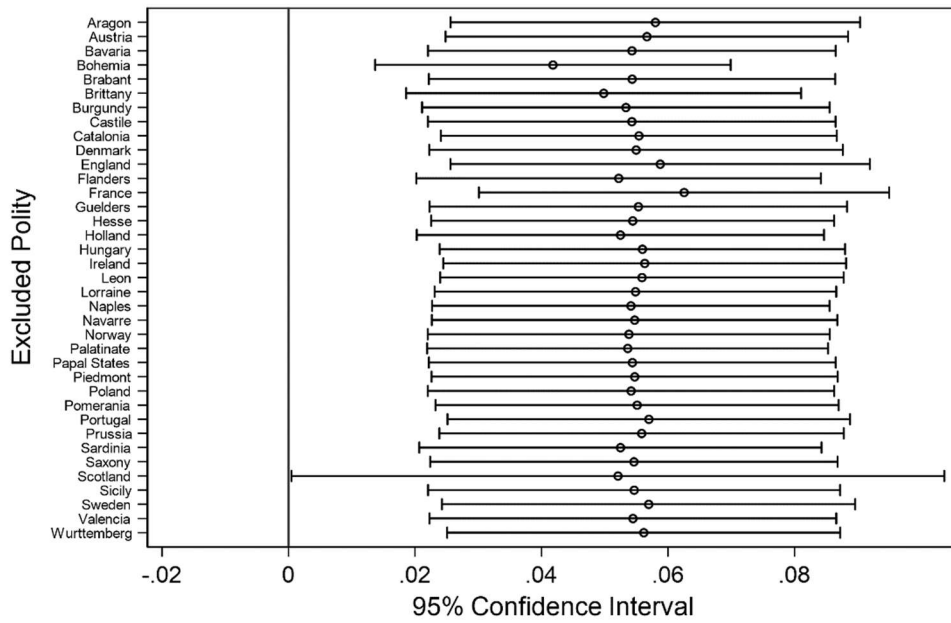
Table A.11: Controls for Successions, Heirs, and Primogeniture (Kokkonen-Sundell Data)

<i>Dependent variable</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	<i>ParliamentaryBirth</i>			
Conflict participation (Kokkonen-Sundell data)	0.010* (0.005)	0.010* (0.005)	0.010** (0.005)	0.010** (0.005)
Natural deaths	0.005 (0.008)		0.011 (0.014)	0.007 (0.007)
No male children		-0.003 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.008)
Primogeniture				0.001 (0.004)
Natural deaths $\times$ No male children			-0.007 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.014)
Natural deaths $\times$ Primogeniture				0.005 (0.014)
Polity FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Years included			All	
# Observations	4,593	4,593	4,593	4,593
# Polities	18	18	18	18
R-squared (within)	0.184	0.183	0.184	0.184

*Notes:* Estimation method is OLS. Unit of analysis is polity-year. Sample period is 1000-1599. Robust standard errors clustered at polity level in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.10



Figure A.1: Exclude Polities One by One



Notes: Black dots represent point estimates for regression model in column 1 of Table 2 when we exclude each polity one by one. Horizontal bars indicate 95 percent confidence intervals.

## Appendix B: Parliamentary Birth Years: Polity Level across Europe

In Section B.1, we explain our general coding scheme for parliamentary birth years at the polity level in Europe between 1000 and 1599. In Section B.2, we provide the details of our codings for each individual sample polity, first for the main sample of territorial monarchies and second for the extended sample that includes city-states. We also discuss what would happen if we included shorter-lived polities that survived a minimum of 50 years (i.e. versus 100 years in the benchmark).

### B.1 General Coding Scheme

Our sample of polities consists of all European states that satisfied the following three criteria: (1) the polity existed as a sovereign (or semi-sovereign) non-tribal entity in either Latin or Orthodox Christendom in 1200; (2) it exceeded 5,000 square kilometers in size in 1200; and (3) it survived a minimum of 100 years (i.e. until at least 1300).

To identify the states satisfying our inclusion criteria, we created a master list of potential sample polities based on Stasavage (2010), van Zanden, Buringh and Bosker (2012), Wikipedia, and Euratlas (Nussli 2010).<sup>1</sup> Using this master list, we analyzed each potential sample polity one by one to determine whether it satisfied our three criteria for sample inclusion. This process yielded 44 territorial monarchies (listed in Table 1) and 7 city-states (listed in Appendix Table A.8).

We define the birth of a parliament as the first year in which a national parliament met that included urban representatives and wielded tax authority. We count urban representatives as being included beginning when they were first present in parliament according to the relevant group of historians. We count a parliament as wielding tax authority if and only if it had the right to approve or reject at least some important forms of extraordinary taxation.<sup>2</sup>

To identify parliamentary birth years, we looked first at the codings in Stasavage (2010). As these codings are at 50-year intervals, and we need specific birth years for our analysis, we next examined the polity-specific secondary sources listed in Stasavage's (2010) and van Zanden et al.'s (2012) supplementary appendices. If those sources did not yield specific birth years, then we looked to further polity-specific secondary sources. We document and justify the coding decisions for each polity in Subsections B.2.1 and B.2.2.

Finally, we discuss what would happen if we relaxed our third criterion to include shorter-lived polities that survived a minimum of 50 years (i.e. versus 100 years as in the benchmark) in Subsection B.2.3.

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<sup>1</sup> Wikipedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_states\\_during\\_the\\_Middle\\_Ages](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_states_during_the_Middle_Ages); Access date: November 26, 2017. Euratlas: <https://www.euratlas.net/history/europe/1200/index.html>; Access date: April 8, 2022.

<sup>2</sup> Monarchs typically had the right to collect ordinary taxes for the duration of their reigns, but had to secure permission to levy and collect extraordinary taxes.

## B.2 Coding by Individual Polity

To document and justify the coding decisions for each sample polity, we have transcribed key passages from secondary sources below. The italics are ours; we have used them to highlight key terms and/or years. Similarly, we have added the content in brackets to provide key contextual details. Please refer directly to the cited sources for further details.

### B.2.1 Main Sample: Territorial Monarchies

#### *Aragon*

Graves (2001: 15): “In 1137 dynastic marriage united Aragon and the richer commercial Catalonia and in the 1230s King James I of Aragon-Catalonia conquered Valencia. In the federation of these three states [Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia], known as the Crown of Aragon, each one developed and retained its own parliament...As we shall see, their structure and organization varied, but they shared several common features: their relations with the king constituted a legal compact with mutual obligations; they had extensive powers, including legislation and *control of the grant of taxes*; they reinforced by a range of privileges...”

Graves (2001: 15-16): “Bisson concludes that, whilst the Cortes [of Catalonia] had ‘achieved objective institutional identity’ early in the next century [fourteenth], they ‘were still in gestation’. This is equally true in Aragon, where assemblies gradually assumed a parliamentary form, as *urban representatives joined meetings of nobles* during the thirteenth century. But the contractual relationship between king and subjects, ‘upon which the basic principles of Aragonese parliamentarism were founded’, *was not achieved until 1348.*”

Graves (2001: 16): “Although the Spanish Peninsula was to be united under Habsburg rule in the sixteenth century, the *component parts* of this ‘composite monarchy’ *would retain their political diversity, liberties, and law....*Particularism resulted in the emergence of separate medieval assemblies. *And it would ensure their continuation*, despite a growing sense of being Spanish, which was evident from the sixteenth century.”

#### *Armenia (Cilicia)*

The Kingdom of Armenia in Cilicia was sovereign between 1198 and 1375 ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenian\\_Kingdom\\_of\\_Cilicia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armenian_Kingdom_of_Cilicia); Access date: April 8, 2022).

The detailed account in Ghazarian (2000) does not mention any parliament in this polity during this period.

#### *Austria*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Austria to the period 1400-50. To identify a specific year within this period, we rely on MacHardy (2003: 31), who writes: “Furthermore, *in 1402*, the Crown called upon prelates, lords, knights, *and towns—who*

*probably met for the first time in a common session—to declare and enforce internal peace (Landfrieden) by ending feuds and civil strife.”*

### ***Bavaria***

van Zanden et al. (2012: 54: fn. 54): “Diets started in 1347 in Lower Bavaria and in 1363 in Upper Bavaria.”

Graves (2001: 23-4): “In Upper and Lower Bavaria, a duchy in southern Germany, assemblies of nobles *and towns*, later afforced by the clergy, emerged between 1347 and the end of the century.”

Carsten (1959: 352): “In Lower Bavaria the nobility united with the *towns in 1347*, and in Upper Bavaria in 1363, and the clergy joined them at the end of the century.”

### ***Bohemia***

Agnew (2004: 57): “The most important political institution of the Estates monarchy was the Land Diet. The diet *approved the ruler’s requests for taxes*, but it could also legislate, grant citizenship, permit local military forces to be used abroad, and generally seek the common good.”

Agnew (2004: 56): “By the end of the [early fifteenth century] Hussite revolution there were three Estates represented in the Bohemian diet: the lords, the knights, and the *free towns*.”

Janišová and Janiš (2016: 90): “The way to the Bohemian throne only opened to Sigmund...at the end of the Hussite revolution. In March 1435 at the Provincial Diet held in Prague the Bohemian Estates *stipulated conditions* for his inauguration...The requirements formulated the Estate of Boroughs even included *a provision stipulating [a] right of resistance*...Sigmund...in principle *accepted these conditions* in his ‘Great Privilege of Freedoms’, issued on 20 July 1436...”

### ***Brabant***

Brouwer (2016: 199): “He was succeeded by his son Jan II of Brabant, who continued the tradition of preparing his succession by signing the Charter of Kortenberg *in 1312*; 1 month before his death. The charter stated that *no new taxes could be imposed without the consent of nobles and cities*...The Charter of Kortenberg also prescribed that justice should be fair and that city rights should be recognized by the duke. The charter called for *the establishment of a council*; the Estates of Brabant. The Estates had 14 members; 4 nobles *and 10 representatives of the large cities* of the duchy.”

### ***Brittany***

Pocquet du Haut-Jussé (1925: 401-2): “En 1352, à Dinan, onze villes répondirent à son appel et prirent part aux véritables États qui nommèrent une ambassade pour aller négocier avec le roi d'Angleterre : « Parmy l'avisement, conseil et assentement des prélats, chapitres, barons et autres nobles et des bourgeois et habitans de nos bonnes villes de notre duché de Bretagne... Et nous, bourgeois et habitanz desdites citez et villes, à nostre requeste, avons fait apposer à ces lettres les

sceaux des contracts desdites villes 3. » Cette date de 1352 enlève aux États de Bretagne leur précocité et les ramène au même rang que ceux des autres provinces : « Les États provinciaux apparaissent, en effet, ici un peu avant, là un peu après le milieu du xive siècle.”

Major (1980: 93-4): “...the provincial estates of Brittany developed more slowly than those in many other parts of France. Not until 1352 can it be definitively proven that the *towns* named deputies to these Parlements. The duties of the early parlements were essentially judicial and political. Only rarely were they asked to *agree to a tax*, but taxes were sometimes levied on ducal orders without consent.”

Graves (2001: 57): “As these provinces were acquired by the French Crown in the course of the fifteenth century they were allowed to retain their estates—so too were Burgundy, Brittany, and others.”

### ***Bulgaria (Second Empire)***

The Second Bulgarian Empire was sovereign between 1185 and 1396 ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second\\_Bulgarian\\_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Bulgarian_Empire); Access date: April 8, 2022).

The detailed account in Wolff (1949) does not mention any parliament during this polity’s early history, nor does the Wikipedia article cited above mention a parliament during its later history.

### ***Burgundy***

Richard (1957: 68): “Dans le domaine monétaire, le roi n’a rien de plus pressé de mettre fin à l’activité des ateliers fonctionnant en terre d’Empire, et d’ouvrir à Dijon même un atelier ou l’on frappe de la monnaie royale. Mais, en substituant au système des négociations particulières destinées à obtenir des « aides » financières celui de la réunion des trois « états », Jean le Bon donne aux Bourguignons le moyen de se concerter pour résister à ses entreprises. C’est de son bail que date la naissance des États de Bourgogne, réunis des 1352.”

Major (1980: 81): “The *first assemblies* that were indisputably meetings of the estates owed much to royal influence...John [at the time, Duke of Normandy] immediately assumed responsibility for the government and in 1352, following what was becoming a more frequent practice in France, summoned the three estates to *consent to a tax*. Only five clergymen, four nobles, and the representatives of the thirteen towns attended, but this small group mustered the courage to reject his demands.”

Graves (2001: 57): “As these provinces were acquired by the French Crown in the course of the fifteenth century they were allowed to retain their estates—so too were Burgundy, Brittany, and others.”

## ***Byzantium***

van Zanden et al. (2012: 16-17): “The question remains to be answered why this institution became so popular in late Medieval Europe? And *why did it not spread to, for example, Byzantium or the Ottoman Empire...*”

Stasavage (2016: 148): “There was *no equivalent to the European pattern of representation and consent* in the other three world regions [China, *Byzantium*, Middle East] to which I have referred.”

## ***Castile***

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Castile to the period 1250-1300 at the latest (his sample period begins in 1250). To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Graves (2001: 14-15), who writes: “Then in the *mid-thirteenth century* the kingdoms of Leon and Castile were united. Until that time there is no evidence that Castilian assemblies of secular lords and churchmen were afforded by elected and participating representatives of cities and towns. When, however, the union of the two kingdoms resulted in a single Cortes, it consisted of three estates, *including elected urban representatives*, the procuradores, whose role was to grown in importance.”

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), there was no longer a parliament in Castile by 1650 (our sample period ends in 1599). Following Stasavage (2011: 149), we identify the specific year of the loss of this authority to 1632.

Stasavage (2011: 149): “The procuradores to the medieval Cortes had been elected by city councils, but in a response to the way in which this electoral competition bred underlying factional conflict within cities, by the sixteenth century all but one of the 18 towns that sent representatives to the Cortes had done away with election as a method of selection. They instead specified either a rotation of a set of individuals, or, more frequently, selection by lot. While selection by lot might limit internal conflict over choice of representatives, it also had a further effect of removing the ability of cities to select individuals who they thought would best represent their interests. The response of the cities was to attempt to constrain their procuradores by giving them strict mandates, a move that was also designed to reduce potential royal influence through corruption... Seeking a Cortes that would be both more compliant and that could arrive at decisions more efficiently, the Crown repeatedly sought instead to have the procuradores granted full powers to make decisions regarding taxation. After *1632* the Crown finally succeeded in obtaining the consent of the cities to this change.”

## ***Catalonia***

Graves (2001: 15): “In 1137 dynastic marriage united Aragon and the richer commercial Catalonia and in the 1230s King James I of Aragon-Catalonia conquered Valencia. In the federation of these three states [Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia], known as the Crown of Aragon, each one developed and retained its own parliament... As we shall see, their structure and organization varied, but they shared several common features: their relations with the king constituted a legal compact with

mutual obligations; they had extensive powers, including legislation and *control of the grant of taxes*; they reinforced by a range of privileges...”

Marongiu (1968: 67): “Explicit mentions of the *participation of representatives of the cities and towns* only occurred with the assembly of Barcelona of 1228, which was attended by various bishops and abbots, the greater lords and ‘many other knights and citizens and good men of the towns of Catalonia.’”

Graves (2001: 16): “Although the Spanish Peninsula was to be united under Habsburg rule in the sixteenth century, the *component parts* of this ‘composite monarchy’ *would retain their political diversity, liberties, and law*....Particularism resulted in the emergence of separate medieval assemblies. *And it would ensure their continuation*, despite a growing sense of being Spanish, which was evident from the sixteenth century.”

### ***Cyprus***

The Kingdom of Cyprus was sovereign between 1192 and 1489 ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Cyprus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Cyprus); Access date: April 8, 2022).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Cyprus#Governance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Cyprus#Governance) (Access date: April 8, 2022): “Like Jerusalem, Cyprus had a Haute Cour (High Court), although it was less powerful than it had been in Jerusalem. The island was richer and more feudal than Jerusalem, so the king had more personal wealth and could afford to ignore the Haute Cour.”

From this, we infer that whatever the composition of the High Court, it lacked fiscal power and so would not have counted as a parliament.

### ***Denmark***

Graves (2001: 15): “In Denmark King Christian I, who like his predecessors was under constant pressure from his nobles, called the first representative parliament in 1468. It consisted of *townsmen* and free peasantry as well as nobles, instead of the customary aristocratic assembly.”

Graves (2001: 118): “A dramatic example of this is to be found in Denmark, which Sweden invaded in 1658 and 1659 and on which it imposed the humiliating peace of Oliva in 1660. Blame was placed on the noble-dominated council (Rigsraad) and parliament (Ridsdag) for their resistance to the war. King Frederick III became a hereditary absolute monarch and the Rigsdag was *consigned to oblivion* until 1835.”

### ***England***

Brand (2009: 10): “The period of just under a century which begins with the granting of the Magna Carta by King John in 1215 and ends with the death of Edward I in 1307 is a significant one in the early history of parliament. *It is the period when the term ‘parliament’ first comes to be used* for the special occasional meetings of the king’s council to which a larger group of the king’s subjects were summoned...The term ‘parliament’ (parliamentum in Latin, parlement in French) was not

used before the thirteenth century for the occasional special meetings of the king's council to which a wider group of participants was summoned to provide general advice to the king and *to give consent on behalf of a wider national community to royal taxation and legislation.*"

Brand (2009: 11): "The earliest evidence of knights being summoned to attend parliament as representatives of individual counties comes from 1254; the earliest evidence of burgesses being summoned to attend *as representatives of their towns or cities* only from 1265."

### ***Flanders***

Dhondt (1950: 296): "...au moment où le comte ne se maintiendra que par l'appui des grandes villes, ces dernières accèdent, sans coup férir, au partage du pouvoir."

Dhondt (1950: 296, fn. 3): "Citons simplement le texte le plus éloquent : « Nous Philippes de Flandre...faisons savoir... ke de tant de tans qui peüst souvenir, toutes les besoignes ke K conte de Flandres qui par le tans on estei, touchant communaument Testât dou pays, li dit conte les ont traiteit et ordenei par les boines villes de le conteit. Et chouke par le seigneur et les dites boines villes a estei ordenei generaument, il convint ke che fuist tenu et wardei par toute le conteit... (Wanzkoenig-Gheldolf, Histoire de Flandre, V, p. 445). Acte de l'an 1304."

Dhondt (1950: 297): "Ainsi donc, au xive siècle, la situation est la suivante : le comte ne gouverne pas seul. Toutes les affaires importantes intéressant le pays sont délibérées par lui en commun avec une assemblée qui peut être soit le « commun pays de Flandre », soit les Trois Villes. Mais, dans le premier cas, les trois villes qui sont représentées au sein du commun pays se concertent au préalable et on a toute raison de croire que leur attitude commune pèse d'un poids très lourd dans la décision."

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), Flanders was no longer sovereign after 1550.

### ***France***

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in France to the period 1300-50. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Marongiu (1968: 98), who writes: "As relations with the Pope grew tense and bitter and Boniface VIII threatened the King with the gravest sanctions, Philip played his trump card and summoned the barons, prelates, and *envoys of the cities* to Paris on February 15, 1302. The writ of summons informed them that the King wished to treat and deal with them about the grave problems of the moment...The terms were detailed, although in a sense they kept to generalities; but they were nevertheless coherent with, and expressed the substance of the great principle that 'quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari debet'. This assembly is traditionally described as the *first reunion* in France of the 'estates general', of a parliamentary assembly or institution."



### ***Galicia-Volhynia***

The Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia was sovereign between 1199 and 1349 ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom\\_of\\_Galicia%E2%80%93Volhynia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Galicia%E2%80%93Volhynia); Access date: April 8, 2022).

The Wikipedia article cited above does not mention any parliament in this polity's during this period.

Tatarova (2020: 35): "For the most part, the system of tax collection was reduced to the collection of personal tribute by the prince with the help of an armed wife from the conquered population. There were no acts that would regulate the issue of tribute, the size and frequency of the tribute was *set by the prince at his own discretion.*"

### ***Guelders***

Brouwer (2016: 205): "The Estates of Guelders—like those of Holland—only arose in the fifteenth century. The *first meeting* of the Estates of Guelders took place in 1423. The installation of the council emanated from a pact that was concluded in 1418; the Verbondsakte van Steden en Ridderschap (Union of *Cities* and Knighthood)."

### ***Hesse***

Carsten (1959: 149): "The landgraves of Hesse were descendants of the dukes of Brabant...The steady growth of their possessions was, however, interrupted in the fifteenth century by conflicts within the ruling family and the division of its domains between hostile brothers...These conflicts and the rule of minor landgraves favored the development of the Estates, which came into being in the later fourteenth century and were summoned to a diet for the first time in 1387...the nobility remained throughout the leading group among the Hessian Estates; while the towns, led by Cassel and Marburg, were too weak to counterbalance its power...The *fifty or more towns usually represented in the diet of Hesse* were small and unimportant, and many were nothing else but little market towns."

### ***Holland***

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Holland to the period 1500-50. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Stasavage (2011: 154), who writes: "...all of the evidence suggests that the Estates General of the Netherlands and the *States of Holland* were already extremely active well before the revolt of 1572...For the States of Holland, Tracy (1990: 124) reports that there were 285 meetings between 1542 and 1562..." Here, the direct quotation from Tracy (1990: 124) reads: "Between 1542 and 1562 there were 285 dagvaarten or meetings of the States convened by the central government, and average of 13.5 per year."

## *Hungary*

Szente (2005: 95): “Early consultative assemblies of a nationwide character were, on the other hand, no longer simply the occasional meetings of the ecclesiastic and secular aristocracy, but were instead assemblies summoned annually—pursuant to the provisions of the Golden Bull of 1222—to discuss matters of common interest, or the ‘affairs of the state’, and to advise the king on such matters, or even to hand down decisions concerning various issues.”

Szente (2005: 95, fn. 6): “Act I of 1222. The Golden Bull, quite similarly to the English Magna Carta Libertatum, was a letter of privileges devoted to provide guarantees for the nobility against arbitrary actions of the king and the barons. Its provisions were promulgated in several laws in 1222.”

Encyclopedia Britannica (1911: 906): “It [the Diet] was still, however, essentially an assembly of notables, lay and clerical, at which the gentry, though technically eligible, do not seem to have been directly represented. At Sigismund’s first diet (1397), it was declared that the King might choose his counsellors where he listed, and at the diet of 1397 he invited the *free and royal towns* to send their deputies to the parliament.”

## *Ireland*

Graves (2001: 19): “The great stimulus to the calling of Irish assemblies was royal financial need, especially during Edward I’s wars with the Welsh, French, and Scots in the later thirteenth century. He looked to Ireland as one of the providers for his expensive policies and, as a consequence, the grant of parliamentary subsidies became an established practice...The practice of *parliamentary taxation* was ‘based firmly on the principle of consent and the accepted obligation of every freeman to help the king in his necessity, with elected representatives having full power to bind their communities to whatever was agreed in parliament’...It is not certain that elected representatives from the counties were called before 1297 or members *from cities and towns* before 1299-1300.”

## *Leon*

Payne (1973: 82) “In 1188 Alfonso IX of Leon faced major problems in consolidating his rule over an internally divided and disorderly kingdom, and also faced *mounting financial demands*. To deal with these issues he summoned *representatives of leading towns* to meet with aristocrats and church officials at a royal assembly. He proclaimed a brief royal charter promising justice and recognizing local laws as well as the need to establish greater order. At a subsequent meeting *he gained approval of a debasement of coinage* to increase royal purchasing power.”

Marongiu (1968: 62): “This assembly, held by Alfonso IX in the first year of his reign [1188], is important because of the decisions taken there...There can be no doubt that the decisions taken in this curia were intended to create a new political constitution for the country...This is clearly demonstrated by two of the decisions: (1) the undertaking given by the King *to follow the counsels* of his bishops, nobles, and wise men in all circumstances *in matters of peace and war*...”

Graves (2001: 15): “Then in the mid-thirteenth century the kingdoms of Leon and Castile were united. Until that time there is no evidence that Castilian assemblies of secular lords and churchmen were afforded by elected and participating representatives of cities and towns. When, however, the union of the two kingdoms resulted in a single Cortes, it consisted of three estates, including elected urban representatives, the procuradores, whose role was to grown in importance.”

### *Lorraine*

Digot (1856, vol. 5: 59): “...la date précise de l’introduction de la bourgeoisie dans les États...Mory d’Elvange affirme qu’ils y étaient admis dès l’année 1425, et la chose est probable...”

[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duch%C3%A9\\_de\\_Lorraine](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duch%C3%A9_de_Lorraine) (Access date: August 23, 2019): “La puissance des états généraux était très grande : succession au trône, tutelle du duché, lois et impôts, toutes les affaires importantes étaient soumises à leur décision. On voyait rarement le duc modifier ce qu’ils avaient résolu. C’était une garantie pour le peuple, mais une gêne pour la puissance ducale qui chercha à s’affranchir de ce contrôle. La réunion de 1629 fut la dernière, Charles IV remit toujours à plus tard la convocation des états généraux et l’occupation de la Lorraine par les Français favorisa son dessein.”

### *Naples*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament in Naples to the period 1450-1500. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Marongiu (1968).

Marongiu (1968: 151): “The first sign of this trend was the ‘general parliament’ of ‘all the princes, dukes, marquises, counts, and barons of the said Kingdom’ and of the procurators of the absentee barons, which began at Benevento and closed at Naples in 1443. Here for the *first time* in the history of the Kingdom of Naples a great national assembly acted as a single body and requested, granted, petitioned, and in practice negotiated with the sovereign and his government.”

Marongiu (1968: 154): “Ecclesiastics appeared in the parliaments of 1480 and 1481 and perhaps a few others, but always for a specific reason. On the other hand, *the domanial cities appeared far more frequently* than has been generally noted – at least ten times between 1444 and 1497. In 1456, Alfonso stated that he wanted the sindaci to be provided with ample powers.”

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), there was no longer a parliament in Naples by 1650 (our sample period ends in 1599). Following Marongiu (1968: 206), we identify the specific year of the loss of this authority to 1642.

Marongiu (1968: 206): “But in the South, the last parliamentary session of the Kingdom of Naples was held in 1642...”

### *Navarre*

Major (1980: 131): “The Basque-speaking Kingdom of Navarre, like the Viscounty of Bearn, had its fors and its estates. The latter grew out of Cort Mayor to which prelates, nobles, and *townsmen* were summoned during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By 1355 the Cortes, or estates, had emerged as a *tax-consenting institution* that was summoned by the monarch every few years.”

Graves (2001: 16): “Although the Spanish Peninsula was to be united under Habsburg rule in the sixteenth century, the *component parts* of this ‘composite monarchy’ *would retain their political diversity, liberties, and law*....Particularism resulted in the emergence of separate medieval assemblies. *And it would ensure their continuation*, despite a growing sense of being Spanish, which was evident from the sixteenth century.”

### *Norway*

Larsen (1948: 253): “Not before 1591 did Christian visit Oslo to receive the oath of allegiance of the Norwegians...It was the *first complete estates general*, truly national in scope, that had ever met in Norway.”

Mallek (2001: 81): “In the homage meeting of 1591, the *townsmen* appeared in full splendour. The towns of Stavanger, Skien, Tønsberg, Oslo, Fredriksstad, Oddevalla, Kongehelle and Marstrand were represented, each by five deputies, Trondheim by four, and Bergen by six. In total, 50 representatives of the townsmen went to the meeting.”

Mallek (2001: 74): “The end point of 1661, on the other hand, corresponding to the *introduction of absolutism* in Norway and the consequent decline of estate institutions, does not require further justification.”

### *Palatinate*

Carsten (1959: 343): “He [Philip, Elector of the Palatinate] began to request direct taxes in addition to the Rhine tolls, and this required *the consent of those to be taxed*, apparently for the first time in 1494. Yet it was again for political reasons that he decided to ask the advice of the bishops, prelates, counts, and noblemen, and *for the first time all of the towns*...Therefore in 1505 he assembled all the prelates, noblemen, and towns in Heidelberg.”

### *Piedmont*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Piedmont to the period 1350-1400. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Marongiu (1968).

Marongiu (1968: 196): “The *first parliamentary assembly* in Piedmont was apparently held in 1328, when the *communes were summoned* to send ambassadors to Scalenghe to treat of matters of general interest with the prince.”

Marongiu (1968: 196): “By 1375 the description of the assembly of nobles and communal representatives as a *consilium*—an enlargement of the permanent royal council—signified official recognition of the right of the assembly to participate as a consultative body in important decisions.”

Graves (2001: 78): “In June 1560 Emmanuel Philibert met the estates and, having obtained an enormous salt tax, dissolved them. They did not meet again. The Duke used his army of 24,000 to ensure the collection of this tax and the imposition of further ones without reference to a parliament.”

### ***Poland***

Malinowski (2019: 9): “The increasingly federal character of the state and the privileges given to the nobility *led to the formation of the Sejm* [Great Diet of Poland], to which, from 1468 onwards, the Dietines elected delegates...After 1505, no law binding the whole country could be passed without the explicit unanimous approval of the three parts of the Sejm. It marked the formation of the system of Estate Monarchy, not dissimilar to the one built around the Parliament in England, the Estates General in France, the Cortes in Spain, and the Riksdag in Sweden...”

Malinowski (2019: 10): “In Poland, the King could only propose and veto legislation. Because he could not rule by decree, the ruler needed the Diet, of which he was an integral part, to exercise influence. The bills agreed on by the House of Delegates and Senate became legal acts only after the King gave the royal assent to all of them jointly at the end of the Sejm’s session.”

Malinowski (2019: 12): “This legal change in the operation of the Sejm was a result of a major *constitutional crisis*. In the mid-seventeenth century, Poland was struggling with a Kozak uprising, a war with Russia, a Swedish invasion, and Turkish incursions. To ensure more political stability, the progressive party associated with the King, and dominated by the mid-income nobility, proposed that the new kings would be elected before the death of the incumbent. This inspired opposition of the conservatives, primarily the magnates and their clients, who saw the proposal as a threat to the Golden Liberties. To block the possibility of a constitutional change, they insisted on *the right of a single deputy to discontinue the parliamentary proceedings* before the royal assent and effectively nullify its decisions—*liberum veto*. The first use of this practice took place in 1652 and inspired major political and constitutional conflict between the conservative republicans and progressive royalists...”

### ***Pomerania***

Carsten (1954: 89): “The fourteenth century was the period of the greatest wealth and the greatest political power of the *towns* of Pomerania and of Brandenburg. Frequently they succeeded in imposing their will upon their rulers and the country...Their power was a match for that of the nobility, and the rulers could only try to play off one Estate against another. When the Duchy of Pomerania was to be divided between two hostile brothers in 1295, the two Estates carried through the partition; they used this opportunity *to have all of their rights and privileges confirmed and to be assured the right of resistance* in case the princes broke the treaty or wronged them in any other way.”

## ***Portugal***

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Portugal to the period 1250-1300 at the latest (his sample period begins in 1250). To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Payne (1973: 119-20), who writes: "...he [Sancho II] was eventually deposed by his younger brother Afonso III (1246-79), who was supported by the church, the crusading orders, the petty nobility, and the *towns*...Afonso III was a notably successful administrator, promoting resettlement and summoning the *first meeting of a three-estate Portuguese Cortes* at Leira in 1254."

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), Portugal was no longer sovereign after 1600. We refine this exit year to 1581, following the recognition by the Portuguese Cortes of Felipe II of Spain as the King of Portugal (Payne (1973: 243).

## ***Prussia***

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Prussia to the period 1300-50. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Carsten (1954: 91-2), who writes: "The greatest period of the Brandenburg *towns* came under the weak foreign rulers who succeeded after the death of the last Ascanian margrave, Woldemar, in 1319. The internal troubles and disputed successions of the time provided many opportunities to *wring new concessions* from weak margraves...Frequently the towns renewed their 'unions' to assist each other if any of them were attacked...*Five years after Margrave Woldemar's death* the new margrave, Lewis of Wittlesbach, *had to recognize the validity of these 'unions'*; he also undertook to break, together with the towns, all the castles built after Woldemar's death, and warned the landlords not to exploit their judicial rights and their claims to labor services...The power of the Estates developed in parallel with the weakness of the rulers."

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), there was no longer a parliament in Prussia by 1650 (our sample period ends in 1599). Following Carsten (1954: 179-80), we identify the specific year of the loss of this authority to 1627, during the Thirty Years' War.

Carsten (1954: 179-80): "...from 1627 onwards the country was occupied by foreign troops...Yet the War at the same time weakened the political power of the Estates...He [Elector George William] levied contributions without consulting the Estates and used military force to extort taxes for the maintenance of the Brandenburg troops."

## ***Rashka***

The Kingdom of Rashka (or Serbia) was sovereign between 1196 and 1355 ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand\\_Principality\\_of\\_Serbia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Principality_of_Serbia); Access date: April 8, 2022).

The detailed study in Kršljanin (2017) of Serbia's medieval assembly, the Sabor, notes that, although little documentation survives, "it is obvious that the Sabor was not a Parliament..." (Kršljanin 2017: 1).

## *Sardinia*

Marongiu (1968: 131): “The origins of the Sardinian parliament are traditionally traced back to the assembly of 1355, whose sessions were described by contemporaries as ‘general curias’... The King [Peter the Ceremonious] wanted to be recognized as the legitimate sovereign of all Sardinians. As a result *all inhabited centers*, however small, and almost all feudal territories—although they were already officially represented by their respective lords—were ordered to send their representatives. These representatives were elected in the *cities and towns* by popular assemblies called by the town-crier...”

Marongiu (1968: 132): “Once these ‘general curias’ [of 1355] had been convoked and assembled, the king asked them for a subsidy or financial grant and *a tax or customs duty must have been voted and accepted.*”

Scheni (2012: 59): “The parliament, introduced into the island in the fourteenth century—in 1355 Peter IV *called and presided over the first parliament* of the kingdom of Sardinia—was perfected in the course of the fifteenth with the assembly of 1421, convoked and presided over by Alfonso V, and that of 1481–5—called by Ferdinand II but presided over by the viceroy Ximen Perez Escriva.”

Scheni (2012: 59): “The Sardinian parliament, like those introduced by the crown in other Italian domains belonging to the Catalan-Aragonese confederation, was ‘*stamentale, iuxta lo still y pratica de Catalunya* [according to the style and the procedures of Catalonia]’, and formed of three *Stamenti* or branches: the ecclesiastic, which included the bishops, archbishops and abbots of the more important monasteries in the kingdom as well as the representatives of the dioceses’ chapters; the military to which were called all the feudatories; and the royal which included the *representatives or agents of all the royal cities and the towns* which were not enfeoffed. The upper officials of the royal administration also participated in the parliament: the keeper of the royal chancery, the *maestro rationale*, the governors of the *Capi* of Cagliari and Sassari, and the *fiscal and patrimonial agents.*”

Marongiu (1968: 133): “Thus it was logical that a parliament should have been called in Sardinia in 1421: its purpose was as much to end the civil war and reconcile the former rebels as to obtain financial aid.”

## *Saxony*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament in Saxony with tax authority to the period 1450-1500. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Carsten (1959: 197), who writes: “In 1437, the two remaining brothers, Frederick and William [sons of deceased margrave Frederick IV], reached an agreement about the future administration of the country, which was to be revised three years later, with the participation of their counts, lords, knights, and *towns: evidence that such matters came within their competence.* In the *following year* the margraves were forced by their desperate financial situation, the decline of trade and industry and of their revenues on account of the continuous disturbances, *to summon to Leipzig the first diet in the*

*proper sense of the term* from all their territories; it was attended by counts, knights, and towns, but again not by the clergy.”

### ***Scotland***

Graves (2001: 19): “Although an institution styled ‘Parliament’ is recorded in Scotland as early as the 1230s, it was no more than a gathering of temporal and ecclesiastical lords. Until the fourteenth century they alone were regarded as comprising the community of the realm. Urban representatives had been present to ratify a treaty in 1296, but *only during the fourteenth century did ‘commissioners’ from royal boroughs become a constituent part* of what had been until then rather a curia or council of the king and his feudal vassals. Once again, *regular urban representation* was the consequence of royal financial necessity.”

MacDonald (2007: 14-15): “Burgesses petitioned parliaments in the 1310s and may have sat in a parliament in 1326, although there was considerable debate over this in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The grant of a tax of an annual tenth to Robert I (1306-28) listed the communities of the burghs as present 'while a parliament was being held': on this basis, Robert Rait argued that burgesses were not truly part of parliament. Balfour Melville countered that the phrase in question, 'tenente plenum parliamentum', had previously been used in other parliamentary contexts, so did not merit Rait's narrow interpretation. One of the earliest parliamentary summonses (from 1328) sought 'six suitable people from each of the communities of the burghs', a long-winded phrase suggesting that no customary form for summoning the burgesses was yet established. Robert I's parliament of 1328 was another false start, for no burghs were summoned in 1331. Their participation in 1326 and 1328 can be linked to *grants of taxation* and it was the *need to consent to further taxation* which secured their place under David II (1328-71): burgh representatives are recorded at parliaments which granted taxes in 1340 and 1341.”

We code the end year of the Scottish parliament to 1707, the year of the Act of Union with England, with a single combined parliament ([https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Act\\_of\\_Union\\_1707](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Act_of_Union_1707); Access date: August 23, 2019).

### ***Sicily***

Marongiu (1968: 111): “The *first of these assemblies* [Kingdom of Sicily] was held in 1208 at San Germano (Cassino) in order to provide for and aid Frederick (who was still a minor) in the work of pacification carried out by Pope Innocent III as tutor to the young sovereign. The pope came in person to this ‘general’ curia and issued important measures with ‘many of the prelates and magnates’ of the Kingdom. A statement by the anonymous chronicler of Monte Cassino that *envoys of the cities took part* together with the lay and ecclesiastical lords *remains unproven*, for it is not confirmed by any other source.”

Marongiu (1968: 113): “These facts are not sufficient to allow us to conclude that these [pre-1250] assemblies displayed any initiative, or that they corresponded to the concept of a parliamentary institution as we have defined it. In fact, we are of the opinion that...these assemblies *merely constituted pre-parliaments*, limited episodes, rather than real collective bodies with their part in the structure of the state.”



Marongiu (1968: 113-14): “He [Charles of Anjou, 1266-85] created a *general curia* of *giustizieri* and other officials...to ask them for *an account of what they had exacted for the treasury*, and to ‘treat what he had decreed’—a clear indication that these assemblies, which he called parliaments, were of exclusively administrative, bureaucratic, and *fiscal nature*. Only after the outbreak of the Vespers did his son, the prince of Salerno, lieutenant of the Kingdom, decide, with unexpected obedience, to call a general assembly of the region of San Martino in Citerione. The assembly, which met in 1283, and was attended by prelates, nobles, and *envoys of the cities and towns*, aimed at and partially succeeded in giving a new and more equitable order to the affairs of the country. 47 legal decrees were approved...In fact, this completion of decrees only occurred in 1285 when an Edictalis Provisio ac Constitutio of Honorius IV defined the limits of royal authority in relation to the subjects in its most important points, *especially in matters of taxation*.”

Graves (2001: 16): “In 1282 a Sicilian assembly, which *for the first time included urban representatives*, voluntarily offered the crown of Sicily to King Peter III of Aragon, in order to be rid of oppressive and *financially burdensome* Angevin rule.”

### ***Silesia***

The Duchy of Silesia was sovereign between 1138 and 1335 ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duchy\\_of\\_Silesia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duchy_of_Silesia); Access date: April 8, 2022).

Pauk and Wólkiewicz (2013: 81) note that Silesia’s first parliament was created over a century after it lost its independence: “The reign of Corvinus [1458-90] saw the introduction of the Silesian Parliament (*sejm*) – a platform for communication between dukes, state representatives and the king. The principal institution was the office of the Governor of the Province introduced in 1474, with power over political and fiscal issues in the hands of the governor.”

### ***Sweden***

Graves (2001: 15): “In Denmark King Christian I, who like his predecessors was under constant pressure from his nobles, called the first representative parliament in 1468. It consisted of townsmen and free peasantry as well as nobles, instead of the customary aristocratic assembly. At that time Sweden was united to Denmark and Norway in the Union of Kalmar, which lasted from 1397 to 1523. In the 1520s Sweden broke away from the Union, in which it occupied a subordinate place, and in 1523 a *national assembly (Riksdag)* of nobles, clergy, *representatives of towns*, miners, and peasants recognized the Swedish rebel leader Gustav Vasa as King Gustav I. The Riksdag was not a new institution, but *from this point it would develop as the national assembly of an independent state*.”

Graves (2001: 151): “By the mid-seventeenth century it [the Swedish Riksdag] had grown into a powerful consultative, law-making, and taxing parliament with an unusual sense of community. Later in the century its promising future seemed to end with the *Swedish absolutism* of Karl XI and Karl XII, but it reemerged with greater power in 1720.”

Rian (2000: 26): "...Karl XI (ruled 1660-97, came of age in 1672) allied himself with the lower estates at the meeting of the Diet (Riksdag) in 1680, and rammed through radical strengthening of the royal power, politically at the expense of the Council of the Realm...From now on, the two Nordic states [Denmark and Sweden] were *absolute monarchies*."

### ***Valencia***

Graves (2001: 15): "In 1137 dynastic marriage united Aragon and the richer commercial Catalonia and in the 1230s King James I of Aragon-Catalonia conquered Valencia. In the federation of these three states [Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia], known as the Crown of Aragon, each one developed and retained its own parliament...As we shall see, their structure and organization varied, but they shared several common features: their relations with the king constituted a legal compact with mutual obligations; they had extensive powers, including legislation and *control of the grant of taxes*; they reinforced by a range of privileges..."

Payne (1973: 82): "The meeting of the first three-estate Cortes in Castile cannot be dated as precisely as in the case of Leon...The respective dates for other peninsular kingdoms are...*Valencia, 1283*..."

Graves (2001: 16): "Although the Spanish Peninsula was to be united under Habsburg rule in the sixteenth century, the *component parts* of this 'composite monarchy' *would retain their political diversity, liberties, and law*....Particularism resulted in the emergence of separate medieval assemblies. *And it would ensure their continuation*, despite a growing sense of being Spanish, which was evident from the sixteenth century."

### ***Wurtemberg***

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament in Wurtemberg to the period 1450-1500. To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Carsten (1959).

Carsten (1959: 6): "The first definitive evidence of a Wurtemberg diet dates from the year *1457*."

Carsten (1959: 6-7): "The year *1457* also saw the first diet in Wurtemberg-Urach...For him [Ulrich, guardian of child heir Eberhard] four noble councilors were to govern in ordinary matters; in more important affairs they were to be assisted by ten other councilors and seven representatives of the *towns* of Urach. These were to have *full powers of government* and were to *decide by a majority* of those present: while Ulrich had the right to be present but had not vote."

Carsten (1959: 8): "Count Eberhard died in 1496 without leaving a son and was succeeded by his cousin Eberhard of the Stuttgart line, for Urach line had become extinct. Henceforth Wurtemberg remained one duchy under one prince."

## B.2.2 Extended Sample: City-States

### *Cologne*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Cologne to the period 1250-1300 at the latest (his sample period begins in 1250). To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Marongiu (1968: 107), who writes: “In fact, even though they were absent from the courts, *the representatives or envoys of the cities were present* at more than one colloquium. These colloquia possessed the same formal and practical characteristics of the other courts, except for the fact that they were also attended by the envoys of the cities. Typical examples were the colloquia called in...Cologne in *1259*...”

### *Florence*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Florence to the period 1250-1300 at the latest (his sample period begins in 1250). To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Marongiu (1968: 36), who writes: “In Florence in *1284* the council of the *heads of the major guilds* and the savi declared that a decision over war or peace with Pisa could only be reached in agreement with the magnates, even though the latter had been excluded from the government, as ‘what concerns all, should be approved by all’.”

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), Florence exits the sample (i.e. is no longer sovereign) by 1500. We refine this exit year to 1494, following the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII (Rubinstein, 1966: 229-35).

### *Genoa*

Epstein (1996: 33): “...a year and a half before the fleet that took Caesarea sailed, the Genoese established a *compagna* (commune or sworn association of citizens) to last for three years under the leadership of six consuls. As the fleet departed in August 1100, the Genoese must have set up their *compagna* early in *1099*...All earlier documents suggesting that a commune existed in Genoa before 1099 have been dismissed as forgeries...”

Stasavage (2011: 118): “The first record of a self-governing commune in Genoa dates from *1099*.”

Epstein (1996: 36): “The consuls were not allowed to summon an army, or to begin a new war on land or sea, or to *devise a new tax*, without the consent of a majority of the council.”

### *Lucca*

Encyclopedia Britannica (1911: 95): “The dukes gradually extended their power over all Tuscany, but after the death of the famous Matilda the city began to constitute itself an independent community, and in 1160 it obtained from Welf VI, duke of Bavaria and marquis of Tuscany, the lordship of all the country for 5 m. round, on payment of an annual tribute.”

[https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Repubblica\\_di\\_Lucca](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Repubblica_di_Lucca) (Access date: August 23, 2019): “Da questo primo nucleo si originò un Libero comune la cui esistenza è attestata nel 1119, poi riconosciuta dall'autorità imperiale nel 1161. Ed è proprio in questo secolo che il comune sostiene le sue lotte contro i feudatari vicini fino ad assicurarsi il dominio su vasti territori nel secolo XIII e a contendersi il primato militare in Toscana con il comune di Firenze.”

Tanzini (2012: 111): “Participation, the rule of law, and good government were (again) medieval legacies, and cities such as Lucca or Siena continued to use this traditional language of freedom and Buon governo through the centuries.”

Tanzini (2012: 103): “And outside the borders of the greatest Tuscan state, several independent territories remained: not only the little republic of Lucca, with its rural territory, but also...”

### ***Milan***

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), Milan never established a medieval parliament.

### ***Papal States***

Marongiu (1968: 170): “Although documents frequently mention ‘general parliaments’, general assemblies of the entire States of the Church...were extremely rare. The only well-documented meeting was that held at Fano in April-May 1357 by Cardinal Egidio d’Albornoz when he *promulgated his constitutions*. Other inter-provincial assemblies were held in 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, or 1375, and probably in 1388.”

Marongiu (1968: 171): “The general or ‘state’ assemblies were summoned by the Pope or his legate...They were precise and peremptory, naming the place and time of the meeting, ordering those convoked to appear, and specifying the details of the mandates to be brought by representatives.”

Marongiu (1968: 172): “Until the late fourteenth century summons were sent to all bishops, prelates, abbots, priors, parish priests, cathedral chapters, *cities, communes*, castles, and terre...But sometime before the beginning of the fifteenth century the clergy and feudal lords ceased to be summoned.”

### ***Siena***

Stasavage (2011: 128): “Ultimate political authority in Siena rested with the city council (the Council of the Bell), which existed from 1176, and which intervened in all types of issues faced by the commune. From 1287 to 155, while ultimate legitimacy remained with the Council of the Bell, the affairs of the commune were controlled by a committee of nine magistrates who held the title of the Nine Governors and Defenders of the Sienese Commune...The Nine was actually a body of officials each of whom served a two-month term. The election procedure for these officials was intricate and was modified on several occasions between 1287 and 1355. There were two constants to this procedure though. First, there was always significant formal weight given to

Siena's *merchant guild* in selecting both the members of the Nine and the members of the Council of the Bell."

According to Stasavage (2010: 631), Siena exits the sample (i.e. is no longer sovereign) by 1400. We refine this exit year to 1399, following the fall of the government of the Priori (Stasavage, 2011: 129).

### *Venice*

Stasavage (2010: 631) dates the presence of a parliament with tax authority in Venice to the period 1250-1300 at the latest (his sample period begins in 1250). To identify a specific year circa this period, we rely on Lane (1973) and Puga and Trefler (2014).

Lane (1973: 92): "If any one constitutional reform was crucial it was the creation in 1172 of an official nominating committee to name the new doge. A body of wise men (*sapientes*) had functioned as ducal councilors at least as early as 1143 and presumably had consulted or maneuvered among themselves so that, when the people were summoned to choose a new doge, the leading men had nominations ready. But after 1172, there was just one official nominating committee and made a single nomination, which was *equivalent to an election*. Through this committee, the leaders of the Commune, placed in control by Michiel's debacle, made sure that the man named as doge would thereafter be one of their one members whom they thought they could trust to act as a member of the team, that is, to abide by the decisions of his councils."

Puga and Trefler (2014: 756): "The two key dates for improvements in institutions that constrained the power of the executive are 1032, which marks the end of a *de facto* hereditary dogeship, and 1172, which marks the establishment of a Venetian parliament that became the ultimate source of political legitimacy."

Puga and Trefler (2014: 766-7): "After the reign of four unrelated and long-lived Doges, the Michiel family held the Dogeship for 53 of the 75 years leading up to 1171.<sup>15</sup> Toward the end of this period, Venetian-Byzantine relations had become increasingly acrimonious, and tensions came to a head on the night of March 12, 1171, when the Byzantine emperor rounded up 10,000 Venetians residing in the empire and announced that they were being held for ransom. In September 1171, Doge Vitale Michiel II launched a large armada that was to blockade and harass Constantinople until the hostages were released. The plan failed miserably, and in May 1172 the fleet returned in utter disarray. Venetian frustration was palpable, and much of it was directed against the Doge. At a gathering on May 27, he was mobbed and assassinated. It had been almost two centuries since a Doge had been murdered, and the unexpected assassination left a power vacuum which the dogal court and leading merchant families immediately filled... The first major change was the *introduction of a limited franchise elected parliament* known as the Great Council. With this constitutional change in place, the new legislative body used its power to increasingly *constrain the power of the Doge* over the next few decades. Many of these constraints were formalized in the oath of office that the Doge now publicly swore to uphold. The oath explicitly listed what the Doge could not do, for example, expropriate state property or preside over cases against himself. The Great Council added to this list with the election of each new Doge (Hazlitt 1966, p. 437; Madden 2003, pp. 95-101). Furthermore, in all important decisions the Doge was

required to consult with a strengthened six-member dogal council that was elected by and accountable to the Great Council. As Madden (2003, p. 98) notes: “In short, by 1192 the doge could do almost nothing without approval of the council.”

### B.2.3 Including Shorter-Lived Polities

If we relax our third criterion to include entities that survived a minimum of 50 years (i.e. versus 100 years as in the benchmark), then ten additional polities can be added to our sample.<sup>3</sup> Five were in Orthodox Christendom: the Kingdom of Alania, the Second Bulgarian Empire, the Kingdom of Georgia, the Grand Principality of Serbia, and Kievan Rus'. To our knowledge, neither communes nor parliaments emerged in any of these cases.<sup>4</sup> Another five were in Latin Christendom: the Kingdom of Galicia (1230, 2), the Duchy of Masovia (1275, 0), the Duchy of Normandy (1259, 2), the Landgraviate of Thuringia (1247, 1), and the County of Toulouse (1271, 1).<sup>5</sup> In the parentheses in the above sentence, we provide the years in which each polity was absorbed by a larger state, followed by the number of communes in existence in that year. None of these polities had established parliaments by the time of their absorption.

For our purposes, the important point here is that all ten shorter-lived polities appear to have followed the “no communes, no parliaments” rule.

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<sup>3</sup> The sources for the data in this subsection are Bosker, Buringh, and van Zanden (2013) for communes; and Wikipedia searches for parliaments and absorption years; Access date: April 8, 2022.

<sup>4</sup> In Kievan Rus', there were popular meetings (i.e. *veche*), but there is no evidence that they acquired corporate rights comparable to European communes (Grinberg 2013). We regard the nine principalities into which Kievan Rus' splintered to be city-states.

<sup>5</sup> Two other potential additions would be the Angevin Empire (a composite monarchy) and the Upstalsboom Confederacy in Frisia (a city league). We treat the former (which only lasted until 1216) as part of the Kingdom of England. The latter appears similar to other bottom-up confederations.

## Appendix C: Town-Polity Matching Methods

To match towns to sample polities, we have relied on two different methods. The main matching method employs NUTS territorial units from Eurostat (2015), while the alternative method employs historical maps from Euratlas (Nussli 2010).

The virtue of the NUTS matching method is that it always captures towns that lay within its historical territorial nucleus over time. In turn, we are able to produce a balanced panel of town-polity matches across European towns in Bosker et al. (2013) and years between 1000 and 1600. The cost of the NUTS matching method is that it does not always account for towns that eventually fell within (or outside) a sample polity due to border changes over time. To address this possibility, we employ an alternative matching method based on the Euratlas maps. The main cost of the Euratlas matching method is that we lose a great deal of observations. The basic reason is that the Euratlas maps are not fine-grained enough to identify all of our sample polities across the entire sample period. Due to greater data coverage, therefore, our main town-polity matching method uses the NUTS codes rather than the Euratlas maps.

In what follows, we explain the details of each matching method.

### C.1: NUTS Matching Method

First, we code each sample polity by the NUTS codes that form the main parts of its historical territorial nucleus. Appendix Table C.1 lists the polity-NUTS mappings. Next, we match each European town in Bosker et al. (2013) to the relevant sample polity by NUTS codes. Finally, we count the number of towns that had acquired communal rights according primarily to Bosker et al. (2013) prior to the first convening of the national parliament in each sample polity.

Since the Bosker et al. (2013) data only identify the communal status of European towns at century-long intervals, we sometimes supplement them with more precise years at which towns acquired communal rights, as described below:

- *Brittany*: See Monnier and Cassard (2012: 178, 224-5) and [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Histoire\\_de\\_la\\_Bretagne](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Histoire_de_la_Bretagne). There was a short-lived commune in Saint-Malo in 1308. Furthermore: (1) Towns in Brittany were excused from the main form of taxation (*fouage*) and instead subject to a more favorable one (*aide de villes*), which they had the right to collect; and (2) towns elected their own town councils and could levy their own local taxes. We code the acquisition of communal rights as “by 1300” for the following towns listed in Bosker et al.: Brest; Dinan; Rennes; Saint-Malo; Lorient.
- *Leon*: See [https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fuero\\_de\\_León](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fuero_de_León) for the following town listed in Bosker et al.: Leon (1017).
- *Norway*: See Andrén (1989: 596): “The oldest borough customs in Denmark and Norway can be dated to about 1200...” We thus code the communal revolution in Norway to the thirteenth century.
- *Pomerania*: See Carsten (1954: 45-6, 50) for the following towns listed in Bosker et al.: Danzig (1263), Stralsund (thirteenth century; pre-1295), Stettin (1243), Torun (i.e. Thorn) (thirteenth century; pre-1295).



- *Sardinia:*  
See [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassari#Le\\_origini\\_della\\_città\\_e\\_il\\_Libero\\_Comune](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sassari#Le_origini_della_città_e_il_Libero_Comune) for the following town listed in Bosker et al.: Sassari (1294).
- *Scotland:* See: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal\\_burgh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_burgh) for the following towns listed in Bosker et al.: Aberdeen (1153), Dundee (1153), Edinburgh (1153), Glasgow (1214; de facto), Inverness (1214), Perth (1153), Renfrew (1153), St Andrews (1153; de facto).
- *Valencia:*  
See <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alcoy#Historia>;  
[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alicante#Edad\\_Media](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alicante#Edad_Media);  
<https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liria#Historia>;  
[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orihuela#Edad\\_Media](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orihuela#Edad_Media);  
[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Requena\\_\(Espa%C3%B1a\)#Edad\\_Media](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Requena_(Espa%C3%B1a)#Edad_Media);  
[https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valencia#Edad\\_Media](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valencia#Edad_Media);  
<https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vinaroz#Historia>  
for the following towns listed in Bosker et al.: Alcoy (1256), Alicante (1252), Liria (1238), Orihuela (1265), Requena (1257), Valencia (1238), Vinaroz (1241).

(Access date for all internet sources listed above: October 8, 2019)

## C.2: Euratlas Matching Method

First, we match each sample polity to the relevant polity unit of the stated effective chief executive according to the Euratlas map each century. We generally restrict ourselves to exact (or very near) name matches. For example, we do not code Spain for the sample polity of Castile. We follow this approach for two reasons: (1) we want to focus on independent polities; and (2) this approach is consistent with how we have coded conflict participation. For example, Castile was coded as a conflict participant only if the terms “Castile” or “Castilian” were mentioned in Jaques (2007), but not “Spain.” We do make a few exceptions. For example, Austria never appears on the Euratlas maps between 1000 and 1600. In order to include this sample polity, we use the Habsburg Monarchy, which largely overlaps with modern Austrian borders.

Second, for observations that remain unmatched above, we match each sample polity to the relevant polity unit of the stated legal sovereign ruler according to the Euratlas map each century. We view this type of matching as a second-best to the more accurate matching to the effective chief executive.

Third, we match each European town in Bosker et al. (2013) to the relevant stated polity unit according to the Euratlas map each century. To help account for imprecision in the geocoding, we add measurement error of approximately 0.10 degrees to the latitudes and longitudes of the sample towns. If there are only a subset of centuries in which a town’s match is missing, then we assign *temporally prior* missing observations to the sample polity that it was assigned to in the first century for which there was an observation. We assign *temporally posterior* missing observations to the sample polity that it was assigned to in the most recent previous century for which there was an observation. If a town’s matches are missing for all centuries, then we make manual matches century by century, so long as the relevant sample polity appears on the Euratlas map.

Finally, we count the number of towns that had acquired communal rights according primarily to Bosker et al. (2013) prior to the first convening of the national parliament in each sample polity according to this method. Given that the Bosker et al. (2013) data only identify the communal status of European towns at century-long intervals, we sometimes supplement them with more precise years at which towns acquired communal rights. Section C.1 provides the details.

Table C.1: Town-Polity Matching Method: NUTS

Polity	Mapping
Aragon	NUTS2=ES24
Austria	Country name in Bosker et al.=Austria
Bavaria	NUTS1=DE2
Bohemia	Country name in Bosker et al.=Czech Republic
Brabant	NUTS1=NL4; NUTS2=BE24, BE31
Brittany	NUTS2=FR52; Also see Appendix C.1 note
Burgundy	NUTS2=FR21
Castile	NUTS1=ES1, ES3; NUTS2=ES23, ES42, ES43, ES61, ES62; NUTS3=411, 412, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419
Catalonia	NUTS2=ES51
Denmark	Country name in Bosker et al.=Denmark
England	NUTS1=UKC, UKD, UKE, UKF, UKG, UKH, UKI, UKJ, UKK
Flanders	NUTS2=BE21, BE22, BE23, BE25
France	NUTS1=FR1, FR3, FR6, FR7, FR8; NUTS2=FR22, FR23, FR24, FR25, FR26
Guelders	NUTS2=NL22
Hesse	NUTS1=DE7
Holland	NUTS2=NL32, NL33
Hungary	Country name in Bosker et al.=Hungary
Ireland	Country name in Bosker et al.=Ireland
Leon	NUTS3=ES413; Also see Appendix C.1 note
Lorraine	NUTS2=FR41
Naples	NUTS1=ITF
Navarre	NUTS2=ES22
Norway	Polity not included in Bosker et al.
Palatinate	NUTS2=DEB3
Papal States	NUTS2=ITH5, ITI2, ITI3, ITI4
Piedmont	NUTS2=ITC1
Poland	Country name in Bosker et al.=Poland
Pomerania	NUTS2=DE80, PL42, PL61, PL63; Also see Appendix C.1 note
Portugal	Country name in Bosker et al.=Portugal
Prussia	NUTS1=DEC, DEG, DE3, DE4, DEE; NUTS2=DEA1, DEA3, DEA4, DEA5, DEB1, DEB2; NUTS3=DEA21, DEA22, DEA24, DEA25, DEA26, DEA27, DEA28, DEA29, DEA2A, DEA2B, DEA2C,
Sardinia	NUTS2=ITG2; Also see Appendix C.1 note
Saxony	NUTS1=DE9
Scotland	NUTS1=UKM ; Also see Appendix C.1 note
Sicily	NUTS2=ITG1
Sweden	Country name in Bosker et al.=Sweden
Valencia	NUTS2=ES52 ; Also see Appendix C.1 note
Wurttemberg	NUTS1=DE1

*Notes:* This table only includes the 37 sample polities that are part of the paper's main regression analysis.

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